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The Index.

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JANUARY 7, 1875.

WHOLE No. 263.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSSES.

THIS is the "Week of Prayer." Is it any better than the other fifty-one weeks of the year?

WILL YOU NOT resolve to secure at least one new subscription for THE INDEX before the month expires?

REV. MR. HEPWORTH, of New York, writes on the highest themes. One of his latest is "Church Steeples."

THE official returns show that 40,077 votes were cast in Michigan at the recent election in favor of woman suffrage, and 135,954 against it.

DURING THE YEAR 1873, the United States School Commissioner reports an aggregate of \$11,250,000, donated or bequeathed to schools and colleges in this country.

ENOUGH has been said about the "Perfect Horse" to satisfy any one but a jockey. Who will favor us with a treatise on the "Perfect Ass"? Materials for it are abundant.

THE MORAL EDUCATION SOCIETY will meet in the Woman's Club Rooms, No. 3 Tremont Place, Friday, Jan. 8, at 3 o'clock P. M. Essay by A. W. Stevens. Subject, "What is Morality?"

REV. DR. BARTOL will give three lectures, on the 27th of this month, and February 3d and 10th, at 7 1-2 o'clock, P. M., in Bulfinch Street Chapel, on "Shakespeare," "Spiritualism," and "Industrial Education." All proceeds will be devoted to "Poverty studying Divinity."

KING PHILIP THE FAIR, of France, in a quarrel with the Pope, styled him "Your Folly" instead of "Your Holiness." The *Nation* thinks this "a form which apparently does not lose its use as the ages roll on;" an opinion in which Bismarck and Gladstone would probably agree with it.

WHAT a band of heroes were those Central High School boys who marched, one hundred strong, to the Girls' Lower High School, in New Orleans, and drove out four or five little colored girls who were peaceably studying their lessons! Southern "chivalry" may stick a taller plume than ever in its hat.

SCIENCE is one thing, and "scientists" are another. A great many of the latter deserve better to be called sciolists. The *Nation's* dread of the "sacerdotal tendency" of popular professors is (strange to say) an amusing deviation in the direction of "sentimentalism." There is not the least danger of a scientific priesthood getting us unawares under its thumb.

CEDAR RAPIDS, Iowa, is in a ferment over the Sunday question. The stores have been kept open on that day; the mayor has ordered them closed; half the store-keepers have refused to obey, and been arrested; and the foreman of the engine company has issued orders to his men not to turn out to any fire between Saturday midnight and one o'clock Sunday. Whether the "Fire Fiend" will also "keep holy the Sabbath day" remains to be discovered.

EIGHT hundred young girls recently answered an advertisement in Philadelphia calling for two hundred ballet dancers. Most of them had never been on the stage before. What a pitiable state of things is revealed by such a fact! Every girl should be so educated as to be able to earn her living, without submitting to degradation as the only escape from starvation. If the money squandered on foreign missions were appropriated to sensible objects, such scandalous facts could scarcely occur.

HARVARD COLLEGE will require all candidates for admission next July to write a short English composition, correct in spelling, grammar, punctuation, and form of expression. It is astonishing how few persons, even of those considered well educated, un-

derstand how to prepare a correct manuscript; yet slovenliness in these respects is like going about with dirty hands, torn clothes, and muddy boots. The best results will follow, if the College examiners (who, it is hoped, will be competent to their task) are strict in their requirements for admission.

MR. FROTHINGHAM's opening lecture in the Horticultural Hall course, in this city, was delivered last Sunday to a house packed to overflowing and (we must add) to suffocation. Hundreds went away, we are told, because they could not get in. The lecture was on "Human Nature," and held the closest attention of that half-stifled multitude to the end; but, thanks to Mr. Frothingham's never-failing kindness to THE INDEX, it will appear in these columns next week and need not be epitomized now. That it was a strong and eloquent address is only a matter of course.

THE CINCINNATI *Enquirer* intimates that the echoes of the addresses on the question, "Will the Coming Man Attend Church?" made in that city, in 1870, at one of the autumnal conventions of the Free Religious Association, still reverberate in what the *Enquirer* irreverently styles "the Pantheon, *née* the Church of the Holy St. Vickers." Mr. Thomson, it seems, a "brawny young Scotsman," recently preached there on that subject; which revives pleasant reminiscences of the first itinerant campaign of the Association, and also of the kind welcome it received in the Queen City. Mr. Vickers, then pastor of the radical society, is now the librarian of the chief library of the place, for which position his fine scholarship eminently fits him.

REV. L. P. HICKOK, D.D., LL.D., has just published a work entitled *The Logic of Reason, Universal and Eternal*. All logic hitherto known has given out in the attempt to refute unbelief, and Christianity is under the dire necessity of inventing "a better logic"! Of this remarkable book the Boston *Advertiser* remarks: "Without attempting to present here any judgment upon the merit of the new *Logic of Reason*, it may be remarked that it is of the utmost significance as touching present controversies that a man like Dr. Hickok is persuaded that the contest against scepticism cannot be successfully waged by any system of logic now in vogue. It is a more open and utter confession of defeat than has yet been made by anybody holding similar views."

PROFESSOR SEELYE, lecturing recently at the Yale Divinity School, referred to the "5,000,000" inhabitants of Madagascar as a triumphant proof of the proselytizing power of the modern missionary system. Dr. Mullens and Rev. Joseph Pillans, however, commissioners from the London Society which has the island in charge, have just spent a year on the spot, and make a report which honestly pricks this great Madagascar bubble. It appears that the Hova queen christianized whole communities by order; the entire population is estimated at less than two and a half millions; the number of nominal Christians is only about 300,000, of whom 60,000 are church members, while only 20,000 to 25,000 are rated as sincere Christians; and the commissioners are of opinion that the work in Madagascar is "just beginning"! In short, to quote the *Independent's* condensation of the report: "How to reduce the excessive number of communicants hastily introduced into the Church, especially by native laborers, is the problem of the future, and the real progress of the Madagascar Church will for a time be shown by a diminution rather than an increase of the roll of communicants." Professor Seelye must find better proofs of success than this, if he wishes to convince reasonable minds that the whole missionary enterprise is not a great and costly mistake, a sad waste of money and men and noble enthusiasm well worthy of a better cause.

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The Coming Religion.

A LECTURE DELIVERED IN MUSIC HALL, BOSTON, MARCH 1, 1874, AND REPEATED BEFORE THE RADICAL CLUB, AT MRS. SARGENT'S, MAY 18, 1874.

BY FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

In no century of the world's history has there been greater strength or sincerity of religion than in the nineteenth. Doleful jeremiads are often chanted, as if the state of things were quite otherwise; but they issue chiefly from throats habituated to proclamations of an outgrown gospel. Those who see religion in a faith which can be learned out of a book, and discern little or none elsewhere, see only irreligion in what our posterity will study as a magnificent manifestation of the religious nature of man. Especially are the clerical functionaries who wear the robes of official instructors of the people in spiritual things addicted above all others to ignorance of a great fact immediately under their eyes. What they see, to be sure, is true enough: the people are daily given over more and more to scepticism, rationalism, radicalism, and freethinking of countless shades, and—worst of all—they seem to like it! The author of the inimitable *Essays of Elia* tells of the swineherd Ho-ti and his son Bo-bo, who never tasted roast pig till their house one day burned over their heads, and cooked a whole litter by accident; whereupon, also by accident, they discovered the deliciousness of the new dainty, and thereafter contrived to get up a timely conflagration whenever the old sow farrowed. A similar contentment seems to follow the combustion of the various old religious rookeries which mankind have so long been wont to inhabit: somehow or other, notwithstanding their apparent homelessness in matters of faith, they find a marvellous compensation for the loss, and the combustions go bravely on. This inexplicable resignation alarms the custodians of the people's spiritual interests, and they mourn loudly over the "decay of religion;" whereas nothing has decayed but the miserable shanties under which for a while they housed her. Once escaped from the equivocal shelter of worm-eaten timbers and a roof which only partially hindered direct observation of the heavenly bodies, religion rejoices in her new-found liberty, and begins to grow sound of limb and ruddy of cheek.

Never before were there such multiplied evidences of religious activity as meet us now on every hand. Even the daily papers are obliged to recognize it; they seek to meet a felt public want by reporting Sunday services once a week, and by paying special attention to the meetings of ecclesiastical bodies. But this is a very superficial indication of the fact I refer to. The ministers are right in announcing the presence of a vast amount of doubt, incredulity, indifference, or even vehement rejection, so far as religion in their sense of the word is concerned. Less and less interest is manifested in the mystical enterprise of "coming to Jesus." The attempt to make all human life rotate about the axis of his thought, his influence, his offices, or his salvation, seems daily more and more remote from real human interests, and in fact hostile to them. The word "Christ" is going out of vogue, and the word "humanity" is coming up in its stead. One proof of this is the tendency of the most popular preachers to mean "humanity" when they say "Christ." The hold which such men as Beecher and Murray and Brooks have on the community is very evidently traceable to their humanitarianism, not to their Christology;

and although the name of Jesus is frequent on their lips, in some way they make it felt by their hearers that their real discourse is of to-day and not yesterday,—of the great swarms of living and moving humanity all about them rather than of the one great life now drifted two thousand years in their rear.

But all those who still live in that intensely personal religion which makes Jesus the supreme fact itself, and not a mere symbol or illustration of the supreme fact, grieve over the popularity of such semi-rationalistic preachers as revealing a terrible decay of religion in the public. They are right: the species of religion they believe in is truly decaying, all outward success to the contrary notwithstanding. Churches may multiply, and grow more luxurious, and be more densely thronged; but the resort to luxury only shows that in these incredulous days the church-religion must be baited with elegant upholstery and stained windows and operatic music and fashionable outfits in priest and people, before the hook will be swallowed and the fish hauled in. The austere and solemn faith which once thrived on pine pews, and meeting-houses as cold and bare as barns, has even in the churches only the tradition of life to-day. The "means of grace" are growing so costly that only the rich can afford to be saved; Lazarus revolts with reason against lying at Dives' door to starve on crumbs, while Dives makes his camel trot, head erect, through the needle's eye. So the great surging river of the unchurched swells in volume every day; as Rev. G. J. Mingins, of the New York City Missions, reports, not ten per cent. of the laboring population attend church in that city, and not two per cent. in London. As luxury comes in, religion goes out; and the poor begin to find Christianity as much out of their reach as brown-stone palaces or oyster suppers. What sort of welcome does the poor man find in the magnificent churches on the Back Bay? We all know; he cannot afford to pay for a seat, and usually has too much self-respect to accept a seat on charity. Yet how have those churches been built? The money that built them has been raised chiefly in two ways: *first*, by the sale of real estate formerly occupied by the societies in the business centre of Boston, which they were able to hold, in consequence of tax-exemption, until the rise in its value had made them rich, although the money thus saved from the tax-gatherer was paid in their stead involuntarily by the whole community, and chiefly by the great mass of poor people who are now by the mere fact of poverty shut out of the very churches they have thus been compelled to erect; *secondly*, by the borrowing of great sums of money in order to complete the new edifices in a little more costly and extravagant style than any previously constructed, although these loans now constitute a great burden of debt, which cannot be paid except by exhausting the surplus means of the generous rich, and thus depriving real charities of the aid they so much need. Thus Christianity is becoming every day more and more of a rich-man's religion, and less and less of a poor-man's religion. What wonder that it decays, when it grows so indifferent to the great humanity which it professes it came to save?

The truth is that the intense, solemn, burning faith of our forefathers in the great doctrines of the Gospel, which made them apostles, martyrs, devotees, and enthusiasts of the sternest and most fanatical type, has died out of modern hearts in its pure form, and only survives in the form of a diluted and overstrained sentiment which cannot withstand the multiplying attacks of modern thought. It is this decay of the old intellectual system of Christianity, of the great, coherent structure of Christian dogma, that now drives the churches instinctively to rely on the power of fashion, of luxury, of the still undecayed social *prestige* of their ancient religion. But this is only postponing the evil day. Let the tree's heart go to decay,—let the dry-rot consume its once living centre,—and the death of the branches, green as they may look, is only a question of time. The long wail of the churches themselves, uttered through the mouths of all its preachers who discern the growing apathy or antipathy of mankind to the old fundamental doctrines by which the Christian religion must stand or fall, is pathetic enough to those who dare not look beyond its limits to find truth, light, and hope for the world; but to others it is the herald's trumpet announcing the coming of a better day.

In this decay of religion in its Christian form, I see only an evidence of the indestructible vitality of religion in a better form. My thought is not despondent or fearful, but on the contrary buoyant and full of cheer; and I am here to-day, not to attend the funeral or sing the dirge of a dead religion, but rather to tell you what I have learned of the COMING RELIGION—the new faith that is as old as man, yet lurks still unrecognized in his heart, and only here and there has made a voice for itself in the world. I said at the outset that the nineteenth century is preëminently religious; I believe it; and will now try to show what I mean by such a statement, coupled as it is with the other statement that religion as commonly understood is decaying.

Let me begin by giving you the best definition I can frame of religion—the best because it seems the simplest, the least pedantic, the least abstract. It has been much criticised, and by minds for which I entertain great respect; but I find no better one, none that appears to emphasize so clearly the one essential thing,—the fact that religion means NOBLE HUMAN LIVING, rather than creed, or sentiment, or ceremony. This is the definition I have to offer:—

Religion is the effort of Man to perfect himself in all his relations.

Not simply the effort of a man to perfect himself, though that too is included; but the effort of Man, Humanity, Mankind,—Man with a big M, if you

please,—to reach by faithful and persistent endeavor the goal marked out in human nature itself, and evermore to struggle upwards towards the beautiful, the true, the good, despite all obstacles and discouragements, whether from within or without. So far as you and I are concerned, religion is our individual effort to reach the perfect standard of character which is given in our own highest ideals, and to do all that lies in our little power to bring the whole world also to the same high standard. So far as the world at large is concerned, religion means the collective effort of human society to secure a state of things in which justice, truth, and love shall rule, and to afford to every man, woman, and child the utmost possible assistance in achieving a noble career. Are not these the essential things? Is not he the truly religious man who thus strives to perfect or elevate himself and his race, and to make a heaven here and now as real and complete as the nature of things permits? And is he not religious just in proportion as he makes this effort? If so,—if these are the essential things,—then I think that the definition I give states the prime and all-important fact as simply and as directly as any brief sentence can. I admit, as Mr. Frothingham has said, that it needs to be explained before its fulness of meaning can be taken in; and I have not begun to unfold all that it includes in my own thought. But I cannot help thinking that his own definition—"Religion is the vital relation of the part to the whole"—needs even more explanation before the common mind can take it in. The trouble is that religion means so much that no concise phrase can utter it all; yet a concise phrase which brings out in bold relief its most essential characteristic will be of great practical use. Excellent as other definitions are, and especially excellent as I consider Mr. Frothingham's, I do not think that any one of them sufficiently concentrates attention on the fact that religion is primarily an *effort*, a putting forth of personal and social power, directed towards the one object of making human life here and now truer, better, and more beautiful,—that is, more perfect. To define it as an abstract "recognition," or "attraction," or "relation," takes religion out of the world of real life, in which men are battling for practical objects of all grades of worth or worthlessness, and represents it as something having no connection with them; whereas to define it as the effort of Man to perfect himself brings it into this world of warring ambitions as that which, under whatever phrases it may be described, must stand as the object for which all good men and women live. In general terms, therefore, I can find no definition or description of religion which so forcibly brings out its central characteristic as the one I have given: Religion is the effort of Man to perfect himself.

Let no one be disturbed because religion thus defined does not include an avowal of faith in God and Immortality. If these great ideas are truths, be sure that Man cannot advance very far in the search for truth without finding that out: and no one will say that the search for truth is not a part of the road to perfection. I certainly have no fears for the safety of any truth, and am unreservedly willing to trust those sublime ideas to the custody of the same human mind which has conceived them. The definition of religion now given goes back of and beneath all products of human faculties, and requires the development and cultivation of the faculties themselves. It neither affirms nor denies God and Immortality; but it does affirm the obligation of improving and strengthening the very faculties which in the past have led men to believe in both. The substance of religion itself, the earnest devotion of all our powers to the higher development of our human nature, is common both to theists and atheists; and this fact, so repugnant to the narrow prejudice of the churches, must be clearly seen and openly avowed. If the higher development of human nature shall lead to a profounder belief in God and an intenser hope of Immortality, as I think it will, those who now believe and hope will find their belief and hope confirmed; but if not, it will be because their grounds are weak and false, and will be undermined whether we do or do not affirm them in a definition. No lover of truth has in either case any reason to fear. It remains clear to my own mind that religion itself is a broader and more general fact than theism; and the definition should correspond to the fact. If it be a correct one, then the nurture and culture of the human faculties are more important than the vindication of any of the results they have thus far achieved.

Suppose that a watch-factory has succeeded in turning out work superior to that of any similar factory, yet that the superintendent perceives defects in the watch he makes. What will he naturally endeavor to do, if he finds that his watch is the best he can make under the circumstances? Clearly, he will try to improve his machinery; he will study how to make it more exact, more delicate, more ingenious in obviating the defects he perceives. This is precisely what religion will do, perceiving the defects in human society: it will try to *improve the machinery*,—that is, the human faculties of which society is the result. It will try to develop these faculties to a finer and higher efficiency, sure that in so doing it will provide in the best possible manner for producing a finer result in human society and character. This is, then, my fundamental conception of the nature and scope of religion: that it consists essentially in improving the machinery,—in carrying up to a higher development the elementary powers, capacities, and faculties of universal man, by stimulating his voluntary self-consecration to a nobler effort in this direction.

Such is the aspect of the Coming Religion, looked at in a large and comprehensive way. But I do not

mean to leave my subject here, in the region of mere general statements. Kindle the fires of deep religious purpose in a single human soul, and they will quicken, warm, and inspire him to very definite activities. Set them blazing in many souls, and they will illuminate the world with the light of a great historic movement. The Coming Religion, kindling the heart of man with the grand aspiration for fuller and finer being, will urge him forward and upward in many ways:—

1. The perfection of the human intellect must come first, being first in the order of nature. Nothing can be done, either for good or ill, without intelligence. To strengthen this, to increase knowledge, to promote the discovery of truth by rendering keener and more far-sighted the eyes that are searching for it, is important above all things. The religion of the past has always been, and still is, jealous of the intellect; it has branded it as "carnal reason," and, loading it with chains, set it to hewing wood and drawing water in the service of false and gloomy creeds; it has anathematized the "pride of intellect," till the poor world dared not think at all without a shudder and a fearful glance over the shoulder, as if the Arch-Fiend were about to swoop down upon it astride of a thunder-bolt. Christianity has so long been ashamed of brain that it has no cause to complain now, if brain is ashamed of it. The first care of the Coming Religion will be to educate, enlarge, develop, strengthen, and encourage the activity of the human mind. Nothing shall be sacred from the peering eye of thought, which has a permit from Nature herself to go wherever it can. The "Church of the Future" is something I am very chary of mentioning, having more than a suspicion that what is coming will be so utterly unlike the Church as to make the name a misnomer. But of one thing I am sure: if there is to be a Church, its corner-stone, aye, the stones of all four of its corners, will be EDUCATION. Schools and colleges of a better sort than any now existing, in which the freedom of mind that to-day is only a hope and a dream will be the atmosphere breathed by all lungs, will be everywhere; nobody will fancy he can bring up his child in ignorance, any more than he will fancy he can put out its eyes or lop off its feet; and nobody will grumble at paying his school-taxes. The Coming Religion will have such reverence for truth, such hunger for knowledge, and such respect for intellect, by which alone truth and knowledge can be won, that a man who cannot read shall be as great a curiosity as a two-headed calf, and make the fortune of the "Barnum of the Future," if the Barnum species shall not then be as extinct as the dodo.

2. But reverence for conscience will come with the Coming Religion, as surely as reverence for intellect. The defalcations and betrayals of trust that now disgrace the commercial world, the corruption and venality that make politics a miasmatic swamp in which all virtue seems to sicken and die about the third day, the extravagance, heartlessness, and emptiness of fashionable life, will perish in a purer air. If the Coming Religion had arrived, the "young Christian soldier" would not to-day be Collector of the Port of Boston. It will bring by and by a high and stern integrity in all private, business, and political circles, a spirit of justice between man and man, a loftiness of aim and an earnestness of purpose, of which some noble examples can be found in the crowds about us, but which stand out with painful conspicuousness in the average life of this so-called Christian country. The cliques squabbling for the spoils in all public places, the rings plotting everywhere to grow fat on stolen funds, the unscrupulous competitions and enmities which make business too often a free fight in which every honest man is in danger of being scalped, show to any observant mind the need of a great revival of something better than religion, if religion means only what the world has hitherto known by that name. Justice, honesty, truthfulness, forbearance, good-will, unselfishness,—these are the great needs of the hour, not five-hundred-thousand-dollar meeting-houses, and choirs that mistake them for theatres; and the Coming Religion will recall men's attention to the unheeded *gospel of conscience*.

3. No less than intellect and conscience, the Coming Religion will emphasize the need of force of will, strength of character, well developed and powerful individuality. The tendency of all democracies is to invest the opinion of the majority with something of the sanctity which cleaves to the "divine right" of kings. It is a tendency which needs to be counteracted, or the republic will become a bag of nickels, each one a fac-simile of its fellows. Not only in the national and State governments is there need of a higher principle, but the self-government of the individual should also be so administered as to ensure self-respect. The sanctity of freedom in the formation and expression of opinions,—the right of each individual to follow out the dictates of his own mind, so long as they impel to no infringement on the rights of others,—the need of private energy and force of character, if the community is to be anything better than a flock of sheep following its leader blindly and aimlessly over the wall,—all this is part and parcel of the Coming Religion, which takes each person as it finds him, and simply aims to make the most of him by fostering all his faculties in their due proportion and right relation.

4. So, too, the human affections which light up this world with so much of tender beauty and gentle splendor, cheering us on every side as we walk through life's entanglements, and shining like the stars above us when the night comes to withdraw from us the glaring light of day,—these are sacraments of the Coming Religion. They are too often neglected in the strife of eager passions; men compete so frantically with each other that the uproar and confusion of affairs drown the claims of their milder nature, and so they grow crabbed and cold,

like Scrooge in the exquisite tale of Dickens. Friendship has its claims, and he who knows not the value of a friend, nor counts it as above all price,—who never glows with the generous devotion that friendship kindles, nor stands ready to sacrifice all but honor and truth in its behalf,—has a great vacuum in his being which Nature most assuredly abhors, or, if Nature is too busy to attend to his case, then humanity at the least. Broaden out this grand and simple sentiment of friendship till it becomes goodwill to all,—and you have universal fraternity, the most precious dream of every noble spirit, and one which the Coming Religion consecrates as the great golden hope of the future. In all their countless aspects, the affections, rightly directed, come to elevate, purify, sweeten, and expand existence, and to whisper benedictions in the ear which it seems like profanation to talk about in public places.

Thus in its effort to perfect the individual man, the Coming Religion wakens his intellect, rouses his conscience, invigorates his will, feeds his affections; it develops and fertilizes his whole being, making even the wilderness blossom like the rose, and bringing abundant harvests of good out of what the Christian religion had condemned as irretrievably worthless and totally depraved. But it does not stop with the effort to be as the dew and the sunshine to his parched and barren character; it seeks to rectify the wretched social conditions which have made it impossible for him to grow up into a rich fulfilment of his own nature, and thus strives to free him from the burdens of a fate which his mere will is powerless to overcome. When society has caught the inspiration and learned the lessons of the Coming Religion, it will set about studying the laws which govern its own development, with the avowed intent of bettering the conditions surrounding its own members to the utmost extent of its combined power. These outward conditions of life are not to be made sweet and health-giving by any one man's exertions: it will take the aid of all, their hearts all aglow with the same deep enthusiasm of humanity, to prepare the soil in which characters of the finest possible beauty and productiveness shall grow. The combined wisdom, zeal, and resources of a whole race will yet work greater miracles than any ascribed in questionable books to questionable deities.

1. First of all come the conditions of physical health—the sanitary laws which ignorance may break, but which all the prayers of Christendom cannot mend. Good air, good food, good exercise, good surroundings of all kinds; good parents first of all, then good companions, good instructors, good opportunities for obeying the laws of physical well-being. The Coming Religion will make a cleaner sweep through the tenement houses and crowded, fetid, unhealthy homes of all our great cities than the Great Fire of 1872 made through the business quarters of Boston. Dwelling-houses, school-houses, public halls, churches, all will be built as they ought to be, with due regard to dryness, ventilation, comfort, and decency. Who can expect good morals anywhere, if the physical surroundings fore-ordain disease and crime? Let us make up our minds to an immense revolution in all these things, when the Coming Religion gets fairly launched on this planet.

2. The political conditions will be scarcely less changed, when that longed-for day arrives. Farewell then to caucus-rule and the tyranny of rings! What sort of free government is this, when the manifest will of a great city cannot secure the officials of its choice? Republicanism will be the deadest of all dead failures, if it proves unable to put good men into public office. Turn upon this problem all the light of the best minds, until some system is devised by which virtue and capacity, not knavery and ignorance, shall be put into places of trust and profit. Hang your flags at half-mast, if the present state of things is the best possible; for liberty is dead, and honesty is chief mourner. Revolution itself will be no remedy, if the people have not sense and virtue enough to take care of their own supreme interests.

3. The social or industrial conditions will be so arranged, when the Coming Religion has at last come, that buyers and sellers, employers and employed, shall no longer be arrayed in deadly hostility each to the other. While monopolies rule, and great corporations buy up Congresses and State Legislatures at pleasure,—while immense strikes and communistic outbreaks are the order of the day,—what chance is there for a free and self-respecting humanity? I look for no help from eight-hour laws which are to override all freedom of private contract,—or from trades-unions which exercise the fiercest and stupidest of despotisms both over their own members and their outside fellow-craftsmen,—or from labor-reforms which fly in the face of the best-established laws of political economy, when these laws are no more under the control of human volition than are the laws of celestial mechanics. It is time for the Coming Religion to put in an appearance before society goes to pieces under the disintegrating action of widespread ignorance,—time for it to educate the people, and all the people, in the elements of social science,—time for it to teach capitalists that all their wealth, over and above the small amount requisite to give them food, clothes, and shelter, is (morally considered) held *in trust* by them for public uses, and that it is no voluntary exercise of condescending charity, but rather the fulfilment of the simplest and clearest duty, to devote it to the general good in rational ways,—time for it to teach laborers that their hope of redress from all their wrongs and woes lies in an intelligent co-operation which shall make the universal good, not their own private good, the object of their efforts. Knowledge, knowledge, knowledge,—that is what the people need, whether rich or poor; knowledge of social, politico-economical, and above all moral laws, to the end that

justice rather than private greed or class-jealousy may govern all their action. No man has a moral right to more than he can use; every man has a right to that. The rich owe it to humanity to use their surplus for humanity's good: the poor have indeed a claim for the just re-distribution of wealth which they too have helped to create.

4. Lastly, the conditions of domestic life need also to be greatly changed by the Coming Religion of justice, purity, and love. Marriage is rightly enough a civil contract before the law—a contract of a very special kind, inasmuch as it brings into being third parties whose rights vitally affect the contract itself. So far as is possible without great detriment to society, the marriage contract ought to be subject to dissolution, provided the dissolution is as public, and as voluntary on both sides, as the original contract. But the case is one of great delicacy. The object of marriage is to establish *homes*; and the sanctity and preservation of this institution of homes, in all safety, purity, and happiness, are interests of such transcendent importance to the whole community that they can not be disregarded without deep and widespread mischief. Although a purely civil contract before the law, marriage ought to be a religious contract between the parties themselves,—not to be lightly formed, not to be lightly broken, but to be revered as creating the most sacred relation into which two human beings can enter. Where there are no children, actual or prospective, I think society might with safety to itself permit the dissolution of the marriage contract on the publicly recorded agreement of both parties, duly made according to forms of law. Where children exist, I think divorce might be safely permitted only on condition that the parties themselves previously provide, by mutual agreement, for the proper support and care of the children; and, except in rare cases, I would have no divorce legal, and no application for divorce considered by the courts, before this agreement had been made in writing, signed by both parties with witnesses, and with due security for its execution. This would prevent separation until the parties had fully considered all the consequences of it, to themselves and others, and effectually guarded society from the burden of supporting children unprovided for by the parents. It would also prevent the harrowing contests in the courts, after divorce had been granted, respecting the custody of children. But all these miserable attempts to rectify the evils of ill-assorted marriages, which can never be fully rectified in any way, only bring out vividly the need of greater wisdom and greater elevation of motive in the formation of all marriages. The Coming Religion will invest the marriage tie with such grave responsibility and solemn significance, that divorce under almost any circumstances will be a social disgrace to one or both of the parties divorced; and this is well. This being the case, the laws should deal only with the external relation, and the consequences they directly involve with respect to society at large; and I think that the suggestions I have made will be found worthy of thoughtful and dispassionate reflection.

Such appear to be the chief social conditions which the Coming Religion will not fail to consider, and more or less profoundly to affect. It must not only develop the individual, but also the social life of man, in accordance with the necessary conditions imposed by his own nature and the nature of things. This brings me very briefly to touch on the relations which man bears to the universe as a whole, which can nowise be neglected by the Coming Religion.

The harmony of the private life with itself can be secured only by the full and proportionate development of all the faculties of the individual. The harmony of the social life of man with itself can only be secured by the full and proportionate development of all individuals, with the highest freedom of each that is compatible with the equal freedom of all. The harmony of human life, both in its individual and social aspect, with the great whole of universal Nature, can only be secured by complete conformity with the laws, physical and moral, which govern this universal whole. Knowledge of these universal laws is called science; and voluntary obedience to them by man might well be called religion, since thus alone he can attain to the perfection which it is the effort of all religion to realize. Now this harmony of man with Nature is most complete when most conscious, free, and glad; and it follows that he will be in the highest sense religious who enters willingly, cheerfully, and gladly into the relation of entire harmony between himself and the universal All. Names are of small moment, when ideas of such sublimity engage our thoughts; yet I freely confess to you that no name for this universal All, with which every rational and sincere mind desires most profoundly to be at peace, is so sweet, so satisfying, so true, as the name of God. Believing as I do that the universal All is as truly one with itself as I am one with myself, and that this oneness is only possible in the sense of being spiritual in nature, I find great elevation and dignity in the thought that God is the great reality of which all minor realities are parts or elements. So far as I may venture to give you my own conjectures of what the Coming Religion may be, I find my thought leading me irresistibly to the conclusion that voluntary oneness with this Infinite One, this Spiritual Unity of the All, is the supreme idea, aspiration, and joy of the Coming Religion, including as it does every element of that perfection which all true religion aims to realize. In it my intellect and my heart alike find the satisfaction of all their cravings; and, be my future what it may, I am content to leave my destiny, without misgivings of any kind, to the final arbitrament of the Power which pervades the All, which has made me what I am, which calls me to profound oneness with itself, and which, in the immensity of my own ignorance, I can call by no better name than God.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

"THE SONG OF THE ANGELS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Having lately read John Stuart Mill's *Three Essays on Religion*, and it being Christmas day, I am strongly reminded of a different religious essay, now forty years old, by Rev. Enoch Pond, Professor of Theology in Bangor, Maine. My attention was specially attracted in 1834 to this latter essay, entitled "The Song of the Angels," because in the third number of the *Literary and Theological Review*, edited by Leonard Woods, Jr., it immediately preceded an article by Eleazar Lord, Esq., of New York, "On Special Efforts by the Church to Subvert the Unhallowed Institutions of the World." In this article, that pious and distinguished layman washed the hands of the Christian Church of this "Christian" century of any obligation or intent to make any "special effort" to subvert the institution of slavery, then beginning to be considered rather "unhallowed," even by some of the "world's" people. And why should the Church subvert it, when some individual churches held slave property, and thousands of church-members were slave-holders? He, in fact, came down upon the wicked abolitionists who were church-members, as I then was, with a solemnity of admonition to keep quiet, which those of us who are still living cannot have forgotten.

The preceding article of Prof. Pond was undoubtedly a sermon which had been preached from the Congregational pulpit of that day. I think there are not many Congregational pulpits where anybody would dare to preach it to-day, though it is from a Christmas text. Indeed, I doubt whether its reproduction in the *Congregationalist* newspaper could now be procured short of its highest advertising price, if at that. I would willingly subscribe a little to have the experiment tried. The Church, like the rest of the world, has moved in forty years.

The text of Prof. Pond's discourse was that memorable passage, the fourteenth verse of the second chapter of Luke's gospel, of double or doubtful reading in the Greek, which has been a bone of contention among theologians for centuries, or ever since Origen and Chrysostom. King James' translators make nothing of it but this:—

"Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward men."

The vexed question among the translators and commentators has been, whether the historian Luke meant to put in the mouths of his alleged celestial visitants merely an ascription of thanks to God for the peace and brotherhood to come among men generally as a consequence of the birth of Mary's child, or only for the salvation from hell which was to come to the elect, or to the men who, being predestined from all eternity to be so saved, should have the "good-will" or disposition to accept the terms of salvation. The learned professor does not enter into the exegetical quarrel, but obviously takes the passage in the last-mentioned sense.

He confesses himself exceedingly puzzled to see how an omnipotent and infinitely benevolent God should allow sin and misery to triumph eternally over a large portion of the angelic and human races. It is too much for his reason, and he is obliged to rest it entirely on divine revelation. In doing so he seems to be delightfully satisfied that God will get glory and praise enough from the whole universe for the infinite ingenuity of his plan of redemption, applied only to the people of this little planet, to compensate for any inconvenience which fallen angels or lost men may suffer—miserable sinners whose mouths will be eternally stopped by the fact that they *might have been saved*—the angels, if they had only been born men, and the men if they had only heard of the gospel and accepted it. The professor does not state, but rather leaves it to be inferred, that, so far as the moral creations of God are concerned, the happiness of the universe, *minus* the sufferings of hell, exceeds that of any universe the omnipotent could have made without a hell.

Prof. Pond's earnestness in the absurd faith of a God so horribly anthropomorphic is very touching, and I cannot even now help regarding it with a great deal of respect and reverence. But oh, how useless, if not worse! A Church founded on this faith had been in the world almost two thousand years, had been reformed and re-reformed, and yet it refused to make any special effort to subvert slavery, and left all such efforts to be made outside of it.

This curious relic of New England theology forty years ago may doubtless be found in the Congregational library of this city, and is well worth reading in connection with Mill's essays, by anybody. I enclose a few pages of the "Song of the Angels," which have escaped the teeth of time and mice in my garret, in the hope that you will make some extracts that will interest, if they do not convert, your readers.

ELIZUR WRIGHT.

MEDFORD, Dec. 25, 1874.

EXTRACTS FROM "THE SONG OF THE ANGELS."

I have hinted already at the displays of justice which were made in the punishment of fallen angels, before man was created, or his redemption was revealed. But the justice displayed in the punishment of these angels cannot be so illustrious or glorious as that manifested in the punishment of those who have done what the ruined angels never did—who have not only broken the law of God, but trodden under foot his Son, and done despite to the spirit of his grace.

Connected with the song of the angels, as it has been here explained, are several important subjects which require attention. And,

1. It appears from what has been said, that some good reasons may be assigned for the existence of sin. I am aware that the existence of sin—that abominable thing which God hates,—in a world sustained and controlled by his wisdom and power, is a deep and mysterious subject; too deep in some of its bearings to be sounded by the brief

line of human reason. I am aware, also, of the danger of meddling with subjects that are too high for us, and of roaming abroad in but speculations beyond the limits of knowable things. But if secret things belong unto God, those which are revealed belong to us and our children. And if any light can be gathered from revelation in regard to this great and difficult subject, surely we have a right to gather it.

Some have supposed that God permitted sin because he could not exclude it, and have a moral system; or, in other words, that if he created worlds, and peopled them with free moral agents, the existence of sin would be an inevitable consequence. He could hedge it about, and reduce it within the narrowest possible limits; but if there were free moral agents, there must be sin; and the sin which actually exists in the universe is the least that a God of infinite perfection and power could possibly make it.

With this explanation, I hardly need say, I am not satisfied. If it removes one difficulty, it plunges us into others which are far greater. If God could not have prevented the existence of sin, with what propriety do we speak of his permitting it? How permit that which he could not prevent? We might as well talk about permitting the sun to rise in the east rather than in the west; or permitting water to run down hill rather than up. Besides: if God could not have excluded sin from the created universe, then where is his government over the moral world? And what are we to do with those numerous and unqualified declarations of Scripture, which represent the hearts of men as in his hand as the rivers of water, to turn them whithersoever he will?

If God governs the moral world by a direct efficiency, he certainly could have excluded sin. This is, on all sides, admitted. Or, if we reject this theory, and suppose that he has no control over the hearts of creatures but by the presentation of motives, the same conclusion seems to me inevitable. For are not the motives in favor of right doing intrinsically stronger than those in favor of wrong doing, in every supposable case? And could not God, if he were to put in requisition all the resources of his wisdom and power, so present the motives in favor of right doing as to make them appear stronger than those in favor of wrong doing, in every case; and thus exclude the wrong perpetually, and secure the will of the creature forever on the side of right?

The theory that if God had undertaken to exclude sin from the universe he would not have had motives enough to do it seems to me to involve an inherent absurdity. For is not sin, in every instance, a breaking through of powerful motives and strong obligations—so strong as to render the perpetrator deserving of eternal condemnation? Is not as much as this implied in the very idea of sin? And yet, according to the supposition, sin entered the universe, and continues in it, from a lack of motives to prevent it. If God had undertaken to exclude it, he must, from a want of motives, have been unable to accomplish his design.

If sin entered the universe for this reason, I submit whether it would not cease to be sin, and whether the agent in it might not be excused, and even justified? How could he be to blame in doing that for the avoiding of which there were no sufficient motives in existence, which were or could be presented to his mind?

But I design not to dwell on this view of the subject. Suffice it to say that I reject the theory which accounts for the existence of sin on the ground that God could not have excluded it, consistently with the free agency of creatures, as one that involves far greater difficulties than those which it attempts to remove. We are under the necessity, therefore, either of considering the existence of sin as altogether unaccountable, or of resorting to some other mode of accounting for it. And happily we discover light beaming into the otherwise impenetrable darkness from the views which have been presented in the foregoing remarks. There is glory to God in the highest, in that there is peace on earth and good-will to men. The great work of redemption by Christ is calculated to advance the glory of God in the highest possible degree. But obviously there could have been no redemption if there had been no sin. Redeem what, whom, if there had been no sinners—lost, guilty creatures, who needed the interposition of an almighty Redeemer? God permitted sin, therefore, as it seems to me, because without it there would have been no room or occasion for redemption; and without redemption the glory of God could not have been displayed in the highest possible degree. The song of "Glory to God in the highest" in this case could never have been sung.

Do any say that this is changing the very nature of sin, and representing it as a good thing? But we urge, in reply, that the whole view which has been given necessarily supposes that sin is a bad thing—the worst of all things. Sinners would not need to be redeemed from that which was good. They would not need the precious blood of Christ to cleanse them from sin, if sin was not in its nature polluting, and if they were not polluted and vile.

Or will any say that according to the views which have been presented sin is the necessary means of the greatest good? But neither is this to be admitted, at least in the ordinary acceptance of the terms. A means always stands related to some end, and has a tendency to promote that end; whereas sin has no tendency to promote the greatest good, but all its tendencies are the other way. They are to evil, and only evil, and that continually. And it is only by being counteracted in its evil tendencies—it is only by a process of recovery and redemption from sin—that it becomes indirectly an occasion of showing forth the glory of the Supreme Disposer.

That the subject here considered is an embarrassing one, and that in some points of view there are difficulties attending it, no one will be disposed to deny. In the investigation of such a subject, it might be expected that there would be difficulties. But that the views which have been exhibited—the same, for substance, with those of Bellamy and his associates—are in unison with the great principles of revealed truth, and are based upon them; that they are attended with less difficulties than some which have been more recently advocated; and that they will bear the test of a thorough examination I have the fullest confidence.

2. It follows from what has been said that the great plan of Providence which God formed in eternity and is carrying into effect throughout the universe is the best one conceivable. It is believed by all Christians who make pretensions to Orthodoxy, that God has an eternal and universal plan, according to which events are taking place in every part of the universe. But it is doubted by some whether this is the best conceivable plan. It is admitted that it is the best practicable one—the best that God could carry into effect. But could he not conceive of a plan which should embrace all the good of the present system, with none of its evils—a plan which should have excluded sin and misery forever? To this I answer that God certainly could not have conceived of a plan which should embrace all the blessings which flow from redemption, and still not include redemption. And he could not have conceived of a plan which should include redemption, and still not include sin. In other words, he could not have conceived of a thing which, in itself, is inconceivable and impossible. Without doubt, God could have conceived of a plan, and might have adopted it, which should have excluded sin. But in excluding sin, it must have excluded redemption from sin, and all the surpassing, overbalancing blessings which flow to the universe in consequence of redemption; so that such a plan must have been, not better than that which is going into operation, but greatly inferior to it.

On the whole, we may conclude confidently that the existing plan of Providence is not only the best one practicable, but the best one conceivable. To be sure, it embraces incidental evils, but no more than can be overruled for a greater good; so that the system, as a whole, is one in which the infinite mind of the Deity rests with entire complacency. He sees that it must result in the highest glory to himself, and in the greatest blessings to the universe; that it secures, in the end, the utmost conceivable amount

of good; and, as I said, the Infinite Mind rests in it with entire complacency.

Unless we take this view of the great plan of Providence, I see not how the Supreme Being can be happy. Suppose we take the other view, and say, "The plan of God is not the best one conceivable, but the best one practicable. He can conceive of something a great deal better, but if he had undertaken to accomplish it, he could not have succeeded. He is doing for the universe, not the best that he would, but the best that he can." And now I appeal to my Christian readers, Is this view of God pleasant to you? Or do you believe that, under such circumstances, a being occupying the place of God, and possessed of such perfections as we ascribe to him, could be satisfied with himself, or with the course he is pursuing, or that he could enjoy his existence at all? Do you imagine that he could be, in this case, what all Christians must believe that he is, infinitely happy as well as holy—the infinitely blessed God?

4. There is reason to believe, in view of what has been said, that this earth is an object of intense interest to the inhabitants of other worlds. We know not that redemption has been accomplished in any world but this. Indeed, we have no reason to suppose that such has been the fact. Why should it have been? Christ could add nothing to the glory or the moral effect of his sacrifice, were he to repeat it a thousand times. It seems necessary only that the story of redemption should be told in other worlds—that the wonders of mercy which have been accomplished here should be unfolded; and when this is done the heart of the Deity is at once opened, and his glory beams forth upon other intelligences as it does upon ourselves. And that this mighty subject has been unfolded to the view of myriads now invisible to us, and that in consequence of this their eyes are all turned and their interests bended downwards upon earth, there can be no doubt.

This earth is physically but an insignificant part of the material universe—a little island in an infinite ocean of space, a little province of an unbounded empire. And yet we know that to the inhabitants of other worlds it is a most interesting spot. I have sometimes thought of it, not indeed as the sun of the created universe, but rather as the silver moon. It shines with a reflected light; but yet it is all radiant with the glory of God, and is pouring forth light upon a multitude of topics connected with the divine character and conduct which otherwise must have remained in impenetrable darkness.

Redemption—whatever my readers may have been accustomed to think of it,—redemption is the glory of earth. And it is glory enough for one world to have been the theatre of such mighty achievements, and to be the centre of such engrossing interests. And oh! why are not men more deeply interested in this great work of redemption? When the inhabitants of other worlds are so deeply interested, why are the inhabitants of this so profoundly indifferent? Men, and not angels, are the subjects of redeeming mercy. It was for men, and not angels, that the Son of God came down and died. And yet, when angels are all intent, desiring to look into these things, men neglect them; men trifle with them; men, in thousands of instances, care nothing about them! Shame on such unaccountable stupidity and blindness! The conduct of the great mass of our fellow-men in this life, in treating the mighty subject of redemption as they do, must render them the shame, and I had almost said the scorn, of the intelligent universe.

6. It appears from what has been said, that those of our race who enjoy the offers of redeeming mercy and slight them, and finally perish in their sins, will be among the most despicable and miserable of all the creatures of God. For it will be known through the universe what opportunities they have enjoyed, and what they have abused; what distinguished mercy has been shown them, and how they have slighted it; and of all the wretched inhabitants of the lower world they will be regarded as least entitled to the sympathy and commiseration of their fellow-beings. The degraded heathen will look far down upon them and say, "If we had heard the same calls as you—if the privileges which you enjoyed had been bestowed upon us,—long ago should we have repented in sackcloth and ashes." And even the devils will stand aloof from these ruined despisers of Gospel grace, and reproach them with being more guilty and detestable than themselves. "You have done that," they will say, "which we never did. We only transgressed the law of God; but you—fools that you were,—you added to this rejection of the Gospel. You slighted offers, and resisted means, and trod under foot the Son of God. Complain not, then, that your prisons are deeper than ours, and that you are doomed to sink under a severer condemnation."

It is a dreadful thing to be a fallen angel, and to be reserved, as these angels are, in chains, under darkness, to the judgment of the great day. But it is a more dreadful thing to be a finally condemned and ruined sinner from under the Gospel. O yes, if I must go to the world of woe, let me be a demon of darkness—let me be anything—rather than to stand in the miserable company of those who have beheld and despised, and wondered, and perished, from under the glorious light and privileges of the Gospel. For such sinners must have reflections, tormenting reflections—they must have sources of anguish, bitter anguish, which none other among the damned ever can have. They must be emphatically the reproach and the scorn of the universe.

Does the eye of any impenitent sinner fall upon this page, and run over these fearful, monitory words? Oh, let him beware, lest all the evil, and more than all that has here been described, fall speedily upon him! Let him be wise, and take warning while he may. The door of mercy is still open. The call of mercy is yet sounding in his ears. Let him yield, then, to the motives of the Gospel, and the strivings of the spirit, and press into the kingdom of Christ before the doors of this kingdom are closed upon him, and he is lost forever.

A CONFUSED ORTHODOXY.

Strayed or stolen, New England Congregationalism, for whose recovery a liberal reward will be paid by President Asa D. Smith, of Dartmouth College. According to the subscriber's best recollection and belief, the creature bore the marks of the following creed, as written out by him for the *Congregationalist*, but which, being rejected by that paper, first appeared in the *New York Observer*:—

1. Total depravity, or, with whatever natural amiableness, the utter destitution of holiness. 2. The proper divinity of Christ. 3. The atonement, as a vicarious sacrifice for the sins of men. 4. Election, or the eternal purpose of God to save those whom he actually saves. 5. Regeneration, or the renewal of the heart by the Holy Spirit. 6. Justification, not on the ground of merit, but by faith alone. 7. The perseverance unto the end, through the promised grace of God, of all who are truly renewed. 8. The endless punishment of the finally impenitent.

It seems that President Smith is strongly under the impression that this strange beast is still roaming up and down the New England hillsides, while the *Congregationalist* newspaper regards him as extinct as the dodo, or at best as rare as the bear (*ursus americanus*). We wish to have it distinctly understood that it is not Dr. Smith who is lost. Like the

Indian who was wandering in the woods, he would say: Indian no lost, Indian here; wigwam lost.

The particular utterance which gave rise to this affair was the declaration of the *Congregationalist* that "all accurately informed persons know very well that both the Unitarians and Orthodox have moved from their positions of doctrine and of practice of fifty years ago so far that there is nearly as much difference to-day between the present posture of each and that which it formerly occupied as there was then between each and the other—probably more than there now is between each and the other. Both have changed ground; and each has approached the other." Strange to say, the liberality of the *Congregationalist* is thoroughly endorsed by a no less straight-backed Presbyterian organ than the *Chicago Interior*. Perhaps Dr. Smith has not heard of the recent action of the Connecticut Congregational clergy, advising their churches to "let up" on the points for which he is so strenuous. Orthodoxy in the Granite State partakes of the primitive nature of the rocks, and is still proud of its igneous origin, but down this way it begins to show the effects of milder agencies. We suspect that even Dr. Smith, if he were asked to give an intelligent heathen his interpretation of Christianity, would find a good deal to say before he got to those eight points which he says were so dwelt upon in the lectures at the "Brimstone Church." But when he is expounding the gospel to his neighbors and students, he passes along the stone first, and we fear the hour is up sometimes before the bread is brought on. That is the way it used to be done, perhaps we ought to say; for of President Smith's personal dispensation we only know enough to incline us to a more favorable presumption.—*Springfield Republican*.

MR. GLADSTONE AND THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

LONDON, Nov. 18, 1874.

The discussion between Mr. Gladstone and the Roman Catholics is the sensation of the day. What adds bitterness to the controversy is that the apple of discord cast by Mr. Gladstone has affected the Roman Catholics in their relations to each other. That there should be an impassable chasm between them and Protestants is a matter of course; but that they should be at enmity among themselves was what many persons never anticipated. In reality, there is as little harmony and brotherly love between the old English Catholics and the more recent converts, and also the Irish Catholics, as there is between the extreme members of the Church of England and the Nonconformists. The Old Catholic families of England are quite as indisposed now to submit implicitly to the Pope as their ancestors were in days anterior to the Reformation. They have always been able to draw a line of demarcation between their religious and civil duties, and to refuse priestly dictation in the latter sphere as heartily as they accept it in the former. Thus it is easy for some of them, such as Lord Acton and Lord Camoys, to write to the *Times* and say that they do not yield allegiance to the Pope in other than purely spiritual matters, while more recent converts, such as the Marquis of Bute and the Marquis of Ripon, dare not make any such avowal. To have been the instrument of showing how little unity there was in the Roman Catholic camp, as Mr. Gladstone has been, is an unpardonable offence in the eyes of the ultramontanes. His pamphlet will do more than cause much talk for a few days. Its practical effect will be to alter in a thorough and final manner the relations of Roman Catholics to the liberal party. Since the days of Charles James Fox it has been customary for Roman Catholics to call themselves and to act as liberals in politics. They did so because the Tories had imposed disabilities upon them, and refused to admit them to the full privileges of citizenship. The liberals, though as antagonistic to the Catholics on religious grounds as the Tories themselves, held the principle that a man's religious belief was a matter with which the government had no concern, and thus they argued and strove for the removal of all badges of inferiority alike from the followers of the Pope, of Wesley, and of Priestley.

It was natural that Roman Catholics should ally themselves with those who were their friends, and hence the party which has been led in turn by Fox, Lord Grey, Lord Russell, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Gladstone, should have had many supporters among the Roman Catholics both in and out of Parliament. Now, however, the case is altered. There is no political privilege enjoyed by members of the Church of England, which cannot be enjoyed on the same terms by any dissenter. I need hardly add that a Roman Catholic cannot sit upon the throne; but this cannot be classed among serious grievances; at all events, it is not a greater grievance than that which vexes many dissenters; namely, the establishment of the Church of England as the Church of the State. But the Roman Catholics of late years have been disposed to press their claims for something which would make them superior to their fellows who are Protestants, and they have aimed, particularly in Ireland, at dictating what shall be done to please them. Their views have been directed toward the advancement of their Church rather than the benefit of the country, and to execute whatever the Pope had enjoined. Members of the liberal party have been reluctant to say that they are no longer disposed to legislate in the interest of Roman Catholics. But now that Mr. Gladstone has put the case as he has done in his pamphlet, it will be easy for the alliance between the liberals and the Roman Catholics to be logically ended. Having nothing but fair play to hope for at the hands of the liberals, and having not even fair play to expect from the Tories, the Roman Catholics will now form a small band of

men taking their instructions from the Pope, and making ineffectual attempts to gain the superiority over their Protestant brethren. The ultramontane leaders are not pleased at the prospect. They know that there is neither any likelihood nor any reason for Mr. Gladstone adopting the policy of Prince Bismarck, were he again in office, but they think it quite as damning to their hopes that he should have made it a condition for Roman Catholics to be accepted as members of the liberal party to declare that they are Englishmen first and Catholics afterwards. This explanation was needed, I think, to enable those at a distance to understand the real significance of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, and to exhibit how fruitful it may prove of results of national importance.—*Advertiser*.

COLONEL FORNEY, in his letter to the *Philadelphia Press*, thus describes Mr. Conway:—

"Another character seems to stand in a curious relation to this bitter controversy between the theologians. That is the strangely gifted and wholly original Moncure D. Conway, the head of the materialistic congregation at South Place Chapel, Finsbury, the temple in which for many years preached the celebrated W. J. Fox. Mr. Conway is a Virginian, who came here first as an advanced advocate of the Union cause seven years ago. Having been previously well-known in our country for the great ability with which he resisted the productions of slavery and took issue with the peculiar doctrines of the politicians in his native State, the prominence with which he identified himself with the North in London soon gave him a large hold among certain advanced thinkers, who have always sympathized with America.

"His ability is conceded to be of the highest order, and when I sat under him last Sunday I could not restrain my admiration of his genius. A tall, spare man of about forty, with a most intellectual yet ascetic face, closely resembling John A. Kasson of Iowa, member of the present Congress, his oratory is quite unpretending, rarely rising to declamation, and only when presenting his strongest point expressing intensity. He is of the materialistic school, in fact a bow-shot beyond John Stuart Mill in his theism, rejecting a personal deity and insisting that what we called God is within us—our inner conception, manifested by our aspirations after truth. It was a novel sensation to follow this brilliant student and scholar through his intricate reasonings in support of this position, and to mark the effect of his rhetoric upon his large and thoughtful audience, most of whom belonged to the better classes. They accept his platform with enthusiasm, and as most of them are people of rare culture, their number is rapidly increasing."

THE Church is yet to learn that its chief work is to be done by consecrated men of ordinary calibre. Great speeches never marshalled a host. An eminent Scotch divine getting into the pulpit after a week's elaboration of a learned discourse forgot it entirely, and was compelled to give a plain talk which, under God, swept half his audience into the kingdom. There is an absurd call in the Church to-day for what are called "big guns," and but little appreciation of well-loaded rifles. The "swamp angel" in the last war was a failure. It proposed to do great things; but after a while they found it was cracked, and were afraid to use it lest it blow up. So while men of but small capacity are doing their work well, and make no fuss about it, we have a few "big guns" half cracked with conceit about themselves, and they blow up just when they are wanted for important service. The nuisance of the Church to-day is ecclesiastical "swamp angels." Doctor Chalmers' astronomical sermons "make us see stars," but we suppose there were, at the time of their delivery, uncelebrated ministers of Christ in Scotland who were bringing more souls to the Saviour.—*Christian at Work*.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 2.

Cornelius Wellington, \$10; J. Merritt, \$5; John Hiatt, \$5; A. S. Latty, \$4.05; Lizzie Martin, \$3; E. D. Stark, \$10; Merritt Peckham, \$1.75; L. C. Sleeper, \$1.50; F. H. Lindsley, \$4.30; C. F. Simonds, 30 cents; F. Loesser, \$2; W. N. Clark, \$10; W. E. Luskens, \$2.02; A. G. Seymour, \$3.20; Jas. W. White, \$3.20; M. F. Wheathead, 25 cents; W. M. Sharpe, \$2.15; Hospital Soldiers Home, 20 cents; F. O. Dorr, \$3; Asa Horr, \$3.20; J. M. Barnes, \$5.40; John Wilson, \$3; E. Leedham, \$1.70; H. S. Powell, \$3; Thos. J. Taft, \$2.20; J. W. Scamnell, 40 cents; C. A. Gould, \$1.70; Warren Griswold, \$3.20; J. P. Angin, \$3.20; Marcus Marx, \$3.20; Mrs. B. Cummings, \$3.20; J. A. Barker, \$4.40; H. B. Fuller, \$3.20; W. J. Currier, \$3.20; J. W. Springfield, \$3.20; Merritt Peckham, 25 cents; Lucretia Mott, \$3.20; W. N. Clark, \$3.20; C. F. Simonds, \$3.20; John O'Brien, \$3.20; J. K. Rose, \$3.20; C. E. Purdy, \$3.20; Gilbert Billings, \$3.20; Wm. Sterns, \$3.20; A. M. Ellis, \$3.20; M. Schlessinger, \$3.20; A. D. White, \$3.20; H. G. Spaulding, \$2; O. C. Clogston, \$3.20; W. E. Luskens, \$3.20; John McDonald, 40 cents; Victor Keen, \$8.25; J. C. Chesney, \$4; T. L. Smith, \$3.20; George Hasemeyer, \$3; W. D. Balch, \$3.20; L. Everett, \$3.20; A. H. Waite, \$3.20; Gilbert Cape, \$3.20; Chas. H. Coffin, \$3.20; James I. Church, \$3.20; James Cummings, \$1.50; J. A. Christlieb, \$3; John Chapplesmith, \$3.20; F. J. Scott, \$3.20; E. F. Cowperthwait, \$3.20; W. H. Burr, \$3.20; A. Haskell, \$1.60; Fisk Barrett, \$3.20; H. K. Oliver, \$3.20; B. Lindsey, \$3.20; E. A. Sawtelle, \$3.20; M. R. Warren, \$3; E. Z. Penfield, \$3.20; Dr. Alexander, \$3.20; Jeff. Church, \$3.20; Edw. Howland, \$3; H. M. Cross, \$3.20; Calvin Griswold, 25 cents; R. H. Rapscher, \$3.20; Milian Bros, \$3.20; Wm. Greene, \$3; Laura Barnaby, \$3.20; W. H. Coffin, \$3.40; James Barnsdall, \$3.95; D. Deming, 50 cents; Irvin Skinner, 50 cents; C. B. Richmond, \$53.20; Adolph Werner, \$3.20; L. H. Marshall, \$1; L. O. Bass, \$3.20; A. Kelsey, \$1.80; H. B. Buck, \$2.60; N. S. Townshend, \$3.25; E. F. Francis, \$3.20; Matilda Godard, \$3.20; W. H. Chamberlain, \$3.20; Abner Kimball, \$3.20; L. T. Ives, \$3; F. Jenkins, \$3.50; J. P. Bradley, \$3.20; F. B. Ransom, \$4.75; R. G. Sweet, \$3.20; B. L. Herbert, \$1.20; Henry Palphramond, \$1.60; R. Roth, \$7.25; W. E. Harriman, \$3.20; Chas. A. Miller, \$3.20; S. G. Coray, \$3.20; Dr. Prince, \$3.20; Carl Schonhoff, 75 cents; E. W. Keeler, \$3.20; J. E. D. Laundon, \$1.55; Henry Kient, \$3.20; B. F. Holmes, \$3.20; Abner Forbes, \$1.25; J. L. Cutler, \$3.20; Calvin Griswold, 25 cents; R. H. Rapscher, \$3.20; Milian Bros, \$3.20; Wm. Greene, \$3; Laura Barnaby, \$3.20; W. H. Coffin, \$3.40; James Barnsdall, \$3.95; D. Deming, 50 cents; Irvin Skinner, 50 cents; C. B. Richmond, \$53.20; Adolph Werner, \$3.20; L. H. Marshall, \$1; L. O. Bass, \$3.20; A. Kelsey, \$1.80; H. B. 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SUNDAY LECTURES.—The Editors of THE INDEX will lecture occasionally on Sundays, if desired, within a convenient distance of Boston.

THE complete works of Dr. Channing have just been published by the American Unitarian Association in one volume of 931 pages, with double columns and very clear type, at the surprisingly low price of \$1.00. It is the most desirable edition of his works, and will undoubtedly find a large sale among those who are interested to know more of the chief representative man of the Unitarian denomination.

THE *Liberal Worker*, a new journal devoted to "the promulgation of Liberal Christianity" at the West, is edited at Sharon, Wisconsin, by Rev. George W. Cooke, with Rev. Messrs. Hunting, Balch, Kerr, Spencer, Simmons, Jones, and Harrington as editorial contributors. It is issued every other Wednesday, and costs a dollar a year. We find many excellent things in it, and wish it a prosperous career.

THE first series of *Half-Hour Recreations in Popular Science*, issued hitherto in periodical parts by Estes & Lauriat, is just published in a fine volume of nearly five hundred pages, containing very valuable scientific papers by R. A. Proctor, Rudolph Virchow, H. Schellen, Prof. Roscoe, J. N. Lockyer, Prof. J. D. Dana, Dr. Carpenter, Prof. Winchell, Prof. Huxley, J. H. Tick, E. B. Tylor, Dr. Richardson, Prof. T. Sterry Hunt, Prof. Clifford, Robert Hunt, Prof. H. W. Dove, and others. It is edited by Dana Estes, and enriched by good illustrations. Price, \$2.50.

A BETTER story for boys cannot be found nowadays than *F. Grant & Co.*, by Rev. George L. Chanev, of Boston. It is sparkling, racy, funny, serious, clever, noble—without a word of cant in it, but full of zest and life and the truest kind of truth. We know of three boys (one of them being the father of the other two) who have heard it read aloud by a sweet voice after tea, in nightly rations of delight; and the boys are the best judges of such books. This is a story of "partnerships," and contains some ideas on that subject which it is exceedingly wise to pack away in a youngster's head—a species of treatment to which in this case no youngster's head will object. The price is \$1.50.

IT is with great pleasure that we announce to the readers of THE INDEX that Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, for nearly thirty years editor of the *London Reasoner*, and the most eminent of the early founders of the now widespread Secularist movement in England, has kindly consented to be an editorial contributor to this journal during the year 1875. He proposes to contribute an article to its columns monthly, and begins with one of very great interest in this first issue of the new year. We congratulate our subscribers on thus having an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with one of the most remarkable men of the present age, whose calm, just, and gentle spirit is no less beautiful than his opinions are able, fearless, and pronounced. Of course it need not be stated that Mr. Holyoake will express himself in THE INDEX with absolute freedom on whatever topic he may choose to treat; he has never shunned the responsibility of his own words, and will find himself in the company of those who will appreciate his most independent thought and utterance. On behalf of our readers, we extend a hearty and respectful welcome to Mr. Holyoake as a contributor to these pages; with a sincere hope that the blindness he alludes to will prove a merely temporary affair.

WHERE ARE WE?

AN APPEAL TO THOSE WHO THINK AND THOSE WHO DARE.

The voyager across the Atlantic must frequently determine his own latitude and longitude, or be tossed aimlessly about by the waves and winds. No less necessary is it to calculate our latitude and longitude on the vast ocean of thought, if we aspire to guide our own course by the compass of Reason. It is time to know where we are; it is time to act in accordance with that knowledge.

Christendom has been in constant intellectual motion ever since the time when the *renaissance*, and the Protestant Reformation to which it gave rise, broke up the long stagnation of dominant Catholicism. The modern mind has been for centuries gradually changing its attitude with respect to Christianity, disengaging itself more and more from the hierarchy and the theology of Rome, and deluding itself all the while with the belief that it was thus returning to the purity of "primitive Christianity." This constant process of disintegration in the great organism of the Church has from time to time manifested itself in the birth of new sects, each being a protest on behalf of freer thought against some earlier sect which it rent in twain; and yet the Catholics alone seem to be aware that this endlessly recurrent schism is a proof that Christianity itself begins to go to pieces, whenever it attempts to live independently of the historic root of Catholic authority. Sooner or later the one enormous delusion of Protestantism in all its forms,—namely, that a return to "primitive Christianity" is historically possible under modern conditions,—was fated to be at last dispelled; sooner or later, in some one of the extreme types of Protestantism arising in the last stages of the disintegration of the Christian organism, the discovery was fated to be made that Christianity and modern civilization are radically antagonistic, that Pope Pius IX. is right in proclaiming this antagonism in the Syllabus, and that the triumph of civilization means the extinction of Christianity.

The last great battle to vindicate the universal Protestant claim, that pure Christianity is the permanent religion of civilization, was fought by Theodore Parker, one of the grandest characters of our age. The Unitarianism of Dr. Channing was not the farthest possible position that could be held within the Christian lines; for it still affirmed supernaturalism in the Bible and in the Christ. Parker held a more extreme position by boldly denying supernaturalism in both, while at the same time he declared himself to be a Unitarian and a Christian. His right to these names, however disputed by his contemporaries, appears in a fact whose importance in this connection has been hitherto overlooked; namely, the fact that he still clung to supernaturalism in his doctrine of an *immediate intuitional knowledge* of God and Immortality, as truths of the supernatural order. This doctrine is the innermost citadel of the Christian religion, and has never been more valiantly defended than by Theodore Parker; it proves the sagacity of the instinct which has made the Unitarian denomination, since his death, canonize him as a saint of its calendar, and elevate him to a pedestal as lofty as that of Channing. Under the name "intuition," he magnificently defended the fortress of Christian "faith;" he recognized his own right to the Christian name, so long as he held the essence of Christianity by adopting its peculiar method and vindicating its supernatural validity. For this reason, the place he will permanently hold in history will by no means be that of "heresiarch," chief of heretics though he was to his own generation, but rather that of the last great champion of Christianity as the permanent religion of civilization, freedom, and progress. Other great preachers may arise in other sects to stand by his side; but they cannot go beyond him without going beyond Christianity. To abandon the method of intuition or faith is to pass the Rubicon—to cross over to ground where no man can long beguile himself with the hallucination that he is a Christian still: ground, moreover, where no man who cannot give up this method will ever be at home, or ever cease to be in a position from whose intellectual inconsistency and discomfort retreat is the only real escape.

Did Parker, then, make the final step of religious progress? No.

More than one step in advance has been taken in the fifteen years since Parker's death. The formation of the Free Religious Association, in 1867, marked the definite refusal to limit religious fellowship by Christian lines, or to limit the right of free

thought by Christian creeds. By a vote of four judges to one, in the Dover church case, the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, in 1868, fixed the boundaries of Christianity as also those of Unitarian "free inquiry" and of Protestant liberty in general; it settled in the negative the question whether a "free religionist" can be legally either a Protestant or a Christian; and it thus helped to make clear the issue between Christianity and freedom. The action of the First Independent Society of Toledo, in 1869, marked a bold acceptance of this issue, and uttered the first explicit protest of a religious organization against Christianity in the name of spiritual freedom. The establishment of THE INDEX, in 1870, was a continuation of the same protest in a fuller, louder, and more emphatic manner; and that this protest has found a deep, living response in thousands of hearts all over this country, and also abroad, the readers of this paper know. For three cardinal ideas, so far as its editor alone is concerned, has THE INDEX stood through thick and thin for now five years:—

1. That Freedom and Christianity are fundamentally and irreconcilably antagonistic, and that whoever strikes a blow for the one strikes a blow against the other.

2. That Freedom and Religion are friends, and not foes, if Religion is the effort of Man to perfect himself; but that the two are foes, and not friends, if Religion insists on removing beyond scrutiny and discussion the great questions of God and Immortality, or any other question whatever.

3. That Freedom recognizes but one method of arriving at truth in all the departments of human thought, namely, the method of Science; and that the method of Faith, whether as exemplified by Catholicism or Protestantism, by Intuitionism, Transcendentalism, or any other phase of thought, denies the method of Science by excluding the human intellect from more or less of its own legitimate domain.

Such events and such ideas, however interesting or instructive to individuals, would be of little public value, if they were not symptomatic of a great and greating movement, and did not, in point of fact, indicate the drift of the whole modern world. They present issues far deeper than were raised in Parker's day; issues which impose new and onerous duties. The Christian religion and its Church stand arrayed against civilization, science, progress, freedom, truth, the higher ethics of Nature, the permanent and truest welfare of mankind; and this the world is fast finding out.

Radicals! Do you care for these supreme things? Do you, each in your own way, wish, purpose, or endeavor to advance the sublimest interests of your race? I know you do! Be assured, then, that I do not ask you to assume any new position towards Christianity. I do but tell you WHERE YOU ARE. I do but bid you open your eyes, and recognize the position in which, regardless of all private prejudices or preconceptions, you are necessarily placed by your own devotion to the higher thought and nobler spirit of this nineteenth century. I do but tell you that you are all anti-Christians because you are all friends to liberty and light, science and civilization, truth, brotherhood, and humanitarian religion, in all their magnificent universality. There is no need that I should ask you to be anti-Christians, for anti-Christians you are, in spite of all dreams to the contrary. What I ask is that you should recognize your own inevitable position; that you should perceive where you are; that you should come to consciousness of a fact which is not at all changed by unconsciousness of it, namely, that devotion to freedom makes us all anti-Christians in spite of ourselves, and leaves us no method but that of science in the determination of truth. There is great intellectual and moral gain to ourselves, and great increase of usefulness to the world at large, in opening our eyes to the realities of things and breaking the spell of a mental delusion that paralyzes courage, deadens conscience, and darkens the eye of reason. I do not ask you to be anti-Christian; that you *are*, as Rome, the Imperial City of Christianity, sees and declares. But I do ask you to shake off the enchantment that blinds so many of you, to see where you are, and to bear brave, public testimony to the truth you cannot annihilate by shutting your eyes or your mouths. I do ask you to rise to the height of the occasion, and pledge yourselves, despite all sacrifices, to plant the flag of Spiritual Freedom on the dome of the Capitol of this great country. THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM and the RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT, are just, pacific, and right; they boldly declare what is still needed to make America consistently and completely

free in conscience and intellect; they point out the grave public duty that rests upon you all, as custodians of the American idea in its sublimest applications. I ask you to be not niggardly of time, money, exertion, in this great cause of man. I ask you to trample indifference, sluggishness, cowardice, self-interest, mental and moral blindness, under your heels, and to press forward as one man to the consummation of Freedom's grandest hope. Do you wait till the movement shall start up spontaneously among the mentally enslaved, and be made "popular" by the advocacy of the churches? Then you must wait forever. Know that this movement must spring from you; and I summon you to the duty of to-day all the more that it is "unpopular"—all the more that it entails self-sacrifice, loss, commotion, pain of heart and strain of will. Perish the pettiness that counts the cost only to evade it—long live the heroism that counts it coolly to pay it ten times over! For two years I have urged this great public duty of radicalism; to-day I believe in it more than ever. Not a jot of determination have I lost by partial failure; I appeal to you with greater earnestness than ever. Sooner or later this cause must ride to triumph; shall it be with you or over you?

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

JOURNALISM UNDER DIFFICULTIES.

The Philadelphia *Christian Statesman* enlarges on the "Hard Times for Newspapers," and says: "Publishers feel the pressure of financial difficulties sooner than those who minister to the lower, even the lowest, wants of human nature; and it is a matter of congratulation to the friends of any publishing enterprise, when in times like these it is able to keep on its feet. . . . It will require the utmost diligence, promptness, and faithfulness on the part of all who love the paper and its cause, to carry it safely through the extreme embarrassments which are now pressing upon the country."

The New York *Christian Union* says: "While the *Christian Union* has, in common with all other periodicals, felt the effects of last year's business panic, it has excellent reason to believe that it has been exceptionally favored in the large proportion of subscribers retained; and to those who look at present facts for indications of the effect of the Brooklyn trouble, we are happy to state that the paper is making a net gain in subscribers, week by week, while the result of the year's business shows a very large profit."

The New York *Christian Advocate* says: "The past year or two have been especially hard on religious newspapers, many of which have suffered financially, and some of which, as well as secular papers, have suspended. A certain Baptist paper, with a *bona fide* circulation of 7,500, has during the last few years fallen, by its own showing, seriously behind in its finances. The editor announces that the subscriptions and the business have failed by ten thousand dollars to pay expenses, and that 'another four years of such failure' would put the concern from twenty to thirty thousand dollars in debt—an obligation the denomination could never meet. The *Religious Herald* tells us that another Baptist paper, with 8,000 subscribers, failed last year to pay expenses by five thousand dollars. The last two years have been years of embarrassment to all enterprises whose business is readily affected by a financial crisis."

The *Reformed Church Messenger* adds this comment to the foregoing: "We can sympathize with the editorial brethren referred to in the above paragraph. During our thirty-four years' connection with the religious press, we have at no time passed through as trying an ordeal as that which has fallen to our lot during the last year and a half."

To these testimonies THE INDEX adds its own. It has had more than the average share of difficulties to contend with during the past two years, demanding thought, strength, and time that could ill be spared from higher than business interests; but it has triumphed over them all, and to-day, thanks to the steadfast devotion and generosity of its friends, is in a better financial condition than ever before. But this cheering result has not been attained without losses of various kinds; and, without the continued aid of those who are determined that the most radical journal of the country shall be sustained in spite of all opposition, THE INDEX cannot hope to keep its flag flying in the van-guard of progress. Any diminution in the zeal of its supporters would imperil all that has been won at so much sacrifice in so many quarters. Every one who knows the importance of the ideas it promulgates should resolve to be staunch in its support, and slacken not a whit

in rendering the assistance which is indispensable to it. As it begins the second half-decade of its existence, may it not appeal with confidence to the brave band that have rallied around it, and count with stronger faith than ever before on their fidelity and unselfishness? Not a subscriber now should withhold the small amount of his annual subscription; not a stockholder should grow weary of well-doing in the cause of truth and freedom for which so much has been already accomplished. "Faithful unto the end"—let that be the watchword alike of THE INDEX and of its friends!

ANOTHER WITNESS AGAINST SECTARIANISM.

Rev. W. S. Bell, who has been preaching for the Universalist society in New Bedford during the past year, announced in his sermon on the last Sunday of the year, that he felt himself compelled to leave the Universalist denomination, and all the sectarian organizations of Christendom, in order that he might enjoy the privilege of free investigation into truth, and of free utterance of what his reason declared to be truth. This was no sudden impulse with him, but a point which he had been for some time nearing. He had felt for several months that he was outgrowing the limitations of his pulpit, and that the society rather repelled than invited the free utterance of his thought; and hence, without any contest with them, he quietly withdraws, and from the denomination at the same time.

Mr. Bell graduated from the Divinity School at Cambridge in 1872. Previous to his entering the school there, he had been a recognized preacher among the Methodists; and it was while he was thus preaching that his views first started out of the grooves of the old creeds. After leaving his studies at Cambridge, he felt that he should be more at home and find a more congenial fellowship among Universalists than among Unitarians; and he was accordingly regularly accredited as a minister in the Universalist body. But, like many another man who, after reaching maturity, has once begun to migrate from his Orthodox homestead, he has found no stopping-place in the liberal sects of Christendom. Thought once awakened is inexorable in its demands, and is a foe to sectarianism in any of its forms.

But Mr. Bell does not wish to give up the ministry. In one form he feels, indeed, more called to it than ever. Having felt the chains of dogmatism, having experienced the paralyzing effect of a sectarian ministry upon the intellect, he burns with zeal to proclaim the glad tidings of an emancipated religion. Wherever there is a free pulpit or a free platform, he will willingly utter his word. And liberals in religion should give him a cordial welcome and hearing. He is a man of varied experience, a good thinker, and a good speaker. Whatever society or committee may engage him as a speaker will find that he is a man who has something to say, and can say it vigorously.

W. J. P.

LARGE AND SMALL FAMILIES.

Carl Schurz has been lecturing recently in Massachusetts upon "Educational Problems," and it has been my good fortune to hear him. When it is considered that Mr. Schurz is a member of the United States Senate, and at present its noblest and brightest ornament; that for many years he has been engaged actively and prominently in political life, cherishing the highest though most honorable political ambitions,—it becomes a striking and impressive fact that he should turn aside from all that so much involves his immediate personal interests, and, forgetting the politician in the philanthropist, should give his mind to the consideration of a social question like that of education, which really involves the most vital welfare of American society. Not even Mr. Sumner, during all his political career, found time or inclination to discuss so practical a subject, evincing little or no interest in social questions of any kind, but devoting himself, almost exclusively, with the most determined perseverance and splendid consistency, to elevating the negroes of this country to an equality before the law with every other citizen,—an achievement, I freely admit, well worthy the whole mental and moral energies of the great and lamented senator of Massachusetts. At the same time, I none the less rejoice that Carl Schurz, while nobly seconding the political labors of Charles Sumner, has the wisdom to perceive that there are no questions more important than the social questions,—including the elevation of all women as well as all men, the dignifying, exalting, and reassuring of the best home and love life, the expediency and

necessity of considering how every man, woman, and child may be most truly and most wisely educated,—and is willing to go about the country, speaking an hour and a half in the most simple, sensible, plain, and at the same time engaging and charming manner to such audiences as will gather to listen to and be instructed by him. God bless his manly, tender heart and his honest, able mind, and lead our American people to see that, foreigner as he is, they have no better or more faithful friend than Carl Schurz!

Yet Mr. Schurz undoubtedly disappoints some, in that he discusses the subject of education, not in what may be considered its broadest and most philosophical bearings, but rather in its practical and domestic aspects. Indeed, I found myself querying whether he has altogether the best idea, the one perhaps most likely to commend itself at last, of the true sphere and function of woman. The lecturer takes the Old World and especially the German view of this matter; and while he is to be credited with the most respectful, gentle, and even chivalrous and admiring disposition towards woman, being in favor, as I understand, of granting to her every privilege and advantage to which her individual or sex capacity would seem to him to entitle her,—he at the same time appears to regard the sphere of the "average woman" to be that exclusively of home, and her function in society exclusively that of wife and mother. Mr. Schurz emphatically deprecates the tendency in this country to non-marriage and to small families. He considers it the highest possible felicity, dignity, and usefulness of woman to be married, to become the mother of many children and the "queen of the home." In the sphere of domesticity, and by the function of wife and mother, the lecturer believes that woman can achieve her highest mission, and do her best work for herself and for humanity. And he argues that, in general, education for woman should be of such a nature as to prepare her for the private destiny of wifehood and motherhood, and for the æsthetic and moral government of the home, rather than for any public station or work.

With the opinions in the main of Mr. Schurz upon the natural destiny of woman I do not find myself essentially disagreeing, although he gives less consideration to the provision for the large number of exceptional cases than I could wish. It is from his views as to the general desirableness of large families and a rapidly increasing population that I especially differ; for herein do I find the most probable reconciliation between the claims of womanhood on the one hand, and those of wifehood and motherhood on the other. And right here let me say that, in the very nature of the case, man is not so good a judge of the desirableness of large families as woman is. The burden of having and rearing many children comes not heaviest on man but on woman. The mother is nearer in every way to her children than is the father. Aside from the terrible tragedy of giving birth to them,—which momentous event alone visits her experience, not his,—she, better than he, knows and feels all their wants, sorrows, trials, perils, and the tremendous responsibility of meeting and caring for these. Let woman, then, rather than man, settle this question. Hers only be it the office to decide how many children she shall have, and whether large or small families are desirable. And, in presuming to speak at all upon this subject, it is with the desire to voice the mind of woman so far as I know it, more even than to call attention to the rights of the children themselves, or to those of society at large.

I have two principal objections to the rule of large families. In the first place I believe they help to perpetuate poverty, which is one of the chief causes of ignorance and crime. If only those who are well-to-do in life, who have ample means to properly educate and care for numerous children,—if only such would have large families comparatively little might be found to say against it. In such cases, the burden could not come heavily on either mother or father, and the children (providing always the parents were wise) would be reared in such a way as to find their own lives worth having and capable of being put to good service for humanity. A large family is a beautiful sight to contemplate, when the parents are not bowed down with the load of providing for it, and when all the children are healthy and happy, each being able to have a fair chance and reasonable advantage in life. But it so happens that not the wealthier but the poorer classes are most prolific of offspring. The poverty-steeped couples are those who indulge most in large families. Behold how children thicken like flies in the midst of squalor and dirt! Behold how they swarm in unventilated tenement houses, in dingy huts and hovels, on unwhole-

some marsh-lands, and in the uncomfortable homes of peasants and day-laborers and our poorer farmers! Nine times out of ten, in such cases, the children are unwelcome to both father and mother; and yet, through no fault of theirs, the pitiable little things keep coming into an existence which one half of them learn to deplore if not to curse. The parents are as unhappy as the children. They would avoid these sad results,—the having of children whom they cannot provide for, and whose increasing number plunge the whole family into deeper want and more fierce despair,—if they knew how. Ought not the education which society provides for them to be of such a nature that every married couple shall be intelligent propagators of their race, and wise enough to choose and regulate the number of their offspring? I religiously believe that it should be a self-imposed law upon all married men and women (in my view society has no other right in this matter than to instruct,—it has none to coerce) not to have any more offspring than they can, with equal justice to themselves and the children, provide for. When this comes to be the rule, we shall have a healthier and happier population, and a better world every way.

My second objection to large families is that in so many cases they ensure the discomfort, the distress, and the actual degradation of the mother. Marriage will never be an honorable and pure sacrament of Nature, until it utterly ceases to involve the sacrifice of womanhood to wifehood and motherhood. A woman is a woman before she is a wife and a mother; and she ought never to be asked, and never should allow herself, to become the latter at any expense of the former. Better she should remain forever unwed and unmothered, than to make marriage in any degree the grave of her womanhood! Better that we should have no more children born, and that the race of man should become extinct, than that any woman should ever be an unwilling mother, or should hinder or prevent her freest and fullest development as a woman by her function as child-bearer!

But in how many cases of large families is this the sad result to woman! By becoming fathers, men comparatively little are prevented from going forth into the world and seeking and obtaining all their rights and privileges as men; but women, by becoming mothers, are much prevented from doing all this for themselves. Every birth of a child makes them a prisoner in the home for a longer or shorter time; and, although they gladly endure what deprivation is consequent upon motherhood, when motherhood is a matter of their own choice, yet if it be imposed upon them, or indeed be too often chosen by themselves, the loss all round is more than the gain,—for, without the completest development of womanhood, both motherhood and childhood must be incomplete. If we could take the census of all the pale-faced, sad-eyed, soul-cramped women who are groaning in secret under the burden of too much child-bearing, we should be surprised at the large army of martyrs who would rise up to pronounce against the desirableness of large families. In this case, if in no other, let us be wise, and collect the suffrages of women before we consider the question settled.

A. W. S.

FREE-THOUGHT NOTES.

BY A VETERAN ENGLISH FREE-THINKER.

MR. EDITOR:—

At this time I am as blind as Homer, without his power of singing. An accidental cold has brought that disablement, so that I am in a worse position than those described by Paul who are said to see through a glass darkly. I am not able to see through a glass at all. Nor have I yet recovered from a sharp illness in which I had reason to suppose I should have a precipitate opportunity of finding out what had become of my forefathers, if that be a discoverable thing. They have certainly never attempted to make a communication with me; which is a comfort in these days, when so many noisy and discontented persons are, in the opinion of many estimable people, endeavoring to make their way back again into this world, to the injury of our furniture, the confusion of our grammar, and the depravation of our taste. Under such circumstances it is a source of consolation that one's ancestors preserve dignity and reticence.

The pleasure I experience in accepting the invitation you do me the honor of giving me, of contributing to THE INDEX, arises from the opportunity it will afford me of reporting upon generally unknown or unnoticed features of free thought in England to readers in America, and explaining to them the nature, peculiarities, and diversities of that movement here.

If they are half as curious to understand the features of English free thought as I am to learn those of America, the story may often interest them. International communication of opinion and progress is as important to the advancement of the public understanding, as international trade is to the increase of the wealth and happiness of nations.

THE "EXCHANGE OF OPINION."

Many years ago I joined with Thornton Leigh

Hunt, the son of Leigh Hunt, the poet, in a project which we had both much at heart; which was to establish an Exchange of Opinion, corresponding to the Exchange so familiar to commerce. We arranged to issue a journal to be called *The Exchange*, which was to be open absolutely to all opinion that was vital in its nature, useful in application, intelligible and fair in statement. For many years Thornton, as his friends familiarly called him, meditated publishing what he had in part composed, a work on the *Advisability of Debating Undebatable Questions*, which really meant social questions that were never debated. But the incessant exigencies of journalism which occupied his fertile and sagacious brain exhausted his life, as they have done that of so many other men of genius, before they were able to execute that upon which they had chiefly set their hearts.

For myself, I carried out the plan farther than it ever had been carried in the organization of *Secular Propaganda*, which I commenced in 1853. We had in Richard Carlile a militant free-thinker, as stout and invincible as Peter Annet. Richard Carlile's name was so widely known in England that Thomas Carlyle, long after he became famous, was frequently confounded with him. Richard Carlile underwent more than nine years' imprisonment in vindication of the right to publish opinion, whether atheistical or republican. He was the first man in this century who brought absolute free thought into the front streets of London. He had a business shop (which you would call a store) in Fleet Street, the great city thoroughfare through which everybody visiting London passes. His bravery brought him munificent friends. One day he was visited in prison by Julien Hibbert, a man of mark in many ways. Hearing that a political prisoner in the same jail, of some merit, had been presented with one thousand pounds that morning, Hibbert at once said to Carlile, "A free thought prisoner should not stand on lower ground than a political one, and I will give you a thousand pounds;" and he left the check with him for the amount. Carlile, in honorable devotion, expended whatever came into his hands in the advancement of his opinions, and he established the place of their publication in the great thoroughfare which marked their ascendancy.

When I came into the movement, I heard continual regrets that free thought could not reappear in that street from which it had many years been banished. Dr. Chapman, the present editor of the *Westminster Review*, had a shop of some importance in Newgate Street, opposite the jail, not far from the drop. Mr. Watson, the chief free thought bookseller next to Chapman, had his shop in Queen's Head Passage, leading out of the same Newgate Street; so that adversaries of these opinions used to say to young men, "If you want to get into Newgate, you need not begin so near the jail to buy your books."

The house I held at 147 Fleet Street, I fitted up with costly conveniences for inquirers and visitors. We kept lists and published catalogues of all the free thought works—communist, cooperative, and republican—of which we could hear, giving the price of the books, and names of the publishers. The sale we promoted was of no business advantage to us, and the publicity we gave was expensive; but our object was the diffusion of liberal opinion. In the *Reasoner*, which was the organ of the house, we advertised without charge whatever free thought works appeared, printing accounts of them, and sending them to all our connections. We knew that free thought writers would have small chance of meeting with remunerative sale, and we held it to be the duty of an organized party to promote that by every means in our power, so that it might become the interest of gentlemen to write, certain that at one house they would receive a voluntary and persevering publicity. Some authors now popular in America, and no longer needing any man's aid, would acknowledge the ardor with which we endeavored to extend their names in their unknown days. Any one coming from the country to London, or coming to England from any part of the world, found at our Exchange a place where they could have letters addressed to them, be put into communication with many whom they wanted to see, and receive information about whatever was known of free thought, or cooperation, or political movements. This they could do without feeling that they interrupted business; for we made it part of our business to afford them these facilities. From every part of the world inquirers came. It was the first time and the last that any such institution has existed.

We were tolerably cosmopolitan in our efforts. When the Conspiracy Bill was introduced into Parliament by Lord Palmerston, at the instigation of the late Emperor of the French, the committee that organized the great opposition to it which defeated the bill and overthrew Lord Palmerston met in our rooms. The soldiers who went out to fight for Garibaldi in Italy thronged our house for days together. The committee which sent out the British Legion met there. The appliances of the house were always at the command of Mazzini, who publicly contributed to the columns of the *Reasoner* in acknowledgment of those services. The last publication of unstamped papers made in order to procure the repeal of the stamp duty was made at our house. The amount of fines I incurred by doing it was six hundred thousand pounds! When called upon in the Courts of Exchequer to pay, I had to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer (who was then Mr. Gladstone) to take it weekly, as I had not that sum by me. He had the courtesy to say that he knew our object was not to break, but to try, the law. The bad law was shortly after repealed, and the fines were never asked for.

THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE "EXCHANGE" WAS ESTABLISHED.

How this Exchange of Opinion came to be closed,

I may briefly tell another time, if likely to be interesting; but what I will tell now is the nature of those principles of Secularism for which this institution was established, and which this Catholic organization was intended to illustrate and maintain. We feared no man's frown. We courted no man's favor except by public service. We were deterred by no man's opinion. We gave the freest publicity to well-expressed conviction on all sides of every question. Our constant calculation was, not what would meet the views of individuals who thought only of expressing their personal and passionate feelings, but what would contribute to the good reputation of the cause in the eyes of adversaries.

No man is justified in occupying public attention because what he says is true. Out of all that is true, he is bound to restrict himself to that which is useful and relevant. It is wonderful how few propagandists consider what will be the effect on their cause, in the eyes of the public, of the expression of their opinion.

Thus we established in England new forms of free thought. They made a distinct impression upon the religious world, as may be seen from a passage in the Rev. Nassau Molesworth's *History of England*, which Mr. Bright lately commended, and from the article on "Secularism" in Chamber's *Encyclopædia*.

GLADSTONE AND COLENSO.

But I do not forget that I am to tell you of events current as well as retrospective.

Ecclesiasticism now fills the air. Mr. Gladstone, by his book on the Vatican Decrees, has disturbed Rome more than it has been disturbed by any one man since the days of Luther. More than one hundred thousand copies have already been issued, and the demand for them is seven thousand a day.

We have a larger proportion than is right of silly bishops in this country. The Bishop of Lincoln lately prohibited a Wesleyan minister from identifying his own daughter on her tomb-stone; so that the selecting angel, when he comes down, will not know where to find her.

The Bishop of Oxford has been inhibiting a much greater bishop than himself—Bishop Colenso—from preaching in his diocese. As you have heard, the bishop did not preach, but his sermon was delivered all the same. Professor Jowett, the Master of Balliol, entertained the bishop, and gave him his church to preach in, where crowded congregations, larger than the capacity of the church to hold, thronged to hear him. The corporation of Oxford placed any of the city buildings that might suit him at the Bishop of Natal's disposal, and he became the lion of Oxford; half the population seemed disposed to go to Heaven on the Colenso track. It is stated that the Dean of Westminster had invited the bishop to preach in Westminster Abbey; and the Rev. Stopford Brooke, one of the Queen's chaplains, a preacher of great originality and boldness, has invited him to preach in his church in York Street, St. James Square, within a few yards of the residence of Lord Derby, who would probably hear the bishop himself with pleasure.

THE DEATH OF JAMES WATSON.

We have buried this week, at the Norwood Cemetery, one whose honorable name was known to some in every part of America, Mr. James Watson, the radical and free-thought publisher, whose name I have mentioned above. He was not only a courageous publisher in the evil days when publishing new opinions was a penal offence, but also a man of that strong integrity which impresses itself upon all who come in contact with it; and, what is more, in the publications which he issued and in the manner of conducting his business, he never lost sight of the reputation of the cause which he represented. He lent to it the lustre of his sound judgment and unspotted name. As early as 1827, he was imprisoned for publishing forbidden knowledge in Leeds. In 1830, in the first great fervor of cooperation, he was the second cooperative missionary appointed. When Richard Carlile's shopmen were being imprisoned (more than five hundred of them were imprisoned altogether), James Watson was one of the young and brave volunteers who came up from Lancashire, and took Carlile's place at his counter, and his place in prison on three occasions. The terms of incarceration extended over six months in some cases. On one occasion he was imprisoned for walking in a procession on a fast day. He maintained that it was necessary for the poor to keep the day as a feast day, if they could; and that it was hypocrisy to attempt to appease Heaven by fasting, whilst political and social injustice remained in force. He maintained the publication of free-thought works until the business passed into my hands, on going into Fleet Street.

In the great political movements of his time, he aided by counsel, by speech, and by manful service, and died well stricken in years and in great regard. He was buried in the consecrated part of the cemetery, Mr. Conway speaking at his grave. As I had spoken in 1849 at the grave of his friend, fellow-publisher, and fellow-prisoner, Henry Hetherington, it was the wish of his family that I should speak at Mr. Watson's grave; but my illness rendered it impossible.

Watson, Hetherington, and Cleave were the three great radical publishers whose names were known throughout England. Mr. Cleave was father-in-law of Mr. Henry Vincent, a lecturer now well known in America. These three publishers, who represented a historic period in the freedom of publication, have all passed away.

What I have said is written by a friendly hand, and I must trust to the pen of a friendly editor to revise it, being unable to see a line that is written.

Your dimmed but faithful friend,

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

LONDON, December, 1874.

Literary Notices.

DRESS REFORM. Edited by Abba Gould Woolson. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1875.

This book is the summing up of the wisest things that have been said upon the subject of Dress Reform. It includes the lectures that were given by the women physicians of Boston, and others, two winters ago, with an appendix of fifty pages from the brilliant pen of Mrs. Woolson. The book is for sale in all the principal stores, and it is not a little amusing to watch its reception into this sharp-eyed world. We said to Louisa Alcott, the other day, "Have you read it?" "Yes; saw it in the proof." "Do you like it?" "I think it is the most sensible book I ever read." "Then it will sell," we replied. "Ah, I can't tell about that," was the answer; "good books do not always sell."

Men do not read the book, but they read women who have read it, and get their opinion of its worth from them. They rise and fall in their estimate according as the wife and daughter at home render their verdict. One can easily guess the tightness of a woman's corsets in these days by asking her husband what he thinks of the "Dress Reform" book. So, it is a woman's book entirely; and the men are left to stand on the outskirts with their hands in their pockets, whilst the women prouette about it.

As dress reforming has been going on some time, the women who have been in the ranks, or been within sight or hearing, or who have read to any extent the woman question, have become a good deal leavened by it. Consequently, they are quite well prepared for what Dr. Safford Blake tells them in her admirable lecture: that "uniformity of temperature is desirable;" that when any portion of the body becomes unduly heated for a long period of time, congestion of that part is liable to follow. They are convinced that the "thoracic region" should not be "encased in six to ten thicknesses," whilst the feet have only one. They have some respect for the "solar plexus," and are inclined to make friends with the "central glandular organs;" though the doctor frightens us all anew at the fearful account she gives of the autopsy of several women she has attended, in whom the organs were found in an abnormal and atrophied condition caused by tight lacing. All the more we are alarmed, for we know the doctor to be the most earnest, truthful, searching, little woman in the world; and what she says is gospel as well as scientific truth. One would no more dare to go to her with an adverse opinion than one would venture to put one's head into a dissecting room itself; for nobody ever knows what awful proof the doctor is going to bring forward. We finish reading her lecture with a long breath, striving to lengthen out our corset-strings a little; for they never seemed quite so snug before.

But, we hear some one say, do women who have studied physiology, and seen a female skeleton and counted its ribs, and heard of the "solar plexus," still wear corsets? Oh, yes; to be sure they do; not, of course, the real French ones, fully ribbed, but substitutes,—such as Madame Foye's and the "Comfort Corset." Why, it will take more physiologies, more dress reformers and dress-reform books, to get women out of corsets, than all the wisdom, scholars, and philosophies put together that the world has ever furnished to advance any half-dozen of its greatest scientific or metaphysical schemes. Gravitation, or the "Unknowable," is nothing compared with it. A woman might know her heart was being squeezed up into her mouth, and her lungs down into her boots, and she would not forsake her idol.

Only this morning we took up a journal, and read a review of this book by the pen of a very able woman, who stands up for corsets, and defends hip-bones *versus* shoulders, with all her magic skill. At the same time, there is a class of critics of this dress reform, whose corseted appearance renders it easy to conjecture that an autopsy in their case *might* reveal some displacement of organs, some congestion of tissues, and an infinite amount of discomfort. But to leave their corsets, in which they were born and bred, would be like forsaking their native country, and shipping themselves to dwell forever among the Fijis.

We pass on to the second lecture, by Dr. Hastings. We stop longest at the chapter describing the bony framework of the body and the organs it encompasses. A good illustration of a perfectly-developed human skeleton occupies one entire page, and a corset-manufactured skeleton another. So those who will not read can look at the pictures, and see what ought to be, and what now is.

Dr. Jackson's lecture should have great weight, not only from its convincing arguments, but from the clinical observation of many years' practice. She puts in a word for the tiny babies, against their being wound up in trailing dresses which forbid the motion of their little feet; and pleads that they may never be exposed in low necks and short sleeves. The close-fitting shoe and high heel are severely condemned. "They not only cause contraction of the muscles of the leg, so great in some instances as to make surgical separation of them necessary, but by inclining the body forward they throw the uterus out of its normal position, and oblige the ligaments that are designed to steady it to remain constantly in action, in order to restore it to its proper place."

The fourth lecture, by Dr. Haynes, is strictly scientific and physiological, and cannot be read too carefully. It shows clearly what functions different organs perform, and how they encroach one upon the other, when subject to external pressure and unequal weight. She allows no possible escape for the fearful sins that corset-bones commit. She brings so clearly to light the causes resulting from impeded circulation, abdominal pressure, and cold feet, that the

biggest dunce of a woman cannot fail to comprehend, if she will.

Mrs. Woolson's lecture considers especially the æsthetic and artistic department of dress. Her queenly pen moves through the absurd fashions of the day with a mighty sweep of truth and justice. She introduces the beautiful forms of the Greek women clad in graceful draperies flowing from the shoulders, and sets them by the side of our feeble, corseted, panniered American women, to the infinite glory of the former and the eternal disgrace of the latter. She is a devotee at the shrine of Beauty as well as Health, and would have these goddesses go forth hand in hand. But, if they cannot be united, she would hold grand carnival seasons when men as well as women should worship in Beauty's temple, adorned with all the soft tints of the sky, and bedecked with all the splendor of jewels and feathers. She says: "Our hungry senses would have had a carnival of color and movement, of courtly grace and beaming compliment, managed according to the most approved cooperative principles, where each one who shared the profits had contributed his proportion of the risks."

The elegant, graceful, and instructive material of some portions of this lecture renders them worthy of being bound up with the best writers of classical lore. Were the title some grand, poetic theme, instead of the homely "Dress Reform" that it is, the style could scarcely be more rich and inspiring. One certainly feels inclined to wear loose clothes all hanging from the shoulders, if for no other reason than to be in the company of such an accomplished writer.

Farther on comes the appendix of fifty pages, which really is the arithmetic of the book. Mrs. Woolson warns her readers at the outset that she means *business* here,—button-holes, chemiloons, and shoulder-straps; and not a repast of diverting literature. In the main she is true to her word, though never before did the English language display such pages of button-holes and suspenders served up in such graphic and vivid terms. This is the most trying time for her artistic pen; but the skill with which she handles it, clear through to the closing sentence, is a marvel to behold. She sits down with scissors and needle in hand, and cuts out, fits, and makes up an entire wardrobe of under-wear for woman, right before our eyes; so that a woman in New Zealand or the interior of Africa, of ordinary intelligence, could take this book and fit herself up in hygienic garments exactly like the ones approved by the writer. It might be called a dress-reform recipe, originating in the brain of the author; and, having been tested by herself and found satisfactory, she sends it forth for the world.

God bless her work, say all of us who have been induced to accept even a few of her ideas, and put them into practice! We know how blessed a thing it is to breathe a little easier; to walk in broad-soled "Miller's boots," and to bear the burdens of life on our shoulders, where they were intended to be put, instead of on our hips.

This book will make its way slowly into the work-boxes of women. Many will read it and turn up their noses; some will toss it aside; others will ridicule it. But, as surely as the old Hebrew Bible was destined to make its way down the ages, so surely Dress Reform is to become the most vital question that ever stirred a nation of women. Corsets are doomed to everlasting oblivion, and woman's body is approaching its day of freedom.

BOSTON, January 1, 1875.

L. S. H.

Communications.

THE PERMANENCE OF TRUTH.

The quotation from Prof. Tyndall's lecture on "Crystalline and Molecular Forces," published in THE INDEX of November 19, contains some beautiful and courageous sentiments which should inspire all earnest seekers of truth with a higher faith in the legitimacy of their pursuit, and banish those weak fears that would obstruct the road to future knowledge. We dread the results of free thought, the conclusions of new theories, as though the universe had no firmer foundation than our puny belief. Nature is not convulsed to her centre by the errors that prevail for a time in the progress of human knowledge. The sun did not shine less benignly on our little planet during the long ages when a false system of astronomy assigned him the arduous duties of serving the earth as a dependent satellite. The globe which we inhabit does not quake when scientists probe its fossil secrets, lest the ancient theory of its creation be doubted. Truth is enthroned on an indestructible basis, and can endure the petty misconceptions of men, waiting for the slow evolution of light in this sphere of intelligence to reveal her more clearly to the eyes of mortals.

Truly has Prof. Tyndall said that our fears of scientific investigation reveal a secret scepticism in our own minds. A profound, intelligent faith in the PERMANENCE OF TRUTH has no fears of free thought and scientific research. There is no danger of robbing human nature of its virtues, though every dogma of popular religious belief should be crushed. The excellences of the human character are too real, too self-rewarding, to be abandoned for the baser gratifications of a mere selfish life, though the whole fabric of ancient theology should crumble under the tread of science. Human love and sympathy will not lose their warmth and tenderness, though the progress of free thought make devastating inroads on our religious belief. The wonder and reverence that the discovery of new truths has always inspired in the soul of man will not fail to accompany the acquisition of future knowledge; nor will hope and

aspiration cease to look beyond the realities of the acquired to the ideals of the unattained.

H. CLAY NEVILLE.

OZARK, Mo.

[We cannot forbear to thank Mr. Neville for the above beautiful and noble communication.—ED.]

A GLIMPSE OF A SOUL'S TRIALS AND HOPE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 27, 1874.

F. E. ABBOT:

My Friend.—A few weeks since you published in THE INDEX a letter of mine, in response to some questions from a correspondent, one of your Western subscribers, and an occasional contributor. The extracts below from his letter to me, just received, may be of interest, as they show that the religion of humanity has its philanthropy, and illustrate the cruelty of a bigotry which has too long blighted and darkened our fair world. He writes:—

"I have read your letter in THE INDEX, and wish to thank you for your kindness in considering my inquiries. Orthodox people frequently charge sceptics with selfishness; say they have no soul; are misanthropic; hence do not, in their intercourse with their fellows, cultivate that sentiment of fraternal love which is felt by every true Christian. Such kindness as I have received from those of the *heretical faith* convinces me that there is soul, endowed with all the noble attributes of a pure and benignant humanity, in the wonderful religious reformation that is now progressing in our midst. I have been reared under 'Orthodox' influences—have never been beyond the constant preaching of the Christian Church in any of my associations during my life; and I have never felt that assurance of sympathy, that confidence of receiving a response of natural, human love from *intimate acquaintances* of the Orthodox belief, that I have in *writing* to persons of the heretical school whom I have never seen. I am a lover of the 'religion of the heart,' and am always looking for the spirit behind the actions and expressions of those with whom I come in contact either through personal associations or the remoter relation of their writings; and I am gladly convinced that freethinkers are not deficient in the sentiment of philanthropy which some Christians claim to be peculiar to their faith. Faith in man is broadening with the constant evolution of knowledge, and the beautiful and holy 'Religion of Humanity,' deep and lofty as the wonderful, complex nature of the human soul, is beginning to be revealed in the ever-brightening future, to those who can read the prophecies of the present. Some are more richly endowed with the gift that looks beyond the material environment to the more permanent realities of human destiny than others. Such may not know the agonizing experience of their less favored brothers, who see through a more sombre veil from this habitation of the flesh. I am happy to know that there are souls that never doubt that the deep, earnest longings for a more perfect life than this, which man in every age has felt, will be satisfied. I have been associated with Christians all my life, who of course were committed by their creed to this doctrine of immortality; but many such, I knew, accepted this belief passively, and had only blind credulity instead of deep conviction. A firm belief in this glorious destiny of the soul from one who has thought outside of the limits of dogmatism which the Church prescribes gives me more confidence. . . . I have struggled *alone* in my exodus from the belief of my friends into the boundless theories of free thought. No sympathizing companion has cheered the gloom of this journey of doubt. Under the constant anathemas of the devotees of the Orthodox belief, I have plodded along my solitary way, seeking a faith more satisfactory to the demands of my reason and more congenial to the aspirations of my soul. We all need sympathy and encouragement in the battle of life, and especially do we need the aid of loving companionship in the trying struggle that we experience in passing from the venerated religion that holds the dear associations of childhood, that still represents the honest faith of our fond parents and sisters, to a new and denounced form of religious belief which has no traditional oracles on which the weary, doubt-burdened soul can repose."

Surely such trials as are here spoken of should be incentives to that charity which "hopeth all things," and which sectarian bigotry knows not of.

G. B. STEBBINS.

IN NASHUA, N. H., resides a young girl whose pitiful lot excites the deepest sympathy, yet for whom sympathy can do but little in alleviation of the sad misfortune which has darkened her life. When a child she was terribly scalded about the head and face, and although she survived her injuries, she was thenceforth disfigured for life, and the rosy face of childhood was changed to a mask—a travesty on the human countenance—absolutely frightful in its hideousness. In Lowell, Mass., where she once lived, so great was the horror excited by her appearance that she was forbidden by the authorities to show herself on the streets. At Nashua she ventured out the other day, and several ladies fainted at sight of her, and a call is now made upon the authorities of that place to forbid her appearance upon the streets. What a mournful fate is hers—to live through the terrible physical suffering only to endure henceforward a keener mental anguish in the knowledge that she is a thing of horror, to be abhorred and shunned by human kind, with no hope in the future except the grave, which shall hide her deformities from the gaze of her fellow-beings.

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

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EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

O. B. FROTHINGHAM, New York City.
 T. W. HIGGINSON, Newport, R.I.
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Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. WASSON on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. CHENEY on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. ABBOT on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. HIGGINSON on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. CHANNING on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. POTTER on "Religion Old and New in India," also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. VICKERS, S. R. CALTHROP, Rabbi Wise, and others.

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Coates's white, black and colored Cotton at 68c. per doz.

Corticelli's and Belding's black and colored Sewing Silk, 100 yard spools, at 10c. per spool.

Corticelli's black and colored Button Hole Twist at 2c. per spool.

Knitting Cotton, white and colored, at 9c. per ball.

Millward's best Helix needles at 5c. per paper.

Crowley's Patent Helix Needles at 5c. per paper.

Milliners' best needles at 6c. per paper.

Best American Pins at 6c. per paper and upwards.

Patent Safety Pins at 6c. per doz.

French Hair Pins in all sizes, 2 papers for 5c.

Best English Hair Pins, all sizes, at 6c. per paper.

Best English Hair Pins, assorted sizes, at 6c. per box.

English Pin Books, black and white assorted, at 15c.

Mourning Pins, in all sizes, at 6c. and upwards.

Buttons of every description, in all the leading styles, greatly reduced, from 10c. to 1c. per doz.

Black and colored Alpaca Braids, 6 yd. pieces, at 6c.

"Can't break 'em" Corset Steels at 10c. per pair.

Cotton Corset Laces, all lengths, at 10c. per doz.

Linen Corset Laces, 3 yds. long, at 5c. each.

Shoe Laces at 4c. per doz.

Whalebones, full lengths, at 4c. per doz.

Jet Beads, all sizes, every variety in latest novelties, at 5c. per bunch.

This department is replete with the thousand and one articles pertaining thereto, impossible to mention herein.

Dressmakers, Milliners and Store-keepers will be supplied with goods on unusually advantageous terms, and every care and dispatch will be used in filling orders.

Millinery Department.

One of the largest and the most elegant and original assortments of imported novelties to be found in this city is now in stock, including the following specialties. All goods selling lower than any other house:—

A beautiful assortment of French Flowers, in Roses, Buds, Pansies, &c.

Floral Dress Trimmings and Bridal Wreaths, branched to order in any style.

A fine assortment of Pompons, Feathers and Wings.

An extensive assortment of Fancy Feathers from 25c. upwards.

All the newest shades of Ostrich and Plume de Cock for trimming from 5c. and upwards.

All the newest styles of Blue Steel and Jet Ornaments at the lowest prices.

Elegant Ostrich Plumes, all the latest shades, 2 and upwards.

Fine French Ostrich Tips, in all shades, 95c. and upwards.

The latest shapes in Felt Hats at 85c.

Elegant imported Felt Hats, best quality, at \$1.15.

Drab Felt Hats, in the latest and most fashionable styles, at 85c. and upwards.

Silk Velvet Hats, of our own importation, in all qualities at great bargains.

Evening Bonnets, elegantly trimmed, from \$20 to \$35.

Carriage Bonnets, exquisite in design and quality, from \$15 to \$30.

Ladies' and Misses' Bonnets, for Misses' and Children's wear, in all shapes and shades, ready trimmed, at \$6 and upwards.

Children's Bonnets and Misses' Round Hats, ready trimmed in latest styles, from \$5 to \$15.

Infants' Caps in all the new styles at great bargains, or made to order at lowest prices.

Mourning Goods made to order at the earliest notice.

Silks.

Black Silks of excellent quality at \$1 and \$1.19.

Black Silks, better and wider, at \$1.33, \$1.50 and \$2.

Black Gros Grain Silk, very rich, \$1.50 to \$2.

Gros Grain Silks, very finest grades, \$3 and \$3.50.

Colored Trimming Silks, in all shades, \$1.35 and \$1.50.

Colored Dress Silks, latest styles, \$1.25, \$1.50, \$2, \$2.50.

Black Satins, beautiful lustre, at \$1.50, \$1.75 and \$2.

Colored Satins, all fashionable shades, \$1.50, \$2, and \$2.25.

Black and Colored Velvets at \$1.50, \$2, \$2.50 and \$3.

Silk Cloak Velvets at \$5, \$6, \$8 and \$10.

Silk Velveteen, splendid manufacture, at 60c., 75c. and \$1, worth \$1.50, \$2 and upwards.

Hat Sashes in every shade and color.

Jash Ribbons in all colors and widths, from 65c. and upwards.

Colored Fringed Sashes, all the new shades, at very low prices.

Laces and Embroideries.

These goods will be found extraordinary bargains, and include:—

Hamburg edging at 10c. per yd. and upwards.

Real Gimpure Laces from 38c. to \$2 per yd.

Black Thread Laces from 25c. to \$2 per yd.

Valenciennes Edging at 5c. per yd. and upwards.

Patent Valenciennes Edging at 6c. to 25c. per yd.

Beaded Black Yak Laces at 25c. to \$2 per yd.

Beaded Black Yak Insertion at 38c. to \$1 per yd.

Black Yak Laces at 18c. per yd. and upwards.

Gray Laces at 15c. per yd. and upwards.

Colored Blonde Laces at 10c. to 60c. per yd.

White Blonde Laces at 6c. per yd. and upwards.

Spanish Lace for Scaffs at 50c. to \$2 per yd.

Black Lace Veils, all patterns, 50c. to \$2 per yd.

Black Silk Fringe at 13c. per yd. and upwards.

Black Silk Beaded Fringe at 35c. to \$2 per yd.

Black Silk Gaiters at 5c. per yd. and upwards.

Black Beaded Fringe at 20c. per yd. and upwards.

Black Beaded Gimps at 20c. per yd. and upwards.

Large assortment in Hamburg Embroideries.

Large lot of Hamburg Insertion at 6c. per yd.

Swiss Medallion Embroideries, great variety.

Lace Ties, in every variety, at 10c. and upwards.

Ladies' Underclothing.

A valuable reduction in prices has taken place in this department, and we emphatically state that no other house can compete with the general inducements we offer. We quote the following as samples, which for superiority of workmanship, quality and price are not to be excelled in this city:—

Ladies' Fine CHEMISES, warranted Muslin, finished superbly on Wheeler & Wilson machine, French corded band, extremely neat, at 80c.

Ladies' Fine CHEMISES, finished as above, with 75 tucks, yoke back and front, handsomely stitched, corded band and sleeves, at \$1.50.

Ladies' CHEMISES, *en pointe*, French pattern, with fine, hand-made, needlework edging and inserting, \$1.45.

Ladies' NIGHT ROBES, Utica Mills Muslin, pointed, tucked and ruffled, yoke back and front, full length, at \$1.10.

Ladies' NIGHT ROBES, tucked and embroidered yoke, Masonville Muslin, trimmed and embroidered collar and cuffs, reduced from \$2.50 to \$2.25.

Ladies' NIGHT ROBES, greatest attraction in stock, made of best Muslin, with diagonal puffing and embroidered yoke, back and front (new shaped), puffed and embroidered, pointed collars and cuffs, at \$5.50, worth \$6.50 to \$7.

Ladies' Fine NIGHT ROBES (another attractive article), entirely "our own style," just received, made with diagonal tucks, puffing and embroidery, robe front, very elaborate, at \$5 to \$6.

Ladies' Fine Muslin DRAWERS, trimmed with deep hem and nine tucks, at 75c.

Ladies' Fine Muslin DRAWERS, trimmed with deep hem and diagonal tucking, at \$1.

Ladies' Fine Muslin DRAWERS, with deep hem, cluster of tucks, and needlework inserting, handsomely finished on Wheeler & Wilson machine, at \$1.25.

Ladies' demi-train WALKING SKIRTS, with double fluff cluster of tucks, at \$1.

Ladies' Fine WALKING SKIRTS, made of Lonsdale Muslin, with cambric flower six inches deep, diagonal puffing and tucking, with needlework inserting five inches deep, at \$5.

TRAIN SKIRTS, fine Muslin, deep hem, cluster of tucks six inches long, at \$1.50.

Ladies' TRAIN SKIRTS, very elaborate, with one row of tucks, puffing, inserting and puff over, with deep cambric ruffle, at \$5.50.

Ladies' Masonville Muslin UNDERSKIRTS, with ruffles and cluster of tucks, at 95c.

Ladies' Cambric TOILET SACSQUES, trimmed with fine ruffling, at \$1.40.

Linen and Muslin Pillow Cases and Pillow Shams, in plain ruffles and needlework inserting, &c., on hand and made to order.

CHEMISES, square tucked bosoms, trimmed with ruffles, at 75c.

French Hounced SKIRTS at \$1.20.

CORSET COVERS, trimmed with Hamburg edging, inserting, ruffling, tucks, &c., at 80c. to \$1.50.

Hosiery, &c.

Ladies' iron frame Hose, excellent quality, 25c. per pair.

Ladies' Full Regular-made Hose at 28c. per pair.

Ladies' fine Balbriggan Hose, at \$2.50 per 1/2 doz., upwards.

Ladies' striped Hose, every quality, 45c. per pair and upwards.

A full line of Ladies' Cashmere and Woolen Hose at lowest prices.

Children's White and Colored Hose, in every style.

Children's White and Colored Woolen Hose a particular specialty.

Gents' Full, Regular 1/2 Hose, cheapest in the city, at 22c. per pair.

Gents' Merino and Cashmere Hose at 43c. and upwards.

Gents' Shaker Socks, not to be excelled, at 34c. pr. pair.

Ladies' Hemstitched Handkerchiefs at 12c. and upwards.

Gents' Hemstitched Handkerchiefs, superior quality, 18c. and upwards.

Gents' Hemstitched Handkerchiefs, all linen, 39c. and upwards.

Our own made Kid Gloves, including the following specialties. Every pair ripping or tearing will be replaced on application:—

Single-Button Black and Colored Kid Gloves, 50c. per pair.

Next grade, better, warranted, 2-buttoned, 95c. per pair.

"Altman's" Kid Glove, our own make, in black and all fashionable shades, 2-buttoned at \$1.25 per pair.

Every pair exchanged for new if the one purchased should rip or tear.

"Joachim" Kid Glove, an excellent wearing glove, at \$1.95 per pair.

Gauntlet Gloves, every color and shade, at 63c. and upwards.

A large assortment of Woolen Gloves for Ladies, Gents and Children, at the lowest prices, from 25c. to \$1.00 per pair.

Gents' fine French Dogskin Gloves, every color, at \$1.25 per pair.

Gents' fine French Gloves, excellent wear, 95c. per pair.

Gents' Furnishing Goods.

This department is replete with a splendidly assorted stock, and our prices are such as undersell all other establishments where quality is included.

100 doz. Gents' Merino Shirts and Drawers, 50c. and upwards.

95 doz. Gents' Red Flannel, woven very fine, at \$1.69 and upwards.

"Our own made" Dress Shirts, perfect fit, made of Wamsutta Muslin, fine linen Bosoms, open or closed at back, at \$12.00 per 1/2 doz.

Extra-fine, perfectly-fitting Dress Shirts, New York Mills Muslin, with Richardson's best linen bosoms, made in any style to order, at \$14.00 per 1/2 doz.

Gents' White Dress Shirts as low as \$1.00 each.

Gents' Merino Undershirts at 85c. up to \$2.00.

Gents' Suspenders, every variety, at 25c. and upwards.

Gents' Windsor Scarfs, best quality, at 89c. and upwards.

Gents' Wide and Colored Ties in endless variety at 45c.

Gents' Collars and Cuffs in all the latest styles, 9c.

Gents' Collars, pure linen, latest styles, at 2.00 per doz.

Gents' Columbia 3-ply linen Collars, at \$1.90 per doz.

Gents' turn-down Collars at \$1.75 per doz.

Gents' 3-ply Cuffs at 25c. per pair.

Gents' St. James Cuffs, 3-ply, all linen, at 31c. per pair.

Gents' Elmwood Paper Collars at 23c. per box.

Gents' Superior Paper Collars at 23c. per box.

Gents' common Paper Collars at any price per box.

A large assortment of Boys' Merino Shirts and Drawers at 50c.

Ladies' Morocco Pocket Books from 16c. and upwards.

Ladies' real Russian Leather Pocket Books from 38c. and upwards.

Ladies' and Misses' Merino Vests and Drawers, all prices.

Toilet Department, Jewelry, &c.

Tooth Brushes, excellent to best, from 10c. to 30c.

Nail Brushes, every style, from 12c. and upwards.

Hair Brushes, every style, from 25c. to \$1.

Dressing Combs from 10c. and upwards.

Hand Mirrors, elegant designs, from 31c. to \$1.

Tortoise-Shell Comb Combs from 25c. to \$1.

Ladies' Rubber Belt Buckles from 25c. and upwards.

Ladies' Jet Belt Buckles from 25c. and upwards.

Ladies' Jet Earrings, latest design, from 10c. to \$2.

Ladies' Bracelets, of all kinds, from 38c. to \$1.

Ladies' Leather Belts from 20c. and upwards.

Ladies' Rubber Belts from 45c. and upwards.

Ladies' Beaded Pockets from 50c. and upwards.

Ladies' Leather Satchels, in newest styles, \$1.50 and upwards.

Ladies' real Russian Leather Satchels, \$4.50 and upwards.

Boys' and Children's full, regular-made Shirts and Drawers, at 71c. and upwards.

Ladies' Shawl-Straps from 45c. and upwards.

Children's School Bags from 81 to 89c.

Ladies' Ties from 28c. and upwards.

Ladies' Linen Collars from 7c. and upwards.

Ladies' Linen Cuffs from 5c. per pair and upwards.

Ladies' Neck Ruffling from 15c. and upwards.

Ladies' Undersleeves from 45c. and upwards.

Ribbons of all styles, colors and widths at prices that will astonish customers.

In Velvets, Velveteens, and all kindred goods, we have a full stock, from which we cut on bias at wholesale prices.

Jet and Gilt Earrings, Pins and Bracelets from 25c. per pair, or per set, as high as \$5, according to quality and design.

We have on hand 5000 pieces of worsted, ball and twisted Fringes, now so much in use, in the latest styles, in all colors, which we offer at the unheard-of low price of 48c. per yard.

Forty different styles of Beaded Gimps and Fringes, at present so much in vogue, which we offer at 25c. to 30c. per yard.

We guarantee that, in the exercise of our own judgment, upon receiving as near a description of what is desired as possible, and the price willing to be paid, we will give entire satisfaction, or refund the money. Goods may be returned to us C. O. D.

I will personally attend to all orders coming through the Liberal papers, and having for many years past filled orders for the readers of this paper, my judgment may be relied upon in selecting all goods.

All goods not mentioned herein, including such as may be entirely out of our line, will be as judiciously selected and as readily sent as those enumerated, and in every case I will guarantee the price to be as low as anywhere in the United States.

Ladies' and Misses' Suits and Gentlemen's Clothing may be confidently ordered, on describing the style required, the measurement, and about the price desired to pay. I make myself personally responsible for the satisfactory execution of all orders. Address

MORRIS ALTMAN,

of the firm of

M. ALTMAN & CO.,

6th Ave. and 10th St., N. Y. City.

NEW YORK NOV. 11.

MORSE'S SUMNER.

Cabinet Size Bust. Price \$10. Address

S. H. MORSE, 25 Bromfield St., Boston.

FRED GRANT & CO.

A capital Store for Boys, full of wit and wisdom. Price, \$1.50. Address

THE INDEX,

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FAMILY PUPILS.—Two or three

more pupils, girls or boys, over thirteen, will be received into the family of the subscriber. Address

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NONPAREIL Farm Feed, Bone,

Drug, and Hand-grinding MILLS. Ten Sizes. Also Cotton-Seed Hullers. Illustrated pamphlets free. Address

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The Index.

Three Dollars a Year.

LIBERTY AND LIGHT.

Single Copies Seven Cents.

VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JANUARY 14, 1875.

WHOLE No. 264.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

IN another column will be found a statement showing that a witness in one of the New York courts has just been denied the right to give testimony because of his religious opinions. It should be read thoughtfully by every one.

IT is greatly to be desired that Carl Schurz shall be reelected to the United States Senate. We did not go with him in 1872, and think he made then a great mistake; but he is very able and very honest, and those are precisely the qualities that the country cannot spare just now.

COME what may, the executive department must not be suffered to dictate to the legislative department, at any time, in any place, for any reason. The soldiery must not be permitted to lift so much as a finger against the representatives of the people. On this point there must be no wavering, or all liberty is lost. Against the doubtless well-meant, but most dangerous usurpation of President Grant, every lover of constitutional government and republican institutions must make a determined protest.

CONGRESS itself is to blame for the Louisiana troubles. Its neglect to act in the past has provoked them. But military interference with State Legislatures is altogether too dangerous to be tolerated for a moment. This is eminently a time to keep cool and pass no snap-judgments. Declamation is not what is wanted, but clear comprehension of fundamental principles. On the one hand, no forcible revolution; on the other, no military despotism. Partisanship should be silent, and enlightened patriotism only heard.

IN THE preface to the third Edition of his *Limits of Religious Thought*, Dean Mansel defends "Christian Evidences" as "surely sufficient to form an ample field for the use of Reason, even in regard to those mysteries which it cannot directly examine," and refers slightly to the demands of the scientific intellect for investigation of all things as "the sharp-sightedness of little souls." In similar manner Christianity has depreciated intellect or reason from the beginning; but to-day the contemned faculty is terribly revenging itself on its contemner. Science is the work of the intellect, and science is grinding the "Evidences of Christianity" to powder.

THE Louisiana imbroglio is deeply to be regretted; but it is not yet clear at present writing where the wrong chiefly lies. The most contradictory statements have been made, and we cannot see our way clear to a knowledge of the facts. President Grant and General Sheridan are doubtless patriotic in their intentions; but the people must insist on knowing the facts. Armed interference with State governments is to be tolerated only in a state of war; and if war or secret rebellion exists at the South, it is high time to know it. Vigilance, jealousy for freedom, and determined protection of the equal rights of all, are eminently needed just now.

NOTHING so much tends to cool off all sympathy with the opponents of the Kellogg government as the late collective manifestoes on their behalf by clergymen and prelates, as such, in Louisiana and Arkansas; nothing excites so strong a suspicion that the real *animus* of that party is the old pro-slavery spirit of the past, breaking out in a new form as a determination to keep the negroes still under foot. The Church was the bulwark of slavery; it is still the bulwark of all the evils that slavery has bequeathed. Perhaps the proper remedy for the Southern troubles is to appoint these superserviceable ecclesiastics as a Supreme Theocratic Commission, with absolute power to govern the country according to Bible

precedents. But from this programme we respectfully dissent.

AT THE opening "religious exercises" in the Massachusetts Legislature, on January 6, "a majority of the legislators left the State House;" and "when the lieutenant-governor and staff and members of the Senate had entered the Representatives' Hall, it was not half filled." Rev. E. C. Bolles, of Salem, preached a sermon on the relation between Church and State; and he took the ground of the Christian Amendment party that "under Church and State alike should be the foundation of God's Word and law." The thoughtful will draw their own conclusions; but it seems sufficiently clear that these "exercises" ought to be abolished, unless in this manner the Church is to be recognized indirectly as the foundation of the State. "God's Word" means the Bible: are the people to accept this corner-stone of Protestantism as also the corner-stone of the republic?

THE Committee of Arrangements for the dedication of the Paine Memorial Building, consisting of Messrs. Horace Seaver, J. P. Mendum, and T. L. Savage, will please accept our thanks for their polite card of invitation to be present at the ceremonies, which will take place on Friday, January 29, day and evening. The doors will be open at 10 o'clock, A.M., for inspection of the building. Further particulars will probably be announced soon. The exterior of the building is very imposing, and the interior will undoubtedly correspond. The "Two T. P.'s," Theodore Parker and Thomas Paine, are thus to be commemorated by adjacent Memorial Buildings; and old Dr. Griffin's "Brimstone Corner" gives place to an American "Exchange of Opinion," where brimstone will be at a ruinous discount and where there will be a permanent "corner" on Orthodoxy.

PRESIDENT WHITE's lecture last Sunday, in the Horticultural Hall course, was on "The Warfare of Science." Under the kindred title, "The Battlefields of Science," it was substantially given to our readers in THE INDEX of Feb. 4, 1871; though the lecture has been enriched with additional and valuable matter, and would be gladly republished in THE INDEX. The Upper Hall was well filled, and the large audience listened with unabated interest for nearly two hours. With a graphic pen Mr. White sketched the long conflict between Science and Christianity, both Protestant and Catholic; but the premises, which were identical with those of the most pronounced anti-Christian, were made to minister to a disappointing Neo-Christian conclusion. The next century will smile at our difficulty in getting out of the fog. Mr. White's affluent resources, however, furnished information as useful as it was trustworthy; and his more radical passages were received with applause.

THE NATIONAL SUNDAY LEAGUE, of London, is engaged in a most useful and admirable work. Its three main objects are to secure the opening of public libraries, museums, and art-galleries on Sunday; to run cheap Sunday excursions in summer; and to provide "Sunday Evenings for the People" in winter, for the purpose of furnishing innocent entertainment and useful instruction for non-churchgoers. These plans have already achieved a good measure of success, especially the latter two. A Sunday Shakespeare Society has been formed in connection with the League, which also publishes an excellent monthly paper, the *Free Sunday Advocate*, under the editorial direction of Mrs. J. H. Simpson and Mr. Mark H. Judge. Opposed to this League is the Lord's Day Observance Society, which attempted last summer to break up the Sunday excursions by legal prohibition, but signally failed. Similar attempts to break up the "Sunday Evenings for the People" have also been defeated. The whole movement of the League is philanthropic in the truest sense of the word.

LIST OF LIBERAL LEAGUES.

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Human Nature.

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BY O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

The subject of this lecture is Human Nature. My purpose is to present in outline the scientific view of it as contrasted with the traditional and the sentimental view.

The subject is deeply and wholly practical, and only incidentally speculative. All our dealings with men—and which of our dealings are not, directly or indirectly, dealings with men?—suppose our estimate more or less consciously entertained, more or less intelligently assumed, of the nature of man; all religions accept a theory of human nature, and group their various doctrines and rites about it. So do all forms of government. The despot, the legislator, the statesman, economist, reformer, justify their policy by certain preëxisting conceptions of mankind, which are to them unquestionable and fundamental. Commerce has a certain undefined yet broadly positive conception of human nature; so has trade, in the smaller details it deals with. In fact, we cannot hold any relations with mankind, even the most incidental and occasional, without some notion of the kind of being we are dealing with. Institutions rest on human nature; laws address themselves to human nature; customs express human nature. If there be a creature it is of consequence to know about, not to surmise, conjecture, speculate, or romance about, that creature is man; for failing to know him we are in the dark about everything; we travel in an unknown country; we build our habitations on sand. Thus far, we have had *doctrines* of human nature, instead of *facts* of human nature. If this were all, the mischief would be transient; for the doctrines might be modified and changed, and better ones substituted for worse. But the misfortune is that the doctrines have, in the regards of men, taken the place of facts. They claimed to be *facts*, proclamations of *inner facts*, of the very *soul* of fact. They claimed to be the articulate words of a Being whose words were things. The theologians have thus far enjoyed a monopoly of the doctrine respecting human nature, and the theologian's clearest notion of a fact is a printed text of the Old or New Testament. A few black lines on a piece of paper are more to him than all the records on living tissues, or the data of laboriously acquired science. A declaration in an old psalm, written by a morbid singer in a fit of unusual depression, to the effect that man is conceived in iniquity and born in sin, decides the case against all argument. Even yet, it is difficult to think of human nature as we think of other nature, animate or inanimate. We scarcely succeed in doing more than dream about it in the uneasy drowse that precedes the waking from our intellectual coma.

There are three views to be taken of human nature: the view of its essential depravity; the view of its essential nobility; and the view of its creaturely imperfection. A glance at the three is all my space allows.

Let us consider first the theory of DEPRAVITY, the Christian theory. Without seeking its remote origin, it is enough for our present purpose to trace it to the New Testament, whence the Christian Church professes to derive it. The interpretation of the myth of Eden is there given, to the chronic discouragement of man. The Epistle to the Romans,

the Protestants' *vade mecum*, affirms the doctrine of depravity in language as strong as the vocabulary will furnish. From chapter to chapter the apostle rings the dismal changes on sin and death. He cannot speak emphatically enough of the fallen, abject, helpless condition of human nature. Sin has taken possession of him, and become the tenant of his frame. He speaks of himself as if his personal consciousness revealed a universal secret—as "carnal, sold under sin." "What I do is not of myself; what I would I do not; what I would not I do." I know that in me, that is, in my nature (for by flesh Paul means natural constitution), dwelleth no good thing. He goes so far as to speak of a "law" of sin, as if sin was an organic force, an accumulated and consolidated power, weighty enough at the beginning to overbear all human motive and resolution, but in process of time of a crushing energy that acts like fate.

The Roman Catholic Church followed in this as in other respects the milder tradition of Peter, who spoke of men as "strangers and pilgrims" on the earth, bewildered by error and frailty, though still endowed with sufficient moral ability to walk in a divinely indicated path. The doctrine of the Roman Church as stated by Adam Moehler, one of its most liberal teachers, is this: that the first man was made upright, but dependent on supernatural grace for his moral elevation and support. His act of disobedience deprived him of this supernatural aid, and left him, a mere natural man, with all his possibilities, but no eternal sunshine or celestial air to quicken them into life. The seeds of Paradise slumbered in the heavy sod. No vision of divine things could he have; his spiritual eye was closed; his heart clung fondly to objects about him—kindred, friends, neighbors,—but had lost its hold on heavenly companions; his conscience trembled and reeled, clutching spasmodically at the straws that floated by, and the reeds that grew by the bank of life's troubled river; his reason, perfectly adequate to the conduct of terrestrial affairs, was wholly incompetent to deal with the principles of right and wrong. The Catholic held the doctrine of human imbecility, rather than the doctrine of human depravity, and so opened the way to a recognition of a nobleness that was native to mankind. He was never a wholesale calumniator of his species; and while his method was unscientific as could be, the result of it was something less than abominable; it had even an air of common sense and moderation, as compared with the frightful doctrines of his opponents.

Protestantism accepted Paul as its prophet, and was more than faithful to his teaching. The burning rhetoric of the apostle hardened as it cooled into jagged rocks of dogma on which the tender hopes of mankind staggered with bleeding feet, and fell. I need not quote the brutal language of the German Luther, nor the deadly phrases of the French Calvin. The thought of to-day alone concerns us. Mr. Beecher, of Brooklyn, who represents better than anybody the chameleon type of Protestantism—true, it was six months ago, and he might disown it now,—said: "Of one thing there can be no doubt—that the whole world lies in wickedness." The creed of Plymouth Church, which on ceremonial occasions is periodically repeated by the Protean pastor, holds that the first man was created upright, that he fell by an act of disobedience, and that all his posterity are, not prone to sin merely, but actually sinful and guilty in the sight of God. John Hall, the foremost Presbyterian minister in New York, preaches that although the depravity of human nature does not always break forth in outrageous excess, and is often wholly concealed beneath the amenities of life, still it is not inactive. The Spirit of the World and of the Prince of the World—we know who is meant by that—is in every unregenerate person.

The doctrine of human depravity is, therefore, not dead. It is preached without compromise from metropolitan pulpits; as it proceeds from provincial pulpits, it has the acrid taste of three hundred years ago. It takes other forms than those of doctrine. It appears in the disposition—all but universal—to judge men by low standards, to put the worst interpretation on language, the harshest construction on conduct. A knowledge of the world is supposed to be a knowledge that every man is a knave, and every woman a coquette. The flippant criticism that is passed on the politician, the statesman, the financier, lawyer, reformer, philanthropist—the shrug of the shoulders, the shake of the head, the wink of the eye,—show the taint which this old doctrine has communicated to the blood. The believer in natural virtue is regarded as little better than a fool.

See it break out again in the still extant ideas respecting domestic discipline, based on the assumption that children are imps of Satan, embryos of the evil one, who come wailing into a wicked world, and who at the expense of more wailings, due to prohibition and scourging, must be rescued from the pitfalls which the evil ones dig in their pathway, and carefully covers up with twigs and roses. See evidence of it again in the Christian theories of education,—Catholic and Protestant wrangling furiously over the public schools, to determine which shall have the privilege of administering the patented nostrum to the boys and girls; whether a Bible text or a statue of the Virgin Mary shall perform the office of counteracting the deadly poison that secular knowledge introduces into the natural mind, knowledge pure and simple being regarded as bane. The theory of depravity comes out in the popular notion of law as a supernatural power, which men must obey, not question; in the popular notion of government as a superhuman institution, planted in the world by divine decree, supported by divine grace, and administered by divine wisdom; in the proposition to save the people of the United States by inserting a confession of God and Christ in the

National Constitution. The early founders of Massachusetts had a thought—perfectly consistent with their theological belief—of entrusting the offices of civil administration to none but church-members, who, as elect and regenerate, represented the Christ on earth. Their plan had the virtue of a manly integrity, which is more than can be said of the plan of their descendants. The modern Puritans are either more wily or more superstitious than their fathers. If, by inserting the name of God into the text of the Constitution, they meditate a gradual introduction of church-members into office, their diplomacy is worthy of a society which is not spoken respectfully of in the Protestant world. If they honestly believe that by printing that august word on thick, official paper they shall secure the permanent action of the Christ in caucus meetings, or the constant energy of the Holy Ghost in disinfecting the city of Washington and the chambers of Congress, their superstition would make the shade of Cotton Mather blush.

The doctrine of the essential depravity of human nature is a pure speculation, born of an era when men, having no knowledge of the world they lived in, and no means of acquiring knowledge of it, no breadth of experience, no wide commerce with their kind, no skill or habit of observation, drew on their fancy for their facts, and constructed the being they could not study. So stubborn did the habit of dreaming become in the thousands of years of this kind of brooding contemplation, that even now men, as by an implanted instinct, instead of studying Nature, study texts. They put aside Darwin, and read the second chapter of Genesis. Any ancient legend is better authority than any modern fact.

When the era of observation began, the shapes of man that met the opening eyes were not such as might encourage enthusiasm or faith. The prominent persons were emperors, princes, kings, strong and rich nobles, who practised cruelties worthy of fiends, and indulged appetites after the manner of beasts. And when they looked beyond these monsters of lust and iniquity they discerned slavish submission, deceit, and nameless abominations of filth. To have discovered any theory but that of human depravity in the specimens that those wild ages offered would have reflected no credit on the discernment of conscience. The doctrine lives now on its memory, and justifies itself by the morbid casuistry that turns and twists, inverts and perverts, assumes the heart to be a sepulchre, and therefore finds it full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness.

It is needless to say now that the doctrine of human depravity is worthless as a key to human nature. It unlocks no secret chamber. It brings to light nothing. To say that it leaves the natural goodness of mankind unaccounted for is as if one should say that black paint will not account for the presence on a canvas of white lines, that ink spots will not throw light on the purity of paper, or that the nigritudinosity of mud is no explanation of a lily's whiteness. The believers in human depravity simply deny the existence of natural goodness, or, failing in ability to do that, ascribe it to the silent trickling of the divine grace through some exposed crack in their mental integument. Theologians are adepts in this transcendental chemistry—which deals with gases less ponderous than oxygen, and produces with the Holy Spirit effects more surprising than Tyndall produces with light. He does not merit the name of theologian who cannot at call bring the Holy Spirit to his aid when logic proves too much for his case. The Holy Ghost has the run of the universe, with liberty to create goodness at will, and the theologian is bound to admit its presence wherever virtue shows its flower above the black ground.

The real task laid on the doctrine of human depravity is to account for the natural badness of man. The turpitude of mankind seldom exhibits the quality that this doctrine demands. It is not sufficiently ingrained in the texture of the creature. How comes it that the vilest of the vile—their circumstances being changed, their environment altered, their relations readjusted, their temptations diminished, other sets of motives appealed to, other hopes awakened—emerge from their bestiality, and show themselves men and women? How comes it that a little tillage of the native soil with such implements of husbandry as lie at hand is followed by such admirable fruits? How comes it that on the removal of a few rubbish-heaps,—ignorance, limitation, custom, evil association,—the crushed and measly ground clears itself of centipedes, and pushes up the clover-blossom in response to sun and air? How comes it that bad qualities have an aspect of goodness to them, as if their cursedness were incidental and relative, not substantial—base things looking often like fine things in disguise, and abominable things looking like beauties out of place? Where, on the diabolic theory, the strange similarity between wheat and tares, which not only suggests the expediency of letting both grow together till the harvest, but also suggests that the Lord of the harvest may wisely decide to gather the tares into the barn, and cast the wheat into the furnace? If we could find a vein of pure, unadulterated, infusible devilry running beneath any considerable tract of humanity, the doctrine of depravity might be called in to explain it; but as it is, the doctrine raises more difficulties than it puts away—is itself, in fact, a supreme difficulty which psychology must account for. Probably the Darwinian hypothesis will show, as a final triumph, how men transferred to themselves the monstrosity of the creatures they succeeded.

We must do human nature the justice to say that the doctrine of human depravity never held undisputed sway in Christendom. In the nature of things it could not. It was, even in the worst times, impossible that so insolent a doctrine should be preached generation after generation to men of all conditions and degrees without vehement reaction and earnest

challenge. Men are not in the habit of listening to billingsgate without resentment. Perhaps this is a sign of their depravity. Had they not been unregenerate they would, when called *raca*, have made no references to hell-fire. They did not bless their slanderers. In the fourth century, already the voice of protest was raised loud enough to be heard all over Christendom. It was the voice of a British monk that startled Augustine in his African diocese. With genuine British common sense and pluck, Pelagius raised an outcry, in the name of character, against a doctrine that made character impossible. If, he said, human nature is essentially depraved there is no moral freedom; if there is no moral freedom there is no responsibility; if there is no responsibility there is no room for praise or blame; if there is no room for praise or blame there is no such thing as worth, and character is but a name. Character supposes power to be virtuous; if a man's nature is prescribed for him by the devil, it is the devil's and not his own; if a man's character is vouchsafed to him by the Christ, it is the Christ's and not his own. Adam cannot be good or bad for me. I stand for myself. Every individual counts one; his qualities are his own, and for them he is answerable. If we all fell in Adam, then individuality is a fiction. Instead of being many we are one—and that one is the first one. Pelagius, plain, solid, common-sense, practical Englishman, was no match for the subtle Augustine, who soon vanquished him, and branded him as a heretic. But the voice of conscience would not hush at the bidding of dialectics. Pelagius was pronounced by the Church a misbeliever; but the human consciousness attested his Orthodoxy. Yet so a thousand years passed before another great protest rang through Europe. This time it was the voice of an Italian that spoke, out of the land of institutions, where the power of conscience was venerated in law. He was well born, a scholar, a student of history, a man of uncommon reflection. But the voice from Italy only echoed the voice from Britain. The appeal was still to reason, judgment, the intuitive moral sense, the practical convictions of mankind. "I know when I do wrong; I know when I do right. That I have power to refrain from doing wrong, that I have power to do what I feel to be right,—this too I know. I stand by myself, free, a subject for praise and blame, for punishment or reward. With Adam I have nothing to do. If he sinned, he sinned for himself; if he fell, he fell for himself. No doubt, long practice of evil has created a stubborn habit of practising evil, and rendered it much easier to do wrong than right. The man who set the first example of wrong-doing, and so begun the bad custom, has much to answer for. But the fact remains the same that whoever sins sins for himself. He cannot lay off his trespass on a depraved nature." Socinus, who will be recognized as the father of modern Unitarianism, which at first bore the name of Socinianism, admitted frankly that, to balance the weight of disadvantage imposed by the deadly law of habit, a Savior was necessary, an inspired book, a perpetual priesthood, a supernatural accession of power. Nevertheless, every man was declared free to avail himself of these supports. The supernatural world was not separated from him by an impassable gulf; his reason could apprehend its truth, his heart could respond to its solicitations, his will could grasp its motives. There was affinity yet between the human and the divine. Nature recognized the presence and answered the call of Spirit.

Again the voice was silenced. Socinus went from town to town, from city to city, from country to country, a persecuted man. He died, and the black billows of Orthodoxy rolled over him.

For as yet there was no consistent theory of human nature to oppose to that of depravity. The protest was earnest, but incoherent. It was not an argument, but a cry. There was no rational psychology, no scientific method, no fundamental position, even; and before the disciplined phalanx which the dogma of depravity wielded, the scattering suggestions of disbelief could make no stand. Within Christianity no efficient resistance has yet been offered.

At last a new doctrine shaped itself, in form the precise opposite of the Christian. It came originally from the land of Luther. According to this doctrine man was a spiritual being, of nature essentially divine, rather a descendant from an upper sphere than an ascendant from a lower. To those who held this great conception, the notion of human depravity was abhorrent. They thought of man as a being who had a religious nature, out of whose heart religion came, to whose soul religion was native air. They could not find speech strong enough to voice their detestation of a doctrine that deprived the soul of its weight, the conscience of its responsibility, the heart of its affections, and the will of its power. For man, the essential creature, too much could not be said. He might be ignorant, limited, crippled in his lot, stunted in his faculties, bewildered by false teaching; but beneath darkness, lumpishness, vice, crime, sin, the seeds of virtue slept never to die, and at the touch of truth beat impatiently under the sod. Man was an angel, not a fiend incarnate; he brought with him airs from heaven, not blasts from hell; his humanity sweetened instead of poisoning the world.

The apostle of this great faith, in America, was Channing, a man whose thought made an epoch. He was not a great theologian; not a deep philosopher; not a keen psychologist; not a scientific observer. But in singleness of mind, sincerity, earnestness, devoutness, and reach of moral insight, he stood so high as to stand almost alone. Deep-hearted himself, and meeting heart to heart his kind, he felt the dignity he could not explain. Human nature was to him the complete expression of the divine mind. It was the conscience that gave revelation of law, the heart that gave revelation of love, the reason that gave revelation of truth. Church, Bible, and creed

must render account of themselves to the soul. The Father's child, the Christ's brother, is authorized to sit in judgment on evangelists and apostles, on teachers and priests. The cardinal belief of religion according to Channing is THE DIGNITY OF HUMAN NATURE.

That phrase became the watchword of a new reformation. The idea it contained took Channing out of the limits of his dry and technical sect, and clothed him in the garb of a prophet. Though not perfectly formulated, though never very profoundly or clearly conceived,—for Channing, who had in him just a touch of asceticism, sometimes spoke as if man was after all a fallen creature, found in the stiff integument of the body, the passions still strong with a smell of sulphur about them, temptation being of the evil one, and the world a place of danger,—still, for all this, the doctrine flew fast, and carried regeneration on its wings. It was felt in the home, awakening a new spirit of tenderness, suggesting new methods of influence, prompting new rules of discipline, creating a new atmosphere in the nursery and the primary school. It was felt in high schools, seminaries, and colleges, giving fresh and luminous meaning to the great word "education,"—the leading forth of the rational being into the world of intelligence, and remanding to its original sense the word "instruction"—which implied that the mind must be built in by walls of dogma. It was felt in politics, the conception of law laying by its severity, and serving now to emphasize, instead of repressing, the moral sense; the conception of government emptying itself of its despotic significance, and reinforcing the reason's consciousness of its right to rule. Reason soared above all legislative enactments, and proclaimed the existence of an unwritten law, to which all authorities must bow. A breath of human sympathy crept into the stony heart of legislation. The criminal code was forced to plead at the tribunal of the heart. Hopeful words were spoken in prison-cells. The thief and the murderer were added to the catalogue of human beings. The instruments of torture were thrown aside. A firm hand was laid on the vindictive gallows,—instrument of retaliation in the eyes of most, symbol of expiation in the regards of a few.

The new doctrine raised up a host of reformers and philanthropists; an enthusiasm of humanity took possession of the community; another crusade was preached for the recovery from the infidel of the holy places. The poor must be emancipated from the thralldom of necessity; the vicious must be reclaimed; the criminal must be reformed; the abandoned must be brought to themselves; the defaced image of God must be dug out of the slime, and cleaned, and set up in its place.

Against the two most stubborn representatives of the Christian doctrine—war and slavery—the gentle apostle threw himself like a champion of the holy grail. In the name of the dignity of human nature, Napoleon, the greatest soldier of many centuries, was arraigned at the bar of justice. In the same august name the challenge was flung at America's pet institution, as it sat high among its worshippers, defended by custom, honored by wealth, fawned on by fashion, and blessed by religion. The silence of adulation was broken by the still, small voice. The puny frame, trembling with the burden of its regenerating message, stepped into the crowd of politicians and divines, took the black man by the hand and raised him up. It was one of the bravest things that was ever done; all the braver because the man who did it was delicate and sensitive, the centre himself of an adoring crowd whose incense was ceaselessly rising to his nostrils; all the braver because while he called the negro "brother" he refused to call his master "thief," but respected the humanity in both; all the braver because the act brought upon him misunderstanding from those who should have been his supporters, and exposed him to assault from those who should have fought by his side.

In presence of such a prophet and priest as Channing, it is easy to do full justice to the doctrine of the dignity of human nature. Indeed, the only difficult thing is to criticise it. So full of inspiration it has been, so rich in suggestion, so pregnant with fine hints towards a better society, so noble and tender in all its aspects, that it seems ungracious not to rest finally in it as the ultimate truth. But the doctrine has its weak side. Like the opposing belief, it was a theory, pure speculation resting on no observation of facts, but borrowed from the philosophy of the last century. Its disciples read it into the New Testament, and claimed for it the authority of Jesus. The sentimentalism of France and the transcendentalism of Germany lent their sanction to it; it was fortified by the ardent hopefulness that characterized a young people, with unlimited opportunity in the present, and a boundless prospect in the future. But it never sunk deep into the popular heart, never became a general conviction as the old faith did. It remained to the last the belief of a limited number of enthusiastic spirits, and, its hours of transport and triumph ended, gave way to another view.

The weak points in Channing's doctrine are too obvious to need indication. In distinction from the old theory which exhausted casuistry to prove that every man was a demon, this exhausted persuasion to prove that every man was an angel. Orthodoxy threw the diamond into the crucible, and taking out the carbon equivalent tauntingly said, "There is your jewel, man; make the best of him!" Channing, seeing the diamond latent in the lump of carbon, undertook the opposite task of transmutation, and failing to produce the diamond said: "Nevertheless, it is there; you may see it flash in the dark." The doctrine of the dignity of human nature is pledged to glorify it under all conditions. It must excuse faults, palliate enormities, cover up iniquities, whitewash turpi-

tudes, insist that people are at heart, not only better than they seem, but substantially good, and declare that the eye of love can alone read character. Always to love and always to pardon was its motto. Its mantle of charity was so large that it lapped over the area of this life, and spread its warm covering over the endless æons of the hereafter. Faith in the possibilities of human nature distanced all facts.

The doctrine gives no adequate account of the bad side of men. If men are angels imprisoned or enshrouded, why is the angelhood so backward in appearing? Why so many gratuitous liars, thieves, backbiters, betrayers, killers, ravagers of happiness, and destroyers of bliss? Why such supererogation in works of darkness,—such superfluity of devilry? Circumstance will explain all that, you say. Poverty, ignorance, unfortunate birth, early perversion, and neglect. But are all liars poor, all thieves ignorant, all killers badly born, all soul-destroyers unfortunately placed? If comfortable circumstances, intelligence, open opportunity, flattering inducements, pleasant social position, are advantages, why does the angel forbear to use them? But they are not always advantages, you reply. They may be obstacles, burdens, temptations of another kind; illusions and seductions, these. Must we not then doubt the angelhood? Either it is not there, or, being there, its presence can be only surmised. Can dignity be ascribed to an angel so hopelessly weak?

Of the doctrine of Depravity I said that, while it failed to explain natural goodness, it more signally failed to explain natural badness. Of the doctrine of Dignity it may be said that, while it fails to explain natural badness, it more signally fails to explain natural goodness. For goodness does not break upon us like the sun from a cloud which has hidden it for a moment; it comes like the pond-lily, the night-blooming cereus, or the ripe apple, which shows the quality and crowns the effort of stem or trunk. Of natural goodness, in the sense of goodness latent and obstructed, a ready-made quality of heart or conscience, there is little if any. There is possibility of goodness, and there is possibility of fruit in the pear tree; but there is no pear till every process of growth has been passed through. In a word, goodness is a result, not an entity; a product, not a principle. Children are good only as slips are trees. The good man is the natural man, the bad man is the unnatural. But the goodness is at the end, not at the beginning. It is a crown, not a star. The doctrine of Dignity, assuming that every man and woman is an angel in disguise, and accepting the task of finding the angel in the person, overlooks the fact that angels are *got out* of men by another process: not *extracted* like the kernel from a nut, but *expressed* like juice from the vine. They are oftener found sitting by the grave than sleeping in the cradle.

Thus neither of the two doctrines accounts for the facts. Neither interprets satisfactorily the signs of good and evil; neither explains the mixture of elements in character; neither gives a reason for the relative worth of moral qualities; neither solves the riddle of their apparent identity of substance; neither answers the question touching the relation between quality and condition. The one simply denies that Nature makes any saints; the other denies that Nature makes any sinners. But the method by which either saints or sinners are produced, is left unrevealed. The one tasks faculty to show the worthlessness of natural goodness, and gloats over the discovery of rot at the heart's core; the other equally tasks faculty to show the preciousness of natural goodness, and exults on finding a sound seed in the middle of the decayed pulp; but neither studies the law of growth and decay.

Another philosophy must be invited to furnish the key of the riddle,—the PHILOSOPHY OF EVOLUTION. Science favors no prepossessions either against man or in his favor. It asks to know what man is. Its studies are not in anthropology, but in natural history. The NATURAL HISTORY OF MAN; that phrase tells the whole story. It implies that human nature is not a thing, a gift, a quality, an essence, a quiddity, planted in every creature of the race; not a transmitted principle which holds its own, preserving its identity through all changes; but is in bulk a product, the result of innumerable ages of thinking, feeling, groping, reaching, endeavoring, experimenting, struggling, battling, winning, losing, acquiring, consolidating, transmitting, creating, and preserving.

It is a current phrase that human nature is the same all over the world; that from generation to generation its general attributes do not vary. Is it so? The differing customs, laws, institutions, governments do not so report. The savage man and the civilized confess no identity of nature. The races do not assume it, but face each other with blank countenance and lack-lustre eyes. Human nature in the West is stranger to human nature in the East. Human nature in the South fails to comprehend human nature in the North. There is small affinity between human nature in priest-ridden Spain and human nature in free England; between human nature in Turkey and human nature in the United States; between human nature in Cork or Dublin and human nature in Boston or Chicago.

The Italian of mature age does not find himself at home in the New World; the German, the Celt, the Chinaman instinctively herd with their own kind, as if afraid to trust themselves with people they do not understand. The New Englander and the Hollander have as much ado in fraternizing, except on the principle of mutual toleration, as if they belonged to different species.

There are, no doubt, certain established identities; for experiences are identical, and result in the same cardinal qualities which come at last to be characteristic of humanity.

In the course of their development, all human creatures meet three stages of experience, and

achieve three things. Existence is impossible anywhere unless three things are secured,—safety of the person, safety of property, safety of the home. But what infinite variety men exhibit in the means of achieving these three ends, the means of preserving them, and the estimate of their value when attained! Here men go armed, and have all the instincts, beliefs, convictions of the soldier; there weapons are laid by, their use is forgotten, and men have the instincts, beliefs, convictions of the civilian. In this place property is defended by force, in that it is protected by written or unwritten law; and the whole man is invested in each method. Compare the domestic arrangements of a wealthy Turk, Egyptian, or Arab with those of a wealthy Englishman, Scotchman, or American. Compare the sentiments in regard to woman in India and in Germany! Consider the different place assigned to the same qualities in different states of society! Think how the lowest attributes in one race are ranked highest with another, so that virtues and vices change positions!

"If," says Pascal, "man had known the economy of the world he wishes to govern, he would not have established as a maxim that each should follow the customs of this country. The splendor of true justice would have subjected all peoples, and legislators would not have preferred to this constant equity the fancies and caprices of Persians or Gauls. We should see it planted in all States of the world and in all times, instead of seeing as we do now scarcely anything just or unjust that does not change quality with climate. Three degrees of higher latitude overturn all jurisprudence. A meridian decides the truth; fundamental laws change every few years. Right has its epochs: the entrance of Saturn into the constellation Leo marks the origin of a special crime. A pitiful justice that, bounded by a river! Truth one side of the Pyrenees, error the other!" What Pascal records in bitter scorn, holding human nature in derision, the man of science quietly makes note of, as indicating that human nature is a product, dependent on conditions, varying with soil and climate, shaped by contingent experiences, and taking hue and flavor from the elements that pass into it.

This doctrine answers a multitude of questions. It tells us why men are as good as they are, and no better; why customs are as favorable to virtue as they are, and why they are no more so; why the average goodness is what it is, and how it happens that there is any goodness at all. It enables us to trace qualities from their genesis up; to see them cross, mingle, blend, appear, disappear, undergo modifications of exaltation or depression. It will undertake to explain peculiarities of goodness, remarkable phases of virtue, even eccentricities of excellence or baseness. What the theory of Depravity accounts for by special inspiration, what the theory of Dignity only wonders at as being so rare, the theory of Evolution disposes of without effort.

Arnold von Winkelreid, at the battle of Sempach, seeing the desperate situation of affairs, dashed forward shouting, "Countrymen, take care of my wife and children," gathered into his bosom and so rendered harmless a sheaf of Austrian spears, and over his dead body launched the Swiss into the heart of the foe's lines. For four centuries the deed has been celebrated in the annals of heroism. Glorify it, for it is worthy of glory; but remember that Winkelreid was a Swiss; that patriotism was the Switzer's religion; that to die for country was as easy as to live, and more famous; that among his comrades there was more than one capable of the same consecration; that sacrifice of that kind was the ordinary virtue of a military age; and that the knight was no more conscious of doing a great deed than a good merchant is when he pays his debts in hard times. Had he done otherwise, he would have falsified the traditions of his life. That Winkelreid was a hero all over there is no reason to believe. We only know what he was on one occasion as a Swiss knight.

An engineer, driving his train, sees on the track before him a child playing with pebbles, alone, without a protector. He "slows" the train, springs off, dashes forward, snatches the child away at the risk of his own life, leaps back upon the engine, and looking back sees the frantic mother flying to the rescue of her delivered darling. All the neighborhood rung with the deed. The man was lauded for his humanity even more than for his daring; though had his foot slipped, and the train met with mishap in consequence of his desertion of it, there would have been an outcry against the recklessness that, in the vain hope to save a child, imperilled the lives of a hundred men and women. The deed of the brave engineer is not to be universally commended. But passing such considerations by, and regarding simply the personal valor of the act, may we not credit it to the peculiar discipline of the engineer's life; to the special training of his profession? His duty was to run his train with safety to everybody on the road. In this duty his conscience culminated. To this every thought converged. On this his whole heart was set. Fidelity to his calling demanded that, as fidelity to his knightly calling demanded Winkelreid's sacrifice. Off his engine and his road his humanity was probably not eminent. But there the flower of discipline bloomed with a splendor that amazed the eye.

The city missionary who stays all summer in the infected town when all who can flee away, simply acts out the special bent of character to which he has been determined. By organization, taste, sensibilities, and insensibilities, by practice and routine he is predestined to that kind of faithfulness. The heroism of philanthropy is often a streak of moral energy as distinct from the rest of character, as the vein of gold is from the black quartz it traverses. I have seen it gleaming in a mass of hypocrisy and lies, of private vanities, tyrannies, cruelties even, that

would have made the person execrable, if unrelieved by this attractive gift.

Mr. Martineau contends that in the case of three moral virtues which he enumerates—*compassion, self-forgetfulness, and the sense of duty*—humanity is left unsupported by the constitution of the world. And so they are, if by the constitution of the world we mean the material order; for Nature, as interpreted by the law of evolution, is pitiless, self-asserting, and reckless. But the constitution of the social world educates us in virtues that the brute world never suggests. Human feeling inculcates what animal instinct would disapprove. As, without compassion, self-forgetfulness, and a sense of duty, families could not be reared, or commonwealths exist, or laws be enforced; as, in a word, the mutual needs of mankind demand them,—it is fair to number them among the genuine products of experience; and the circumstance that they are so very far from uniform in their manifestation goes to confirm this belief.

Virtue answers to development. The world has got so far on its way; so far in Europe, so far in Africa, so far in America, so far in Louisiana, so far in Massachusetts; so far and no further; and the progress measures the character. A negro girl, being slightly reprimanded by her mistress for a fault, attempted to poison the whole family. When confronted with her crime, she manifested no emotion, but hung her head in dogged silence. The papers paraded this as an instance of *total depravity*. Say total ignorance, total obtuseness, total neglect. She belonged to a race which, time out of mind, had been brutalized, bestialized, crushed; a race that had been forbidden learning, aspiration, growth. Of responsibility she had no sense, of law no knowledge, of social fraternity no suspicion. The lack of humanity in her exhibits its nature, and she is taxed with having lost by sin what she never had.

The doctrine of Depravity divided society into regenerate and unregenerate, saints and sinners. The doctrine of Dignity classifies all people as possible saints. The doctrine of Development abolishes both saint and sinner, and substitutes human creatures in the infinite stages of their immaturity. It declares every sinner to be a partial saint, every saint to be a partial sinner. It substitutes qualities for attributes, gains for gifts, acquisitions for endowments, and distributes them impartially among mankind. It concedes no absolute moral perfection to Jesus, no absolute baseness to Judas; but, studying both by the light of their epoch, assigns to each the qualities which the national and private exigency called forth, and tries to render simple justice to both. It takes a portion of the iniquity from Henry VIII., and bestows it on the lords and ladies of his not too virtuous court. Imperfection in all creatures is its motto. All who come up out of the same dust, live under the same general influences, share the same general experiences, meet life on the same plane, reap the same field of experience, have with multitudinous special variations the same essential characteristics. Each age has its virtues and vices, from both of which none of its children are wholly exempt.

This doctrine explains, too, the backwardness of mankind, the slowness of movement, the dead weight that hangs round the neck of advance. The generation goes so far and stops. Sir Thomas More with all his intellect could not overpass the dogma of transubstantiation. The intellect of Isaac Newton plashed about in the fen of apocalyptic calculations, the mathematician of the skies puzzling like a school-boy over the number of the Beast. The soul of Jesus was entangled in the meshes of the Messianic doctrine. We speak rather disparagingly of people who are "wise in their generation." It were not easy to find one who is wiser than his generation. The tide-wave touches a certain line, and recedes that succeeding waves may have their chance. What goes beyond the determined line is spray, not ocean. Aspiration, hope, dream, purpose fly beyond the boundary, but character remains within it. At moments the Millennium seems at hand. The young men see visions, and the old men dream dreams; souls are alight with prophecy; but it is never fulfilled. The fire burns out, and a pile of cold ashes bears witness that it was of mortal origin, and consumed mortal materials.

The doctrine of Depravity leaves the steady progress of the world unaccounted for. The doctrine of Dignity leaves the slowness of the world's progress unaccounted for. How can a lump of clay move? How can an angel loiter? The doctrine of Development explains and justifies both facts. The power that works for righteousness, the conditions of its working, and the result of the working within the conditions, are all allowed for; and while the wings of hope are unclipped, expectation is sobered, emotion is chastened, and endeavor defined.

Here at last we have a doctrine of human nature that offers a basis for science. The believer in human depravity resorts to the Church, and to sacramental grace. The believer in human dignity resorts to sentiment, and consults the oracles of hope. The believer in development studies facts, and lays the groundwork of social science. For him there are no raptures, no despairs. Serious, devoted, humble, certain that the world moves on, certain that it moves by law, certain that it must move slowly, certain that every straw must be cleared up, for the economical providence is not indulgent towards litter, certain that the ground to be traversed cannot be skimmed over by wings, or skipped over by jumps, but must be measured inch by inch with careful steps, he is earnest and patient. He looks for no immediate heaven, he fears no prospective hell. The shout of the enthusiast and the warning of the sceptic address him equally in vain. He is no doctrinaire or sentimentalist. He is neither optimist nor pessimist. A fact to him is worth more than all fancies, glad or gloomy. For a fact is a stepping-

stone on which he can place his steady foot. Praying for no revivals by supernatural grace, hoping for no spasms of philanthropy or sudden outbreaks of reform, but rather dreading both, he labors to ascertain the conditions of happy living and to touch the springs of virtuous character; and seeing the effect of his method on mankind he is encouraged to believe that in the future man may be man indeed. This will be

Might—never put forth blindly, nor controlled
Calmly by perfect knowledge;
Knowledge—not intuition, but the slow
Uncertain fruit of our enhancing toil
Strengthened by love; Love—not serenely pure,
But power from weakness, like a chance-sown plant
Which, cast on stubborn soil, puts forth changed buds
And softer stains, unknown in happier climes.
Anticipations, hints of these and more
Are strewn confusedly everywhere—all seek
An object to possess and stamp their own.
All shape out dimly the forthcoming race,
The heir of hopes too fair to turn out false.

MIRACLES A LA MODE.

Once upon a time there stood on the crest of a Provençal hill a declining town, which had formerly seen better days. It had a history of its own, a dilapidated fortress, a congregation of dark, crooked streets that seemed to be running hither and thither in search of daylight, and a sprinkling of inhabitants who partook of the general rustiness of the place, and croaked that things were no longer as they once had been. The reason of this was that the town had none of the elements which constitute urban vitality now-a-days. It was not on the trunk line of any railroad, nor on a broad river, nor had it even a canal near it; it was not healthy either, for there were swamps in the neighborhood, and in fact it had only sprung into being because of that old castle, around which in feudal times vassals of different degrees had built their houses for protection. Feudal times being gone, there was no cause why the town should flourish any longer, and there came a day when it looked as though the place was fast dwindling into a village; but towns, like men, can never guess what is in store for them. One morning it was learned that an old lady, who owned a fine tract of the swamps above-said, with an acre or two of vineyard, and a rickety farm-house, had died, leaving her property to a nephew in Paris, whom we may call M. Gaillard. This gentleman came in decent mourning to attend his aunt's funeral, and for the next few days might have been seen reconnoitering his inheritance with an eye devoid of enthusiasm. But towards the end of a week a strange thing occurred; for, instead of volunteering to sell his whole lot for a song, M. Gaillard, who was a bulky, astute-looking man, entered into negotiations with the owners of the remaining swamps, and offered to purchase at a low price.

Now, on the day before he broached this offer, bulky M. Gaillard had returned to his hotel, muddy up to the waist, and with a bottle of water peeping out of his coat pocket. No one took notice of the bottle, but some attention was paid to M. Gaillard; and, by dint of gossip and inquiries, it was soon ascertained that he dealt on the Bourse and had amassed a fortune as to the extent of which people differed—though, judged by appearances, he was not a very rich man. Peasant proprietors being cautious folk and shrewdly mistrustful of Parisians, the owners of the swamps hesitated to sell, wondering what could be M. Gaillard's motives for buying; but his account was very plausible. He saw his way to reclaiming the swamps; only, as he must needs embark considerable capital, he wished to have a sufficient tract to work on. After all, added he, there was no eagerness on his part, for it was a hazardous affair at the best, and he could only give the swamp owners three days to think over the affair. The owners took the three days, and then, after a desperate wrangle in which they succeeded in screwing out of the Parisian one-tenth more than he had originally offered, they sold him not only the swamps but about two hundred acres of other land—poor land,—and then went away laughing in their sleeve at having got to the weather side of this acute Bourse man. The fact is they well knew that the swamps could only be reclaimed at a cost which could never be recouped out of the yield of the land, and they were well content to part with their share of them as well as with the fields adjoining, which, owing to the marsh-vapors, lay almost sterile. As for M. Gaillard, looking not over pleased with his bargain, he returned to Paris, and the porter who carried his carpet-bag to the diligence yard observed that he held under his arm a bottle wrapped in newspaper, which gave rise to the rumor that the Parisian was taking away a sample of the local vintage with the idea of by-and-by planting vines on his swamps, and increased the hilarity of the peasants tenfold.

M. Gaillard remained absent about a month, and when he came back took up his abode in his farmhouse, and was frequently seen prodding the borders of his swamps with a stick. But after a little while he gave out ruefully that he had made a bad investment, for that the swamps would swallow up twenty times more than he could afford; and he submitted very good-naturedly to the banter of his neighbors, and especially of Farmer Nigot, who lived about a kilometre's distance from him, and passed for a religious and prudent man in the whole district. It so happened that Farmer Nigot had two little girls, Rose and Marie, aged twelve and ten respectively, who attended the nuns' school in the town, and returned home every evening. As their way lay past M. Gaillard's farm, that unlucky investor often met them, and, struck by their gay, innocent looks, he one day inquired of their father whether it were wise to let two such young children wander alone in the dark through deserted lanes. "Oh, my children are not timid," answered the farmer complacently; "the

nuns have taught them to be afraid of nought but evil-doing." This was a highly sensible speech; it was made toward the beginning of November, when the days are short, and some evenings later Rose and Marie set out homeward as usual at about five o'clock, with their satchels and empty luncheon-baskets on their arms. Well, they had reached a spot where the swamps begun, some five hundred metres from M. Gaillard's farm, and they were babbling on grave matters concerning dolls--when suddenly they stopped as if rooted to the ground, and Marie, the younger, nestling close to her sister, exclaimed in a terrified voice, "Look!" The sight was, indeed, worth looking at. From between two willows that stood on the swamp's margin there rose something white, rendered indistinct by the damp mists; but on this white something there abruptly flashed in colors beautifully luminous the figure of a woman in blue and crimson with a child in her arms, and a golden crown on her head.

Often had Rose and Marie seen the image of this lady in pictorial missals and in the illuminated engravings used for decking chapels, and they instinctively clasped their little hands, whilst a voice reached them, saying, in clear, kind tones, "Rose and Marie, do not be frightened, but remember this day, and tell your parents what you have seen;" then the image vanished, and in its place broke out a rosy light so brilliant that it shed its rays for a hundred yards round the spot, and lit up the path of the two children as they hastened home breathless and pale to apprise their parents that they had seen the Virgin Mary. We need not dilate on the feelings of Farmer Nigot and his wife; enough that this prudent and religious couple, standing at the door of their house some minutes before their children's return, had remarked an extraordinary light beaming in the direction of the swamp, and had marvelled what it could be. When Rose and Marie related their adventure M. and Madame Nigot ceased to marvel, or rather their marvelling took a new turn, filling them with such awe and perplexity that they had lost all appetite for supper. Meanwhile, any sturdy stroller who should have walked down the road five minutes after the little girls had disappeared might have described unlucky M. Gaillard pelting towards his farm at a racing speed, with something like a white table cloth over one arm and a box on the other. He came apparently from the willow clump, and ran at such speed that in crossing the road he dropped something which fell with a crash, as of glass; and next morning the rural postman going his early rounds picked up on this precise spot the broken slide of a magic-lantern.

But this next morning was to usher in a day fated to be ever memorable in the annals of Gobemouchy, that waning town which we have already admired. Towards noon, M. Gaillard arrived at the mairie with some excitement in his manner, and announced that he had that morning discovered on the borders of his swamp a warm sulphur spring; and to prove his say he produced a bottle of the liquid, which the mayor and his clerk there present proceeded to taste. The report quickly spread through the town; but as sulphur springs are not rare in France the discovery of this one occasioned no commotion, until in the course of the afternoon another and much more startling rumor was circulated, to the effect that our Lady of Grace had appeared the night before to Rose and Marie Nigot on the exact site where the new spring was flowing. It seems that Farmer Nigot and his wife had been seen roaming all the morning with wizen faces near the presbytery, as if afraid to go in; but hearing of M. Gaillard's discovery, they had taken heart to call on the curé, and recount to him, in scared language, all that had happened. The curé, much surprised, forthwith took them, along with their two children, to be questioned by the mayor, and the mayor lost no time in summoning the *juge de paix* and the sub-prefect; but while this pair of important officials were investigating the wonder, who should turn up but a shepherd lad--quite simple, and therefore incapable of inventing--who, lying under a hedge the previous night, had witnessed the apparition too, and corroborated all the details furnished by Rose and Marie to the letter.

Now, you need scarcely be told that with respect to miracles we live in an unbelieving age, and therefore for every inhabitant of Gobemouchy who created the apparition there was another who laughed it to scorn; but undoubtedly the greatest scoffer of all in the town was M. Gaillard. This gentleman openly pooch-pooched the whole story, and to many this seemed indecent; for, after all, how could he account for the sulphur spring which had never existed before? M. Gaillard admitted that the spring had never existed before, but he absolutely declined to credit a miracle--only, in saying this, he let out that he was a republican and a freethinker. And this naturally took away all weight from his utterances, besides arraying against him the mayor, the sub-prefect, the clergy, and all the faithful. The attitude of the clergy, however, was in this, as in all circumstances, exceedingly discreet. The curé, having sent an express to the bishop, received orders to take no side in the controversy, but to hear evidence dispassionately, and to let time work. The curé obeyed, and had no cause to repent of the result; for before the week was out a vast number of other people, old ladies, nuns, school children, and several grown-up peasants appeared and swore that they had for some time past noticed miraculously brilliant lights glittering over the swamp; while some of the old ladies who had hastened to taste of the sulphur springs vowed that they had been instantaneously cured of long-standing rheumatics.

But whilst these declarations were keeping the minds of Gobemouchy in a condition of electric disturbance, and whilst the nuns of Rose and Marie's school were burning tapers day and night, and whilst

a eminent chemist consulted as to the properties of the new spring was declaring it most potent for skin diseases, that uncommonly sceptical M. Gaillard received a visit from the rural postman, who, carefully closing the door, drew forth the magic-lantern slide and winked--such a wink! The poor man thought he would dumfound M. Gaillard; but judge of his emotion when that gentleman immediately caught him by the arm and dragged him off exultingly to the town hall, where in sight of the mayor he brawled, "Here, Mr. Mayor, is the secret of the whole matter--somebody has been hoaxing these poor children with a magic-lantern!" You think this forthwith dispelled all doubts? Ah, you little know the temper of a population who have been refreshed by a miracle. The profoundest contempt of all righteous minds fell upon M. Gaillard and upon the postman, who was dismissed from his place the following day for a heretic good-for-nought who had joined in a conspiracy. For was ever conspiracy plainer? Not content with poking his jeers at a providential apparition from which he was about to benefit, this infidel Gaillard wanted to trump up a cock-and-bull tale of a lantern, with the evident purpose of defaming the Church. Many who had not believed till that moment altered their minds out of disgust for so much cynicism; and monsignor the bishop, when informed of the facts, remarked with pious resignation that it was evident the freethinking party would take this miracle as a pretext for one of their customary and regrettable onslaughts upon the faith.

What more shall we add? Is it worth while to relate how the miracle, discussed in the Parisian press, became at once a political question, marshalling conservatives on one side and liberals on the other? How the inhabitants of Gobemouchy, incensed at the sarcasms of these liberals, and perceiving what profits were going to accrue to them from the miraculous spring, rose like one man with a petition to the court of Rome? and how the court of Rome solemnly confirmed the miracle with a bull *urbi et orbi*, thereby compelling all constituted authorities in France and the entire conservative party to put faith in it? On the spot where Gobemouchy was drooping so piteously in its decline now rises a beautiful renovated city, and on the site of those quondam marshes you may find rows of picturesque villas, a convent, a grotto, and a monumental church, to which one hundred thousand pilgrims flock every September. Rose and Marie have become nuns; the shepherd lad, adopted by a legitimist duke and educated at a first-class seminary, has blossomed out into a zealous priest; the cashiered postman joined the communists, and is at present in New Caledonia; and M. Gaillard, who made some fifty million francs out of those swamps, has turned the way of all prosperous men. He now calls himself Comte de la Source, is a conservative deputy, and a subject of constant edification to the faithful, for he has humbly recanted the errors of free thought.--*London Daily Times*.

ANTISLAVERY DOCUMENTS.

The undersigned have learned with much satisfaction that the valuable library of books and pamphlets relating to slavery and the antislavery movement in the United States, which was bequeathed to Cornell University by the late Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, has been made the nucleus of a collection of works on this subject, to be designated the "May Collection," in honor of its beloved and lamented founder. The collection has already received important accessions from the private libraries of friends in this country and in Great Britain, but it lacks many publications on the subject during the last forty years which are now out of print and to be found only in the possession of a few private individuals. It is especially deficient in the antislavery publications which emanated from Philadelphia, and it also lacks a file of the *Liberator* and other antislavery journals, the early volumes of which are now very difficult to obtain.

Regarding it of great importance that the literature of the antislavery movement both in this country and Great Britain should be preserved and handed down, that the purposes and the spirit, the methods and the aims of the abolitionists should be clearly known and understood by those who are to come after us, we earnestly recommend those of our old friends and coworkers in the antislavery cause who have any books, pamphlets, or newspapers relating to the question, for which they have no longer any use, to communicate with Prof. Willard Fisk, Librarian of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, with reference to placing them in the "May Collection." The library, however, has no fund from which to purchase books, and is obliged to rely on the generosity of friends in making contributions.

We consider it especially fortunate in having the services of Prof. Fiske, whose admirable qualifications and ripe experience as a librarian are well known, and who has taken a most active and hearty interest in the "May Collection," and we believe that under his fostering care this latter will become the largest and best collection on the subject in America.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
WENDELL PHILLIPS,
SAMUEL MAY,
GERRIT SMITH.

THE *Watchman and Reflector* says that a German scientist in 1788 wrote as follows: "The sun is really a kitchen fire, and the spots are great clouds of smoke and heaps of soot; consequently where there is a kitchen fire there must be meat to roast--such as godless people, Universalists, Atheists,--and the devil is the cook who turns the spit!"

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

ILLUSION.

The first word Baby said was "Bird!"
And landscape, dog, and tended herd,
That on the wall in picture hung,
One name must take from this new tongue.
And through the window every morn,
Her eyes, ere day was fairly born,
When birds from northern blasts had gone,
Seemed still to gaze with wonder on
The flocks which mother knew had flown
To warmer climes of southern zone.
'Twas "Bird! Bird! Bird!" from morn till eve:--
What should those little eyes deceive?

If Baby live till years we count,
And eager watch her brother mount,
In search of birdings, on the bough,
With eyes as wonder-full as now,
Will little seeker often moan
Because the naughty birds have flown?
And will she still-pursue the quest,
Though still in vain, from nest to nest?

The Baby's lessons, one by one
Unlearned as life's quick stages run;
The little maiden's hope deferred,
To find in every nest a bird--
These are but things that mother knows,
From life's beginning to its close,
Again and o'er again must be:
We look for what we never see.

Yet not to mock our restless sense
This ever-fleeing recompense;
The glory of life's forward aim
Is in the chase, and not the game;
Illusion is the bird that flies
To lure the soul to paradise.

Nov. 20, 1874.

J. H. C.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 9.

H. A. Hanaford, 75 cents; Jacob Hoffer, \$1.50; R. G. Macgill, \$7.95; Henry P. McNair, 75 cents; J. H. Sherwood, 65 cents; G. P. Delaplaine, 30 cents; Charles Graeter, 30 cents; G. H. Foster, \$2.82; L. Andrews, 60 cents; E. R. Wheeler, 30 cents; E. Bateman, 30 cents; Peter H. Barr, 80 cents; E. D. Linton, \$3.20; James Humphrey, \$3.20; W. F. Freeman, \$3.20; R. P. Johnson, \$3.20; John Sawyer, \$3.20; D. E. Mayor, \$3.20; R. W. Henshaw, \$3.20; J. P. Ingalls, \$3.20; Lyman Hodsdon, \$3.15; G. A. Bacon, \$3.20; A. T. Lilly, \$3.20; M. O'Connell, \$3.20; A. A. Andrews, \$2.20; A. A. Vaughan, \$3.20; Chas. Graeter, 25 cents; Marian Hovey, \$3.20; Mary S. Williams, \$6.40; C. F. Oliver, \$3.20; Robert B. Estey, \$3.20; Chas. P. Tenney, \$3.20; H. J. Hatheway, \$3.20; Thos. C. Fahnstock, \$3.50; Henry Apthorp, \$3.20; Chas. Apin, 25 cents; Almira L. Tracy, \$3.20; John Farnsworth, \$1.50; F. H. Badger, 25 cents; Geo. Isles, 25 cents; J. W. Marshall, \$3.20; C. Weber, \$3.20; M. A. Stewart, 25 cents; W. E. Swan, 25 cents; M. M. Pratt, \$3.20; Samuel B. Stewart, \$3.20; E. Fezandie, \$3.20; C. R. Woodward, \$3.20; Thos. Mumford, \$3.20; J. Atkins, \$3.20; David Porter, \$3.20; J. A. Mallory, \$7.50; E. C. Hyde, \$1; Wm. Blinkhorn, 25 cents; J. T. Sutton, \$3.20; G. W. Topping, \$3.20; H. O. Bigelow, 25 cents; Samuel Drew, \$3.20; H. Bonhl, \$5.25; C. F. Williston, \$3.20; Rosalie Hopper, \$3.20; Peter H. Clark, \$3.20; Etta and Lizzie Marshall, \$3.20; F. G. Sayer, \$3; F. M. Reed, \$3; Joseph Knight, 25 cents; Julia J. Perkins, \$3.20; David Thome, 25 cents; Chas. Ziegler, \$3.20; A. P. Hulse, \$3.20; Mary Griffith, \$3.20; J. M. Millan, \$3.20; T. McCintock, \$3.20; C. E. Marston, \$3.20; J. C. Godfrey, \$3.20; Sophia B. Carter, \$3.20; E. H. Bearse, \$1.25; S. E. Mulliken, \$3.20; J. Richmond, \$3.20; R. F. Briggs, \$3.20; J. T. White, \$3; Noah Green, \$1; John Maddock, \$3.20; Wm. F. Perkins, \$1.20; M. A. Thurston, \$3.20; M. B. Hayward, \$3.20; L. G. Woodhouse, \$3.20; Alex. Cochrane, \$3.20; Samuel S. Green, \$3.20; J. L. Otis, \$3.20; W. H. Ovington, \$3.20; W. W. Carson, \$3.20; W. K. Rogers, \$3.20; J. W. Scott, \$3.20; W. E. Darling, \$3.20; G. H. Briggs, \$3.20; J. T. Clarkson, \$3.20; S. G. Morgan, \$3.20; Wm. A. Wall, \$3.20; Thos. H. Matthews, \$3.20; F. V. Balch, \$3; H. R. Williams, 80 cents; J. S. Bender, 80 cents; S. M. Whistler, \$1.05; A. Seeger, \$1.60; C. H. Chace, \$3; G. A. Stevens, 25 cents; E. W. Lee, \$3.20; J. D. Zimmerman, \$3.20; A. A. Walker, 75 cents; James Thompson, \$3.20; L. K. Washburn, \$3.20; S. K. Hazelton, \$2; J. B. Tileston, \$3.20; J. S. Thomson, \$3.20; W. C. Preston, \$3.20; G. W. Robinson, \$3.20; H. G. O. Blake, \$3.20; Will. Kennedy, \$1; A. R. Zueller, \$3.20; A. Friend, \$3.20; M. J. Perry, \$3.20; R. J. Rogers, \$1.20; P. Seldner, 80 cents; S. R. Urbino, \$3.20; Mrs. H. K. Crane, \$1.60; W. H. Farquhar, \$3.20; J. C. Haynes, \$3.20; J. P. Greenleaf, \$3.20; C. E. Laird, \$3.20; Eliza Bullard, \$3.20; Miss Rodman Wharton, \$3.20; Eliz. R. Fisher, \$9.20; Mrs. Robt. Haydock, \$6.20; Benj. Rodman, \$3.20; Porter Plumb, \$3; F. M. Holland, \$1; Henry Whittemore, \$3.20; J. R. Fletcher, \$3.20; Geo. E. Jewett, \$3.20; James E. Farker, \$3.20; S. E. Piper, \$2.20; Geo. C. Foist, \$3.20; S. Archand, \$3.20; E. H. Facker, \$3.20; M. E. Osborn, \$3.20; M. E. McKaye, \$3.20; E. S. Aldrich, \$3.20; Wm. Clough, \$3.20; Wm. F. Freeman, \$1.80; R. P. Johnson, \$1.80; Alex. Cochrane, \$50; Thos. Matthews, 30 cents; E. W. Hopkins, \$1.20; C. H. Horsch, 60 cents; F. V. Balch, \$8; Benj. Rodman, \$5; M. E. McKaye, 42 cents; H. O. Neville, \$3.20; W. P. Wilson, \$1.75; T. W. Higginson, \$20; G. H. Foster, \$3.88; A. Williams & Co., \$7.47; A. S. Latty, 35 cents.

RECEIVED.

Books.

AROUND THE WORLD: or, Travels in Polynesia, China, India, Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and other "Heathen" Countries. By J. M. Peebles. Author of "Seers of the Ages," "Jesus--Myth, Man, or God?" "Spiritualism Defined and Defended," &c. Boston: Colby & Rich. 1875.

Pamphlets and Periodicals.

CIRCULAR OF INFORMATION of the Bureau of Education for December, 1874. Compulsory Education. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1875.

THE VARIOUS DECREES AND THE "EXPOSTULATION." By Annie Besant. RELIGIOUS AND MORAL SENTIMENTS. Freely translated from Indian Writers. By J. Muir. SIGNS OF THE TIMES. January, 1875. All published by Thomas Scott, Esq., London.

THE YEAR BOOK of the Unitarian Congregational Churches for 1875. With Calendar adapted for use throughout the Country. Boston: American Unitarian Association.

UGHT CHRISTIANS TO DEBATE? A Lecture by W. F. Jamieson, Boston, Oct. 11, 1874. Boston: W. F. Jamieson.

THE UNITARIAN REVIEW. January, 1875. Edited by Rev. J. H. Morison, D.D., and Rev. Henry H. Barber. Boston: L. C. Bowles.

The Index.

BOSTON, JANUARY 14, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO OFFICE, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
ABRAM WALTER STEVENS, Associate Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRANCIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), Editorial Contributors.

SUNDAY LECTURES.—The Editors of THE INDEX will lecture occasionally on Sundays, if desired, within a convenient distance of Boston.

THE NEW YORK *Independent* will please accept our acknowledgments for this catholic and courteous paragraph in its issue of January 7: "THE INDEX some time ago published an able article on 'The Relativity of Knowledge,' in criticism of the Spencerian philosophy of the Unknowable, and promised others if its readers did not feel inexcusably [inexpressibly?] bored by articles of this character.' We have waited three weeks, hoping for a continuation of the discussion, and are inclined to offer Mr. Abbot the hospitality of our columns, if his own readers do not feel interest in such themes." It is quite possible that some of our readers were "inexpressibly" bored by the article referred to, or would have been if they had read it; but we hoped they would not feel themselves to be bored by it "inexcusably," i.e. without excuse on our part. A liking for hard-tack comes "by grace" rather than "by nature," and should not be ruthlessly assumed. Perhaps we may at some time actually accept the *Independent's* invitation, and put to the test the mental digestive apparatus of its readers. It is always pleasanter to experiment on others than on the members of one's own family!

CATHOLIC OPPOSITION TO OUR SCHOOLS.

Bishop Regan, of Buffalo, in a controversy conducted through a local paper, recently made this statement of the Catholic view of the public school question:—

"We hold, then, as we said before, that children must be instructed in the knowledge of God and the divine law, made familiar with the gospel of Christ and the precepts of revealed religion, trained up from earliest years in the discipline, faith, and practice of Christianity. We are, therefore, an enemy, and, if you please, a stern, avowed, and uncompromising enemy, of any system of education for Catholic children in which religion, or religious instruction, the profession and practice of Christian faith, are neglected. We hold it to be the most sacred and bounden duty of parents to impart an early religious education to their offspring, and that for the great mass of mankind this education can be given only in the Christian school, where religion, Christianity, positive principles of faith, shall be impressed on the young mind by open, direct teaching, and actual daily practice. This cannot be done in a manner satisfactory to Catholics in public schools as constituted and managed here; for they are either godless or sectarian—godless by law, sectarian for the most part in practice,—and therefore Catholic parents cannot in conscience send their children to them. The law of the State positively declares that no religious instruction can be given within the hours allotted for school; therefore I have said they are, by law, godless. The State sets up a system of education and opens schools for its future citizens that, as far as the school goes, must send them out on society without a knowledge of God, or of his divine law, or of Christian truth and virtue. But the Christian instincts of the American people rebel against this educational heresy, this legalized atheism, this practical godlessness; and therefore, in violation of the law, they have their chapels and their Bibles, their prayers and their hymns, evidencing clearly enough to our mind that the spirit of the country is a Christian spirit, that the instincts of the people are religious, and that a Christian community instinctively feels that its youth should be educated in religious knowledge and imbued with Christian principles.

"I rejoice that it is so; for all this is in perfect harmony with Catholic sentiments. I am overjoyed when I hear from Christian pulpits and earnest Christian men moving appeals in behalf of Christian youth. Catholics are not the only citizens who wish their children schooled in Christian principles, and trained in Christian virtue and the early practice of

the precepts of the gospel. We do not wish, then, to destroy the public schools; we wish to see them thoroughly and practically Christian; we wish every child educated in the public schools to possess and practise Christian faith. But what we allow and most sincerely wish for others, we ask and claim for ourselves."

In support of precisely the same view, the Brooklyn *Catholic Review* of October 20 had the following editorial paragraph:—

"Canada offers yet another humiliating illustration of the fact that justice, with the average Protestant, seems to be a mere matter of arithmetic—a thing to be clamored for when he is in the minority, to be denied when he is in the majority. In Canada, the majority, being Catholic, voted that the Protestant minority should have separate schools, and not be taxed to support those wherein the majority wished to have their children brought up, according to the wise king, 'in the way they should go'. In 'the States,' and in New Brunswick, where the Catholics are in a minority, they are taxed to support a school system they cannot conscientiously use, in the face of reiterated protests and manifest injustice."

Such quotations as these could be indefinitely multiplied. They express a consistent doctrine of education which is urged with great unanimity by the Catholic clergy and press of this country, and which, though as yet unaccepted by a portion of the Catholic laity represented by Mayor Kelley, of Richmond, Virginia, is nevertheless certain to command earlier or later the support of the great bulk of our Catholic population. The influence of the priests and bishops is thrown almost wholly in that direction and eventually shapes the convictions of the laity according to their will; while the nominal Catholics who set themselves up in defiance of this will are speedily forced either to submit or to apostatize. It is the part of sagacity to recognize the inevitableness of having to defend our present system of public secular education against the whole power of the Catholic Church, and to prepare ourselves in season either to strengthen or to surrender this system. First of all, we should candidly examine the causes of the growing Catholic repugnance to free secular education; next, we should consider what we have to urge on behalf of it against Catholic objections; and, lastly, we should begin betimes to take such steps as the interests of freedom, intelligence, and the public welfare demand.

What are the real causes of the Catholic protest against our public schools?

The primary and deepest cause is to be found in such facts as these. In 1836, Bishop England estimated the Catholic population of this country at 1,200,000, the total population being then 15,000,000; and he estimated that the Church had lost at least 3,750,000 members in the fifty years preceding 1836. "We ought," he said, "if there were no loss, to have five millions of Catholics. . . . The persons so lost are found amongst the various sects to the amount of thrice the number of the Catholic population of the whole country." [*Works of Bishop England*, vol. 3, pp. 126—127.] In a similar strain the New York *Irish World* said in its issue of July 25, 1874: "The Catholic population of the United States to-day is some 10,000,000. But the number of persons who ought to be Catholics, by right of descent from settlers in this country from the beginning, and who to-day are to be found among the sects or in the ranks of Nothingarianism, is estimated at 18,000,000." These figures are doubtless exaggerated, but they point to an indubitably large loss to the Catholic Church. Having this fact in view, and surmising that Mayor Kelley has "the tacit or half-uttered support of the Right Reverend Bishop of Richmond and of the Most Reverend Metropolitan of Baltimore," the New York *Freeman's Journal*, perhaps the ablest Catholic paper in the country, says boldly: "One thing is certain. Archbishops and bishops may be multiplied, and priests ordained, and thousands of churches built; but if our bishops do not, following the Vicar of Christ, forbid Catholics sending their children to godless schools, in fifty years from now the Catholic Church in the United States will be a shrivelled and ghastly skeleton—a dry waste after a wave of European emigration,—a scattered flock that false shepherds fed and fattened on, and left unsheltered from the wolves. These are hard words, but they are true, even if it be the rough editor of the *Freeman's Journal* that says them. And his God knows he would be glad not to have to say such words."

Now the primary cause of this apostasy of Catholic children from the faith of their parents is, as the last extract plainly intimates, the influence of the so-called "godless schools;" or, speaking more accurately, the influence of the education there acquired. "Ignorance is the mother of devotion," in the Catholic sense of the word; and knowledge is the death of

it. Moreover, association with non-Catholic children, contact with non-Catholic ideas, and so forth, counteract the influence of the Church to so large an extent, that Catholic children in the second and third generations very frequently become wholly de-catholicized; and the priests know it. Hence the persistent attempts to establish "parochial schools," to divide the public educational funds, to prevent the attendance of Catholic children at the public schools, to secure appropriations from the public treasury on behalf of Catholic schools, and so forth. It is the practical effect of unsectarian education in weaning children from devotion to the Catholic Church, and the consequent check to the Church's growth in numbers, power, and wealth, which lies at the bottom of this increasing hostility to the public school system; and it makes little difference whether the public schools are "godless" or "sectarian," "atheistic" or "Protestant." It is enough that they are not under the control of Catholic ecclesiastics to make the latter implacably opposed to permitting the children under their charge to attend them. They doubtless justify this opposition on the score of solicitude for the eternal welfare of the children; but it takes little penetration to see that they are quite as much concerned for the temporal welfare of the Church. Unless the whole tendencies of things are reversed,—unless non-sectarian education becomes the foster-mother of Catholic sectarianism,—we must expect to see every devotee of the Roman Catholic Church in this country arrayed against our present system of popular education; and the primary cause of this hostility must be found in the fact that our present school system is the chief obstacle in the march of the Church to universal dominion.

Next week we propose to resume this subject, and to consider especially the protest of the Catholic conscience against a public educational system uncontrolled by the Catholic Church.

GERRIT SMITH AND E. B. WARD.

For the first time since the Free Religious Association was organized, death has visited the circle of its officers. Within one week two of its Vice-Presidents have been thus removed. The death of Gerrit Smith is already known to the whole country and the world; for he was a man of world-wide reputation as a philanthropist. The death of Mr. Ward is as well known in all important business and financial circles throughout the country; for he was one of the kings of the business world.

When the Free Religious Association thought it advisable to enlarge the list of its Vice-Presidents so as to include a larger number of representative names throughout the country—the names of persons well known as standing for some phase of the free religious movement, and yet well known also in other walks of life,—the name of Gerrit Smith at once presented itself among the first to be selected for such a list. For the name of Gerrit Smith, for more than a generation, had been prominently identified not only with every public and private cause of philanthropy, but with the cause of reason in religion as opposed to the external authority of sect or creed or church or Bible. He stood, therefore, among the very foremost of living exponents of free religious ideas. He not only had a deep interest in religious matters, but he frequently wrote and spoke upon them, and always in behalf of the freest use of reason on all religious questions. And then by his philanthropy, which was not confined to one phase of social reform alone, but was a thorough and abiding principle of conduct connecting him with all movements for the welfare of men, he showed those practical results into which free religious ideas should issue if they have a genuine worth. Take him all in all, then, he came very near what might be regarded as the model of a free religious character. The two watchwords of his life were Liberty and Humanity: Liberty for the bodies and souls of men, liberty for all rational inquiry, thought, and utterance, on all questions whether of politics or religion; Humanity, or a spirit binding the free individual in the fine bond of good-will, charity, brotherhood, and mutual helpfulness with all his kind.

Theologically, Mr. Smith might perhaps have been classed as a Christian Theist. Yet he was a man of such independent position and convictions that it is not easy to put him in any class. He certainly belonged to no sect. And he hailed the organization of the Free Religious Association, and readily assented to stand as one of its Vice-Presidents, because he saw that it was a movement against sectarianism, dogmatism, and superstition, and in favor of a free, rational, and humane religion. To use the old dis-

tion, he was a believer in Natural Religion, but not in Revealed Religion. And he kept the Christian name, not because he cared much to insist on the term, but because he believed that it was a name properly applied to the kind of religion inculcated in the moral and spiritual teachings of Jesus, which he accepted as the highest phase of Natural Religion. But any form of dogmatism, creed-ism, priestcraft, and any kind of spiritual authority other than that which appeals to the free reason and conscience, he instinctively discarded, under whatever sacred name it might appear. And because he discarded so much that is commonly thought essential to Christianity, he was not regarded as having any right to the Christian name by the vast majority of the Christian world. Practically, his life came nearer to the primitive Christian type than can often be found in modern Christendom,—sharing, as he did, his large fortune with the needy, forgiving and blessing his enemies, when assailed on one cheek turning the other, making no respect of persons at his hospitable board, but inviting black and white, the elegant millionaire and the humble mechanic to sit down together; and, in the midst of opportunities for self-indulgent ease, living a life of great simplicity, temperance, benevolent industry, and self-denial; yet notwithstanding these traits of character, modelled on the precepts of the "Sermon on the Mount," the Christian sects almost without exception were debarred from calling him Christian because of the dogmatic meanings which they give to the word.

Mr. Ward—or Captain Ward, as he was more familiarly known in his own community—was a man of very different temperament and career from Gerrit Smith. In the East he was little known except among men of business and finance; and there were those who did not understand, when he was proposed as a Vice-President of the Free Religious Association, who he was or why he should be chosen. But in the West his name was a familiar synonyme for enterprise, sagacity, indomitable energy, and honesty, and was a tower of strength in the business world. Unlike Mr. Smith, who began with a fortune, Mr. Ward began with nothing but his hands and his brain. He started, after emigrating from his birth-place in Vermont, in his business career as a cabin-boy on some humble lake craft. He became, by his mental and physical vigor, by his wise courage and his capacity for invention and organization, one of the leading spirits in developing the material enterprise of the West, and has died the possessor of a property estimated at several millions. But he was a man of strong intelligence, and of benevolent heart and public spirit. And like Mr. Smith, he too was a believer in reason and freedom in religion, and interested in all questions pertaining to religious progress, yet stood outside of all sects. His home, luxuriantly appointed, was opened with a large hospitality. Two or three years ago, he had formed a plan of building a fine and spacious Hall in the city of his adoption, Detroit, to be used for free religious meetings on Sunday, and generally for popular culture by lectures, reading-rooms, library, etc. But probably the financial depression has prevented the execution of this benevolent project. W. J. P.

NOTES FROM WEST WISCONSIN.

Market: Copper-mine stock, dull and drooping; mineral waters, upward tendency; religion, first grade, steady, with hell-ward inclination; second grade, lively demand in certain quarters, no sale in others.

If the price of corn governs marriages, as Buckle says, the price of wheat governs revivals. At least, it is so out West. Wheat is down, and revivals are up. We might make a see-saw or sliding scale of values: As grain goes up, the revivalist's God goes down below par, and vice versa.

For instance, last Sunday (January 3) seven persons were baptized in the river here by cutting a hole in the ice; thermometer at fifteen degrees below zero; wheat is seventy cents per bushel. Now let wheat advance to about eighty cents, and about four would go down into the water in order to get up into heaven. Let wheat jump up to \$1.25 per bushel, not a man would stand up for Jesus. If he wanted a bath, he would take a Turkish one, or a simple tub with tepid water, and pay for it in cash.

But wheat is down; and, as a consequence, all around us revivals are up and rising. As the creditor comes in at the front door, the frightened debtor flees from the back door to the bosom of his Savior—who washes away, not his debts, but his trouble about them. This is a "compensation" Emerson does not philosophize about.

We said second grade religion (as we weigh the

grain of it) is lively. Not only are revivals throughout the country symptomatic of a rising market, but we have just had at Fond-du-lac, in Wisconsin, what is called an Evangelical Alliance. The object of the Alliance was to ally all denominations more closely together by the bond of a common creed; and they succeeded in adopting a creed, though not without resolute opposition from a respectable minority. How the vote stood we have not learned. The encouraging feature of the conference is that Dr. Dudley and Rev. Mr. Reed, of Milwaukee, without question the ablest ministers in that city, if not in the State, together with a Rev. Mr. Case (Methodist), of Fond-du-lac, pastor of the largest church in that city, were among the number that refused to adopt the articles of faith.

The latter gentleman in his pulpit, on the Sunday following the Alliance, severely castigated the Convention for their narrowness and dogmatism, and vindicated his liberal policy. Of the spirit of the clergy in general he is reported as saying that, "When the charge of bigotry and intolerance is brought against the clergy, we are unable to repel it; for the history of the Church, in all ages, is but a record of clerical intolerance. Every inch of the progress of the ages has been contested by the clergy. The creeds and confessions of faith which have burdened the Church in all its history stand to-day, like the desolate columns of Egyptian ruins, monuments of the dogmatism and bigotry of the Church and the clergy in the past." More truth about the Church than one generally hears in Christian pulpits, and, coming from a Methodist minister, it raises hopes that some good may come to radical religion out of that Nazareth of faiths.

During the discussion concerning the adoption of a doctrinal basis by the Alliance, a Rev. Mr. McLean, from Beloit, hit Liberal Christianity "under the belt," in the opinion of Rev. Mr. Case, who strikes from his pulpit counter-blows that ought to knock wind out of his clerical brother.

When Mr. McLean compared the "liberal faith to a bag of jelly without the bag," Mr. Case retorts that a "bag of jelly without the bag is preferable to a jelly-bag without the jelly;" and he prefers to have the jelly of modern thought, with its little cohesiveness and consistency, rather than the old bag, dry as a pepper-pod, which John Calvin carried his sour jelly in. As to the doctrine of eternal punishment, Messrs. Case, Reed, and Dudley would not stand on a platform that put that plank in. The Alliance, nevertheless, voted for the plank. So it would appear that these gentlemen are left out in the cold, even as were many of the radicals, when Unitarians put the Lord-and-Savior-Jesus-Christ plank in their denominational platform.

As to Prof. Swing, he is off the rack of heresy, but he seems to be tortured by some other rack. His sermons are published every week in the *Chicago Times*, and given the leading place; but frequently they do not deserve it. They are indeed always characterized by sweetness of spirit and breadth of sympathy, and by a kind of Indian-summer atmosphere, which invite repose; but they lack much of the freshness, poetry, and finish of his sermons last winter, while they have become more sentimental and especially lachrymose, until one sometimes wishes this David would hang his harp on the willows, and doctor his liver. We tire of one perpetual minor key. A few extracts from a sermon of two weeks ago will give you an idea of his state of health: "The more days the year sends us in which we can meet together in a Christian love, and brotherhood, and child-like simplicity, the better; for the world deeply needs a religion of less inquiry and more sentiment." In our opinion there is too much sentiment and too little sense in the Christian religion. In his retrospect of the year, he says gloomily: "Nobody has seemed to be on the side of peace and good-will, so far as the Church is concerned. Unsupported by the State, unsupported by the leading men of science, unsupported by a large portion of the daily press, we have added to our weakness by stirring up domestic broils. Each denomination has suffered from some form of internal war. Instead of converting sinners, they have lacerated themselves and each other. It is the only year out of the past decade whose termination I personally hail with joy. All the comfort we can glean comes from the fact that no rivers of blood have been shed by any of these denominations in the feuds of these latter days."

Now why so much gloomy repining? No doubt what he says is true. No year has been so full of Church trials, Church turmoils, and Church scandal, as the past; but, excepting the scandal, which God

knows is black enough, the Church trials are nothing that one should whine over.

Prof. Swing ought to lift up his voice in thanking that he is, first, a heretic, and, secondly, that he is a free man and an independent preacher. It is true he may enjoy nevermore those sweet communions at conferences with dear brothers and lovely sisters in Christ, and he can only chew over in memory those sandwiches and baked beans that he used to roll as sweet morsels under his tongue, when he loved Dr. Patton and Dr. Patton loved him, with that "Christian" love he speaks of. But whatever pleasures of fellowship he may have sacrificed, he has gained intellectual liberty,—a possession to the strong, brave, original mind far dearer than the privilege of quarterly collations, fraternal sympathy, and greetings, and a name in the *Year Book*, desirable as these may be. Instead of shedding "tears, idle tears," over a retrospect of Church trials and turmoil, let Prof. Swing rejoice and thank God for the day that Dr. Patton slipped from his neck the ecclesiastical halter, and turned him loose to range at his own sweet will through the green pastures and beside the still waters of world-thoughts.

If, as some say, this is the freedom of the wild ass, be it so: we will take such pasturage in preference to the fodder doled out in the Church stables.

Notwithstanding the *Chicago Times* gives to Swing three columns every week, it has severely criticised some of his sermons. It christened his new church the Church of the "Holy Ambiguity," because it is in theology a hybrid, as it surely is. The trouble with the Professor may be mostly in his liver; still we are disposed to think he is not quite weaned from his old love, and occasionally feels homesickness for the church that is home no more. But he is a kind man, and doing a good work.

More anon.

W. H. S.

A MAGNIFICENT CHANCE FOR PROTEST.

At the request of his society, Mr. Potter has just given to the public two discourses preached by him last November on "Some Aspects of Unitarianism in its Past and Recent History." They contain utterances which ought to, and perhaps may, call out frank statements from the Unitarian ministers and journals; though we have little expectation that the leading points made will be otherwise than evaded by the latter. "The least said, the soonest mended"—seems to be the Gilded Rule of Unitarian journalism. Nevertheless, Mr. Potter's discourses must set every thinking Unitarian busily at work in his own mind. Some facts are presented which "will not down" at any one's bidding, however painful they may be:—

1. Mr. Potter's name was officially struck from the authorized register of Unitarian clergymen a year ago, simply because he declined to profess himself a Christian.

2. This action of the Secretaries was indorsed by the American Unitarian Association at its annual meeting last May.

3. It was again practically indorsed by the National Conference at its biennial meeting last September.

4. Mr. Potter now tells his society (and we think no less truly than bravely) that they are "publicly implicated in the heresies of [their] pastor;" and for this reason Dr. Bellows' resolution of sympathy towards this society was emphatically voted down by the National Conference.

5. "The resolution having been proposed solely as a test of fellowship," says Mr. Potter (and again we agree with him), "the decisive vote to table it became virtually and unmistakably an act of disfellowship and exclusion on the part of the Conference towards this society."

6. The Council of the Conference made special efforts to enlarge its fellowship in certain other directions, [and the Conference even went so far as to appoint delegates to the Orthodox Congregational Convention]; which makes the virtual disfellowshipping of the New Bedford society still more apparent and significant.

7. "Yet by the Unitarian Association," continues Mr. Potter, "you are still recognized as a Unitarian society in regular standing in the Unitarian denomination. You will find in the pews to-day the annual printed Appeal for funds, which that Association sends out to the churches on its list, and which its Secretary has recently sent to me for this distribution among you. It would appear as if the Secretary had not heard of the action of the Saratoga Conference against fellowshipping this society, though more than two months have passed since the Conference was held, or else he does not choose to heed even the 'moral authority'

which the Conference once alleged was the only kind of authority that was to be recognized in its votes."

Now we submit that, if there was the slightest reason a year ago for questioning Mr. Potter as to his Christian position, there was a great deal stronger reason for questioning the New Bedford society this year on the same point. We approved the compilers' action last year, because we accepted the reason offered—a regard for "honesty" and "accuracy" in preparing purely statistical tables; but what must we say now, in view of the facts above presented? It is transparently clear that a regard for statistical "honesty" and "accuracy" required that the question then put to Mr. Potter should be now put to his society. Why was it not put? The words we have above italicized tell why. The sending of that Appeal to the New Bedford society was virtually a speech, which may be thus paraphrased:—

"We do not think you sufficiently Christian to be fellowshipped by us, when in solemn Conference assembled. Your position is too suspicious, at the best, to permit us to offer you our hands. But your money is Christian enough to satisfy the most fastidious of us conservatives. So we forbear to question you unpleasantly, lest your non-Christian pride should be so severely piqued as to make you withhold your Christian dollars. Please be so gracious as to send us your greenbacks, and we will gratefully stow them away in the same pocket into which we have thrust all our scruples as to your Christianity!"

And this is what organized Unitarianism has come to! Shall there be no brave and generous rebuke from Unitarians themselves of such a travesty on religion? When, nearly seven years ago, we felt constrained to request the erasure of our name from the *Year Book* list, it was with great inward pain that we severed our connection with what we thought (and still think) a company of noble and high-minded men and women. But if they can endure to be implicated in such a policy as this without being smothered with chagrin and shame, there is more nobleness and high-mindedness in the one man they have cast out of their fellowship than in all that remain.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—As I conclude your readers continue to feel interested in the cause of the Bishop of Natal, I cannot do better than add something to my last letter about the present excitement.

The statement that the Dean of Westminster had invited Bishop Colenso to preach in the Abbey was premature. I took it from a daily paper called the *Hour*, which was foolish enough to shed crocodile tears over the supposed catastrophe.

The Bishop of Natal, however, has been invited by the Dean, and at the present moment I am not empowered to make public his lordship's intended reply. We shall have it in the *Times* before long.

Since the affair at Oxford, however, we have had two more cases of inhibition which deserve comment. First came a pastoral letter from Bishop Wordsworth, of Lincoln, "earnestly exhorting and entreating 'his clergy' in the name of the Great Head of the Church, and for the sake of the souls purchased by his blood, to assist me in guarding the congregations of all churches and chapels under my episcopal care against the erroneous teaching of the said Dr. Colenso, who must not be permitted to preach in any of the said churches or chapels until he repents of his errors, and openly retracts the same, which may God in his mercy grant, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

This was a very cheap and summary way of keeping the wolf from the fold; and I leave your readers to judge what a splendid chance Bishop Wordsworth gave me of pounding away at the "Great Head" which he so carelessly exposed.

(I hope no one dreams that I identify "the Great Head of the Church" with either Jesus of Nazareth, or Queen Victoria.)

The Bishop of Lincoln's reasons for prohibiting Bishop Colenso were—to persons of ordinary common sense—simply ridiculous:—

(1.) In 1863, forty-two bishops had asked Bishop Colenso to resign.

(2.) Convocation had condemned his writings.

(3.) Bishop Gray had sentenced him to be deposed (which proceedings and sentence were declared by Her Majesty's Privy Council to be absolutely null and void in law).

(4.) Synods here and synods there had pronounced Bishop Gray's sentence to be just and right, and the notorious Lambeth Conference contained fifty-six bishops who said so likewise.

All these formidable declarations and this array of

Episcopal indignation was nothing more, in fact, than a mere game or comedy, so far as it affected the Bishop of Natal's legal position.

In a letter to the *Times*, Mr. Westlake, Q. C., points out that these inhibitions of Bishop Colenso are so many acts of avowed rebellion against the law of the land, inasmuch as they are grounded on a refusal to submit to the decision of our highest legal tribunal.

As Bishop Colenso has many clerical friends, he was soon invited to preach in London; and last Sunday a vast concourse of people assembled within and without the church of the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, expecting the bishop to preach according to advertisement. At the eleventh hour (literally, as service begins at that time), a churchwarden or other official comes forward, and announces from the steps of the chancel that Bishop Colenso will not preach there, having been inhibited by the Bishop of London!

Several persons who were present bear testimony to the fact that this announcement was received by expressions of bitter disapprobation, amounting to positive hissing.

I am not surprised at this; nor can I be at all pleased at any loss of self-respect which hissing in such a place as a church manifests. But it does show the depth of indignant feeling stirred by the conduct of the Bishop of London.

He belongs to the Evangelical school, and I believe does not share the sacerdotal assumptions of his brother of Lincoln; but I fear that he too has absurd notions about "the Great Head of the Church," and the said Head's injunctions to persecute.

As a chronicler, I am bound to tell you that Mr. Stopford Brooke took upon himself to belaud the mode adopted by the Bishop of London to prevent Bishop Colenso from preaching. He had sent him (Mr. Brooke) a letter the night before, asking him to stop Colenso from preaching, and at the same time using oleaginous expressions about Colenso's heroic defence of the Natal chief.

Now what kindness or consideration was shown by the Bishop of London to deserve the favorable notice of Mr. Brooke I cannot conceive. To me, the course adopted was extremely shabby, and I will tell you why I think so.

First, it was taking a mean advantage of the Bishop of Natal's fine sense of propriety and dignity; inasmuch as Bishop Jackson knew that Colenso would not condescend to do that which by law he could be prevented doing by taking advantage of the informality of the proceedings.

Secondly, the Bishop of London saved himself some time, trouble, and money, by not issuing a formal inhibition.

An inhibition is a queer, quaint document, generally of parchment, which has to be engrossed by a lawyer's clerk, copied I know not how many times, registered here and there, sealed with the Episcopal seal, and costing some pounds in its preparation and delivery.

The Bishop of London either purposely avoided this expensive method, or he was belated and had not time to issue it on Saturday night. In the latter case, he certainly deserved no thanks; in the former case, he deserved animadversion.

One can only wonder in amazement how bishops can recklessly pursue this kind of conduct in the face of the perils threatening the Church. Positively their only chance is in manifesting a spirit of charity and universal toleration; and it is the very opposite of this that seems to inspire them whenever occasion arises for action.

I am glad to be able to add the rumor that the Archbishop of Canterbury has written to Bishop Colenso, saying that his *status* as a Bishop of the Church of England is as good as that of any other bishop on the bench. Also that Bishop Temple—the deserter—has notified that he will not inhibit the Bishop of Natal from the diocese of Exeter.

I am sorry to say Bishop Colenso sails for Natal on Christmas day; but if his life be spared (which so many of us earnestly pray) he will come back to this country, and put finally to the test of law the rights which he claims, and the insolent assumptions and aggressions by which those rights have been disputed and invaded.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S. E., Dec. 19, 1874.

P.S.—The Bishop of Natal has declined to preach in Westminster Abbey. I will send you a copy of the *Times* containing his reply to the Dean, which I hope, with the other letters, you will find room to publish.

Communications.

PROSCRIPTION FOR OPINION IN THE COURTS.

On Jan. 4, in this city, in the Marine Court, before Judge McAdam, in the suit of Achsah M. Truman vs. Woodhull, Claflin & Co., to recover money claimed to have been fraudulently converted, a man who did not wish to testify, but who could not but be willing to if it was necessary in order to ensure justice, was called to the stand as a witness. His proposal to affirm called out from the attorney for the defendants the question, "Have you conscientious scruples against taking an oath?" to which the witness replied that he had, and that he always affirmed. "Are you an Infidel?" "What would popularly be called so?" "Are you an Atheist?" "What would popularly be called so?" Thereupon defendants' counsel insisted that the witness be excluded, and the judge so ordered, but remarked that he would look into the matter. At a subsequent stage the judge himself called the witness again to the stand, and, as his justification and ground for now accepting him, read from an open book of authorities: "No person shall be denied his right to testify on account of his religious ideas." "But," interposed the defendants' attorney, "that means that he must have religious ideas. No matter what they are; if they are those of a Mohammedan he can testify; but the witness has none." The judge then turned to witness and asked, "Have you any religious ideas?" "I am an asceticist, and accept that postulate of science which makes the universe the only Infinite, Eternal, and Self-Existent." "Well, you can't testify." And against the earnest protest of the plaintiff, who claimed the evidence as indispensable, and that the jury ought to be permitted to hear it and allow it such weight as they saw fit, the witness was a second time sent to his seat. This involved not individuals nor persons, but principles, justice, the entire community, as if the witness had been any other than my own humble self.

If by "religious ideas" be meant those of the Infinite, Eternal, and Self-Existent, then only he can have them who thus accepts the scientific doctrine of the universe; for no being can be Infinite, nor, then, Eternal nor Self-Existent—and so the mere God-believers have no religious ideas. And if the need in a witness is to be honest, that was the very reason why I was not allowed to testify,—because I was honest, and so honest; for, when the judge asked if I had any religious ideas, if I had replied, "I believe in the Infinite, Eternal, and Self-Existent," he would have said, "Then you can proceed," deeming that tantamount to my having faith in some kind of a God; but I could not let him labor under that false impression, and so had to tell him I recognized only a universe; and for being thus true to him, to the defendants and to all parties, I was ruled out; for being honest I could not testify in a court of justice. But Mrs. Woodhull was not so scrupulous; for when she was asked if she believed in a Supreme Being, "Most assuredly I do!" she said, glibly; and when asked if she believed in a future state of rewards and punishments, "Most assuredly I do!" she again exclaimed, though she knew she would be understood by that jury as asserting faith in two doctrines, neither of which she believes one whit more than I do; and though she made these two statements after she had sworn her solemn oath—as I said everything beforehand, for I was not permitted to take the affirmation. And if the Young Men's Christian Association and the God-in-the-Constitution party seek to proscribe unbelief in the courts, yet here was Victoria C. Woodhull actually doing the same thing; for in both these cases it was her attorney who accomplished the end, and it was of course she who inspired and controlled the attorney. And perhaps it is only due to the great issue involved in this proscription in court—an issue which I felt I had no right to prevent nor evade by consenting to give testimony except openly, as an out-and-out Atheist—to say that for twenty-five years I have lived with these ideas of Infinite, Self-Existent, Eternal, and Immortal (all as pertaining to the universe) forever in my intellect, in my heart, confronting me almost every moment, engaging all the powers of my being in their solution as the greatest of possible problems, and affecting, controlling, deciding every act of my life, almost to every thought and emotion, even so that I have frequently been characterized as the most religious man to be found (though denying that I had any religion); and this life I shall live till I die, never able to afford to violate it, though I therefore be excluded from the witness-box forever.

JOSEPH TREAT.

NEW YORK, Jan. 6, 1875.

[We know nothing whatever of this particular lawsuit; but we feel bound to protest against this refusal of a New York court to admit the testimony of a witness merely because of his religious views. Can the liberals of the country look on unmoved at such a violation of religious freedom, and feel no impulse to aid the agitation for the "Religious Freedom Amendment"? We do not consider ourselves an atheist; but we take our stand publicly by the side of any and every atheist, until he has every political, civil, and social right allowed him that is conceded to the most Orthodox of the Orthodox. If the facts above stated are, as we suppose them to be, true, they are a disgrace to this age. We record here our most emphatic protest, though it should remain as solitary as Robinson Crusoe.—ED.]

ILLITERATE VOTERS.

DEAR INDEX:—

As some of your readers appear not to understand the little article of mine on "Ignorant Voters," which you were kind enough to reprint, I should like to say that I am not opposed to the voting of women as such, but only to that of illiterates as such. I should like to have as many intelligent voters as possible, both male and female, and as few illiterate and uninformed ones as possible, both male and female. I would gladly assist in disfranchising every man who cannot read and write, and I treat illiterate women just as I would illiterate men. I could cordially cooperate with any one who is working for the admission of educated women and no others to the franchise. Indeed, I should be glad to know of any one who is ready to take the lead in such a movement. I should also be glad to know if I am mistaken in supposing the Women's Rights people to be, as a body, in favor of the enfranchisement of female illiterates. This I must oppose, as I believe that the tyranny of party managers, already almost incompatible with individual liberty in politics, would be so much increased by the control of the votes of more than two millions of utterly illiterate, and perhaps as many more almost equally inexperienced females, that the nominal possession of the ballot would be of little benefit to intelligent and independent men and women. But let me quote what I said recently in the Chicago Tribune on this subject:—

"It is true that enfranchisement would teach women politics; but we have quite as many such pupils at present as there is room for in the national school. Men do not learn so rapidly and universally as to lead to the hope that women, in their existing inferiority in both general and special culture, would at present be able to improve themselves so rapidly as to compensate for the harm of having the average capacity of the votes so immensely diminished. And yet the advantage of having all the women interested in the public welfare, if only to keep all the men so, would be so great that these considerations are valid only against the immediate and complete, but not against the gradual, establishment of Female Suffrage. The main gain of the agitation hitherto has been in leading women to read the newspapers and attend public meetings. The more general these habits become, the faster will the only real objection to women's voting disappear. The increase of historical study in the schools and colleges is making women, as well as men, more fit to vote; and this fitness will increase rapidly as soon as what is called compulsory education, but which might better be called Guaranteed Education, shall be established in all the States. Every year increases the average capacity of women to vote with profit to the State and honor to themselves. It is certain that, the longer woman stays away from the polls, the greater will be her ability to appear there for the first time as a queen. What the ballot will do for women depends mainly on what they do for themselves before they cast it. This is not telling them not to go into the water before they have learned to swim. It is advising them to learn to swim before they ask the nation to employ them as pearl-divers; for good government is a deep-sea pearl never found by untaught hands."

F. M. HOLLAND.

TOO MUCH SPIRITUALISM.

OTTAWA, CANADA, Jan. 4, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Sir,—I regretted to see so much space taken up in a recent number of THE INDEX with two lengthy lucubrations on Spiritualism. This is so much the more surprising, considering the recent exposures, at Philadelphia and elsewhere, of the meanness and quackery of the whole subject. It may be thought desirable to have full discussion in THE INDEX on all subjects bearing on religion; still there ought to be lines drawn somewhere as to the relative importance of such topics.

You would not like to have your columns occupied with Methodistical instances and proofs of special providences, or Romish accounts of the cures and miracles wrought at the shrine of our Lady of Lourdes, or any other exhibition of the love of the miraculous which is so constant a trait in people who are ignorant of science, however glibly—like your correspondents—they may talk about it. If you think there are reasons for giving more consideration to Spiritualism than to other superstitions, you ought at least to add some remarks of your own, as you are in the habit of doing in other cases, to guard your readers against supposing that you acquiesce in the opinions of your correspondents. It is amusing to read the somewhat contemptuous references to the superstitions of others made by these writers, as if there was the slightest difference in kind betwixt their beliefs and those of the uneducated mass of human beings, who believe firmly in ghosts, and put herbs under their pillows on Hallow Eve, in order that they may see spirits; who go to old women to have their fortunes told by the lines in their hands, and have guardian angels attending them from birth to old age. A poor Irish hodman, believing, on the authority of his priest, that he has a guardian angel constantly with him, and believing in him not a whit less than the angel has no power to prevent him falling with his bricks from the ladder, is a far more respectable object than a Spiritualist who has renounced authority and talks of science, with his foolish table-turnings and rappings, and his other spiritual manifestations which take place in the dark, and which have so often been traced to imposture.

It is singular that Spiritualists should be so ready to drag in the word science into their writings. Ever since its dawn, in the fifteenth century, modern

science has been the uncompromising enemy of all forms of Spiritualism. Its greatest triumph was the destruction of the universal belief in witchcraft. When we think of the horrors which sprung from this belief, the tortures and the murders which it brought on poor humanity, we may well thank our stars that modern Spiritualism will have nothing to do with the "diabolic." The late address of Professor Tyndall is but one of many symptoms which show that the time is not far distant, when science will make an end of the long-lived, superstitious belief that there can be such a thing as spiritual existence apart from organization.

Yours,
J. G. WHYTE.

"A fair field and no favor"—is the principle that guides us in the admission of articles. No one of our habitual readers is ignorant that we are wholly sceptical in our own opinion of Spiritualism; but we are quite as sceptical in our opinion of the Materialism expressed in the closing sentence of our correspondent. It is our wish and purpose to speak with respect of both, seeing as we do that both are compatible with respect for freedom of thought and speech, and being as we are in strong sympathy with all freedom-lovers. Dogmatic Spiritualism and dogmatic Materialism are equally repellent, however. Provided the appeal to reason is always in order, there is no ground for impatience; and the best way is to treat all opinions with good humor, when no claim of "authority" is set up. To over-confident assertions in either direction touching the "other world," we have no reply but a cheerful—"I don't know: do you?" Time upsets all delusions in the end, even the delusion of fancying we know when we do not know; and we trust our correspondent will not suppose that even Professor Tyndall has abolished ignorance yet.—ED.]

A LETTER FROM MISS HOLLEY.

HOLLEY SCHOOL, LOTTSBURGH, Va.,
December 29, 1874.

REV. P. FISK:—

Dear Sir,—The Boston Journal and THE INDEX are perpetual reminders of the pleasant debt we owe your kindness. They do indeed light up this obscure nook of old Virginia with a steady, genial, Northern gleam very delightful to me. And I thank you again and again.

Old Nelson Diggs exclaimed one day, on calling to see us: "What a place that North is! Whatever you call for is sure to come!—Money, clothes, farming-tools, things to keep house with, books, papers, food to eat. The North has got 'em all! Such as this Viginny never see befo'!"

And now you, Northern friends, have given this good, nice schoolhouse. The rebels tauntingly call it "Nigger Hall." As if Virginia's "laugh" could have any dread for me!

Christmas day was beautiful, from dawn to setting. Thermometer fifty degrees, and nearly three hundred glad souls gathered in the new schoolhouse—all to receive a gift from off our holly tree. The Stars and Stripes floated from our flag-staff on the cupola, an eloquent and suggestive sight. I read some of the grand old Hebrew Psalms, showing the Divine care of the poor and lowly—of which our school and the new schoolhouse are striking illustrations. The scholars gave creditable recitations. Novella Middleton rendered Wendell Phillips' idea of "American Nationality" with a distinct power that you would be surprised and pleased to hear. All the exercises were of the liveliest interest to all present. And oh! how wonderful are the signs of improvement in these minds and faces! The changes from the rags, tags, and patch-work, in which we found them six years ago, to decent garments, is not more visible than the light of intelligence and marks of mental growth in their countenances, bearing, and manner. Not in vain have they striven to break the chains of ignorance with which slavery had bound them so tightly; and what a great reward it is to us for all our toil and pains! My heart is full to-day of thankfulness for all the past, including trials and persecution; for these have helped on the people's growth and education as quiet prosperity could not have done. We look forward to more rapid progress, having, as we joyfully feel, a great ally in the new and better schoolhouse, now under our own control. The noble aid which you and other Northern friends have given to this end will, I believe, be fully justified by the results.

The interior of our new schoolhouse wears quite a New England aspect, with its thirty double desks and sixty chairs (all second-hand) from Cambridge. All were in place for our scholars; of course, could not seat a quarter of our Christmas company; but they are admirable for us, and fixed the gaze and wonder of all eyes, and did a grand part to speak to all present—both white and black—of a superior civilization elsewhere, and to gladden these poor colored people with hopes to share in its spread. Several of our faithful colored men made sensible and appreciative speeches. Your heart would have been touched deeply to hear them. Even many of our poor white neighbors dressed themselves up to look and behave their best, and attended our Christmas celebration. To each one I made a present off the tree. The face of a little dumb boy was like morning light breaking, as I handed him a very pretty picture. His mother quietly told me, "He can't speak!"

We hope we are breaking the crust of miserable prejudice, by asking these white people to our school

festivals. They listened as I told over the story of old John Brown, and his death on a Virginia scaffold, with a curious interest, as if it was an entirely new story to them. When I concluded with stating that this beautiful schoolhouse was one of the blessed results following his being "faithful unto death," and loving his black neighbor as himself, the house was so quiet one might have heard a pin drop.

Always your very grateful and obliged friend,
SALLIE HOLLEY.

THE POLITICAL PARTY OF THE FUTURE—"NO WOMAN NAMED!"

MR. ABBOT:—

In THE INDEX of December 10 you published a thoughtful discourse by Wm. J. Potter—"Lessons from the Elections,"—near the close of which are hints of "some of the principles of this party of the future," which is hoped for as a possibility growing out of our perturbed political condition. I find in these hints much of value; some things, perhaps, to which I could not quite subscribe, but I do not write to criticise them, but rather to note a singular omission.

Are there not millions of women fit to take part in these large affairs? Will not government inevitably be fragmentary, imperfect, and unjust, so long as the womanly element, the half of our humanity, the presence and influence of which *must be had* for harmony, perfection, and true growth, is ignored and put out of sight, made subject but not equal? Is it Tennyson who says:—

"Millions of throats will bawl for civil rights,
No woman named?"

Surely no "party of the future" can be more than a sham, without this equality of woman as one of its aims and ideals and demands.

Truly yours,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 27. G. B. STEBBINS.

ANOTHER "COMEOUTER."

NEW BEDFORD, Mass., Jan. 3, 1875.

On the last Sunday of 1874, W. S. Bell, minister of the Universalist society of this city, preached his farewell to the Christian ministry. Mr. Bell's outgrowth from sectarianism has been rapid. Four years since, he left the Methodist pulpit for a course of liberal theological study at Harvard, and soon afterwards began his ministry here. Mr. Bell has good parts and information. His new position cannot be otherwise than conscientious, for he has counted the cost of discarding Christianity, to follow wherever truth may lead. The wealthy, of whatever belief, fare easily; but the impecunious clergyman or layman shoulders a heavier than pilgrim's "pack," when, in a Christian community, he has *arowedly* outgrown Christianity.

The writer, addressing some radical words to a lad, was thus rebuked by a sectarian bystander: "Don't utter such sentiments to that boy. *Adopting them, he can never have standing nor society.*" The spontaneous rebuke was too nearly true. Poor indeed are the prospects of an "infidel" tradesman of small means, unbolstered by the adventitious aid of secret societies. Sectarians will not buy even a shoestring of him, and rich radicals purchase everything from wealthy dealers, uncaring that the brother sceptic needs trade that he may live. To his lot, even that of the clergyman seceding into Free Religion is easy. Good parts and a wide field bestead the brain-worker. As for Mr. Bell, let lovers of freedom support his manly stand.

CHARLES HAZELTINE.

PERDITION OF INFANTS.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Many have been the assertions and denials as to the statements of Calvinistic ministers concerning the condition of the children of unconverted parents in the coming life. David Howe, now seventy-five years old, tells me that a Mr. Williston, of Tunbridge, Vt., some forty-two years ago, in preaching the funeral sermon of a child of his, said: "There is no doubt that hell is lined with the infants of ungody parents." Mr. Howe is a man of truth. He is sure that the phrase—"not a span long"—was added. He says Mr. Williston was a Presbyterian. At that date I insisted that, "if anybody was to endure eternal torments, no doubt some infants would be among them." I was voted into the church over the assertion that "I could not, even for one moment, feel that God could be just in damning anybody eternally." I said: "I love you and all good men and women; but I see no justice in such doctrines." Many said: "These things have troubled us." I never said that I thought any infant would be damned; I waited in such matters. And I soon gave up the idea that any one could be forever miserable. The universe is bad enough as it is. Christians must stop making their God an *Infinite Fiend*, or they will only drive men into absolute atheism. The churches manufacture atheists by the thousand. And that is progress from their position.

AUSTIN KENT.

STOCKHOLM, N. Y., Dec. 24, 1874.

STOP MY PAPER.—The publisher who sells himself for a few cents each week to his subscribers cannot get up a readable paper. A living evidence that it is read is that subscribers howl at it for not sustaining their individual ideas. No paper can represent every man's bias. It doesn't belong to the subscriber anyhow—that is, only so much as he pays for is his. Now if he should find a paragraph which doesn't suit his mind, let him write out his ideas, get it printed on a slip and paste it on his copy of the paper. He will have a better idea of what it costs to get up a paper, and also have one of his own.—Exchange.

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TO ADVERTISERS.

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HENRY S. STEBBINS.

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It is the object of THE INDEX to give public utterance to the boldest, most cultivated, and best matured thought of the age on all religious questions, and to apply it directly to the social and political amelioration of society.

It is edited by FRANCIS E. ABBOT, assisted by ABRAHAM W. STEVENS, with the following list of editorial Contributors:—

O. B. FROTHINGHAM, New York City.
WILLIAM J. POTTER, New Bedford, Mass.
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, Haverhill, Mass.
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1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

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ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

ARCHBISHOP PURCELL, of Cincinnati, recently forbade the people of his diocese to frequent public libraries or take books from them. That is the way in which Catholicism cherishes education.

THE New York Post Office authorities have ordered the delivery of letters by carriers in that city on Sunday. This is an important and needed reform, and should be extended throughout the country.

THE RADICAL CLUB held a good meeting at Mrs. Sargent's on Monday. Mr. Weiss read a brilliant essay; Messrs. Higginson, Whipple, Forsyth, Warren, Miss Peabody, Mrs. Howe, and others joined in the discussion.

THE MARQUIS OF BUTE, a Catholic nobleman under ecclesiastical advice, tried to prevent the formation of a Free Library in the town of Cardiff, Wales. He must be the original "Cardiff Giant," escaped from the Stone Age.

REV. C. D. BARROWS, of Lowell, preached a sermon recently in which he said: "There is an element of uncertainty connected with all our plans for the new year, but of the coming of a final year there can be no doubt. The Judgment is an absolute reality." Perhaps so; but the gentleman's judgment is an absolute myth.

It is credibly intimated by a private informant that the forthcoming report of the Massachusetts Commission on "Equal and Just Taxation" will not be unanimous; that the majority report of Messrs. Seelye and Barker will be in favor of continuing the exemption of religious, educational, and charitable institutions, while Mr. Hills will report against it. The reports will not be out, it is announced, for two or three weeks.

A BAPTIST blunderer says that "Rev. O. B. Frothingham, who towers like a giant among the free religionists, seems to have no idea of a God except such an one as man can make. 'An honest God's the noblest work of man'—is his secondhand perversion of Pope's excellent line." The originator of this "perversion" is Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, of Peoria, Illinois, whose "Oration on the Gods" is prefaced with it; and Mr. Frothingham is not given to stealing other men's brilliants. He has enough of his own.

A LITTLE GIRL of three years, belonging to "one of our respectable citizens," is reported by the Natick (Massachusetts) *Bulletin* to have been imprisoned a long time in a closet, where a mask was kept of which the poor little thing had a horrible dread, until her cries aroused the neighbors. Why? Because she could not remember to repeat correctly the Lord's Prayer, which her parents, with fiendish piety, required her to recite *verbatim* on pain of incarceration! If there was ever a worthy candidate for tar-and-feathers, it is this "respectable citizen."

IT IS stated on good authority that \$575,000,000 have been invested in railroads in this country by capitalists who have as yet received no pecuniary return for the outlay; that \$400,000,000 of this sum have been expended directly in paying wages to the laborers and other employes; and that the whole amount has thus been lent *without interest* to the working classes and the public, who have hitherto received the entire benefit of the investment. Such a fact as this ought not, in justice to capitalists, to be forgotten, when the relative value of the services of capital and labor to the community are under consideration.

REV. W. S. BELL, of New Bedford, who has just declared his independence of Christianity and boldly stepped outside of the pulpit, favored us with a call last week. He does not wish to be known as an

ist of any sort, or to be labelled as the disciple of any *ism*. But he is prepared to lecture to any radical organization on the following subjects: "The Resurrection of Jesus," "The Relation of Science to Religion," "The Biography of Jesus," and "Christianity and Civilization." Without having had the pleasure of hearing him on the platform, we venture to say that he will be found a wide-awake, earnest, and attractive speaker; and we trust he will receive a hospitable hearing from the friends of THE INDEX everywhere.

ON May 1, 1874, according to the official figures of Messrs. Hills and Cushing, assessors to the city of Boston, there were in the twenty-two wards of the city 84,684 adult males above the age of twenty-one years; of this number about 78½ per cent., or 66,415, paid a poll-tax alone, and 21½ per cent., or 18,269, paid taxes on real or personal property, and 7,214 women, who pay no poll-tax, paid taxes on real and personal property to the amount of \$83,121,400—the total valuation of the city being \$798,755,050. In other words, 18,269 men and 7,214 women, in all 25,483, paid the entire property tax of the whole city of Boston! We do not know the exact population of the city last May; but, as it was somewhat over 350,000, it appears that the whole taxable wealth of Boston, so far as known to the assessors, was at that date in the hands of only about one fourteenth of the population. Such a fact as this is food for very grave thought.

IN REPLY to the unblushing denial of a "doctor and former professor of [Catholic] divinity" that Pope Gregory XIII. approved the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, Lord Acton quotes the original Latin of the Pope's bull, contained in a placard issued from the press of the Apostolic Chamber and distributed in Rome at the time. "When Gregory was informed," says Lord Acton (himself a Catholic), "that the Huguenots were being slain over the whole of France, he sent word to the King that this was better news than a hundred battles of Lepanto. The Pope proclaimed a jubilee, principally to thank God for this great mercy, and to pray that the King might have constancy to pursue to the end the pious work which he had begun. This bull has not, I think, been reprinted." The words of the bull are these: "*Pro felici Christianissimi Regis contra hæreticos successu gratias agant, ipsumque orent ut quæ idem Rex auctore Domino facienda cognovit, ipso operante implere valeat.*"

THERE IS no reason to blame the swift jealousy for freedom which roused the whole North at the rumor of military interference by the United States Executive with a State Legislature. Constitutional limitations in times of peace must be respected, or constitutional liberty is at an end. It avails nothing to say that such interference was for the sake of peace, or order, or the rights of the colored people. No one could be more strenuous for these things than we are; but peace and order without liberty are worse than war. If war comes, let it be conducted openly on war principles. As to the colored people, they have every whit as profound an interest in constitutional government as the whites, and even more so, for the loss of it to them would soon be slavery. Least of all could they afford to have the whole nation, white and black together, subjected to military rule. Even if the recent astonishment, alarm, and indignation had been wholly groundless, they cannot be regretted by any one who remembers that popular liberty is not lost at a blow, but only gradually and insensibly. They are a sufficient reply to those who croak over the possibility of "Cæsarism" and "military despotism" in this country. That cannon, at least, is spiked. If a supposed usurpation of General Grant could raise such a storm, no other "Cæsar" could hold up his head for an instant.

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[For THE INDEX.]

Worship in the Nineteenth Century.

A DISCOURSE DELIVERED BEFORE THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY, NEW BEDFORD, OCT. 11, 1874.

BY WILLIAM J. POTTER.

After several months' exclusion from our church, while it has been undergoing transformation at the hands of architect and painter, we come back to resume our services in it to-day. We find it the same, and yet not the same; familiar and yet strange; old and yet new,—the old and the new, the familiar and the strange, variously commingling; commingling perhaps as yet to some eyes, that still linger fondly on recollections of the old, hardly harmoniously; and yet in such way as to mark quite truthfully the stage of transition through which this society as a progressive religious body, open willingly to the influences of the present age as well as to the power of old faiths, is passing. You do not discard the old because it is old; you do not break away from it by violence; yet you keep open doors and extend a hearty welcome to the new, in the faith that the old and the new are not aliens to each other, but children of one blood. Evolution—the modern scientific word,—Evolution of the new from the old has been the law of your progress as a religious society, from the date of your birth in the last century to the present hour. You have grown and acted in the spirit of Whittier's hymn,—

"That all of good the past has had
Remains to make our own time glad,"

even though

... "the new transcends the old,
In signs and tokens manifold."

And it is because you have lived, and acted in this spirit, that this church-edifice, though little more than a generation has passed since it was first erected, and many occupants in these seats to-day were eager and interested witnesses of its building, stands here now, its solid outer walls the same, yet thus transformed within. You welcome the new religious thought of the time, you adapt your services and customs to it, more readily perhaps than any old religious society in the country. And yet you evidently believe in the Church as a distinctive institution of society; you believe in the utility of an edifice like this and in this Sunday service; you believe that the act of worship, though you may not much use the phrase, has some substantial and permanent foundation; for you have made this house more suggestive of the emotions of worship than it ever was before.

The occasion, therefore, seems naturally to suggest the inquiry, What is the significance of worship to people of progressive religious culture and thought in this nineteenth century? And this inquiry I make the topic of my discourse. The question, indeed, is not infrequently asked, whether, under the training of nineteenth-century thought, what is called worship is not gradually disappearing as a cast-off superstition. The question, in a somewhat sensational American style, has been put in this form: "Will the coming man attend church?" And not a few persons—persons, too, of intelligence and virtue—seem ready to answer this question in the negative. They see that the present man does not go to church so much as his fathers used to do. They see the newspaper, the magazine, the lyceum, the public library, to a considerable extent taking the place of the church and ministry in attracting and instructing the mind of the people. They see large numbers of cultivated persons—persons devoted to literature, to

science, to philanthropy—who take apparently no interest in religious institutions, and rarely attend any religious service. They see the old theology of the churches of Christendom, which presented real food for thought in the past, gradually undermined by modern science, while in its place there is a growing tendency to sentimental preaching and ritualistic service, attractive chiefly to minds of emotional temperament or of inferior intelligence or wanting in masculine robustness of constitution. From these facts they argue that the Church is rapidly being outgrown, and will, before very long, for all except the ignorant and the superstitious, be an obsolete institution.

Such a deduction, in my view, is hasty and erroneous. Giving all credit to the persons who make it for sincerity of judgment and acuteness of observation, it yet does not seem to me to regard all the facts in the case, nor sufficiently consider the depth and stability of the religious sentiment. Further, those who make this deduction have, as a general rule, made a prior judgment against religion itself. The religious sentiment and everything known as religion in human history, rest, in their view, upon superstition; and if this were true, then of course every kind of expression of religion in worship must pass away as the superstition is dispelled by increasing knowledge. But this pre-judgment against religion is likely to bias their minds so as to prevent an adequate consideration of present religious facts and tendencies. For myself, striving to be free from all bias of prejudice on either side, and looking at all the facts concerning religion both historical and of our own time, I believe that some specific religious service is to be vindicated on grounds of man's mental constitution, and of the past experience of the human race, and of present utility.

But let me say at once, that I always hesitate at using the term *worship* to express what I mean by this specific religious service; and I dislike to use it at all without some explanation. The word has been used so much to denote some form of physical adoration, it has been connected so much with idolatry—and the idolatry is not all in religions called pagan,—it is a word so implicated historically with some visible image or symbol or external place of Deity and with some corresponding attitude of the human body, that it now almost inevitably suggests an outward and material rather than an inward and mental act. Perhaps we think when we hear it of such acts as the Mohammedan's prostration upon the earth at the name of Allah, or of the Parsees stretching their hands to the rising sun, or of the Fejee Islander embracing his idol, or of the Roman Catholic devotee manipulating his beads or falling upon his knees at the elevation of the host in the mass, or of the old Puritan, in his plain, unwarmed meeting-house and straight-backed pew, very literally "presenting his body a living sacrifice" to express his devotion,—or at least we think of the modern descendant of the Puritan, in his comfortably-cushioned pew and elegant church, going once a week through the outward, physical forms of devotion; and we are sure that in all such acts there must come in time, whatever may have been their origin, so much that is merely formal, external, official,—nay, that they come to cover so much insincerity, hypocrisy, moral corruption,—that the word which has been associated with them becomes to us, to some extent, "damaged phraseology," and we shrink from using it without explaining our meaning.

And yet the term *worship* is not necessarily and fatally implicated in the corruptions that have attended the practice of worship historically. In itself it is not even confined or conditioned by an outward act. One who at least in Christendom will be accepted as an authority is reported to have said that worship is not of time, nor place, nor body, but "in spirit and in truth." And this same grand distinction between the form and the substance of worship has been made by the greatest prophets and teachers of all the great religions. Not "burnt offerings" and "outward sacrifices" does God desire, said the Hebrew, but a "pure heart," a "right spirit," and "truth in the inmost parts." "Turn, if thou canst," said one of the later Hindu prophets, "to any spot where the house of God is not," and one of the earlier, "Any place where the mind of man can be undisturbed is suitable for the worship of the Supreme Being." "A man does not become a holy man," says Buddhism, "by his platted hair, by his family, or by both; in whom there is truth and righteousness, he is the true devotee." It may, I confidently think, be shown, too, that all acts and forms of worship, even those that seem to us to-day so superstitious and absurd, had their origin in some pure sentiment. They may have often drifted into formalism and hypocrisy, but they had a birth of which humanity need never be ashamed. Their source we may find in man's primitive sense of relation to some Power in the universe above and beyond himself, and able in some way to affect his destiny. Whether this Power was conceived as a unit or as multiform, or even if, as some later investigators think, the primitive phase of religion was the conception of the spirits of departed ancestors as still having relationship with and power over human beings on earth,—in any event the first forms of worship were intended as expressions of man's sense of relation to a form of life superior to himself, and mingling in some way with the natural forces of the material world, and having power over his earthly career. In a word, worship in its inner essence, whatever corruptions may have attended it historically, is an expression of man's sense of relation to a mysterious sovereignty in the universe beyond himself. With such explanation of its significance, there is certainly no occasion to discard the term.

As little occasion, with this understanding of its meaning, does there seem to me to be for discarding

the act,—especially when we consider that all the greatest religious teachers have taken such pains to discriminate between the real inner meaning of the act and the corruptions into which it has fallen in its historical career. Indeed, with this significance, I do not see how it is possible that worship should ever be outgrown by the human mind. I can conceive how the forms of worship will change in the future as they have changed in the past; nay, I can conceive how the forms must change, in order to be true expressions, corresponding to the inevitable change which takes place in man's understanding of his relation to the sovereign Power in the universe, as he progresses in knowledge of the world and of himself. It is in this way, by reason of increased enlightenment, that forms of worship have changed in the past all the way from fetichistic idolatry to the pure mental devotion that is in spirit and in truth. But since I cannot understand how man can ever outgrow the sense of his relation to a mighty Power in the universe above and beyond himself, however variously he may come to interpret the relation, so I cannot imagine that a time will ever come when a feeling of this relation to the mysterious Life in which he is embodied will not at some hours so pervade and move his soul, that, even if he joins in no public adoration, he will yet alone in his closet, or wherever he may be, lift up his heart in secret aspiration for more of knowledge concerning the mighty Life to which he is thus related, for more of its energy in his own being, and for more of practical harmony with it. And such uplifting of the heart is of the essence of worship. Therefore, first, I should argue from the constitution of the human mind itself, that worship in its substance, though changing its forms and phases of expression, can never become obsolete.

And, secondly, I should reach the same conclusion from considering the historical experience of the human race. Worship is the expression, or an expression, of the religious sentiment. The worship has not created the sentiment, but the sentiment has created the worship. The worship, whatever form it has taken, has been the natural language of the sentiment. And so now or in the future, whatever form of utterance the religious sentiment may adopt as its natural language, that will be worship; if it adopt the same for a number of people, then common, or public, worship is the result. The question, then, at bottom is the permanence of the religious sentiment. And when I look back upon the history of the human race and see how vast a part the religious sentiment has played in human history, how active and constant and fertile it has been from the very rudest beginnings of man's career, how large a share it has had in his interests and how mightily it has affected his destiny, how it has built up some nations and destroyed others, pervaded the affairs of all; how it has inspired art, and created literatures, and shaped thought, and determined private conduct, and built up gigantic and peculiar institutions of its own, and moved great masses of men with a common enthusiasm and purpose,—when I look back upon all this and see what a power the religious sentiment has been, it does not seem to me at all probable that this power has all been a mistake, that it has all rested on a mere superstition, on a false conception of things, and that, under the increasing knowledge and culture of modern times, it is now near the end of its career. I see, indeed, that the religious sentiment has made mistakes, some of them grievous and great; I see that for want of knowledge it has allied itself often to superstition, and for want of humanity to bigotry. I see and admit the alleged evils and corruptions that have sprung from dogmatism, sectarianism, ecclesiasticism, idolatry,—they are, indeed, from my habit of thought, almost too constantly before my eyes; and yet, in spite of all, the religious faculty is to me the noblest endowment of the human mind,—the crown, so to speak, of the long struggle of the "Cosmical Life" to develop a finite being of reflective intelligence and volition. And this sentiment seems to me as ineradicable from human nature as it has been the constant accompaniment of human nature's historic career. The consciousness of relation to the power whence he has sprung once having been developed in man and making an integral part of his nature, it is indeed impossible to conceive of its being extinguished while man remains. Not by culture, scientific or other, is this sense of relationship to the inscrutable creative energy of the universe—call it, with Tyndall, "Cosmical Life" or call it "Deity"—to be lessened. Rather by every day's fresh intelligence will our sense of the mysterious relationship be deepened and broadened and brought more into accordance with facts, while from the very nature of the case something of the infinite mystery must forever remain concealed, enticing the mind upward to boundless search.

But let me add that, in saying that the religious sentiment is the natural and ineradicable root of worship and of all historical religions, I do not use the word sentiment as synonymous merely with *feeling*, or *emotion*. I do not believe that the religious sentiment would have been so powerful in history, if it had been only an emotion. But I use the word *sentiment* as involving both perception (or an intellectual act) and feeling; as including also the sense of moral obligation. I use it as denoting the entire disposition or tendency or faculty of the human mind which has resulted in religion. Historically, this disposition or tendency has always been of a complex nature. There has been the *feeling* of wonder, of awe, of reverence, or, it may be, of fear, aroused by some remarkable scene or occurrence; and, accompanying it, some *mental judgment* or *conception* concerning the phenomenon, referring it to a more than human power; and also an impulse to some line of conduct for effecting conformity with the power. Or the mental perception of human relation to some superhuman power may have come

first, and often, I believe, did, and the emotion was subordinate to it. All that I wish now to say on the point is, that I use the term religious sentiment as including all these phases of mental action, and that historically all these elements have been present to make religion the great power it has been.

But though man's nature and history would seem to prove the permanence of the religious sentiment and of some form of worship as the expression of it, the question still remains whether the institution of a Sunday service like this is a kind of expression that best meets the demands of the cultivated religious sentiment of the present age. In other words, can we show the present utility of this service—utility in the fine sense of enlarging and feeding man's higher nature? The question of what may come in the future when the "coming man," with the garnered wisdom of all centuries added to his own inspiration, shall appear on this planet, we may dismiss as little concerning us who are on the planet to-day and responsible to some extent for its condition. Admitting that the religious sentiment is the creator of its forms of worship, and that with increasing light and culture it transforms old forms and creates new ones, we may have to admit our ignorance as to what kind of worship the future may bring, but may also safely leave the problem for the future to solve. But for the present, and so far as seems probable from man's present condition, for many a year and generation to come, I for one cannot doubt the utility of a specific organization for the promotion of religious culture and life, and of a specific religious service set apart in place and time like this.

Here we are, on this earth, immersed for the most part in material pursuits more or less gross, in buying and selling and getting gain, in taking care of our bodies or our estates, in the drudging toil of shop or farm or counting-room or household, in eating and drinking and providing the wherewithal to be clothed; and day after day this immersion goes on, absorbing our faculties, using up our energies, and draining off our vitality. And yet we all confess that there are parts of our natures—aspirations, desires, capacities for thought and action—that this daily routine of material pursuit, whether it be necessary or voluntary, does not satisfy. Now it is the office of the Sunday service to meet these higher demands of human nature; to feed these better aspirations, hopes, impulses of the human mind; to cultivate just that side of life which is admitted to be the nobler side, and which yet is left to so large extent uncultivated by the hard necessities or customs of daily toil amid lower interests. The Sunday service is intended to appeal to the moral and spiritual nature of man in distinction from the physical; to his rational nature as having the rightful supremacy over carnal appetite and passion. It aims, or should aim, to rouse the better motives, to quicken conscience, to stir generous impulses into activity, and to plant them where they are wanting; to awaken a stronger love and admiration for goodness, to open, purify, and cultivate the best affections of the heart. It seeks to make men more zealous for the truth and more heroic in the defence of it, less selfish and more self-sacrificing, more kind, more benevolent, better neighbors, better citizens. It finds men tempted, and it would fain bring strength to reinforce their efforts at resistance. It finds them fallen and vicious, and it strives to utter some word that shall renew their courage and help them to restoration. It finds them in despair, and it speaks and pleads for hope; in darkness, and it endeavors to show the dawning light. It finds them amid trials and under crushing burdens, and it strives to show how obstacles may be surmounted by the brave soul, and made into steps of ascent to power and virtue. It finds them sitting in the valley of the shadow of death, and it points them to the old hope of the Hereafter or to the new doctrine that death is but a phase in the eternal process of life.

Thus the Sunday service, for two or three hours one day in the seven, comes into our busy life as a quickener of moral effort and of spiritual aspiration, to the end of lifting the whole of our life to a higher level. In the midst of our material cares and callings, our moral struggles and failures, it holds before us the noble aim of Ideal Excellence. And even those of us who may not be so wholly engaged in material callings, but whose pursuits may be more mental and literary, or even philanthropic, may find it no small benefit to have the routine of our pursuits thus regularly interrupted, and our thoughts and feelings turned to other channels in a common religious service with our fellow-men. For the advantage comes in part from the social communion as well as from the uplifted individual aspiration. In a word, if the phrase spiritual nature of man, including his higher mental and moral nature as distinguished from the lower motives to which the ordinary pursuits and occupations and customs of life appeal, has any meaning, if there be any such higher part of our natures, any possible higher life than that with which our days are now most familiar, anything above these absorbing cares and tempting passions of the flesh, then the specific religious service, which appeals to these higher motives, and aims to strengthen and develop this higher life of man, is amply vindicated as having a right to be, and may be expected to survive so long as it shall answer such high ends.

And as helps to this aim let us have all the accessories that are within our reach from art and culture. Worship may be very real, and attain for some hearts its ends, in a meeting-house of Quaker plainness, and under conditions of whatever extemporaneous speech may chance to arise from the congregation, or of silence, which is often better than speech. But there is danger of spiritual inertness under such conditions. Most of us are in need of

such appliances as appeal to the eye and the ear and to the cultivated reason, to stir our spiritual thought and emotions to activity. Music often touches with uplifting power places in the heart where the word of the preacher fails to penetrate. Forms of beauty in architecture and color lend also their gracious influence in awakening the emotions of reverence and aspiration. By-and-by, perhaps, these dull and lifeless windows, which you have not changed, will give place to richness of color,—not that we may bring back the "dim religious light" of mediæval times, but that we may have the perfect harmony and beauty of light which Nature and art, Nature's disciple, can produce. I have a hope that at some time our Protestant churches, having achieved all that the rude iconoclasm of the Reformation was commissioned to perform, will bring back fitting pictures and statues to their walls; or at least that the coming religion, wherever it assembles the people, will not forget art as one of its noble instruments.

But all such accessories appeal chiefly to the religious emotions, and a church cannot live on emotions. There must be living thought in the pews and the living word in the pulpit; thought and word abreast with the times, and palpitating with the spirit of divine Life that is freshly flowing in the world to-day. I have already said that, in the history of religion, emotion and mental perception, feeling and thought have been the constant factors in all healthy, normal, and powerful religious development. And so it must be to-day, if religion is to preserve its ancient prestige and power. And this is a point on which I should take decided issue with a portion of Professor Tyndall's late address, if I rightly understand it. He speaks of giving up to religion the region of the emotions, while he would have it abandon the province of thought on the great problems of existence; and thus he apparently encourages the notion, popular among certain classes of theologians, that religion and science are of incompatible temperament and must be divorced; though at the very close of the address there are some words of a different tenor, and, as a whole, it seems to me most admirable. But against the statement above alluded to, in the name of religion itself considered in its nature and its history, and in behalf of the dignity of my office as a religious teacher, I would enter a protest. I would make the protest, too, in behalf of the present and future interests of religion and of mankind. The weakness of religion to-day, the very reason why it is losing its hold upon so many thoughtful and cultivated people, and people that, though not much cultured, are full of the thought of the age that is in the air, is because this very divorce has to a considerable extent taken place, and religion is already too much given up to feeding the emotions. A religion that is wholly absorbed in the region of the emotions cannot, I believe, long survive among an enlightened people. Emotion has its proper office, and it is a very important one; but it is *thought* that guides the emotions, and in the long run safely moves the world. A religion without thought is emasculated, and must dwindle to decay. And if under the emotional influences of this place, if amid these surroundings of art and beauty and elegant comfort, this society and its minister should ever become enervated in thought, and forget their obligations to ideas, and sink into mental stagnation, then I pray that some old iconoclast may rise from the grave, some Luther, or George Fox, or George Whitefield, and raise the trumpet-voice of reform, and sweep from these walls all their beauty, and silence the music, and leave the congregation in a plain meeting-house, or drive it into a hall or a barn or into the open air, where it may hear with undistracted mental ear the living voice of truth. Far better unadorned and desolate walls with living and earnest thought within, than all possible elegance and beauty of an emotional religion with mental death.

And if the Sunday service of religion, while it kindles the emotions of the spiritual nature, must at the same time aim to awaken thought and to keep pace with its progress, much more must it serve to sustain and to strengthen the natural principles of morality. This, the final point, is also in its practical aspects the chief point. Matthew Arnold has defined religion as "morality suffused with emotion." Philosophically, this may hardly pass as a complete definition. But practically the definition is excellent, because it lays the emphasis where in the common affairs of life it most needs to be laid. Taking mankind in general, the emotional nature in religion does not need so much to be aroused as it needs to be guided by a wise knowledge and a true moral culture. And one sees sometimes such lamentable illustrations of an intense emotional piety combined with a feeble moral sense and even with positive immorality, that one is tempted to exclaim, "Emotion is nothing—morality is everything!" And certainly, if religious emotion does not issue in good works, it proves itself of little worth; and to many souls it doubtless operates as a delusion and a snare. They mistake an inflated currency of feeling for the solid coin of virtue. The emphasis, then, must be placed on moral conduct, and all religious feeling brought to that clear test. We may say of emotion that it is desirable, but of morality that it is a necessity. Given two persons, one of whom shall be emotionally religious even to a high degree, fluent in prayer-meeting, zealous for his church, ready at any time to speak of his conscious relation to God, but weak in morals; and the other shall be simply upright, vigorously honest, pure, generous, merely a moral man, as the saying is, but shall have never known what it is to be thrilled with a sense of the Divine Presence,—and I am sure that the latter will go into heaven before the former. I would rather anywhere take the chances of the merely moral man than of the merely pious man. The merely pious man, by his aspira-

tion, his feeling, his sentiment, is reaching upward through the air to get his hold on God. The moral man, though he may be utterly unable to say what the phrase "presence of God" means, and has no consciousness of it, yet actually dwells nearer to it: for that line of strict integrity which marks his daily conduct is the identical pathway where the Divine Presence walks.

And at this day, so rife in public and private corruption, when we hear and see so much of self-seeking intrigue in politics, of dishonesty in trade, of embezzlement and swindling in financial institutions, of mercenariness in public men, of loose license in domestic relations, of portentous evils menacing the sacredness of marriage and the stability of the family, surely the Church has a special call, as it has in the Sunday service a grand opportunity, to proclaim, with all the emphasis at its command, the primal obligation and sanctity of the moral law. Whatever it may do or neglect to do for the culture of the religious emotions, it has a solemn duty in upholding public and private morality, which it cannot evade without peril to itself and society. Whatever be the means, this must be the end. Whatever else may come into religion to give it grace and symmetry, this must come as its abiding substance. For the old prophet-voiced words have lost none of their truth, and need to be uttered to-day with fresh energy: "Who shall ABIDE in thy tabernacle? Who shall DWELL in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart. He that slandereth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to his neighbor. He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not. He that doeth these things shall never be moved."

GLADSTONE AND BISMARCK.

FREDERIC HARRISON ON THE CRUSADE AGAINST CHARACTER.

The following letter has been addressed to us, through our London office, by Mr. Frederic Harrison. It was said by a London wit, long ago, when the English disciples of Comte first began to be talked about, that the Positive Church in England consisted of "three persons and no God," the three persons being Dr. Congreve, Frederic Harrison, and Professor Beesley. The influence upon English thought which these three gentlemen have exerted can scarcely be measured, but that it has been great is undeniable. Of the three Mr. Harrison is perhaps the most forcible writer. His contributions to the *Contemporary Review*, the *Fortnightly Review*, and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, to say nothing of his other productions, have attracted the attention of thinking people in two hemispheres; and we are inclined to believe that the letter which he has addressed to us will be read with the keenest interest, not only by those who agree with but by those also who will dissent from his conclusions.—*Ed. New York World.*

7 NEW SQUARE, LINCOLN'S INN, }
November 3, 1874.

Sir,—I cannot inform you of any express opinion on the part of the Positivist body upon Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet and the Vatican decrees, but I will tell you what is my own view of the matter.

The hubbub caused by the pamphlet seems to me curiously forced and ill-timed, and serves to show how much politicians are in want of something to talk about. The Syllabus, the double allegiance, and the Vatican decrees are matters of history. The world had its say about them when they were first started, and nothing whatever has occurred to give them any fresh bearing or importance. The revival of a subject which is purely one of technical theology is at the present time a piece of mere mischief. The Vatican decrees matter nothing whatever to the politician as such; and they matter to him now even less than ever. Prince Bismarck thought they might be used to draw off the attention of Germans from the military tyranny in which they are held; and Mr. Gladstone seems to think they can put a little life into a very dull time. But in truth the Pope's infallibility is a matter entirely between the Pope and his own people; and if statesmen, Protestants, or free-thinkers meddle in it, it can only be for the sake of a wrangle. There have been ages, even in England, when the political pretensions and teachings of the Catholic Church were matters of life and death to English statesmen; but as that Church has now no kind of danger for this nation, to entangle an inoffensive body of religionists in the hypotheses of their abstract dogmas is a bit of mere stone-throwing.

The Catholic priesthood in England is one of the most industrious, respectable, and peaceable in the world, and the very little political power it wields has long been exerted to national and liberal ends. In Ireland the priesthood has far greater power; but it has been using it to check, not to fan, the insurrectionary movement. It is, therefore, most wanton for English politicians to worry a Church like this about mere casuistical difficulties in its theology, and all the theologies are full of such difficulties. This may be sensational literature, but it is not statesmanship.

It is easy to force Catholics, or any other theologians, into logical dilemmas; but as a matter of fact we all know that a more loyal, conservative, and national body of men does not exist in this island. They cause no government trouble, and neither embarrass Church nor State. Mr. Gladstone, Lord Acton, and Dr. Dollinger appear to have put their heads together to start an Old-Catholic movement in England as a pendant to the ridiculous Neo-Christian bubble in the Anglican Church. Even in Germany, where Old Catholicism is supported by the whole force of the government (which takes it up just as Napoleon III. used to subvention an inspired newspaper), it is a miserable abortion. Here it will

be welcomed only by half a dozen archaeologists, and die out like "Lady Huntingdon's Connection."

As to the deeper principles involved in this discussion, it certainly seems to me that those who attack the Church are asking of it admissions which they never would make themselves. If they would, they are teaching doctrines more dangerous to liberty and morality than any attributed to the Popes. They demand of the Catholic Church that it shall pledge itself never to make a matter of religious duty anything which the State forbids; that it shall disclaim any right to counsel resistance to the civil arm in any extremity. And they go on to charge obedient Catholics with being potentially bad citizens, because we can devise hypothetical cases where the Church might bid Catholics to defy the State. I trust that not only every Church, but every community of freemen who are joined together to increase their knowledge or strengthen their energies, would ever resist any such slavish doctrine. The very object of a church, of a religious congregation, nay, of any social brotherhood whatever, is to hold up before its members standards of duty which are not those current in practical life—not those enforced by magistrates or policemen. To tell a church that it is never to meddle with politics, never to teach a duty different from that approved by the government of the day, is to tell it that it is not to be a religious community at all, but a government bureau on a par with the official gazette. There is no religious community, no moral or intellectual association, which would honestly accept these terms. And it would be easy to push any religionist into similar logical dilemmas by using hypothetical cases. Quakers object to war, therefore the Society of Friends will turn traitors to an enemy; therefore Mr. Bright is unworthy of political trust. The Cobden Club swear by the doctrines of Mr. Cobden. One of these doctrines was to surrender the colonies. Therefore the Cobden Club might one day be found plotting the dismemberment of the empire. Exeter Hall denounced the opium war. Some of our civil and military officers are under the inspiration of Exeter Hall. Therefore we may expect them to desert to the enemy in a possible war with China. These exercises of irritating logic are as easy as they are puerile. If every opinion a man holds is to be followed out to what we think its logical result, and every man is to be supposed in any dilemma which our ingenuity can frame, every man is a rebel. If Mr. Disraeli and the Archbishop of Canterbury succeeded in passing an act to burn every copy of the Bible, Mr. Newdegate and Mr. Whalley would be preaching sedition and heading a rebellion. If they passed an act abolishing from Anglican churches vestments, crosses, fonts, and organs, rubrics, prayer-book, and hymn-book, Mr. Gladstone would be raging about the country as the Hugh Paters of a new rebellion. No religious body whatever, no association of citizens, ever would, or ever ought, to bind itself beforehand to passive obedience; and it is a mere bit of clap-trap to call upon the Catholics of England to surrender in terms a right which perhaps they would be the last people in this country to exercise in deeds.

As to the pretext that the new doctrine of Infallibility has made Catholics more dangerous citizens than their neighbors, it is a piece of idle logic. I do not pretend to understand what the Orthodox Catholic doctrine is, and I doubt if Catholics understand it themselves. It is a bit of mysticism, not more absurd than, and as harmless as, the Trinity or the Paraclete. If it gives Catholics any comfort, they have as much right to it as Anglicans have to their baptismal regeneration or apostolical succession; and it concerns politicians and the State just as little as the Protestant fads. In public we do not find that Catholics are under more restraint or are less likely to be good citizens and reasonable men than the members of other communities, sects, parties, and cliques. I should say that average Catholics exercise their minds at least as freely and behave as conscientiously as the followers of Mr. Spurgeon or Dr. Pusey. An academic or literary clique is just as much pledged to obey orders, and I should suppose that the writers of a powerful newspaper (say the *Times*) have surrendered their judgment quite as completely as a Catholic layman, and implicitly obey a still more infallible Pope. Practical statesmen ought to look at practical results, and need not split hairs over the dilemmas which a religious community weave for themselves in their efforts to stand against the progress of science.

Every word of this controversy illustrates the soundness of the Positive theory of temporal and spiritual (i. e. moral and intellectual) power. The Church of Rome has brought much of the difficulties on itself by its outrageous pretensions (in time past) to temporal power, enormous wealth, and usurpation of civil functions and offices, all which things are out of the sphere of any moral authority. But since in our day no practical evil of the kind either exists or need be apprehended, the attempt to fasten on the Church the consequences of its old errors is of sinister meaning in Germany as in England. In both we see a tendency in the State and its literary partisans to usurp the place of an independent moral authority, to crush out free criticism, to get the control of education, to set up State religions, to make pulpits and journals alike its creatures, and to demand of all moral associations a mere passive obedience. The claim of the State to be supreme is just as tyrannical and preposterous as the old claim of the Church to be supreme. In Germany we have a Chancellor-Pope making demands more arrogant than any Boniface, and just as fatal to real progress and true morality. The hubbub about the Vatican decrees is a silly mimicry of this flagrant aggression of the military bureaucracy of Prussia. Though no man can have less sympathy than I have with the historical pretensions of the Vatican, or can more heartily detest the

intellectual and political views of Catholicism in Europe, I cannot but regard the Catholic side in this controversy as being in its broad features the side of liberty and moral independence.

Yours, etc.,
FREDERIC HARRISON,
To Manton Marble, Esq., Editor of *The World*, New York.

THE DOVER CHURCH CASE.

HALE VERSUS EVERETT.

We are indebted to the courtesy of John M. Shirley, Esq., the official reporter, for advance sheets of the forthcoming volume of *Reports of Decisions of the Supreme Judicial Court of New Hampshire*, containing, besides the interesting case of *Eastman versus Clark*, illustrative of the question how far the sharing of profit tends to establish the relation of co-partnership, the case decided in December, 1868, and quite generally known as "the Unitarian Church case," the technical name of which heads this notice.

In the latter case, the complainants were in their bill in equity averred to be members of "The First Unitarian Society of Christians in Dover," and their complaint was in substance that the wardens and the majority of the parish were employing as preacher for the society a pure theist, who openly disavowed his belief in Christianity; and they prayed that the wardens might be enjoined not to permit such use of their pulpit for the future.

The preacher so employed was Mr. Francis Ellingwood Abbot, a young gentleman admitted on all hands to be in every way of the most admirable character and of distinguished ability. He had been regularly settled in 1864, very soon after the completion of his theological education, as the minister of the parish, and acted as such till the early part of the year 1868, when he found that such a change had taken place in his opinions that he could no longer, in his judgment, call himself a Christian; and he, consequently, so stated to his parish and resigned his charge. The majority of the society, however, wished to enjoy his ministrations, and made arrangements with him to that end. A new organization was formed, which made these arrangements. Whether such new organization was or was not formed, and whether by its formation its members ceased to be members of the parish, were questions in the case, which were more or less discussed, but, as we cannot but think, rather loosely; for the establishment of the affirmative of the propositions should have been fatal to the plaintiffs, who averred and maintained it.

The court (p. 106) use the following language in their opinion: "Having found, as matter of fact in this case, that these defendants had, on or before the ninth day of June, 1868, not only, as they supposed, formed a new and independent society for the promotion of free religious principles, but had abandoned and intentionally seceded from the First Unitarian Society of Christians in Dover, it follows that they forfeited all right to that society's property or any part thereof, or to the use of any property which belonged or the use of which belonged to the old society, and hence have no further claim to the use of the meeting-house in question for any purpose whatever. Hence it follows that the injunction asked for in this case should be granted, as well upon the facts of the case as upon the law."

(The ninth of June, 1868, was prior to the filing of the bill of complaint.)

It would seem to be difficult to decide a case otherwise than upon the facts as well as the law; and we venture to think that the court intend to say that the facts are so clear and simple that there can be no question how the law should apply to them. And so Mr. Justice Doe appears to think; for he says, in his dissentient opinion (p. 237), "If the defendants were seceders from the corporation, and not members of it, the bill should be dismissed, because it can be maintained only on the ground that they are members of the corporation, controlling it or its property in an unlawful manner. If they were not members, they would be mere trespassers, and an action at law would lie, or the police could be called in to protect the house against invasion; there would be nothing in the case to give us chancery jurisdiction. When there is a plain and adequate remedy at law, and the plaintiff's right has not been established at law, a bill for an injunction does not lie to prevent a simple trespass." All which seems obvious and conclusive. The court have found the facts, and the dissentient justice applies the law to them in a manner which, in our poor judgment, leaves nothing to be said, except that the bill must be dismissed.

The court (p. 107) had read the first draft of the dissenting opinion before concluding its own opinion; but, while it devotes some twenty-five pages to various historical and theological matters, it does not allude to the brief and pointed sentence which one would think made an end of the case. It may be that it was not contained in the first draft; but it would be very odd that such a point should have occurred to one judge, and not have been brought to the notice of his brethren, unless we conclude that in the ardent pursuit of grand questions, a small though decisive one has escaped attention.

Perhaps theological polemics are too fascinating to the human mind to permit its working well and soundly while under their influence. At any rate, the court (Mr. Justice Sargent) on the one hand, and Mr. Justice Doe on the other, revel at very great length in law, history, and theology, so that the case will be a very mine of learning to the student and the practising lawyer. But the opinions, each of course very able, and the latter particularly pungent and witty, are too nearly balanced in point of weight

to permit the case to become one of controlling authority.

The result was, that an injunction was granted forbidding the defendants to permit any doctrines to be preached in the church "subversive of the fundamental principles of Christianity as generally received and held by the denomination of Christians known as Unitarians."

The decision rests mainly on the ground that the name of the society and its practice since its formation in 1827 indicated that its property was held in trust for the promotion of the said fundamental principles.

But certain provisions of the constitution and statutes of New Hampshire are carefully considered in both the opinions.

Mr. Abbot resigned his pastoral charge before the decision was given. He was perfectly frank in all his conduct, and his course commanded and received the respectful regard of the court. Mr. Justice Doe maintained that, though Mr. Abbot himself denied that he was a Unitarian or a Christian, yet, upon the authority of such men as the extremely conservative Dr. Peabody and of the whole Unitarian denomination, he was in fact both. His remarks upon this and several other points will be found extremely diverting. The case occupies two hundred and sixty-six pages of the volume.—*American Law Review for January, 1875.*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN ENGLAND.

OBJECTIONS TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE. By Captain Maxse, R.N. London: T. Brettell & Co.

Anything which comes from Captain Maxse merits courteous attention, and it is with regret that we find ourselves opposing so true and bold a radical. Our regret is deepened by the fact that Captain Maxse goes a long way with us, so that our hopes are raised only to be dashed to the ground. He does not reproduce the stereotyped arguments against an extension of the franchise to women; not his selfishness which would dwarf woman in order to make her more serviceable to man, nor the disparaging tone towards woman's powers, nor the sneer at her aspirations for increased work and increased responsibilities. The following passage is sufficient to show that Captain Maxse's objections to woman suffrage do not proceed from narrow-minded prejudice: "I need hardly say I have no prejudice against women who think for themselves, and who are therefore strong-minded. I welcome the presence of mental strength in women, all the more because it is so rare; and so far am I from sharing popular objections to woman suffrage that, while I would not give women the vote, I would most willingly remove their disability to sit in Parliament, and assuredly remove all disabilities which now prevent their serving in many professions and trades, holding that Nature may be very well left to mark the limits of their work." These fine words prove Captain Maxse's superiority to the general defenders of the restriction of the suffrage to men. His own objections are the fear that women will be, as a rule, conservative, and opposed to enlightenment and progress, and a dislike to giving further representation to the propertied classes. He argues, to begin with, that women have not naturally the power of governing men, because "natural government rests on force." But here Captain Maxse overlooks two facts, which cut the ground from under the feet of this argument. First, no one wants to give women "the power of governing men," but women ask to be admitted to a share of the governing power; they ask that men and women shall together choose those who are to govern men and women; not that one class shall rule the other, but that all citizens shall be fairly represented. Secondly, is Captain Maxse prepared to approve of governments resting on force? A liberal government is based on justice; only tyrannies are based on force. The rule of the strongest *physique* is a sign of barbarism; it is the *natural* government, but civilization is one long struggle against Nature, one sustained endeavor to improve on Nature's rough and unmoral condition; women are physically weaker-framed than men, although experience shows that this difference depends much on the relative habits of the two sexes; this physical inferiority of strength is, however, no argument against women being citizens, unless it is seriously maintained that strong men have a natural right to usurp the government, and to deprive weak men of any share in it, because "natural government rests on force."

There is truth in Captain Maxse's idea, that the majority of higher-class women are opposed to radicalism, although we think he much exaggerates the effect of their vote. To begin with, women will not vote as a class; they will be influenced by the thousand influences to which men are subjected. Working-class women are not more conservative than working-class men; in the higher-class a gentle form of Whiggery would probably divide the vote with conservatives, just as the higher-class men are just now divided. Lady Amberley was not a rarer case of a "noble" radical than is her husband. But we entirely demur to Captain Maxse's notion that—were every woman in the country a high Tory—this would be any reason for denying them a vote. If the majority in a country is conservative, the country should be ruled by a conservative government. Ultra-radical as I am personally, and just because I am a radical, I acknowledge that a conservative majority has a right to the government. What kind of liberalism is that which only demands the liberty to impose its own ideas on its neighbors? Radicalism defends the right of all equally, and does not allow oppression, because, in any given case, oppression happens to assist its own cause.

Captain Maxse's objection that the extension of the franchise to women would increase only the rep-

resentation of the propertied class would, we think, disappear if he would regard the question for a moment from our point of view. In pleading for the equal rights of women we are not agitating for a reform of the suffrage qualification; however earnestly we may desire this, this has nothing to do with the woman suffrage question. The point at which we aim is simply that men and women should have equal power, be that power great or little. Where rich men have votes, we would give them to rich women; where working-men have votes, we would give them to working-women; all we ask is, that sex should cease to be either a qualification or a disqualification. Before the law we claim that men and women should be on an equality. We work none the less earnestly for the extension of the suffrage, because we would abolish the sex qualification; we labor not the less for manhood suffrage, because we would make it include womanhood as well.

We do not despair of yet seeing Captain Maxse fighting on our side. He is too honest, too fair-minded, to remain long on the side of injustice. In conclusion, we beg his pardon very heartily if we have said anything to offend him; but loyalty to principle comes before loyalty to a faithful servant of "the cause." But the "Ajax" who heard read at Northampton, last September, Captain Maxse's gallant letter, would very much have preferred reviewing some essay of his which could have been met with unreserved admiration.—"Ajax," in *London National Reformer* of Dec. 6.

GERRIT SMITH.

Mr. Gerrit Smith, widely known as a philanthropist and a leader in anti-slavery and temperance reforms, died in New York at noon yesterday. Last Thursday evening he went to that city to spend the Christmas with his niece, and seemed to be and remarked to his relatives that he was in exceptionally good health and spirits up to Friday night. On Saturday morning it was found that his mind was wandering, and he suddenly lost consciousness. The attack under which he gradually sank was pronounced by Dr. Bayard, the attending physician, to be of an apoplectic character. He remained at a late hour on Sunday night in a comatose condition, having been conscious only for ten or fifteen minutes since the attack. Mr. Smith was born in Utica, N. Y., in 1797, and was graduated at Hamilton College in 1818. In 1833, he was admitted to practice in the State and federal courts of New York, though never a student at law, and participated in several important trials. At an early age he began to take an active part in the benevolent enterprises of the day, and in 1825 he connected himself with the American Colonization Society, from the hope that the success of its projects would lead to speedy emancipation. He gave largely for the accomplishment of its objects, but in 1835 he withdrew from it and connected himself with the American Anti-Slavery Society. Though by inheritance and purchase from his fellow-heirs he was one of the largest land-owners in the United States, he nevertheless became strongly opposed to land monopoly, and practically illustrated his sentiments by distributing two hundred thousand acres, partly among institutions of learning, but mostly among the poor white and black men, in parcels averaging nearly fifty acres. His largest gifts of money were in aid of emancipation and to enable the poor to buy homes. In 1852, Mr. Smith was elected to Congress from one of the New York districts, but at the close of the first or long session he resigned, on account of the pressure of his private affairs, and also on account of his disrelish for public life. For many years he advocated, both by public speeches and by published essays and appeals, a larger liberty of opinion and freedom from what he believed to be the bondage of sect. In 1861, Mr. Smith made a few speeches in behalf of a vigorous and uncompromising prosecution of the war in which the country was involved, and also wrote many articles to this end for the press. But few of his speeches and addresses have been collected in permanent form, the only two volumes worthy of note being his speeches in Congress and *Sermons and Speeches*, by Gerrit Smith.

A late dispatch from New York says that the body of Gerrit Smith lies at the residence of General Cochrane, and will be conveyed to Peterborough to-day or to-morrow for interment, and gives the following additional particulars of his death: Just previous to Mr. Smith's death, he partly revived from his comatose state. His wife took his hand and asked him, if he recognized her, to press it. A feeble effort to comply was made by the dying man, barely sufficient to assure his wife of her recognition. When it was positively ascertained that Mr. Smith could not survive much longer, his old friend Thurlow Weed was sent for; but before he had time to reach his bedside the great philanthropist breathed his last.

The New York *Tribune* eulogizes his life-work by saying that his charities, scattered through half a century, have become almost as familiar to men's thoughts as the heavenly gifts of rain and sunshine. Wherever the cry of distress has gone forth, his ear has been one of the first to hear it, and his hand one of the first to succor. He has not been merely a giver. He has been a speaker and writer also, always fearless and honest, always doing his best for the cause he regarded as just. He has never written a word which was not prompted by a love of liberty, and a wish to broaden and make easy the road by which men could go forward to higher and better destinies. His means and measures were not always so faultless as his aspirations. But none were ever dictated by anything less than a conscientious desire to serve God in freedom and help his fellow-men. There have been few men in our history who have conquered a greater degree of personal respect. People

were accustomed to say that there was something "princely" about him, though in fact there are few princes who could vie with him in the qualities indicated by the phrase. He had the easy and assured manners of one born to a position of power and responsibility, a tall and commanding person, and that sincere and direct address of men of profound convictions and high courage. In Washington he was treated with equal respect by friends and enemies. At a time when the name of abolitionist was detested and condemned with an intensity which it is now difficult to understand, Mr. Smith was universally popular in Congress. His stately courtesy, his stature, and his wealth, all doubtless had their effect upon the Southern politicians, but it would be doing them injustice to deny that they also appreciated his innate nobility and manliness of character. For what he did he will be remembered long and affectionately. But his fame will be securely founded upon what he was.—*Boston Advertiser*, Dec. 29.

E. B. WARD.

Captain E. B. Ward, of Detroit, whose sudden death is said to have produced a sensation in his city second only to that occasioned by the death of President Lincoln, was one of the most remarkable men that we have ever known. A poor boy, with a slender school training, he acquired a great deal of important information, and made his way to the foremost place in the ranks of the business men of the Northwest. He had built and used a score of large steamers, besides many vessels of smaller size, owned vast rolling-mills, saw-mills, and many thousands of acres of valuable pine-lands, with iron-mines, silver-mines, etc. He was president of two railroads. His great wealth is estimated by millions, although it is likely to suffer from the absence of his personal oversight. In courage, independence, and prodigious force of will and intellect he has been seldom equalled. With extreme self-reliance, he thought for himself upon all subjects, being almost entirely indifferent to public opinion and the voices of "authority." During the war, Captain Ward was ardently patriotic, and if Andrew Johnson had been impeached there is little doubt that Mr. Wade would have appointed him Secretary of the Treasury. He was a very liberal friend of the Detroit Unitarian church, and was also a prominent "Spiritualist." He subscribed \$2000 towards the "Index Fund," and was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Free Religious Association. From some of his theoretical and practical views of human life and duty we were obliged to dissent, most emphatically; but while we could not approve of all he said or did, we have been attached to him by the grateful memory of personal kindness, and the knowledge of many acts of unostentatious generosity which he performed. While not indifferent to his own interests, he was also public-spirited, and surpassed all other men in developing the resources of the region in which he lived. He provided amply for his unfortunate kindred, and was one of the most loyal and constant of friends, as well as a devoted brother and a dutiful son. He distributed freely thousands of books, sometimes of little value, but usually as good volumes as were ever published, including writings of Channing and Beecher. Never shrinking from conflict, and when engaged in it disinclined to ask or give much quarter, there was a gentle and tender side to his nature, known to very few, perhaps, yet often revealed to us in the time of our intimacy, about twenty years ago. His sister, best known as "Aunt Emily," because of the many orphans to whom she has been almost a mother, and the scores of young men and women whom she has befriended, is one of the noblest women that have ever blessed the world. Without wearing the garb, she has done the work, of a Sister of Charity. Her brother's fondness for her, and his readiness to assist her in numerous and costly works of mercy, was one of the finest traits of his character. In her great bereavement she has our heartfelt sympathy.—*Christian Register*, Jan. 9.

THE SECOND RADICAL CLUB held a meeting at their rooms in Tremont Place, last evening. The subject under consideration was compulsory education. Mr. F. E. Abbot, of THE INDEX, read an able essay on the subject, favoring the enforcement on the young of our common school educational system. The essayist principally dwelt upon the political aspect of the question, and stated that the illiterate people of New England numbered about 7 per cent. of the entire population, and from that class came 87 per cent. of the criminals. Some sharp discussion followed the reading, and both sides of the question were ably presented. A gentleman of the Roman Catholic faith endeavored to show that the position of Mr. Abbot was untenable; but this he failed to do, in our judgment. Herbert Spencer was quoted against the position taken by the essayist, but, as we believe, with only a narrow understanding of Mr. Spencer's views. Mr. Forsyth, a gentleman from England, in a very entertaining and logical manner, gave the result of his observations as in every way favorable to compulsory education. There was no one who disputed the desirableness of general education among the masses of people. But as to the wisdom of forcing it on the public there was considerable doubt.—*Boston Daily News*, Dec. 29.

A ZEALOUS but ignorant negro preacher, in expounding to his flock as to the astounding nature of miracles, got a little confused in the matter. He said: "My beloved friends: the greatest of all miracles was 'bout the loaves and fishes. Dere was five thousand loaves and two thousand fishes, and de twelve 'postles had to eat dem all, and de miracle is dey didn't bust."

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

GERRIT SMITH.

BY M. L. HAWLEY.

A man, and not an empty name,
Upon whose kindly face was writ,
In living characters and fit,
A lesson that would put to shame
All meaner lives; a presence rare
And gracious, such as once was found,
Or fabled, at the Table Round
Of Arthur's Court, when gathered there
That noble company of knights
Whose aim, like his, was quick redress
To wrongs of weakness and distress;
To wrench from power man's stolen rights.

A braver soul 'twere hard to find
In all the annals of the past;
A sweeter life from first to last
Was never lived among mankind.

If Charity is over all,
And greater, then this man must stand
Unmatched in this or any land
For heeding its diviner call.

For bounded by no time, nor place,
Nor circumstance, nor life, nor creed,
Nor color, but by human need,
He poured its blessings on the race.

If like a prince to him was given,
More princely still he used the gift;
With what a matchless power to lift
All burdens he has grandly striven!

Lord of broad acres, which had made
Some baron of the olden time
A tyrant steeped in every crime,—
He used them but the poor to aid.

For with the strength of his great soul
He loathed monopoly and caste,
And held that his possessions vast
By right were theirs, and not by dote.

A noble man of giant frame,
Whose mind was mated with its house,
And both magnificent to rouse
A nation slumbering in its shame.

A conscience keen that slumbered not,
Nor suffered others—tongue and pen
At service of his fellow-men
With eloquence of truth begot.

An open house, a generous board,
Where rich, and poor, and bond, and free,
Had each an equal right to be—
If any, there the slave was lord.

And pilgrims in the future years
Shall come where lived this uncrowned king
Among his neighbors, and shall bring
Their grateful offerings of tears.

No homily is needed here;
This life outruns the written creeds,
And speaks through all its generous deeds
Of love that casteth out all fear.

CINCINNATI.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 16.

D. P. Wilcox, \$3.50; D. B. Hale, \$5.50; H. S. Mason, \$3.75; T. J. Atwood, \$5; Chas. Nash, \$4.70; J. H. Holly, \$2.20; W. S. Heberling, \$2; Geo. Lieberknecht, 20 cents; Julius Kirschbaum, \$10; M. M. Waterman, \$3.20; W. W. Whipple, \$3; Harriot Brothers, \$3.20; Edw. Gustine, \$3.20; Nina Moore, \$3.20; Chas. Putnam, 20 cents; Emeline Fowle, 20 cents; M. S. Rogers, 20 cents; Julius Churchill, \$3.20; Fernando Dessaur, \$3.20; John Robinson, 20 cents; J. L. Hogeboom, \$3.20; David Fey, \$3.20; G. H. Parkhurst, \$1; M. J. Barker, \$3; M. T. James, 20 cents; C. W. Fillmore, 25 cents; W. O. Duvall, 25 cents; C. W. Buck, \$3.20; A. Friend, \$50; W. H. Boughton, \$20; W. P. Mellen, 50 cents; A. W. Leggett, \$10; F. J. Mead, \$1.75; Levi Baldwin, 50 cents; R. B. Westbrook, \$13.20; W. H. Hathorne, \$1.30; Rufus Perkins, \$4; Chas. Edmunds, \$13.20; Milton Dimmick, 75 cents; John Blain, \$1.75; E. M. Davis, \$1; F. A. Lee, \$3.20; J. H. Elliot, \$3.20; T. W. Higginson, \$3.20; B. P. Newhall, \$3.20; W. H. Badger, \$3.20; C. A. Gurley, \$3.20; R. A. Gurley, \$3.20; G. H. Holtzman, 20 cents; Frank Baldwin, \$3.20; J. E. Haynes, \$3; Amos Smith, \$3.20; B. N. Adams, \$3.20; L. F. C. Garvin, 20 cents; Vermont Phoenix, 20 cents; Geo. W. Brown, \$3; C. W. Estabrook, \$3.25; Israel Betz, \$3.20; D. Muncey, \$1.60; S. B. Berry, \$3.20; L. M. Hammond, \$3.20; Frederick Loeser, \$1.20; Z. S. Wallingford, \$3.20; G. J. Jacobs, \$3; Henry Giles, \$3.20; J. F. C. Burnet, \$3.20; S. Corner, \$3.20; J. C. Boyden, \$10; A. W. Hawley, \$3.20; S. C. Moore, \$3.20; Mrs. H. Coit, \$3.20; J. S. Boyden, \$3.20; A. D. Mead, \$3.25; E. H. Warren, \$3.20; D. R. Lamson, \$2.10; W. E. Coleman, \$1.60; W. H. Wood, \$3.20; Edw. Schroeter, \$3.20; Philena Carken, 20 cents; H. J. Hudson, 20 cents; D. K. Boutelle, 20 cents; H. W. Stanton, \$6; Mary P. Rhoades, 20 cents; E. Chapman, \$3.20; W. Twitchell, \$3.20; J. H. Clifford, \$1.60; S. B. Gay, \$3.20; John Faust, \$1; W. C. Wright, 50 cents; O. H. Dana, \$3.20; John T. Barrett, \$3.25; H. K. Oliver, Jr., \$1.20; Miss M. Kenney, \$1.64.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

The Index.

BOSTON, JANUARY 21, 1875.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), Editorial Contributors.

SUNDAY LECTURES.—The Editors of THE INDEX will lecture occasionally on Sundays, if desired, within a convenient distance of Boston.

THE *Christian Statesman* disowns the words of President Cummings at the late Christian Amendment convention in this city, as reported in the *Advertiser* and *Journal* and quoted in THE INDEX of December 24. It presents instead a very ambiguous and (we must say) a very adroit passage from the speaker's manuscript, as published in the *Globe*—which we did not see. As Dr. Cummings used no manuscript, but spoke without notes, this quotation is no evidence of what he said. The exact words he used may not be preserved by the reports we cited; but they were far stronger than those now authorized, and were not essentially misrepresented by those now repudiated, as we can personally testify. His bigoted utterances, however, not being defended, may be dismissed from further notice.

ANOTHER edition (the seventh) of Professor Tyndall's famous address at Belfast has been issued in a pamphlet of one hundred and twenty pages, of which thirty-one are devoted to a new preface. In this he denies the recantation attributed to him, justifies his "prolonging the intellectual vision across the boundary of experience," reaffirms his original position taken at Belfast, and answers some of his critics,—always with that delicacy of thought and expression which is his charming characteristic. This passage, which is of striking applicability, is as true in substance as it is felicitous in form: "A doubt may fairly be entertained whether this incessant speaking before public assemblies on emotional subjects does not tend to disturb that equilibrium of head and heart which it is always so desirable to preserve—whether, by giving an injurious predominance to the feelings, it does not tend to swathe the intellect in a warm haze, thus making the perception, and consequent rendering of facts, indefinite, if not untrue." Appended to this pamphlet are also an extract from Tyndall's Manchester lecture and (in full) his paper on the "Scope and Limit of Scientific Materialism." This new and best edition of the Belfast Address will be mailed from this office for fifty cents.

A GENTLEMAN in Canada writes us that Mr. Stevens' article in THE INDEX of November 12, entitled "Who is the Criminal?" being shown to Mr. Angus, General Manager of the Bank of Montreal, was read by him to several of the prominent Directors. It must have been especially interesting to them just then. The capital of the Bank is twelve million dollars, gold, and stands at eighty per cent. premium,—original stockholders getting about fourteen per cent. interest; yet a Paying Teller in the Savings Department, handling about \$50,000 daily, had received only \$350 salary, and decamped in October with \$22,000, which have not yet been recovered. The moral is not that robbery in such cases is justifiable, but that the iniquity of exposing men struggling with poverty to such enormous temptation is apt to work out its own natural punishment in embezzlement or defalcation. Robbery is robbery, whatever the temptation; but underpayment by wealthy corporations for valuable and responsible services is also robbery, none the less inexcusable and none the less likely to entail retribution for being committed under legal form. The great number of underpaid but honest employes who have the unused opportunity of robbing is one of the facts that reflect great glory on human nature; yet it is too seldom remembered, as it ought to be, to their honor.

THE CONFLICT OF CONSCIENCES.

Last week we pointed out that the primary cause of the daily intensifying hostility of the Roman Catholics to our public school system lies in the fact that the Roman Catholic Church does not possess absolute control of it, and that a loss is thus entailed upon the Church of a large proportion of its children. If the result of placing children under the influences of free secular education were only a gain to the Church, and not a loss, we should hear nothing of the present protest. The Catholic Church rests upon dogmas; these dogmas are contrary to natural reason, and in civilized countries seldom command assent unless they are early and persistently impressed on the mind in childhood; the only way to impress them is to have them taught to children authoritatively from the Catholic catechism by Catholic teachers; the only way to have Catholic teachers is to put the schools under Catholic management. Hence the Roman Church, holding that belief in its own dogmas is essential to salvation from an eternal hell, and seeing that they will not be long believed in this country even by its own followers unless the whole matter of education is under its own control, claims this control as a necessity to its own existence. It is a mistake to seek for the real secret of Catholic hostility to secular or "godless" schools anywhere except in the practical necessities of the Roman Catholic Church as an organization. The Church must perish if it does not succeed in the attempt to educate in its own way the rising generation of its own membership. It is a question of life or death. In proportion, therefore, to the devotedness of Roman Catholics in this country to their religion and Church is the strength of their determination either to control the public schools or else have schools of their own.

But the accomplishment of this object is fraught with great difficulty at present. The Catholics are in a minority, and estimate their own number at about ten millions, or a fourth of the population. They cannot, therefore, outvote the other three fourths, and thus openly assume control of the schools. Further, they are still too poor to establish schools of their own which can successfully compete with the public schools. They constitute a minority so large, however, that in some localities they have held the balance of power and compelled the dominant party to obey their will. Here lies for the present the greatest peril to the country of Catholic influence. Under the lead of their priests, the Catholics are easily induced, with a few exceptions, to stand as a unit in their political demands; and where, as in our large cities, they are numerous, their sectarian requirements have been consulted to a very injurious extent. The public school system would break down altogether in such localities, if the policy of concession should be followed for any length of time. Take the history of sectarian appropriations in New York city, as an illustration. In 1869, \$214,960 of public funds were appropriated in that city to sectarian schools, of which \$36,288 were apportioned to Protestant German and Hebrew schools, and \$178,672 to Catholic schools. In 1870, the sectarian appropriations were \$217,300, of which the Catholic schools received \$182,295, and all others \$35,005. In 1871, \$179,088 were appropriated to sectarian schools, of which the Catholics received \$155,140, and all others \$23,948. In 1872, the sectarian appropriations were \$142,890, of which the Catholics received \$119,112, and all others \$23,778. For that year it is said on good authority: "The Roman Catholic schools receive \$15 for \$1 given to all other church schools. It will also be observed that, as fast as the public moneys are being appropriated to build up the Roman Catholic schools, the children are withdrawn from the public schools, leaving them unoccupied." The effect of such a policy as this is to put fatal weapons into the hands of the enemies to free secular education; it enables them to build up sectarian schools of their own, and draw off the pupils of the public schools; it stimulates other sects to do the same thing; it breaks down the whole system of unsectarian public instruction; it increases the cost and decreases the thoroughness of the education imparted to the rising generation; it saps the very foundation of republican institutions. And for what? To drill the children of the republic in the dogmas of a Church which preaches absolute submission to a foreign prince, an infallible Pope.

But, however deplorable the consequences of the policy which strengthens the Catholic Church in its warfare on our public schools, it is necessary to appreciate the reasons for this warfare. The attack is

made in the sacred name of conscience: the defence is made in the same sacred name. A conflict of consciences is the result. What shall be done?

This is substantially the Catholic's protest: "You tax me for the support of public schools to which I cannot in good conscience send my children. My religion requires that they should be trained in schools where they may receive daily instruction from Catholic teachers in the Catholic faith; and whether you make your public schools Protestant or godless, they cannot meet this requirement. If I waive my scruples, I do it at the peril of my own and my children's salvation. You have no right to tax me for the support of schools from all the benefits of which I am debarred by my religion, and thus disable me to support schools to which I can conscientiously send my children. Therefore I claim that you should either make your schools Catholic by submitting them to the management of the Catholic clergy, or divide the school funds, or exempt me from paying my school-tax altogether."

If the State would but make the public schools thoroughly and consistently secular by the exclusion of the Bible and the discontinuance of all religious exercises, this is the answer it might justly make: "I do not tax you to support any religion at all; I do not in the slightest degree interfere with any religion you may happen to believe in; I leave you at perfect liberty to believe your own faith and to teach it to your children at home, at church, wherever you please except at my schools. These schools are the common ground for all children to meet and be taught the reading, writing, arithmetic, and so forth, which all children need to know. I do not ask any more of their time than is necessary to teach them these necessary things; if you teach them yourself in your voluntary Catholic schools, you cannot teach them these things in any less time. All the rest of the day you may use in drilling your children in Catholic doctrines, if you choose; it is none of my business what you do with them out of school hours. But it is the dictate of my own conscience to guarantee to every child at least an opportunity for the education which shall open an honorable escape from pauperism and crime; and to save society from the expense and injury which pauperism and crime entail. You get the benefit of the schools in this general protection of society, whether you have children or not, and whether you send your own to school or not; and I claim the right to tax you, because every citizen is bound by justice to all other citizens to pay his just and equal share of all public burdens. I tax you for the schools just as I tax you for the courts, whether you ever have a law-suit or not; you get your equivalent in the general security which the strict administration of justice ensures. Your school-tax is not payment of the bills for the instruction of your own children; it is your share of the total expense of making this an educated rather than an ignorant country, with all the innumerable advantages which the general education of society bestows on every citizen. If you cannot send your children to these schools conscientiously, I am sorry for it, but cannot excuse you; for my own conscience requires that I provide at least a chance for every child to receive a decent education in the most important and elementary branches of knowledge. You too must pay for what you get, or you defraud your fellow-citizens; you get the public benefits of the schools as much as they, and to excuse you from your tax would be to overtax and therefore rob them. I cannot, therefore, excuse you from your school-tax; I cannot divide the school funds among the sects, because that would be taxing the whole people for the support of many totally conflicting creeds,—a thing as unjust as it would be absurd; and I cannot give the control of the schools to your Catholic clergy, because that would outrage the Protestants, the Jews, the freethinkers, whose right to control the schools is every whit as good as yours. If you are a reasonable being, you will admit the justice of this decision; but if not, I cannot help it. I respect your scruples, but cannot act on them; for the law I obey is the law of EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL."

We do not suppose that this answer will satisfy the Catholics; for it remains true that the free school and the Church are irreconcilable, and that the prosperity of the one is the death of the other. There is here a direct conflict of consciences; both cannot be satisfied; neither can yield voluntarily; and the unenlightened conscience must in the end give way to the enlightened, by the sheer logic and force of events. The struggle is inevitable—let it come!

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The message of President Grant ought to allay the apprehensions and disarm the indignation which were naturally and properly excited by the first news of the late disturbance in Louisiana. The President distinctly disavows the usurpation of which he at first seemed to be guilty. He states that he knew nothing of the occurrence till the following morning, and had given no orders or suggestions with reference to it. He disclaims emphatically all right to interfere with the organization of a State Legislature, and, by referring to "circumstances which seem to exempt the military from any intentional wrong in the matter," recognizes by implication that the military were *unintentionally* wrong. It is well that the President has thus cleared his skirts; for to forestall even apprehended revolution by illegal interference would be itself revolutionary. Nothing but open rebellion could justify such interference. Whatever usurpation has actually occurred must now be charged directly upon the Governor of the State, who assumed that certain members of the assembled Legislature were not rightfully such, and called upon the United States troops to eject them. If this Legislature was a "mob," the fact must be proved to demonstration, or Governor Kellogg should be forthwith impeached. But shall it be conceded that the presence of five members whose seats are contested converts a regularly convened Legislature into a "mob"? It will never do in the world to make such a concession, or to justify the extraordinary proceedings based upon it. What the President himself admits is "perhaps a debatable question,"—namely, whether the Governor had any right to meddle in the matter,—is a question which ought to be debated at once; especially when the Governor who is so ready to meddle had United States troops at his command. Kindness to the blacks, kindness to the whites, kindness to the whole country, demands that this all-important constitutional question shall not be covered up or ignored. The President has meant well and done well; and if he has erred in recognizing and sustaining the Kellogg government, Congress itself must shoulder the blame and rectify the blunder. Is Louisiana really in armed rebellion? Then let Congress abolish this farce of a State government, and establish a military or territorial government outright. But if not, then let Congress order a new election, protect the rights of both whites and blacks at the polls, regardless of party politics, and give the distracted State such a government as the people really want. They have had enough of this half-horse, half-alligator Kellogg monstrosity, begotten in fraud and suckled on corruption; and the people of the North are sick of being held responsible for its misdeeds. The Republican party cannot now turn savagely against the President, and make him their scape-goat; if they fail to do swift justice to Louisiana, impartially protecting whites and blacks in all their rights, they have chosen their last President for many a year. Indignation meetings will not save them, especially when they get indignant at the wrong parties. Nothing will save them but justice, wisdom, and courage.

THE BOSTON WHITE LEAGUE.

For some years the State of Louisiana has been the seat of domestic violence and disorder. Fraud has characterized every political movement; political murders as barbarous as those of Caligula have been committed with impunity; an organization whose object is the subjugation of the black race has overthrown the State government, and, when driven from power by United States troops, sullenly retired only to commit fresh assassinations and to plot anew for the success of its Satanic schemes. The President of the United States, having appealed in vain to Congress to perform its duty, attempted to bring order out of chaos, to restore good government to Louisiana, and to protect her citizens against armed mobs and lawless bandits. Sensible of the grave responsibility imposed upon him by a derelict Congress, he interfered only when it became evident that the State and local authorities were impotent, and after the Governor of the State, the man recognized as such by the United States courts and one branch of Congress, had called for his assistance. The President understood his business; he comprehended the situation. Other men would have sent down to New Orleans some half-hearted martinet, only to be captured by McEnery and Wiltz. General Grant was wiser. After some delay, resulting in more violence and bloodshed, he sent General Phil. Sheridan, an efficient officer, a man who knows a rebel when he sees

him, a man who knows the meaning of the word *white* as interpreted by Southern dictionaries.

The result justified his wisdom. Sheridan performed the work assigned him. The details of his performance are sufficiently well known, and I need not repeat them. Once more the usurping bandits were defeated. Hitherto they had succeeded in inaugurating riot and revolution, and in murdering many of their opponents before they were compelled to yield. In this last encounter they were ignominiously routed, and effectually *cowed* without injury to any one. Reporting his success to his superior, Sheridan told the truth about Louisiana as a brave, honest subordinate would tell it; and immediately a howl went up from every negro-hater in the South, from his copperhead allies in the North; and even well-meaning but weak-kneed Republicans trembled at the audacity of the man who had dared to throttle this new rebellion.

Of course the White Leagues howl and gnash their teeth in the presence of their master. And now a new rôle is to be played; now they are "on their good behavior;" now they are law-abiding citizens, clamoring for Sheridan's removal because, as they allege, he has violated the Constitution; and in the name of Law and Liberty they call upon the loyal North to sustain them. Yesterday a lawless mob, usurping the functions of State government and shooting down negroes: to-day peaceable, law-abiding patriots, anxious defenders of Constitutional rights! Their appeal is of course answered. Every political enemy of General Grant sees his opportunity. In the Senate Mr. Schurz hastens to condemn the Administration. He arraigns and denounces General Grant for violating the Constitution, and he does this with full knowledge that soon the President will report to Congress on the subject. The Senator was afraid to wait for that report. He rendered a verdict before he had heard the evidence. His anxiety to assault the President led him to play the part of a cowardly partisan.

But I wish to notice more especially the response made in the city of Boston. An indignation meeting was called, to be held in Faneuil Hall. Before the President had spoken, the people were asked to strike him down, and to tender their sympathy to Louisiana rebels. Every copperhead in Boston, every murderous Ku-Klux villain in the South, was cheered and comforted by the call for that meeting. Before it could be convened, however, the President's message was received. We all know its effect. Honorable men were ashamed of their hot haste; loyal men saw they had been tricked into an alliance with copperheads and rebels; all men recognized that the President was vindicated. No one could read the message without being convinced that, in all that he has done, the President has acted in the interest of good government, and without the shadow of a desire to exalt the military at the sacrifice of the civil office. In the light of this calm, statesmanlike message, the bluster about military usurpation, by which some good men had been misled, became ridiculous. If a technical violation of Constitutional law had been committed (for one I do not believe that this was done), the error was so manifestly in the interest of order, law, and the security of life and property, as to disarm at least all but friendly criticism. Not a semblance of warrant for indignant protest was left for anybody; and as a consequence it was broadly intimated by many that the Faneuil Hall meeting should be abandoned. After this the meeting became simply a meeting of the Boston White League, aided and abetted by a few loyal men who had not the courage or sagacity to withdraw: and, in so far as it professed to represent the citizens of Boston, it was a gross misrepresentation. The resolutions have been published, the speeches have been read, and the sequel is well known. The White League of Louisiana invaded Faneuil Hall, expecting the people to answer to the roll-call. The answer was in harmony with the memories that cluster around the sacred old temple. The people heard with creditable patience all that could be said in denunciation of Grant and Sheridan, and in praise of the "forbearance" of whipped rebels; and then, through the voice of Wendell Phillips, a voice always heard on the side of true liberty, the real sentiments of Boston found expression. Point by point Mr. Phillips followed out the argument, repeatedly calling upon the White League lawyers to controvert him. Silently they deserted the platform; and, when at length the orator had finished, the gentleman who had offered the resolutions declared to the audience, "I feel like saying, 'God be merciful to me, a sinner!'" A jest, if you please, but none the less an

inspiration. Faneuil Hall was redeemed; the good name of the city was saved from dishonor; and the organization of a permanent Boston White League was indefinitely postponed.

R. P. H.

THE WEEK OF PRAYER.

The week of prayer, an institution of some years' standing, a creation of the Evangelical Alliance, closed on January 10. It was remarkable less for the crowded attendance at the churches, or the fervor of the supplications, than for the objects petitioned for and the spirit by which the combined assault on the "Throne of Grace" was animated. By the published arrangement, Monday was devoted to a grateful and contrite review of the past, humble confession of public and private sins, and prayer for guidance and strength in the future. Tuesday was set apart for national objects; for persons in authority, rulers and legislators, soldiers and sailors, rich and poor, prisoners and captives, the afflicted and bereaved, the oppressed and persecuted. Wednesday was home day, when prayers were offered for children, for parents, for guardians and tutors, for schools and colleges, Sunday-schools and ministers. On Thursday, foreign objects for prayer were proposed; the extension of religious liberty throughout the world, the prevalence of peace among nations, the increase of harmony, sympathy, and service among Christians of all lands, the subordination of commercial, secular, and scientific interests to the cause of righteousness. Friday was filled with supplication in behalf of missions; for the spread of the gospel in heathen lands, the conversion of the house of Israel, and the deliverance of nations from the yoke of superstition. On Saturday, the faithful petitioned that the Holy Spirit might be poured out on the churches throughout the world, to the increase of their zeal, spirituality, devotedness, and a clearer witness for the truth among men. The theme generally indicated for the sermons of Sunday was the essential unity of Christ's Church, and the obligation binding on all its members to manifest it "in the bond of peace."

It is much more than probable that the Orthodox mind gave very narrow interpretations to the scope of these petitions; but to one who reads the language according to its English meaning, without technical limitation or sectarian prejudice, the scheme for the week of prayer presented material for very agreeable reflection. The spirit seems to have been unusually generous and sweet. Saving the prayer for the conversion of the house of Israel, there is scarcely a suggestion of the ancient bigotry which marked similar projects a few years ago. The petitions for the spread of the gospel in heathen lands, for the subordination of secular interests to the kingdom of Christ, contain nothing acrid in the form of denunciation, slur, or innuendo. Whatever of bitterness may be implied or hidden, no phrase betrays the presence of bad blood.

The objects of prayer were moral, social, spiritual in a large sense; peace, concord, sympathy between nations, extension of religious liberty, suppression of superstition, the consecration of homes and schools, the increase of Christian fidelity, sincerity in heart and purpose, a living in place of a traditional faith. They are such objects as, reasonably understood, the wisest and best always pray for. They are the dearest interests of mankind, of supreme importance to all people without exception or distinction. If the whole Christian community could in good earnest give for the space of a whole week its full mind and heart to meditation on these high matters, and to intense desire for them, the circumstance would indicate a mighty change in the temper of Christendom.

Thoughts like these came to me as I read over the published scheme of the meetings, and in my hopeful mind arose visions of a wiser, sweeter, and nobler era to dawn on the religious world. But the *Times* of Sunday morning informed its readers that a call had been signed by a number of distinguished clergymen of Brooklyn, without regard to creed, inviting clergy and laity to attend a prayer-meeting at Dr. Talmage's tabernacle at 4.15 o'clock, P. M., and spend an hour in prayer "for a mighty outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the city of Brooklyn." This announcement dispelled all my fine anticipations. No doubt, Brooklyn is as good a place as any to spend effort on, at present; no city, not even Washington, seems to be in greater need of a holy spirit. But that prominent men should openly avow a belief that, by a special rally at a particular moment, the Holy Ghost can be compelled to visit a designated spot, and then and there to perform a miracle of moral regeneration, is discouraging; and that secular

papers should publish such a call without a word of expostulation or even comment is astounding. It was no cheap pulpit rhetoric then: the description of prayer as "the rope up in the belfry; we pull it and it rings the bell in heaven." The divine who compared prayer to the winding up of a clock which must be done at stated times, lest the works stop, was indulging in no clap-trap, but talking sober sense! The conspiracy against the turpitudes of Brooklyn took effect; the meeting was held; the volleys of prayer were discharged from loud-mouthed guns at the celestial citadel. The papers of the next morning reported no spiritual convulsion in the sister city. There is no heavenly summer there. The great scandal cause comes on: there is probably no diminution in the falsehood that is meditated, the hate that is cherished, the chicanery that has been resorted to, the perjury that has been practised, the hypocrisy that has been assumed. The moral blackness of the city is only made more appalling to view by the density of the superstition that fancies guilt can be so removed.

It is high time that emphasis were laid on the *immorality* of prayer, as understood by Christian people. The irrationality of it has been made evident to intelligent men. The weakness of it as a delusion has been exposed often and often. But there is something much graver than this to be considered. Faith in prayer as a means of obtaining mental, moral, spiritual, or social gifts, or of averting physical or other evils, is practically immoral, and immoral in proportion to the vitality of the faith. No persuasion could be more fatally disorganizing to individuals and to a community than that the best things can be had for the asking, for *any* asking, even the most sincere and heartfelt. What if the crying importunity of the poor could make them rich? What if the agonizing supplication of the sick could make them well? What if the passionate clamor of the stupid could make them wise? What if the desperate moaning of the weak and tempted could make them strong and pure? The moral constitution of the world depends on the law that we shall earn whatever we possess, and pay for all we own. No greater misfortune could befall mankind than to believe that hospitals and asylums like George Müller's may be sustained by prayer; for such a belief would, if seriously entertained, paralyze the merciful action of the heart and reduce to a ghastly mechanism the spontaneous feelings of pity and good-will. The assurance of a personal care in the heavens may be precious to the heart, but it is dearly purchased by the sacrifice of man's moral responsibility and immediate social agency. The Christian belief in prayer for spiritual, no less than for material, gifts is of the very essence of superstition, and, like any other superstition, should be condemned unhesitatingly. To pray "that superstition may be made to cease," is simply to pray that prayer itself may cease, and that earnest moral aspiration for rational attainment may take its place.

O. B. F.

SPIRITUALISM.

For about a quarter of a century, what is known as Spiritualism has had a prominent place in the religious and social history of this country; and, from time to time during this long period, has more or less markedly challenged public attention. Quite recently, the whole subject has been discussed with unusual animation, owing to the occurrence of certain remarkable "manifestations" in different parts of the country, and to the fact that the fraudulent character of some have met with signal exposure, while others still persevere to maintain the appearance at least of genuineness.

At no period of my life have I ever been a Spiritualist. I am not one now, and have no reason to suppose that I ever shall be. Nevertheless, I should consider it scarcely creditable either to my intellect or my heart if I were indifferent or contemptuous towards a subject which so vitally affects the hopes and fears, the thoughts and sentiments, of so large a number of men and women, as does Spiritualism; especially when I know that it is the cherished faith of millions both in the Old World and the New, whose ranks I suppose to be every year increasing, and the mental and moral capacity of some of whom I believe there is every reason profoundly to respect. I do not find myself able, as apparently some do, to sweep away with a gesture of fine disdain all the "phenomena" of Spiritualism, on the ground that they are opposed to what is called science, and because some of them have been proved clearly to be spurious. I am not aware that there is any man or any number of men who can show authority for de-

ciding what exactly is unscientific, or for setting up a bench of science which shall be justified in ruling out such evidence as Spiritualism has been always only too eager to offer. I cannot forget that some men are Spiritualists, whose works and discoveries in the fields of science have entitled them fairly to no inconsiderable scientific renown, and who have patiently and cautiously investigated such evidence as Spiritualism has to offer, arriving at the conclusion that in the case presented it was valid, complete, and satisfactory; so that while my own judgment has never been convinced, nor my own entire belief in Spiritualism secured, by any evidence that has come so far within my observation, I must at the same time allow that some who are wiser than myself have been more successful in their search, and indeed have had their minds carried on by it to perfect conviction.

Nor does it seem to me fair to conclude that all the "phenomena" of Spiritualism must be spurious because some are. These "phenomena" have been occurring for a long series of years, in nearly every city and town in the northern and western States, in many private families as well as in public assemblies; and in many cases not only have they persistently baffled the utmost skill of sceptics to prove them fraudulent, but have forced the conviction of their genuineness on the minds of numbers who have striven to resist such evidence. The tricks of pretended "mediums" have been exposed again and again; but this is no more true than that, again and again, the genuine "manifestations" of honest "mediums" have triumphed over every art of sceptical investigation, and have fully established themselves as unquestionable realities. Indeed, when we remember for how long a time and in what numbers of cases these "phenomena" have occurred, to believe and say that deceit has been practised in every case, and wholesale lying and unmitigated fraud, is practically to restate and reinforce the horrible old doctrine of total human depravity. Orthodox Christians may not be loth to believe thus badly of their fellow men; but radicals ought to do better. Every one must rejoice (and none more than every honest Spiritualist) when exposure lights upon the heads of "mediumistic" tricksters and liars; but to rush to the conclusion that all "mediums" are unvarnished and dishonest, and all Spiritualists deluded and superstitious, is to plunge into a moral scepticism the effect of which would be quite as bad as that of real superstition itself.

For one, I experience a thorough satisfaction in the persistency with which these "phenomena" continue to occur, and in the circumstance that so many of them are able to establish themselves upon the basis of fact. What the ultimate explanation of them may be I do not pretend to foresee. The cause of them may turn out to be "spirits." If I were absolutely certain that any disembodied spirits existed, I should think it more probable that these are they who are "manifesting" themselves to the world at this time. I entirely respect all who so believe, for I am sure that they at least think they have good reason for such belief. And I take no stock at all in that dogmatic materialism, or that dogmatic science, which pretends to know that the Spiritualist's explanation of these "phenomena" is false. I do not believe that anybody *knows* any such thing; and I am glad that the "phenomena" persist in bothering such oracles of wisdom, and in challenging their sharpest wits to explain and get around them. But I suppose that I am one of those who are inclined to base whatever belief they have in spiritual realities upon quite other than external or material evidence. I am not anxious to be convinced by "rappings" or table-tippings or "materializations" that my soul is immortal. In my best moods, when, as a friend expresses it, I "feel big" with infinity,—when I love, and hope, and aspire, and worship; when my soul is on freest and strongest wing,—then I am quite superior to any such testimony. Let those lean upon it who cannot get along without it. Every one to his constitutional diet! These ladies and gentlemen of the skies are welcome to visit me if they want to. I shall not shut my doors against them. But so far I am able to find society here on earth quite as good as theirs; and, if they please, I am willing to wait until I shall be regularly introduced to them after "the old, old fashion."

But if these "phenomena" should result in proving to us, as I think they may, that the mind or the spirit in the body is something much more wonderful than any of us have known or been apt to suppose, I shall welcome that demonstration with sincere delight and gratitude. To this end, if no other, I pray they may continue; and I hope that as few of us as possible will lose our senses or our temper while this process of demonstration is going on.

A. W. S.

HARRIOT K. HUNT, M.D.:

DIED JAN. 2, 1875: AGED 69.

As we stood quietly around the coffin which held the lifeless body of this so loving woman, and looked upon the earnest faces of those who had gathered to pay spontaneous reverence to a good and useful life, there was no gloom or sadness in the earnest feeling with which all remembered the life which had been lived out in that humble home. The strong, firm features, pallid and still now, had no ghastly expression of death; they looked massive and noble, as if the genius of life had sculptured them as Michel Angelo's genius might have done in clay or marble; and it seemed as if the occasion called for some free, spontaneous utterance of the thoughts that were welling up in the hearts of those who stood around, recalling what she had been to them and to humanity. Not fulsome eulogy belongs to her; a thorough realism was in place here. Harriot K. Hunt was no angel and no saint; she had her faults, her peculiarities, and her prejudices. We would not forget them if we could, for they serve to mark out the strong characteristic traits of her nature. But in the idealizing presence of death we do not care to speak of them; there we remembered first the grand vital force which was in this woman. How she loved life and respected its uses—loved it for herself and valued it for others! It seemed impossible to think of that strong individuality as being annihilated; it was too real a force! What she was, loving, working, thinking, all her life long, she must be now. For never did saint or mystic more constantly blend the thought of immortality, the presence of higher natures with the things of to-day, than this strong, practical, common-sense woman.

She was thoroughly religious, for everything was looked at by her in its universal relations. She was pious, too, and had the greatest delight in psalm and hymn, and loved to pour out her own soul in prayer and exhortation. She belonged to the Swedenborgian Church, and found great edification in the correspondences and visions of the Swedish seer. But, loving her own religious home, she could not and would not be fettered by its limitations, but was just as much at her ease in a Methodist or Universalist pulpit, and found sympathy with radicals and religionists of all sorts, even including the Shakers, among whom she had many dear friends.

With this clinging love of forms and rites, she was still a bold protestant and reformer by nature, and could stand all alone and carry out her purposes against all opposition, when the times required it. She felt the need of woman as a physician to minister to her own sex, and she sought for the education which would fit her for her calling; but when Harvard College shut its doors in her face, "she turned round and excommunicated" the college, sought information wherever she could get it, and, relying upon the strong intuitions of her own rich nature, she gave her patients the best advice she could, and, as she always considered their spiritual, intellectual, and moral conditions as well as their physical, she often succeeded where learned doctors failed, who could not "minister to a mind diseased." Harvard College refused to allow her to earn its diploma; but her patients, restored to health and life, and finding in her a life-long counsellor and friend, gave her their diploma of love and trust. Her hearty, cheery presence in the sick room was itself a potent influence of good, and her utter refusal to let her patients die sometimes reconciled them to living.

She was as broad in her medical sympathies as in her religious, and tried allopathy, or hydropathy, or homoeopathy, magnetism, electricity, or the herbs of "old Indian doctors," if by any means she could find a weapon against her great enemy, disease. That she stood at great disadvantage for the want of regular intellectual training, she knew as well as others; and she rejoiced greatly to see younger women coming into the profession who had been blessed with the educational advantages which she had not. But she went to work with such tools as she had, and fought a brave fight which has made the way easier for those who came after her.

The "emancipation of woman" was the great interest of her life. She stopped by the way to give a helping hand to the slave, to the drunkard, to all suffering humanity; but she never lost sight of the great crime against justice in excluding woman from legislation, and year after year went up her protest, with her taxes, against this fundamental wrong. It would be pleasant to dwell on a hundred other traits of this many-sided woman, in whom strength and weakness, grim earnestness and childish frolic, stern justice and tender love, plain common sense and exuberant fancy, were so richly and strangely blended; but we cannot do it now. She has herself written out her life nearly to its close, and her great regret in dying was that she could not finish her work. May loving hands take it up, and carry it on to its completion.

Grimm describes his feelings at seeing the illumination of St. Peter's, as he stood alone in the shadow of a pillar on the grand square, after the busy crowd had gone. In the flood of light, all the petty details of the building were lost; all the imperfections of modern additions were concealed; he saw only the grand lines of the master's thought, as they were clearly conceived in his own mind. So in the grand illuminating light of the eternal world which glorifies the departed, we forget all that was transient or faulty or insufficient in the petty details of life, and see the master lines of this brave, true woman's thought, as in her seventy years of life she built her temple in the love of God.

E. D. C.

Communications.

"LARGE AND SMALL FAMILIES."

MR. EDITOR:—

It has not been my good fortune to hear Carl Schurz' lecture on "Educational Problems," and I get my first impressions of his opinions on the true sphere of woman from an article headed "Large and Small Families," in THE INDEX of January 7. I read, also, with a great deal of interest, the comments and criticisms contained in the same article.

I am compelled to differ from A. W. S. in several particulars, but should not venture to express an opinion in your columns did I not feel that on a matter of so much importance, occupying as it does, also, so much of the best thought of liberal minds, even the undisciplined thought of an uneducated man may be of value in suggesting ideas from another stand-point.

To Mr. Schurz' opinion of the functions of woman in society, A. W. S. presents two objections, neither of which is, I think, sound.

The first is, that large families "tend to perpetuate poverty, which is one of the chief causes of ignorance and crime." He goes on to say that, "if only those who are well-to-do in life, who have ample means to carefully educate and care for numerous children,—if only such would have large families, comparatively little would be found to say against it." I have italicized the latter part of this admission, because I think that the admission itself, if properly considered, is sufficiently comprehensive to overthrow the first objection. It seems to me, Mr. Editor, that the apparent impossibility of making this admission is based upon the assumption that the existence of the extreme disparity of classes, which every one seems to look upon as inevitable and in accordance with the divine idea, is, in fact, unavoidable and not caused by anything fundamentally wrong in our system of society. I, for one, do not admit that poverty is a divine institution, but believe rather that it is a hateful wrong that mankind will some day, by a proper understanding of, and compliance with, the eternal laws that govern human relations, entirely remove. Now, sir, what kind of an argument against large families can that be which is based upon the fact that "large families" do not harmonize with "poverty"?

Should we not rather set ourselves earnestly at work to discover what hidden cause—what false principle in our social system hitherto accepted as true—is responsible for the very existence of poverty in our midst, rather than to institute social changes and so-called reforms on the foundation of wrongs already existing?

The second objection is physiological rather than sociological in its character, and on this account I am more diffident in expressing an opinion, being altogether destitute of the necessary scientific knowledge; but I cannot avoid calling attention to one passage which seems to me to be erroneous. It commences thus: "A woman is a woman before she is a wife and a mother." I disagree with this definition of womanhood and of all the reasoning based upon it.

The contrary appears to me to be true: a woman is not a woman until she is a wife and a mother. In the same sense, a man is not a man until he becomes a husband and a father.

Until they have both taken upon themselves the full duties and responsibilities involved in the legitimate propagation of their species, which is the self-evident intention of Nature that they should do, they are simply undeveloped men and women; nothing more.

Man and woman are not separate, perfect, independent individuals, but are the natural complements of each other; neither complete without the other; the two together forming one full individuality. Man has functions, mental as well as physical, absent in woman. Woman has functions, mental as well as physical, absent in man. They are co-equal but not independent. The greatest possible happiness for either cannot be realized apart.

In the joint work of their lives, the question is, What are the functions for which each is best adapted? This question is made difficult to answer, because, up to this time (and probably for many years to come), the conditions of society in other respects are not and will not be in harmony with the divine order of Nature, and consequently unfitted for the proper growth and development of either, or for a proper distinction of the duties which each seems intended to fulfil.

In all our attempts at social reform we seem to make the mistake of not going deep enough to secure a true foundation. The founders of this republic made this mistake,—partly from ignorance and partly from cowardice. For instance, they left a quicksand under one corner of their edifice—slavery—which well-nigh brought it to the ground. It has cost something, and will cost more yet, to underpin the social fabric so as to make all parts equally secure. And now there are signs of a general sinking all over; perhaps they did not, after all, reach the "bottom rock." When they declared, as a self-evident principle, that "All men are born free and equal," perhaps they failed to make provisions for the security of that freedom and equality.

We know that, in any important sense of the words, men are not at this day "free and equal," far from it.

But this is a digression, and only intended to show that, in any social changes we propose, it is not safe to base our arguments upon any existing arrangements, which may be themselves wrong. As Dr.

Clarke says, we must "take hold of things by the right handle."

My answer, then, to the second objection of A. W. S. to large families, is similar to my answer to the first; that, supposing it were true that, under present social conditions and in the present state of our knowledge, it is inconvenient and perhaps injurious to woman to bear large families, the remedy is, not in taking measures to prevent the increase of life in the world, but rather in so remodelling the framework of society as to bring about the conditions essential for the fullest exercise and development of all the functions capable of yielding happiness to every man, woman, and child.

I must take the opportunity of this first communication to acknowledge the pleasure and advantage I have derived from a twelvemonth's reading of THE INDEX. I am poor, and cannot afford the luxury of many papers; but THE INDEX would be the last I should relinquish.

In answer to your appeal to your friends to bring in new subscribers, I propose that you invite all your subscribers everywhere on a definite day, named by you, to be your canvassing agents.

Let us make a simultaneous advance on the enemy's works all along the line for liberty and freedom of thought. Truly yours, W. G. H. S.

Boston, Jan. 10, 1875.

[If each of our subscribers would determine without fail to secure one new subscriber before February 1, our list would be doubled, and the influence of THE INDEX multiplied tenfold. Cannot this be done? We need such help as this very greatly, and thank Mr. S. for his suggestion.—ED.]

TYNDALL'S ADDRESS AND ITS CRITICS.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Mr. Weiss says (INDEX, Nov. 5) that Tyndall has been misunderstood, and that the misunderstanding is chiefly of "that portion of the address which contrasted the old mechanical idea of a lifeless matter with the new idea which Tyndall espoused, that matter has eternally contained all the germs of all the things which have appeared, and all the forces needed to make them appear;" and that we are reduced to the choice of accepting "the old theory that everything has been created out of dead matter by the successive acts of a live creator, or the theory that the universe is live matter in various forms and stages of development."

Weiss and Tyndall strangely forget that the Tyndall idea is not new. Ueberweg, like all other historians of philosophy, shows that it was taught by Pagan philosophers from six hundred years before Christ. He says: "The philosophy of the earlier Ionic physiologists is hylozoism; i.e., the doctrine of the immediate unity of matter and life, according to which matter is endowed with life, and life inseparably connected with matter." [Life inherent in matter; "endowed" is a wrong term.] To the succession of the early Greek hylozoists, Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes, Ueberweg says he is justified in adding Heraclitus.

James Freeman Clarke says ("Apropos of Tyndall," Galaxy, December) that Tyndall is using the term *matter* in a new sense, not as meaning the underlying substance of sensible phenomena, but as something conjectural, an imaginary substance, and unknowable. He says, as to the phenomena of life, Tyndall has given merely a new name for spirit, or that Great Being out of "which or whom" proceed all the phenomena of body and soul. You tell us that Tyndall's doctrine is essentially the same as that which he held six years ago. But this is not true. Tyndall has now expressed a belief in *eternally living matter*; and says: "All the phenomena of physical nature, as well as those of the human mind, have their unsearchable roots in a cosmical life." And Clarke says, by cosmical life Tyndall probably means what Cudworth meant by "plastic life;" and that by using the term as a new name for the *Great Being*, "all the significance of the famous sentence [about matter containing the promise and potency of every form of life] is lost;" therefore, says Clarke, "there is no materialism and no atheism in it;" unless the doctrine of "plastic substances or vital natures," which Cudworth used to refute all atheism, leads to atheism.

Now Tyndall admits that there is materialism in the sentence, but not the materialism of dead matter; and, as regards atheism, Tyndall would not admit that he means by cosmical life what Cudworth meant by plastic life or natures. Cudworth maintained that the secondary causes of all organisms are artificial natures working in complete subordination to the Deity. Tyndall did not mean this; the illustrations which he gives show that he thinks with Lucretius that matter can produce of itself "every form and quality of life," "without the meddling of the gods;" but matter having inherent life, not such matter as was pictured by Lucretius. Tyndall makes Bishop Butler ask the disciple of Lucretius if he "can in any way imagine how, out of the mechanical shock or action of individually dead atoms, sensation, emotion, and thought are to arise?" and says: "We naturally and rightly reject the monstrous notion that out of such matter any form of life could possibly arise." If Tyndall believed (which may be doubted, though he incidentally says it) that God created matter, he thinks, as Epicurus did, that God has not troubled himself to fashion it.

Cudworth was opposed to hylozoism, but such is the difficulty of refuting atheism that, in the opinion of Bayle, all Cudworth's learning on the subject contributed to the showing of hylozoism; to the very doctrine in which Tyndall still believes, as indicated

in his Manchester lecture. Bayle said: Cudworth has, by his supposition of plastic substances which have the power of forming plants and animals without knowing what they do, "weakened the most sensible argument for the existence of God from the admirable structure observed in the universe;" for, says Bayle, if these substances can produce the organization of animals without knowing what they do, the atheist will conclude that the formation of the regularity observed in the world is not inconsistent with the want of knowledge; and so the world may be the effect of a blind cause. Bayle says that Leibnitz acknowledged the justness of this retort of the atheist; and that we cannot, by supposing intelligent causes, refute the atheists who say that the world may have been produced without the operation of an intelligent cause.

Clarke says Tyndall rejects the doctrine of creation, in which Deity is regarded as working upon matter from without after the manner of an artificer, but accepts that of evolution, which, Clarke says, is not atheism; certainly not, for a God may be who has arranged the evolutions, or he may be, and yet may not have "meddled" with earthly evolutions, which Tyndall indicates to be his belief. Tyndall did not, and does not now, profess to believe in direct or indirect creative acts. In his Manchester lecture, he declared that he is not an atheist; but he has found that he lives in an age when a man in his position may not define the kind of God that he thinks may exist. He exhibited some wonderful movements in molecules, and left it to his audience to say whether all the phenomena of the world are the result of "an organic growth—a single natural process from the beginning;" or whether the passage from inorganic to organic forms "requires for their introduction special creative acts." He has not modified his assertion, though he avoided reiterating it, that in matter is "the promise and potency of every form and quality of life." Epicurus was a materialist; he believed in the existence of gods, but he said they left matter to take its own way, that they did not interfere with the world, and that man had nothing to hope or fear from them.

Yours respectfully,
JOHN CHAPPELLSMITH.

New Harmony, Ind., Dec. 18, 1874.

WOMEN SHOULD BE VOTERS.

YANKTON, Dakota Territory, Jan. 3, 1875.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Mr. Holland, in THE INDEX of December 17 (article, "Ignorant Voters"), gives statistics showing that the country contains more illiterate women than men, and concludes that we should still withhold the ballot because there are already too many ignorant voters for the purity of politics.

He also demands to know what use would be made of the power, if we gave it?

If I steal my neighbor's horse, and am overtaken by the owner, demanding his property, by what right do I require to know the use he intends to make of the animal before I give up the reins? Perhaps he intends to use him as the swift agent of my arrest. Be it so! My fate is just; the law is executed, and right and truth have prevailed. Such a demand could only be made by the same spirit of selfishness which prompted the theft, and would result in insult added to injury.

No! My wisest course, as a matter of policy as well as principle, would be instantly to relinquish my plunder into the hands of its rightful owner, and proceed to make every reparation in my power.

But where human rights are concerned, no true reformer stops to consider questions of policy. "Hands off!" is the only thing in order, and the only thing which has the true ring of the spirit of liberty.

Why talk about "purity in politics" with half the race disfranchised for the crime of being mothers instead of fathers?

If self-government is a human right at all, nothing can be more obvious than that it belongs to every individual by the mere fact of his or her existence; hence, so long as the very foundations of our government are based on wrong and injustice, none need expect the millennium through "purity in politics." No very exalted or protracted purity in that direction is possible, until men learn to regard woman as a factor of the political body. Since the world began, woman has been defrauded of her rights solely because she was not endowed with sufficient muscular power to cope with man as a brute. Now, unless might makes right, it is the first duty of the hour, laying aside questions of expediency, to restore the harmony of Nature by doing justice to woman, and receive her for once in all history in her true position as a co-laborer; then advise with her as an equal on the contingencies to be met and adjustments to be made in the new relation.

As to the objection that she takes "but little interest in politics," allow me to suggest that, if Mr. Holland is a preacher and the law had prohibited him from occupying the sacred desk, he would have taken "but little interest in reading sermons."

Freedom for all the race! With results and outcomes we have nothing to do.

Respectfully, D. P. WILCOX.

EDITORS will appreciate the incident which is thus faintly hinted at by the Hartford Post: "The young man who came into this office this morning, sat down on a box, and then bounced up with a yell and fled like one bewitched, is requested to return four long brass tacks that stood on the box when he took his seat. No questions will be asked—we understand it all; but we want those tacks—we have use for them. That box is specially devoted to parties who not only read our exchanges but spirit them away, and the tacks are what we depend on for excitement."

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O. B. FROTHINGHAM, New York City.
WILLIAM J. POTTER, New Bedford, Mass.
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, Haverhill, Mass.
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, Boston, Mass.
MRS. E. D. CHENEY, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
REV. CHARLES VOYSEY, London, England.
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VOLUME 6.

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WHOLE No. 206

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THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT: PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

MR. JOHNSON'S lecture at Horticultural Hall last Sunday is highly praised by those who heard it.

THE SECOND RADICAL CLUB had a lively discussion last Monday evening on the labor question.

THE MORAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION will hold a meeting at 3 Tremont Place, Feb. 5, at 3 P. M. A paper will be read by Anna Monroe, M. D., on "The Great Evil." The public are invited.

THE Sixth Annual Convention of the New England Labor Reform League will be held in Boston, Sunday and Monday, January 31 and February 1, day and evening, in Cotton Hall, corner of Chauncy and Essex Streets.

A MISSIONARY at Yokohama—"one of the calmest and soundest of our veteran missionaries"—prophesies that in twenty-five years Japan will be Christian. It is a great deal more likely that by that time the United States will be Buddhist.

PROFESSOR W. C. WILKINSON says in the *Independent* that "the whole matter with Open Communion Baptists is a matter of temperament. The logic is all on one side of the question. It is feeling, stronger than reason, that makes any Baptist in this country an Open Communion Baptist."

MISSOURI has elected a Democratic ex-rebel general, named Cockerell, to the United States Senate instead of re-electing Carl Schurz. There are keen eyes just now on the watch to discover what the Democrats propose to do in case they secure a return to power. If the above is to be a fair sample of their intended doings, they will not have a chance to do much.

"PANTHEISM," says a writer in the *Baptist Watchman and Reflector*, "which sees Deity in a dung-hill and to whom [*sic*] Calvary and the nearest slaughter-house have an equal sanctity, is but another name for paganism. . . . There is to be a great strife between culture salvation and salvation by Christ." It is our philanthropic hope that this disciple of John the Immerser has been saved by Christ, for it is sufficiently clear that he will never be saved by culture.

FATHER STACK recently lectured in Philadelphia on the "Usurpation of the Roman Catholic Bishops in America," enlarging on their tyranny not only in ecclesiastical but also in civil matters. He advocated compulsory education, and protested against the attempt of the Catholic Church to throw obloquy on the public school system. Welcome to every such word as that! Father Stack will be excommunicated out of the Roman Church into the Church of Man; but he will only find himself in a larger place.

LAST Tuesday evening, by invitation of a few individuals who are interested in such subjects, we gave a lecture on "Tax-Exemption" in the Town Hall at Quincy, in this State. Mr. Josiah P. Quincy presided at the meeting. Only about one hundred persons were present, perhaps owing to the severe cold and perhaps not. But it is much to be desired that a more general public interest might be taken in a reform which is not only based on obvious justice, but would annually increase the State revenues by about \$750,000.

IN ENGLAND every one who is not an adherent of the Established Church is stigmatized as a "Dissenter." Dissenter from what? From truth as established by law! In this country the law does not presume to establish truth at all, and there are no "Dissenters." Yet Orthodox talk of "unbelievers," "disbelievers," and "misbelievers," meaning want of belief in itself; whereas Orthodoxy is

essentially want of belief in freedom of thought, the truth of science, the natural ethics of civilization, which are the only Established Religion of America.

THERE is a merchant by the name of Stokes, in London, who wants Professor Tyndall subjected to the penalties for "blasphemy" (whatever that may be). He says he does not want him punished by death, "but rather that his act should be branded with the condemnation of authority" by a two-years imprisonment. So he writes to the Home Secretary, declaring his belief that "the circulation of such pernicious trash must sooner or later be suppressed." If Stokes were only a Yankee, he would go into raptures over President Cummings and the Christian Amendment movement.

THE Custom-House returns show that 250,000 pounds of opium are annually imported into this country, which is ten times as much as was imported thirty years ago. In reply to specific questions put to druggists throughout the country, it is found that more than one-third of the whole amount is used for other than medicinal uses. Large quantities of opium, laudanum, and morphine are sold to individuals who use the drug for its stimulating effect. Dr. Hammond, of New York, avers that the increased use of opium is one of the results of "prohibitory laws." Surely opium-eating is even worse than ordinary intemperance. Let us not jump out of the frying-pan into the fire.

THIS is what the *New York Times* says about some recent speculations: "Whatever the condition of distracting doubt into which men like Mill may have reasoned themselves, we know in our hearts that the doctrines of Him whom such philosophers may regard as a self-denying enthusiast represent a religion of love and duty so far beyond all others that have ever been made known to man, that we can safely rest our hopes upon it here and hereafter. This faith, at least, is one that need not be shaken by all the teachings of all the Mills, and Huxleys, and Darwins, and Tyndalls that are seeking fact and teaching doubt the whole world over. It is above the reach of science and beyond the grasp of logic." But "we know in our hearts" nothing at all, since the "heart" is an organ of feeling, not of knowledge. The "head" knows all that is known. It is vain to seek refuge from modern thought in this manner; and every friend of his race should regret to see the prevailing dread of the human intellect in matters of religious belief. Surely, the intellect can never prove what is false; it can only prove what is true. If we are not afraid of truth, why be afraid of the intellect?

SABBATARIANISM has got the victory, after all. The outcry of the public (which is everywhere Orthodox, and not radical, when it comes to action, however tolerant it may be of radicalism which merely talks and rescind) has compelled the *New York Postmaster* to rescind his order establishing Sunday delivery of the mails. Such a pressure was immediately brought to bear upon him that he at once succumbed. Can men with eyes in their heads see no lesson in all this? Once show to the churches that the Christian Amendment is the only measure that can ultimately save their "Christian Sabbath," their Bible in schools, and so forth, and such a cry for it would go up as would astound and overwhelm the easy-going liberals who now pooh-pooh the very suggestion of danger in it. Not because the Orthodox are more numerous than the heterodox, for we do not believe that; but because they are organized thoroughly, and we not. If there were only a Liberal League to match every church, there would be a chance for justice, freedom, and equal rights to be respected. But as it is, they are trampled scornfully under foot, if they do but lay a finger on the least legal privilege of Orthodoxy. No wonder the Christian Amendment people exult over our defeat.

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[For THE INDEX.]

The English in India.

A LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE THE NEW ENGLAND WOMAN'S CLUB, JANUARY 4, 1875.

BY W. F. FORSYTH, OF LONDON.

It was about this very time two hundred and seventy-six years ago that Elizabeth signed the charter of the first East India Company. A few years later the Emperor at Delhi issued a firman permitting the representatives of the Company to trade. For a hundred years after this event the English pursued their calling as peace-loving traders, and it was not until they saw that to trade profitably they had to protect their factories with mud walls and bastions that they commenced to dot the surf-washed coasts with these toy forts, and struggled to secure a commercial ascendancy over their European rivals. For a long time it was a very unequal struggle. They were the last in the field, and with civil war and domestic dissensions, the English trader had neither the material support which the power of fleets yields, nor the moral force which the ambitious political designs of their statesmen gave to the French and Dutch competitors in the race for trade. If left to themselves they would have pursued their huckstering policy, and, bent on making money, the pursuit of wealth would have been their sole object; but French and Dutch were aggressive and troublesome. They made war on their factories, and tried to destroy, by their greater influence and power with local native princes, the slight concessions granted by the Mogul at Delhi. So nothing was left for our countrymen but fight; and as English fort after English fort was bravely defended, the natives began to respect the plucky strangers who knew so well to defend their own. Here and there native allies began to assist them in their fights, but it was a purely defensive business; they had no dreams of political influence or interference in the affairs of the country, and the most ambitious and far-seeing in the Anglo-Indian community of those days never dreamed that in these mushroom treaties with petty Rajahs, and in their tiny efforts at war, they were laying the foundations of an empire vaster than that of Akbar or Aurungzebe. They had no dreams of Eastern Empire. To the French is due this great conception. Dupleix, alike a genius and a patriot, had studied Indian history during his residence at the French settlements. He had observed that, from the time when Alexander the Great marched towards the sacred river down to the days of Timour and Akbar, India had always been conquered by the resolute invaders, and that the inhabitants, although skilled in arts and commerce, great and intelligent, had not that patriotism which enables a country to own itself; and he then formed the grand idea of subjecting India to French power, by the aid of disciplined native troops led by French officers; and with this force he hoped to add India to the French Crown, and substitute the cross for the crescent.

Dupleix was eminently successful in his plans. Ably seconded by De Bussy, he secured so much ascendancy at Delhi, both by his operations in war and his triumphs in diplomacy, as to nearly become the arbiter of the policy of the Mogul. With this power he threatened to extinguish the English settlements and influence at the same time. Their fate for a time hung in the balance, and in their despair they adopted the policy of their great rival; they engaged native troops; they became apt pupils in the wiles of political lying, and in a few short years all

that power which Dupleix and De Bussy had, with so much courage and wisdom, built up was snatched forever from their grasp by the audacious genius of Clive. In, then, a hundred years from that time the great English Trading Company extended its power from the sea-washed Comorin to the snow-clad mountains of Thibet; it raised and deposed princes; it subverted ancient customs; it established new laws, and seemed at the height of its glory, with a long vista of dominion before it,—when it fell with a fearful calamity, which spread desolation through countless homes in England, and made the world stand aghast at the horrors of the catastrophe. A century of great deeds, great conquests, and great misrule was ended in the fearful convulsion of the Indian Mutiny.

With the military revolt came the end of the East India Company as a governing power. As such, it had but few merits; it taxed its subjects lightly, and paid its officials enormously; and when this is said its virtues have been described. Its light taxation was an accident and not a design. Down to 1813 it had the complete monopoly of the whole trade of the East, and up to 1833 the monopoly of the China trade. So long as these monopolies existed Indian finance was an easy task; but from that time to 1837 it ran heavily into debt. There never was such an experiment tried by any country in the world as the confiding the government of a vast empire to a commercial copartnership; and the wonder is, not that it did not do better, but that it did so well. Without a doubt the empire in India would never have been secured to England without the intervention of the East India Company. It was the buffer between the conscience of the English nation and many deeds of cruel wrong-doing and worse than bad faith. During years of incessant warfare, when the resources of England were taxed to the uttermost, the East India Company was the means of reserving a part of English wealth and strength for a specific purpose, which, if it had not existed, would have been sacrificed a thousand times for other ends. When Fox and North introduced their India bill it was to outbid the patronage of the Crown by the creation of numerous well-paid officers in India, which would then have brought India under English parliamentary control; and if George the Third, with an obstinacy as foolish as it was criminal, alienated this great land from England, yet in rejecting Fox and North's proposals, and in passing Pitt's India bill, he made the conquest of India possible, by shutting off Indian affairs from English considerations, leaving the East India Company to trade, to annex, and to misrule, so long as it cost the mother country neither men nor money. And as in your country it required the saddening war of a great rebellion to clear the land of the foul stain of slavery, it was only when the blood of helpless women and sucking children flowed, till strong men cried at the sickening butcheries, that England awoke to her danger and her duty, and the Queen, in her proclamation declaring herself the sovereign of India, announced that she was bound to the natives of her Empire in Asia by the same obligations which bound her to all her other subjects.

Never has such a conquest been effected within the limits of a century in the annals of the world; and now, from the lofty Himalayas, covered with stainless snow, across heated plains, over countless fields tilled by a teeming population, over mighty cities filled with wondrous and beautiful products of ingenious skill, over Hindu temples, marble mosques, and stately palaces of Mohammedan kings, down to the green slopes of Travancore,—over all these provinces, rich in men and material wealth, does England rule supreme over two hundred and eighty millions of human beings.

I wish I had time to glance at the fiery genius of Clive, at the cool and unscrupulous Bismarck-iron will of Hastings. I should have liked to pass rapidly in review the great and little wars which crowd the records of bloodshed and conquest for nearly the whole of the century; to have told you something of the closing days of the great company, with its last act of unjust annexation of Oude; and something of the terrible events of the Indian Mutiny of which I was a witness. But I must proceed. I wish to tell you how India is governed to-day,—to say something of the wants of its peoples, of the defects of its administration, to sketch a little of English social life in the East. England holds India, not for herself, but for India and for humanity. Linked as the history of India has often been with America, by ties and events which have produced the most momentous results, the condition of India and its government has peculiar claims on you; and peering, as I sometimes try to do, into the mysteries of the future, I oft think of the time when not the wild Atlantic nor the balmy ocean of the West will divide into fragments, great or little, the nations of our dear mother tongue, but that English and American, Australian and Celt, will yet be united in a commonwealth great and good, which will dictate laws of right to the world. And as the prosperity and greatness of your country should ever be the pride and prayer of every Englishman, the welfare of England, and the proper government of her mighty fief, should never be far from your thoughts.

I said that the English history in India and that of America were linked by strange ties; not stranger than by those which began here nearly a hundred years ago. When, in 1772, in consequence of needy wants, the East India Company obtained a loan of \$7,500,000 from the English treasury, a severe parliamentary fight took place between the Whig peers and Commons as to the patronage conferred on the Crown. It was under this bill that Hastings became the first Governor-General in 1773. The act continued in force until 1781, when it was superseded, and most of its clauses swept away; but one clause will ever remain memorable in the common history

of England and America,—a clause more pregnant with results than all the statutes enacted in the longest reign of any English king. In the financial duties the East India Company obtained a remission of the duty on tea imported in their vessels; besides this, the port duties of three pence on the pound, chargeable in the colonies, was declared to be repealed. The English Parliament took upon itself, as you all know, to confer this fiscal boon on your country. Lord Hillsborough fooled George the Third into the notion that by this plan he would entrap the Colonists, by the bait of a remitted duty, into acknowledging the right of taxation in a British parliament. Hillsborough and the king expected that if you would acquiesce in the power to remit taxes you could not very well refuse their power to impose fresh ones. But New Englanders were not likely to be fooled and beguiled by any such device; and to show you were in earnest you properly flung the untaxed tea into Boston harbor. You know what followed; and even in the events which led to your great rebellion may, I think, be traced the policy of the East India Company. There cannot be a doubt, whatever view may be taken as to the conduct of some English politicians in your late struggle, that the moral example which England gave to the world in the abolition of slavery in her colonies had a great effect in forming public opinion, and which spread and spread with ever-widening circle; and yet truth compels me to say that in my humble opinion English philanthropy has not nearly so much to do with bringing about the abolition of slavery in British dominions as the rise of the East Indian influence in England. West Indian interests had declared if slavery was only abolished in the West Indies (for field-slavery never existed in India), its abolition could only be a question of time in the Carolinas. With this would probably come a cessation of Southern industry, and East India cotton would then be king. The freeing of the slaves in Carolina took longer time than the monopolists in the East supposed; and when the glorious day arrived they had passed away with their mean and despicable policy. But the prosperity of India during the years of your war, when million after million was diverted from America to India, shows how well they gauged the course of events.

With the Queen's assumption of power in India has come an end of the unfeeling, selfish policy which dictated the ruthless acts of the old Company in defiance of all the laws of right; there has come a change for the better over the English policy in India, and the country is quiet; but there is no loyalty, nor is there any less dissatisfaction with foreign rule. Taxation is every year becoming more irksome; discontent is annually increasing. Lord Mayo, a few months before his death two years ago, wrote: "The continuance of this feeling of discontent is a political danger the magnitude of which can hardly be estimated; and any sentiment of dissatisfaction which existed among the disbanded soldiers of the native army is nothing in comparison to the discontent at present." "We can never depend a moment upon general tranquillity." Now why does discontent so increase? By law no privileges of race or creed are tolerated. All are equal before the law—Hindu, Mussulman, and Sahib; and yet the natives are not contented. One grave reason is the land question. In accordance with Asiatic ideas and immemorial custom, the Indian theory of the tenure of the soil vests in the absolute ownership of the sovereign. Hindu and Mohammedan rulers have always exercised the rights of proprietorship, and in many cases had exacted so large a portion of the produce as only to leave the farmer a bare subsistence; but the cultivator was never dispossessed of his cultivation rights to satisfy the obligations of the State, and even when the country was deserted and depopulated by war the right to cultivate the land remained to those who returned, or to those who survived. This policy has produced in India a greater love for land than in any other country of the world, and is at the root of the want of patriotism amongst the Hindus. They care but little who the owners of the soil are, so long as their rights are cared for and respected; and if this is done will calmly and stolidly bear many oppressions. Cornwallis, after his defeat here, was sent out to India as Governor-General. He went there imbued with strong aristocratic views—perhaps confirmed by the doings at Yorktown. At any rate, on his arrival in Bengal he upset all the ideas of centuries as regards the tenure of land, and, believing that the creation of a number of dependents on English rule would permanently secure their influence in Bengal, he introduced a system of land-holding unjust to the farmer, and which has certainly not been beneficial to the government. He granted the whole of the soil of Bengal to Zemindars, or land owners, who had no claims on it save the will of Cornwallis. He gave them lands varying from five square miles to many thousands, invested them with all the rights of English landlords; and the only claim the government had on them was the quit-rent, which Cornwallis fixed forever. The link which bound the cultivator with the ruler was rudely severed, and the Zemindars were speedily created to crush the humble Rajots. After a lapse of a century no result of English rule has given more deep-rooted dissatisfaction. Many of Cornwallis' Zemindars were speedily swept away by their imprudence and folly, and as their rights became confiscated from their failure to pay the annual quit-rent. The government are now nearly the largest Zemindar proprietor in Bengal, not exercising their rights under the old principles of Asiatic rule, but under the rights they themselves conveyed to the Zemindars and then resumed; and as the first consideration in India is ever the revenue, the last rights of the Rajots, the result is lamentable; and it is very sad for me to confess that the poorest parts of India are for the most part those which have been longest under English rule, the richest those which

have been most lately acquired. Fortunately Lord Cornwallis' settlement, as it is called, did not extend beyond Bengal; in Madras and in Bombay they have the Rejotasee system, or the village-renting system. Either the whole community rent the land, or each individual yet pays his assessment on his field direct to the revenue officer who collects it. In Bombay they have a most elaborate system of land-assessment. Every field is mapped and distinguished by permanent boundary stones, the soil and climate classed; and year by year the Rejot pays on the amount he cultivates and the grain he raises; but they cannot be dispossessed from their fields as in Bengal. They have all the advantages of a perpetual lease, with no disadvantages. In Bengal the Rejot lives in the most abject poverty. The only clothing he has is the cotton rag round his loins. The demands on his little ready money are endless, and this ever prevents him saving the small sum necessary to get out of debt. He lives under one of the most tyrannical of usury systems. In the district where indigo is grown, the Rejot is really only the serf to the planter, who leases his land, often his factory, from some private Zemindar, or from the government in the exercise of Zemindar rights. Although Bengal is noted for the fertility of its soil, producing with water three to four crops of rice per annum, the Rejot's condition is miserable. He very seldom spends in any month more than \$1.50. There is not five per cent. of them whose annual earning is over \$50. It is really no exaggeration to say that in ordinary seasons the Rejot fasts, from literal want of food, many days during the year; when in famine times they perish by thousands. The revenue which the Indian government derives from the land-tax is over \$105,000,000 per annum. During the whole period of English rule there have been innumerable plans how to increase this huge sum, but little has been done to enable the people to pay it. If the Rejots were able to pay the land-tax, it would be a matter of very secondary importance how it was collected; but they are not, and why is it so? Millions have been spent freely on barracks, on official residences, on military roads and bridges, whilst canals, the life-blood of an Eastern country like India, have been neglected.

The famine which has now passed away has cost the Indian government and people \$50,000,000. Had this sum been spent in irrigation given before it would have probably been prevented, and the lives of the people not imperilled. In many districts the people live continually on the verge of famine and death. The old public native works show that the native rulers had an idea that there was something more important than revenue; and if England wishes to gain the moral applause and sympathies of the world, her primary duty is to remove the dangers under which so many of her subjects dwell, and by well-directed schemes of irrigation remove the perils of famine from the land. The English government, having assumed the position of landlord in India, has duties and responsibilities which are unknown in England or America to the governing power. The Indian government certainly behaved with commendable energy in the late famine; but what did England do? Permitted India to borrow \$50,000,000 to feed her starving, dying people, who have to pay the interest on this generous contribution of English capitalists forever! Can the mockery of assistance go further? Our land-policy has alienated the Rejot from English rule. Attachment to the soil is the strong point of Hindu village-life. Make the Rejots feel that they are regarded as something more than mere revenue-raising machines; place them above famine, and then they will begin to appreciate the virtues of English rule.

Another grave reason for the discontent of the native is the administration of justice. "One magistrate may be better than a regiment of soldiers, and a good law better than a brigade." These are the words of Sir Henry Laurence, and no man knew the native mind more thoroughly. In fact, nothing is so clearly established as that the system of the administration of justice has been a complete failure. The state of the laws and of the law-courts has been and is a crying reproach to England, and a grievous sin to India. Judges without legal education, subordinates steeped in corruption, a code of procedure oppressive and costly, incapacity on the bench, plunder by the clerks, delay and confusion everywhere, must be the verdict on the legal and judicial department of English rule in India by those who have seen it.

Such a state of affairs has produced in many places a dislike of all courts, and a consequent disregard of law. Eager for innovation, and blinded by admiration for English institutions, there was introduced into India a uniform and complex system of laws utterly unsuited to the habits, feelings, and genius of the people. In criminal law especially does this system break down. Under native rulers a criminal was rarely imprisoned before being tried. He was tried as soon as apprehended, and acquitted or punished without delay; but now, under the protection of the law, he tells lies with impunity. Time is given to bring up witnesses who will swear to anything, and as the natural law of supply and demand governs this class of professional evidence, from this arises a vast amount of perjury and moral depravity. In the well-governed native States, there are no courts of law, but justice costs little, is done quickly, and at every man's door. When an injury is done, either criminal or civil, as soon as the potail, or head man of the village, is informed of the crime or of the complaint, he orders the *Punchayat*, a court composed of five respectable villagers, to assemble, by whom investigation is made, and redress given on the spot. This *Punchayat* is beyond doubt regarded by the natives as the magna charter of the millions. In this court there is no evidence of inferiority of race

exhibited as in other courts, by suitors walking bare-foot whilst the high-salaried judge is administering law with his boots on the table of the cutcherry or court-hall. There is no English law to mystify the natives, no calling of foul names by corrupt interpreters, no Black Bumbles to descant on the exertions, and to flatter the doings, of the Burra Sahib, or great master, on the bench; but there they are judges of their own kith and kin, who know the character and language of all before them, and who administer justice on principles which have been recognized as equity for hundreds of years by these simple villagers. Until these courts are again reestablished, until the heads of villages are invested with the authority they had before our rule under all dynasties, the English will ever be to the Hindu a hard and alien master; they will ever remain estranged in their feelings and distinct in their interests from their conquerors. The civil code, the penal code, are triumphs of legal skill and lore, but they are unsuited to the actual wants of India; and if England is desirous of doing justice to India, giving to her subjects such laws as they would make for themselves if independent, there must be a discarding of complex procedure and new-fangled codes, and a return to the summary modes and simple laws of the Hindu and Mussulman. There might at first be an abuse of authority on the part of these reconstructed tribunals, but its exercise would speedily create the remedy for such abuse in a thousand ways.

Another still graver reason for dissatisfaction is the exclusiveness of English rule. In this respect it differs from that of any previous conqueror. The real estrangement between the dominant and subject races increases every year. In the early days of the Company the want of intercourse with England, and the absence of female society, led to the establishment of social relations with the natives, and to the adoption in many cases of their habits. It was then considered no discredit to contract ties with native women which the customs and laws of the country did not condemn as either illegal or immoral. Such ties were not connected with women of mean condition or of doubtful character. On the contrary alliances were formed between British officers and civilians and some of the proudest families of Hindostan. The Indian official would then take part in village rejoicings, would lend his horses and elephants to swell their marriage processions, and was frequently an honored guest at their feasts. But all this is changed. There is certainly a more open profession of Christianity and Christian morals, although I am afraid the tone of private morality is not much improved. No alliance, either morganatic or otherwise, is now considered respectable with natives, and a connecting link between the governed and the governors has passed away. The position of the civil servant (as it is called) is very different from what it was thirty or forty years ago. Then they went to India to spend their lives; they were wont then to wander through their districts, pitching their tents in some shady grove, and spending their time with native chiefs, listening to complaints and dispensing justice the natives were accustomed to, and giving sympathy and encouragement to all.

Now under the new bureaucratic system, the civilian seldom leaves his cutcherry; nearly all his intercourse is conducted through subordinates often corrupt and venal. He feels that at headquarters he is judged, not so much by the condition of his district, as by the amount of revenue he collects, and the number of reports he sends off. Can you wonder, then, with so little sympathy between English and Hindu, that they have no common interests, and as education is daily spreading, the danger which this estrangement leads to is daily increasing? Reflecting men and highly-trained are daily gathering in Indian cities, and increasing day by day in numbers and influence. The lessons they receive in philosophy and science soon destroy any remnants of belief in their own religion, and that faith is certainly replaced with no other. Christianity, whether Orthodox or Catholic, is making no progress amongst the educated classes in India. And with this comes a desire for a return to native rule; not a native rule such as it often was. Their aspirations picture the same order and security which are enjoyed now enforced by British bayonets, and the substitution of themselves as rulers of the land, instead of the arrogant and, to them, unsympathetic Englishmen.

Education is spreading to a certain extent in India amongst the masses. We have 40,000 schools teaching 1,223,000 scholars, all boys; and we have in the whole of India 1,640 girl schools, where 57,000 girls are receiving some sort of education; and if I were asked what was the most beneficent result of English rule I would answer: The intellectual movement which is certainly going on in educated Hindu life. In the large cities there are people's associations, radical leagues, and in Lucknow a radical club; all *bona fide* Hindu. In fact, in most of the larger towns of India there is an undoubted awakening of thought amongst the natives. Books are being published in large numbers, the greater part of them on religion, and the native press all over India discusses every matter before them with the utmost freedom of opinion and language.

You would have a very inadequate notion of the English in India if I did not say something as to how the government is carried on, and by what means, in spite of discontent amounting at times to smothered rebellion, England holds in quiet subjection so vast an empire. The civil administration is carried on by eight hundred Englishmen, who form what is called the Covenanted Service. They secure their first appointments by competition, and their salaries vary from \$1,500 at commencement to \$40,000 per annum. All subjects to the Queen can compete for these appointments; but as yet no Hindu has secured a place. In consequence of local regulations,

they may retire, after twenty-one years' service, on a retiring allowance of \$5,000 per annum. Besides this Covenanted Service there are 4,000 Englishmen and Eurasians, and 2,200 natives in the Covenanted Service, who receive their nominations after competition from the Governor-General and the governors of the minor presidencies. Their salaries vary very much, and run up as high as \$15,000 per annum; but no natives receive more than \$9,000. Besides this force of 7,000 in the civil employ, the army consists of 70,000 English soldiers, and 140,000 native troops. Besides these to keep the peace, there are about 50,000 military police, well armed and drilled, and to all intents and purposes soldiers. The English officers in charge of the army and police number 6,000; 10,000 troops are kept in the depots of England to supply the wants of India. I need not to say that the expense of these troops is paid by India. The revenues of India amount to \$250,000,000 per annum. The land-tax I described amounts to about one-half. Next in importance come two taxes which strangely illustrate the policy of the Anglo-Indian government, and the poor condition of India,—the opium monopoly yielding \$47,000,000, and the tax on salt, \$28,000,000. The cultivation of the poppy is prohibited in Bengal, save for the purpose of selling the juice to the government at a fixed price; it is manufactured into opium at the official factories, and sold by the government; it is exported to China to demoralize that nation; but so profitable is this imperial trade that it yields the sum I have just named.

The salt-tax presses heavily on the wretched rejt; the tax is equal to eight per cent. in Bengal, and half that amount in the other parts of India, and, from his earnings being so small, a family's consumption of salt amounts to an income-tax of one-twelfth of his income ($7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent). In spite of this large sum raised annually from the poorest people on the face of the earth, the problem with the Indian government is how to make both ends meet financially (they have not as yet proposed inflating the currency however); and until the English Parliament comes forward and adopts the debt of India as the debt of England, and so enables the Indian authorities to borrow money for the internal improvement of the country at the same low rate of interest as England can borrow, India must ever remain the land of impossible taxation and yearly deficits. Our system cannot work much longer, and, with the increasing public debt of India, contracted in a great measure to secure English ascendancy, I think the time has come when if England is to be just she must share the burdens of India.

As a triumph of arms any Englishman may well be proud, but it brings the blush to the cheek of every right-conscience man when he thinks of the means employed to bring our military power into action. And yet it was a country worth conquering. When I come to think of the value of India to England, how much India is contributing to the wealth and power of England, how much the prosperity and greatness of Great Britain are bound up in her gigantic Indian territory,—it is when I think of these things, that the "English in India" comes home to every English-speaking country as a weighty problem. The commerce of England with India is greater than with any other country save your own. The great bulk of the middle classes in England is supported from revenues derived from India, in one form or another. To give you some idea of the amount of money spent in England from the Indian revenue, I have looked at the latest parliamentary return, and find \$55,000,000 per annum, to say nothing of the vast sums spent in the education of Anglo-Indian families, and officers on furlough, which are certainly no less direct contributions from India to England. London is even adorned at the expense of Indian rejtots, the handsome buildings for the government of India being erected at the expense of the Indian Budget. A splendid army of 70,000 men is trained, paid, and kept in active discipline at the cost of India, but for the use of England. India has been a cheap training-school for her soldiers—a whetstone for their valor for the last century.

I may here add that no direct payment or tribute is paid by India to England; but if these are a few of the benefits India confers upon England, what does India get in return? No doubt, since 1858 internal and external peace has been secured. Thug-gism and suttee worship have been put down, infanticide is reduced to a minimum, and human sacrifices are scarce. An attempt has certainly been made to give a pure administration of laws, bad laws unsuited to her people. Roads, bridges, railroads, and telegraphs have been constructed, wherever thought necessary, for military and strategic purposes, and, as I said, education has been diffused to some extent among the masses. A semblance of a Parliament has been established in the three presidency towns, but it is not an elective body and every member is either the nominee of the Crown or of its nominee, the local governor. In a word, the change from the Company to the Crown has been, to a certain extent, disadvantageous. There is now no despotism more complete than the Secretary of State of India. Theoretically, he is under the control of Parliament, but practically he does what he pleases. A debate on the condition of India will hardly secure the attendance of twenty members of Parliament, and the reason is obvious: The masses of the people are brought into no sort of union with Indian policy; they hear many people who have been in India speak of the natives of the country as a people destitute of every feeling, and wholly addicted to falsehood and vice and what they call treason. So long as this continues, there can be no proper English government to India, no real cordiality between the races. Now I know something of India; for years I lived in it, and travelled, and I do not believe that there is a

people in the world so quick to perceive, and so ready to admit, eminence of any kind as the Hindu.

With a mind logical they sternly apply facts to real life. They admit English intellectual ability and physical courage, but they cannot forget their own national history; they have a country which has produced kings, soldiers, statesmen, poets, and philosophers, inhabited by nations acute and intelligent; they know they have been conquered many times, yet from the days of the Greek invasion of Alexander down to the Mohammedan dynasties these countrymen had a fair share of the government of their country; they perceive that English rule differs from all that has come and gone. They are practically excluded from every position of trust and responsibility, and they are looked upon, from the highest to the lowest with few exceptions, as incompetent for any but the most menial occupations; and men who but for Englishmen would be governors of provinces and commanders of armies are supposed to be highly honored if permitted to sit in the presence of a British ensign. They cannot help observing that the Englishman holds himself aloof from the natives, rejects all social intercourse with them as derogatory to his dignity, and gives them the smallest share in the government of his own lands.

During the Mohammedan era Mohammedan princes had Hindu ministers, and Hindu rulers Mohammedan advisers; but England only governs through Englishmen. Now this will not do. If England is to be a benefit to India she must admit the natives of India to the highest offices in the government of the country they can fill. She must create common sympathies between the rulers and the ruled. She must show the government is more careful of the rights of the people than was that of the old native princes and Mohammedan emperors. She must administer speedy justice according to Oriental ideas of right and wrong. She must give her subjects the means of raising themselves to the highest posts of dignity and power by education diffused everywhere. She must admit them to places of trust, and give them an equal participation in the management of the country. If the mission of England in India is to sow the seeds of order and good government, to watch over them and to maintain them until they have gained sufficient strength to flourish alone, to be the means of giving to the East the elevating influences of the West,—influences which only need rekindling in their parent home,—it will not be done by merely making roads, railroads, telegraphs, and bridges, exhibiting mere industrial excellences before the eyes of India. The spectators soon weary of an exhibition in which they take no part; and in these matters the natives resent this assumption of superiority in material arts. England must do more than this. She must associate the people in the work of government before they can acquire that training which will ever fit them for self-rule; and justice and self-interest alike demand this; for if England wishes to retain her hold on India (and I hope and believe that for the sake of humanity she will), she must govern it on those principles which distinguish true freedom everywhere. India must no longer be treated as a conquered country; it must be considered an integral part of the British dominion, with all the privileges of home-rule in its truest and best sense; and to its hold on the affections of its inhabitants must it look for the stability and permanence of its sovereignty.

I do not know that I can conclude this lecture in better words than those of one of the wisest and best of English statesmen: "The world is governed by an inevitable power which giveth and taketh away dominion; and vain would be the impotent prudence of man against the operations of its almighty influence. All that rulers can do is to merit dominion by promoting the happiness of those under them; and if we perform our duty in this respect, the gratitude of India and the admiration of the world will accompany our name through all ages, whatever may be the revelations of futurity; but if we withhold blessings from our subjects from a selfish apprehension of possible dangers at a remote period, we shall not deserve to keep dominion. We shall merit that reverse which time has possibly in store for us, and shall fall with the mingled hatred and contempt, the hisses and execrations, of mankind."

THE PARSON TRIBE.—We make the following classification, dealing only with the order Protestant:—

I. INSIDERS—State Divines, *Found in Churches.*
II. OUTSIDERS—Political Dissenters, ,, ,, Chapels.

SUB-CLASSES OF I.

1. The Lords—*Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, etc.*
2. The Lord's Anointed—*Rectors, Incumbents, Beneficed Clergy, etc.*
3. The Lord's Anointed's Underlings—*Curates, Deacons, Readers, etc.*

SUB-CLASSES OF II.

1. The Well-to-do—*Popular Preachers, Baptist, Independent, etc.*
2. The Overdone—*Revival-Mongers, Conversionists, Ranters, etc.*
3. The Underdone—"Little Bethel" Pastors, *Street-Corner Howlers, etc.*

These may further be characterized in groups—

- A. The Pedantic.
- B. The Soporific.
- C. The Saccharine.
- D. The Acidulous.
- E. The Lachrymose.
- F. The Pugnacious.
- G. The Delirious.

We shall not attempt any systematic arrangement of our studies of individual specimens, preferring to describe each as it comes to hand.—*London National Reformer.*

[FOR THE INDEX.]

"DRESS REFORM."

MR. EDITOR:—

Among the literary notices in THE INDEX of Jan. 7 appears a long and enthusiastic review of the book lately issued, called *Dress Reform*.

Admitting that it is "a summing up of the wisest things that have been said upon the subject of dress reform"—also that those interested in its production and the propagating of its principles are most sincere,—I must beg of you to allow me space to suggest a few ideas contrary and inimical to those which the writer closes by saying, "Corsets are doomed to everlasting oblivion, and woman's body is approaching its day of freedom."

I wish to grant to all the right to express and maintain their opinions, demanding for myself and others a similar privilege; and when we undertake as conscientiously to disprove some of these principles, we do not quite fancy being placed so low in the scale of intelligence, or considered too frivolous, to be able to judge from our own stand-point and experiences of what will suit us best, physiologists, reforms, and so forth, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Let us take the remark that "Men do not read the book, but they read women who have read it, and get their opinion of its worth from them. They rise and fall in their estimate according as the wife and daughter at home render their verdict. One can easily guess the tightness of a woman's corset in these days by asking her husband what he thinks of the dress reform," etc., etc.

This surely is giving men a high position for independence of opinion; originality of thought and action. My experience has been quite different, I finding most men decriing corsets, and justly, because—they are improperly made and worn, and women do suffer from the abuse and not the use; but men do not accept the proposed change, because a trimly, neatly-fitted woman is more gratifying to the eye than one in the loose dress, suggestive of morning negligé, and for which I cannot see the necessity. I repeat now what I have said before: proper use and not abuse is to be desired in everything.

I have shown women how to buy and wear corsets without discomfort, I think even without possible injury, receiving the thanks and approval of their husbands and friends. The corset should be as carefully fitted as the dress,—a fact which few women know, purchasing a corset of as many inches at waist as they suppose they require, leaving the rest to fit or not as chance may provide, they supposing all has been done that can be.

Periodically, without attempting to ascertain the exact cause of difficulty, there has been a war against the corset, resulting in its disuse for a time, to be again as eagerly recommended by the very physicians who urged its abolition, because greater evils arose; and of the two the corset was the lesser.

At the time of Napoleon I., for about ten years, corsets were not used, and the results, according to the accounts of many physicians, were disastrous; spinal diseases became frequent, and stooping figures and uneven shoulders prevailed. The utter, sudden disuse of the corset was thought to have a bad effect on the health of women, and it was again resumed.

Is it not a little singular that it should have been left for women physiologists and physicians alone to insist upon and emphatically settle the hitherto doubtful point as to what really does the injury?

Eminent male physiologists and physicians, with quite equal advantages for research, investigation, and observation among their female patients and otherwise, disagree most emphatically with these ladies. Are not their opinions worthy of some consideration and respect? Shall they not be weighed in the balance? Mrs. Jane G. Swisshelm some time since wrote an article headed "The Ignorant Man who Rescued Corsets," full of sarcasm against two articles written some four years since for the *Galaxy*, which she attributes to William Draper. One article, written by John C. Draper, may be found in the May number of the *Galaxy*, 1870, entitled "Nature and Dress," the only one I have been able to find.

I would recommend it to the consideration of all who are not already fixed in their opinions for or against the corset and a certain proportion of weight at the hips. For those who may not care to seek the article in its entirety, I will give some quotations.

Speaking of the classic dress, the shoulders carrying only the weight of the clothing that descended to the waist, the writer says: "As a consequence, the human form reached a high degree of perfection, if we may judge from the statues that have been preserved from those times, and of which the Venus of Milo, so generally spoken of in works on physiology, is an example. In this connection we would respectfully call the attention of the modern Amazons to their earlier namesakes, who, though they also wore trousers, still retained a sufficient regard for their physical development to avoid strapping down their shoulders." Again: "In the East, the heaviest part of the dress of both sexes has been similar, from time immemorial, to the modern trousers, made very loose, suspended from the hips by a girdle, and fastened around the ankle. In this costume the upper part of the body is covered by a short, loose jacket, thus forming a dress which, though it differs in appearance from the classic, agrees with it in giving great freedom of motion to the upper extremities, and throws the weight chiefly on the hips. In our own time, these early costumes are still worn; and artists tell us that, if we would see the human form in its perfection, we must seek for it where they are retained, and not among those whose chests are strapped down and deformed by the so-called sus-

penders. In the physiological discussion of the relative merits of suspenders and girdles or corsets, it is necessary to pay due regard to sex; and in obedience to the dictates of polite custom we may first examine into the physiological necessities of dress in woman. By virtue of her relations to the function of reproduction, woman is so constructed that the hips are much broader than in man," etc., etc. Further on he writes: "The use of the skirt being premised and granted, shall it be suspended from the hips or shoulders? Our opinion is, from the hips most decidedly, and for the following reasons: In woman, respiration is accomplished chiefly, and, in certain conditions entirely, by the elevation and expansion of the upper part of the chest. To use a medical phrase, it is thoracic, and not abdominal, as in man. Even the clothing about the upper part of the chest should rest as lightly as possible on the shoulders, and all strapping down should be discarded. Another objection to the use of straps is their tendency to interfere with the breasts; and in view of the sensitiveness of these organs it would appear to be wise to arrange the clothing to support them, rather than to press them down."

I believe Mrs. Swisshelm has invented something which she considers a benefit to her sex, and which doubtless is for many; yet is it not uncalled-for to denounce a man as ignorant who seems to comprehend the subject, and give sufficient reason for his opinions, and who is apparently quite the reverse of ignorant?

Laborers throw off their suspenders and tighten their belts for service. Gymnasts, pugilists, boys running races, soldiers, all tighten their belts; and I have been told recently that the belt which was discarded in the army is now replaced by a wider one, fastened tightly for a march. These things mean something, and are the effects of a cause.

Draper says: "Is it not probable that the failure to throw the weight of a part of the garments on the hips, and the persistent use of suspenders, has been a powerful agent in the production of the narrow chests we so commonly see, and which present the shape that would be produced by a weight continually dragging on the upper part of the chest; just as in some savage tribes the head is compressed into a certain form by strapping it down with bands and boards?"

Dr. Mary Safford Blake did not find the German women who wore no corsets in the state of perfection she anticipated. Heavy skirts had to assume that responsibility.

If they had worn corsets, the heavy skirts could not have so injured them. If we are to rebel against the "six to ten thicknesses" about the thoracic region and but one at the feet as so injurious (and, by the way, I take exception to that, because we have two, the warm stocking and, thanks to agitation and denunciation, shoes equal to several of the thoracic thicknesses), why not reform the men's as well as women's dress in this particular? Men are similarly clad in this respect, and I think few of us would care to be clothed to the extremities as we are at the trunk of the body. Am I not correct in supposing that, if we protect these vital organs properly, they will supply the extremities properly? Will all the covering in the world produce warm feet, other conditions being unfavorable?

I regret, on the part of myriads of sensible women, the assertion that "a woman might know her heart was being squeezed up into her mouth and her lungs down into her boots, and she would not forsake her idol." You, who are so earnest, will you not be a little more just and generous, allowing for differences of temperaments and requirements, and equal sincerity of conviction—hoping your right ideas will prevail? I have made it my business to investigate each side, seeking the opinions of physicians and others, men and women, for and against.

The abuse of the corset few will ignore; but I believe a vote would place the majority of learned, conscientious, intelligent, and truth-seeking men and women in favor of its use rather than its disuse.

"There is a class of critics of this dress reform whose corseted appearance renders it easy to conjecture that an autopsy in their case might reveal some displacement of organs," etc., etc. How many autopsies are there of men or women that reveal perfect organisms?

Again we are brought to this never-ceasing admiration of the Greek women, clad in their graceful draperies, flowing from the shoulders, etc.

The object now aimed at, I believe, is to render our dress more healthful, sensible, and practical, that we may be better fitted to perform our daily duties as well as adorn our homes and the social circle.

This beautiful, apparently simple Greek dress was worn only by women of rank, its sweeping, clinging folds rendering it impossible for them to perform any labor, keeping them within doors, requiring slaves to attend them, and so on. The toilette was an affair of some hours' duration, with slaves for every department to perfect it; and the draping of these very garments, so simple, depended upon the skill of an especial attendant, and woe be unto her if she failed to meet the requirements of her fickle and capricious mistress! Added to this, beneath these flowing draperies, was worn a *ceinture*; nothing more nor less than a short corset. The girdle supported the weight of the garments at the hips, the shoulders bearing but slight weight.

"The drapery of the Greek sculptors was founded on artistic ideas and principles, not on those of practical utility; while the every-day dress, beautiful and simple though it always remained, was conformed to the protection and comfort of the body as well as the convenience of the wearer." This every-day dress is not the dress suggested to most minds by the Greek dress; it was short and scanty, and I hardly think

would find favor even with the dress reformers. It was worn by the slaves and working classes.

Mrs. Woolson suggests one idea with reference to the ancient corset which strikes me as strange. She states that the old-fashioned corset, which bore no resemblance to the shape of our bodies, compressing and depressing, was preferable to the modern, which so closely resembles the form; because this prevents ventilation, and that from its misfit allowed it.

The corsets, till modified, gave neither ventilation nor breathing room, causing frightful ills. To-day our corsets give every opportunity for ventilation except just at the belt and hips, where they resist the pressure of the clothing. Query: Which does greater injury, compression of the whole trunk, or lack of ventilation?

Being a "corseted critic," yet not a wearer of this destructive article till over sixteen years of age, then strong and hearty, now able to endure more than the average of women, with the necessity oftentimes, in pursuance of my business duties, of going up and down from sixteen to twenty flights of stairs, three or four days in the week, during several successive months—not being conscious of the weight of skirts, but able to sew all day long, continuously, without back-ache or side-ache, wear a corset without hindrance or inconvenience, and having, despite the wearing of it, gained proportionately in waist as I have in breadth, I must give my voice in favor of the general use of properly-woven, properly-fitted, judiciously-worn corsets.

Many women should not wear them, and hosts should wear them differently. Where I consider them injurious, I urge upon the wearer to discard them, taking pleasure in recommending "dress reform."

As to the fashion of Mrs. Woolson's garments, I have nothing to say, as I urge upon all women the following of their individual tastes and fancies, suggesting an approach to a prevailing mode, but not a blind adoption of one fashion for all forms, faces, and characters.

From a Catholic paper, I take the following from an article entitled "What is a Chemiloon?" With quotations from ladies' letters, it says: "What in the world is it? Is there any man on the Catholic press bold enough to ask the question of his wife?"

I think a prettier and more attractive name might have been given to this article of feminine apparel, which would have made it more poetical to read and speak of. I am not going to tell what it is, because men have no curiosity, and women can find out.

One great fact has been accomplished by this discussion of dress reform; namely, really practical inventions for discarding the corset, supporting the clothing from the shoulders without suspenders and the consequent danger from pressure upon the breast. I allude to Mrs. Olivia P. Flynt's patents, which, to my mind, combine most practically all that can be desired for those who wish to make this change. With others, I protest against bearing the weight of clothing upon my shoulders, they being less able to bear it than the hips; but I heartily recommend to all who are suffering, and feel it to be a needed change, to adopt this style of dress.

To pursue too fiercely one hobby shows a lack of balance. To attribute all ills to one article or style of dress is a mistake.

Our feet must bear their share of blame, because they do not bear their share of burden. Shoes should be made for and fitted to every individual, with the modern improvements added. (I have had my boots made for me by one man in Baltimore for nearly thirty years, and his make and shape are so excellent that he is not obliged to adopt modern improvements.) Here the boots are made and the feet fitted to the boots, not *vice versa*, as should be. How many ladies can either buy, or have made for them, a pair of boots which shall so perfectly fit them that they can wear them with the same ease as an old pair? This can be, should be, the case; and with beauty combined with comfort. Reform shoe-making and cutting.

The parties attended by our daughters, with continued dancing until the wee, small hours of the morning, late suppers, and badly ventilated rooms,—are there no disarrangements consequent upon these?

Our young mothers being injudicious before the birth of their children and incautious from ignorance afterwards,—shall we not be just, and attribute the resulting injuries to many other injurious causes as well as to the corset?

With no personal interest for or against, with independence to carry out for myself my ideas of right, with a certain degree of practical knowledge and quite an extended experience, I cannot remain silent and forbear to make an effort to place this matter in its true light.

Our dress affects our health; our health affects our homes; our homes affect our children (to whom we must look for future progress) for good or evil. There is much that is desirable in this dress reform; but it is not absolute, and must not be so ranked.

CAROLINE E. STREETER.

BOSTON, Jan. 14, 1875.

WENDELL PHILLIPS' LETTER.

BOSTON, 22d July, 1874.

TO G. J. HOLYOAKE:

My dear Sir,—I ought long ago to have thanked you for sending me copies of your pamphlets, and with so kind and partial a recognition of my co-operation with you in your great cause. That on Mill was due certainly to a just estimate of him, but how sad that human jackals should make it necessary. Those on co-operation I read again and again, welcoming the light you throw on it, for it is one of my most hopeful stepping-stones to a higher future. Thank you for the lesson; it cleared one or two dark

places—not the first I owe you, by any means, for I've read everything of yours I could lay my hands on. There was one small volume on rhetoric, "Methods of address, hints towards effective speech, etc.," which I studied faithfully, until some one to whom I had praised it and loaned it, acting probably on something like Coleridge's rule, that books belong to those who most need them, never returned me my well-thumbed essay, to my keen regret. Probably you never knew that we pirated your book. This was an American reprint, wholly exhausted—proof that it did good service. We reprinted, some ten years ago, one of your wisest tracts, "The Difficulties that Obstruct Co-operation." It did us yeomanly service.

I wish I could have an hour's talk with you on this labor and capital question; one, perhaps, to have as angry an agitation as slavery caused. Wealth, with you, governs; but its power is, I suppose, somewhat masked, sometimes countervailed or checked by other forces. With us it rules, bare, naked, shameless, undisguised. Our *incorporated* wealth, often wielded by a single hand, is fearful with direct, and still more with indirect, power. We have single men who wield \$400,000,000, so shaped that towns, counties, States, are its vassals. Two or three united railways (one president) will subject a State to their will. Vanderbilt is reported to say, "It is cheaper and surer to buy legislatures than voters." This is the peril of universal suffrage. Then rum rule sours great cities whenever it chooses to exert its power. The sadness of the whole thing is, one hardly sees whence the cure is to come. I believe, I don't see. Truly our movements demand a most patient faith. I never expected to see any success of our antislavery struggle. Fortified in Church, State, and capital, the system would have outlived this generation, and, perhaps, the next, with ordinary shrewdness on the part of its friends. The gods made them mad on their way to destruction, and so hastened it. Neither shall I live long enough to see any marked result of our labor movement here, though it is true that our masses ripen marvellously quick; but, as you've said, the cliques, jealousies, distrust, and ignorance of workmen are our chief obstacles. Indeed, we sometimes get better help from open-hearted capitalists. Your ranks are infinitely better trained than ours to stand together on some one demand just long enough to be counted, and so insure that respect which numbers always command in politics, where universal suffrage obtains. Then we'd have all the brains of the land our servants, and soon gain that attention which is *here* half of success. But I suppose all this is familiar to you, as well as the strength we expect from related questions—finances, mode of taxation, land tenure, etc. There'll never be, I believe and trust, a class party here, labor against capital; the lines are so indefinite, like dove's neck colors. Three-fourths of our population are to some extent capitalists, and again all see that there is really and ought always to be alliance, not struggle, between them. So we lean chiefly on related questions for growth; limitation of hours is almost the only special measure. But enough. I shall beg you to accept a volume of old speeches, printed long ago, because it includes my only attempt to criticise you, which you probably never saw. I will put, when I mail it, the last and best photograph of Sumner, and, if you exchange, I will add one of

Yours, faithfully and ever, WENDELL PHILLIPS.

GUIZOT prefaced his will by a declaration of his faith, which reads as follows: "I die in the bosom of the Reformed Christian Church of France, in which I was born, and in which I congratulate myself on having been born. In remaining always connected with her I exercised the liberty of conscience which she allows her members in their relations with God, and which she herself invoked in establishing herself. I examined, I doubted, I believed that the strength of the human mind was sufficient to solve the problems presented by the universe and man, and that the strength of the human will was sufficient to regulate man's life according to its law and its moral end. After having long lived, acted, and reflected, I remained and still remain convinced that the universe and man are neither of them sufficient to explain and regulate themselves naturally by the mere force of fixed laws which preside over them, and of the human wills which are brought into play. It is my profound belief that God, who created the universe and man; governs and preserves or modifies them whether by those general laws which we call natural laws, whether by special acts which we call supernatural emanations, like the general laws, from his perfect and free wisdom and from his infinite power, which he has enabled us to recognize in their effects, and forbids us from being acquainted with in their essence and design. I thus returned to the convictions in which I was cradled, always firmly attached to the person and liberty which I have received from God, and which are my honor as well as my right on the earth, but again feeling myself a child in God's hands, and sincerely resigned to so large a share of ignorance and weakness. I believe in God, and adore him without attempting to comprehend him. I see him present and acting not only in the permanent government of the universe and in the innermost life of men's souls, but in the history of human societies especially in the Old and New Testaments—monuments of the Divine revelation and action by the mediation and sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the salvation of the human race. I bow before the mysteries of the Bible and the gospel, and I hold aloof from scientific discussion and solutions by which men have attempted to explain them. I trust that God permits me to call myself a Christian, and I am convinced that in the light which I am about to enter we shall fully discern the purely human origin and vanity of most of our dissensions here below on divine things."

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

CENTENNIAL HYMN.

BY SIDNEY H. MORSE.

Columbia! shrine of our hope!
'Tis thine to wake prophetic cheer,
'Tis thine to show the better way;
Unwavering still our trust in thee,—
Thou art our stay!

A century since did thy great heart,
Inspired, write on our Western sky
Its blazing faith—hymn we yet sing:
"The people strong, the people free,
Nor craft of king!"

'Twas nobly done; yet fate hath bonds,
Doth yet our lives enthrall, and yet
Cry we aloud, "Unbind the 'free';
Still are we slaves while we obey
The 'Powers that be.'"

Free citizens, true noblemen,
Pledge not themselves as powerful State
And frame the lower law of Force;
They pledge themselves from outward law
To win divorce.

In freedom each shall seek his own;
In freedom each the other serve;
In thy command—a luring voice
Persuasive in its every tone—
Let all rejoice.

Fair Freedom shall our goddess be;
In Force we no more refuge find:
Best law of Nature, Confidence!
We summon thee; bequeath our land
Thy high defence.

O land pulsate with Freedom's life!
Thy mission bold proclaim anew.
Disarm. Bring Freedom's peace. Unmake
Thy statute rules. Thy Equity
Let all partake.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 23.

J. Blain, 30 cents; Theo. Johnson, 21 cents; E. A. H. Allen, \$1.50; B. F. Underwood, \$1.50; Alfred Warren, \$1.30; Isabella G. Hardy, \$5.40; R. H. McKenzie, \$3.20; D. F. Child, \$3.20; F. E. Bird, \$2.10; A. L. Munroe, \$3.20; N. Sullivan, \$5; W. F. Chambers, \$6.20; N. C. Nash, \$3.20; Wm. H. Foot, 20 cents; E. K. Brown, \$3.20; Dennis Dean, \$3; S. Wolfenstern, \$3; D. S. Grandin, 40 cents; A. R. Hinchey, \$3.20; Loring Fowler, \$3.20; T. H. Callahan, \$1.50; Halliwell & Willis, \$5.50; H. D. Kingsbury, \$2.75; Jas. L. Angle, \$2.75; D. W. Wilcox, \$5; W. W. Comer, \$5; D. Crehange, \$1.75; J. W. Truesdel, \$2.75; J. G. Mason, \$6; E. B. Waldo, \$3; S. D. Forbes, \$6.25; E. M. Lowell, \$3; Harvey Hakes, \$3; N. R. Osgood, \$6; W. J. Lewis, \$2.75; George H. Francis, \$13.20; W. G. Snow, \$3.95; S. H. Roper, \$3.20; E. D. Lucas, \$1.60; Isaiah West, \$3.20; C. M. Severance, \$3.20; H. P. Robinson, 20 cents; N. A. Hayward, \$1.60; G. F. Talbot, \$3.20; C. G. Blake, \$3.20; H. W. Paine, \$3.20; A. Lawton, \$3.20; C. E. Streeter, 20 cents; J. T. Sargent, \$3.20; Geo. F. Waters, \$3.20; S. E. Sewall, \$3.20; E. Whitney, \$3.20; J. H. Arnold, \$3.20; Noah Green, \$5.45; John Shackleton, \$3.25; C. R. Holland, \$3; James English, \$3; H. F. Angell, \$3.20; J. L. Swayze, \$3.20; Jonas Hilton, \$3.20; L. A. Plummer, \$3.20; J. March, \$3.20; W. A. Butler, \$3.20; G. B. Stebbins, \$3; A. B. Bradford, \$3.20; J. M. L. Babcock, \$3.20; Wm. Allen, \$2; J. T. Dickinson, \$140; W. C. Wright, 30 cents; F. E. Abbot, \$3.35; G. H. Foster, \$2.65; S. Newman, \$1.75; R. F. Wyley, 25 cents; M. Peckham, 25 cents; J. A. J. Perkins, 35 cents; H. Waterman, 75 cents; Free Religious Association, \$60; R. P. Halliwell, \$3; E. A. Willits, \$1.20; Wesley Best, \$10; F. F. Morrill, \$3.30; H. L. Holloway, \$13.20; Helen Bostwick, 15 cents; H. B. Clark, \$3.20; W. H. Farncroft, \$2; P. Armington, \$13.20; W. E. Lukens, 25 cents; Sam'l Campbell, \$3.95; F. M. Sanford, \$2; J. R. Hawley, \$4.20; Carl Post, \$33; V. C. Mason, \$1.80; Fred. Beck, \$3.20; Geo. D. Haworth, \$3.35; F. H. Guivets, \$3.20; A. H. Blair, \$3.15; E. E. Gibson, 20 cents; Lester Markham, \$3.20; Joseph Warbasse, \$3.20; Sam'l Warbasse, \$3.20; A. B. Davis, 15 cents; R. Burdick, \$3.20; G. P. Delaplaine, \$3.20; Chas. Collins, \$3.20; P. H. MacGill, \$3.20; G. Briggs, \$5; Albert Angell, \$3.20; F. Y. Rippey, 20 cents; John Benham, \$3; S. E. Dunn, \$3.20; Ernst Frussing, 40 cents; August Towle, \$3.20; James Mackenzie, \$1.60; G. M. Gardner, \$3.20; Watson Gill, \$3; Chas. Almy, \$6.20; Geo. L. Brownell, \$3.20; F. F. Morrill, \$3.20; V. C. Mason, \$3.20; J. H. Hurlburt, \$3.25; J. S. Prout, \$3.20; B. H. Benton, \$3.20; T. H. Knowles, \$3.20; J. W. Wayne, \$3.20; R. P. Thompson, \$3.20; Harry Grundy, 20 cents; D. G. Francis, \$3.20; W. P. Southworth, \$3.20; S. M. Green, \$3.20; J. H. Ordway, \$1.50; E. Bissell, \$3.20; A. F. Hipp, \$3.20; Fred. Loeser, \$1; J. H. Lull, \$3.20; Rob't Moore, \$3.20; James Forbes, \$1.50.

RECEIVED.

Books.

THE THEOLOGICAL WORKS OF THOMAS PAINE, Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Affairs in the American Revolution. The Most Complete Edition ever published. Boston: J. F. Mendum, Investigator Office. 1875. Price \$2.00.

Pamphlets and Periodicals.

SITTENLEHRE für Schule und Haus, nach Dr. Wilhelm Fricke's Sittenlehre für konfessionslose Schulen. Herausgegeben von der Deutschen Freien Gemeinde von Philadelphia. Philadelphia: B. G. Stephan. 1875.
SERMONS by the Rev. Charles Voysey, at St. George's Hall, London.—Dec. 6: "The Failure of Christian Missions in India."—Dec. 13: "Against the Bishops of London, Oxford, and Lincoln."—Dec. 20: "Insincerity in Matters of Religion."—Dec. 27: "On Thankfulness."
THE CULTIVATION OF ART, and its Relations to Religious Puritanism and Money-Getting. By A. R. Cooper. New York: C. P. Somerby. 1875.
ANTIQUITY OF CHRISTIANITY. By John Alberger. New York: C. P. Somerby. 1875.
MY STORY. A Novel. By Mrs. K. S. Macquoid. New York: D. Appleton & Co.
AN ADDRESS to all Christian Ministers and Churches in North America. With a Basis of Union (Evangelical). Suffolk, Va.: 1874.
THE DIVINENESS OF MARRIAGE.—MOTHERHOOD.—A MOTHER'S AID.—By Mrs. L. B. Chandler.
THE POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY. February, 1875. New York: D. Appleton & Co.
THE SANITARIAN. February, 1875. New York: 234 Broadway.
THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF HEALTH. January, 1875. New York: American News Co.
THE WESTERN. January, 1875. St. Louis: Western Publishing Association.

The Index.

BOSTON, JANUARY 28, 1875.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), *Editorial Contributors.*

SUNDAY LECTURES.—The Editors of THE INDEX will lecture occasionally on Sundays, if desired, within a convenient distance of Boston.

THE *Liberal Worker*, published in Sharon, Wisconsin, says: "A writer in THE INDEX wants to know if Liberals are liberal. We have found many of them very liberal with their opinions, but very illiberal with their money. Many others are liberal in that their beliefs are very broad, but illiberal in that they will tolerate no one who does not think with them."

THERE is no little brain in the London *National Reformer*, Charles Bradlaugh's paper. One of its recent bright paragraphs is as follows: "The civil, or rather the uncivil, war between the factions in the Church of England is becoming so fierce that even bishops foresee a schism as 'humanly' inevitable; and if it is inevitable humanly, I fear that the divine element will not do much to prevent it. The three principal parties of High Church, Broad Church, and Low Church, were long since excellently defined as Attitudinarian, Latitudinarian, and Plitudinarian. At present Latitude and Platitude are making a desperate assault on Attitude. Last week a great meeting of the Church Association was held in Willis' Rooms; and the *Hour* devotes more than a page of small print to the letters and speeches. One of the letters gives the noble war-cry of the Association: 'No Concession, No Compromise, No Surrender about the Eastward Position and the Distinctive Vestments!'—to which couple of notes of exclamation, we cool outsiders are not disinclined to add half a dozen of our own."

THIS is what the *Independent* juicily says about it: "Somebody—Edward Everett Hale, perhaps—attempts in the *Christian Union* to tell what is 'Unitarianism, its Present Beliefs and Purposes.' If the attempt raises a smile, it must be pardoned. A little joke comes in when for 'Unitarianism' the writer artlessly substitutes 'Christian Unitarianism,' leaving a sharp reader to ask: 'But what about Unchristian Unitarianism?' What is the belief of a portion of Christian Unitarianism is very well told. Such Unitarians believe in Christ, 'if' belief means 'discipleship,' and 'casting out devils,' and the seeing in him the commissioned Son of God; not God. This 'casting out devils' is rhetorical enough, but that has always been a vice of Unitarian dogmatics. The writer goes on to describe Unitarianism as teaching that human nature is not wholly depraved, but has 'a possibility of holiness in every soul,' in which sense it certainly is not wholly depraved, if it be such in any proper sense of the words. He continues that Bushnell's view of the atonement has ever been the distinctively Unitarian one. As to the future state, Unitarians believe in heaven and in hell, but that the latter is corrective and will finally leave her dolorous mansions to the peering day. We must not forget to add that our epitomist thinks it important to state that 'Christian Unitarianism' believes in the existence of God—Unitarian apologists always tell us that,—and that God informs us of him self 'by Revelation, or divine influence upon the mind and conscience of man.' Now this may mean inspiration of the Scripture, or it may mean fallible 'inner light,' we cannot tell which. The capital 'R' seems to imply the former, and the generalized 'man' seems to suggest the latter. When will Unitarians learn to say the thing they mean? Careful ambiguity in philosophic or theologic discussion is in logic not a vice, but a crime."

DRAWING LINES.

Referring to our first editorial article in THE INDEX of January 7, entitled "Where Are We?" and its predecessor in the previous issue, entitled "Inspiration and Anodynes," a private letter says: "In your original essay on 'The Intuitionist and Scientific Schools,' you recognized both schools as integral parts of Free Religion. (INDEX, II, 113.) The line you now draw excludes all Intuitionists."

In other words, it is supposed that we have taken a new position, "drawn a line," and excommunicated some of those whom we formerly recognized as friends of Free Religion! Surprising as this misconception is, it is too grave not to be corrected, especially as what has occurred to one may possibly have occurred to others; and we therefore wish to devote our space this week to a candid consideration of it.

But first of all, though we feel actually ashamed even to suggest so preposterous a notion, it seems that we must formally disclaim all pretension of setting up as a new Pope, and solemnly deny ever having had the hallucination that the key of St. Peter was entrusted to our custody. We cannot "draw a line" anywhere: we cannot include or "exclude" anybody; we can neither perform the rite of baptism nor fulminate bulls of excommunication. All that we have ever dreamed of doing has been to utter our own convictions, and leave everybody else to utter his, without meddling with what is none of our business. It is very late in the day to be obliged to say that Free Religion is not a subject for manipulation by any one, and that "drawing lines" of fellowship is certainly not one of the functions of the editor of this paper.

There are, however, natural divisions among men which may have various causes, and which seldom or never are exactly identical with the artificial divisions established by organizations. Nature does not respect these artificial lines of fellowship, and baffles the attempts of men to make them coincide precisely with her own natural lines. Ideas do indeed aggregate men together or segregate them from each other; but it is in vain that voluntary associations seek to make themselves coextensive with any of these ideal aggregations. From time immemorial the "visible church" has been confessedly non-identical with the "invisible church;" the laws of natural fellowship refuse to be expressed in any creed, covenant, or constitution; and to the end of the chapter human affiliations in the ideal world will defy all attempts to make them submit to any Procrustes. A great idea will find its followers in all communions, and no communion of voluntary origin will ever succeed in getting them all to subscribe to its own articles of agreement.

This impossibility of ever uniting all who love freedom and fellowship in religion by any formal tie of organization was well understood by those who founded the Free Religious Association; and they disavowed the ambition of accomplishing this impossible task, when they made it one of their three chief objects to "increase fellowship in the spirit." In other words, they proposed to foster a natural and not an artificial union, based on catholic ideas rather than on dogmatic creeds, however minimized in extent; and they never expected to see on their own roll of membership any large proportion of the names of those who sympathize with their fundamental objects. There are doubtless thousands that have never even heard of the Free Religious Association, who nevertheless love and comprehend its essential principles far better than many whose names are already enrolled on its books as members. The boundaries of the "visible" and the "invisible churches" of Free Religion are certainly not the same; the former is small and feeble, while the latter is vast and of incalculable influence. And it is the principles and ideas of this larger, unorganized communion which the present Association labor to advance.

Now the first and foremost of these principles is unquestionably that of spiritual freedom—freedom of the human mind, untrammelled by arbitrary authority of any sort, to develop all its faculties according to natural laws and to use them in natural ways. The people who believe in this principle are doubtless to be found in all sects and parties, as is proved by the existence in them all of what is called, by a correct instinct, the "liberal wing." The liberal wings of all these artificial organizations have certainly much in common, even if this community is unconscious; nay, it may be consciously denied without being thereby at all disproved. Since, in society as in the universe at large, motion is universal, either in the direction of evolution or dissolution,

amelioration or deterioration, all who move forward really unite in one and the same movement, even although they may not comprehend the fact. In this sense Free Religion includes all who are *relatively* free; and it may well be doubted whether any one of us is *absolutely* free. It is a question of more or less. But many of those who are free relatively to their own associates are opposed to other associations which happen to be more advanced; yet the liberal wings in both cases really work towards one and the same ultimate result, however little comprehended this fact may be at the time. For example, the Old Catholics are for liberty as compared with the Jesuits, yet for bondage as compared with the Unitarians; the Unitarians are for liberty as compared with the Old Catholics, yet for bondage as compared with the non-Christian Intuitionists; the non-Christian Intuitionists are for liberty as compared with Christian Unitarians, yet for bondage as compared with the defenders of scientific freedom in its absoluteness. All these liberal wings and parties are working more or less unconsciously towards the ultimate freedom of science, and in this sense all belong to the great army of Free Religion; yet they all belong to the ancient party of Authority, so far as they antagonize the larger freedom from which they still shrink with dread.

Is not the defective analysis which characterizes the passage we have taken above as a text sufficiently obvious in the light of these explanations? Just as Evangelical Protestantism at the same time opposes Romanism in the interest of freedom and Intuitionism in the interest of authority, so Intuitionism at the same time opposes Evangelical Protestantism in the interest of freedom and the scientific method in the interest of authority. At the two extremes stand Rome and Reason, the Catholic Christian Church and the Free Religious Association; and all intermediate positions are liberal or the reverse, according to what they oppose. Putting it roughly, and taking the scientific school as the pure type of Free Religion, Protestantism may be represented in general as half Christian, half Free Religious; Unitarianism as one-tenth Christian, nine-tenths Free Religious; Intuitionism as one-hundredth Christian, ninety-nine-hundredths Free Religious.

This is substantially the view we have taken and repeatedly expressed from the first issue of THE INDEX. So far from "excluding Intuitionists," it includes them under Free Religion just so far as they stand for free thought; and they stand for this completely, with the one reservation of the doctrines of God and immortality, which they decline to submit to the test of thought. This reservation we would indeed have excluded from the ideal of consistent, thorough-going Free Religion; but that is a totally different thing from excluding Intuitionists, as living men and women, from fellowship. We have taken no new position; we have drawn no new "lines;" we have neither "excluded," nor been so infinitely impertinent as to wish to "exclude," any person or number of persons from any fellowship whatever. But we hold still, as we have held long and openly, that the principle of mental freedom will permit no limitation of itself, no reservation from the dominion of thought; and that the Intuitionist is imperfectly true to Free Religion until this reservation is given up. If that is "drawing a line," we cannot help it; but it is not we who draw it. All that we have done is to point out a fact in the nature of things—that the right of free thought involves necessarily the right to examine and decide the great questions of God and Immortality on grounds of reason alone, and that the Intuitionist is unable to abridge this right in favor of any established opinions of his own. In other words, human intellect demands the right of solving all problems of thought in accordance with the laws of thought; and if any "line" is "drawn," it is drawn by Nature alone.

GIRARD COLLEGE.

The letter in reply to criticism on Girard College, printed among the "communications" this week, will be read with interest by those who give thought to the wisdom of such institutions. The preacher of the sermon, "Charity and the Poor," took his impressions of the College from an eminent lawyer, a resident and native of Philadelphia, who gave his judgment deliberately in answer to inquiry, and said that it was shared by very many intelligent people in Philadelphia who had observed the working of the establishment. Others, when questioned, have spoken with indifference of the institution, as not a public benefaction in any noble sense; some, as was

natural, have pronounced it an enormous waste of good money. My personal acquaintance in Philadelphia is limited; as a clergyman, I am not allowed to visit the buildings or examine the arrangements. It is quite possible, therefore, that my statements need correction.

The Directors of City Trusts, in their last Report, January, 1874, devote but five pages and a half to Girard College; and two of these are not pertinent to the affairs of the institution itself. They express an "increasingly high appreciation of the importance" of the trust committed to them, affirm that the committee on applications, who visit the orphans in their homes and examine their titles to admission, "are deeply impressed with the inestimable value of this charity to the fatherless children of the Commonwealth, and to the widow or next friend upon whom the child is dependent;" and declare that "the Committee on Instruction, and the few intelligent strangers who have the privilege of visiting the schools, testify to the thoroughness and effectiveness of the teaching." Due provision seems to be made for the sanitary condition of the rooms, for out-door exercise and recreation, for instruction in cleanly habits and decent behavior, for moral training, and such religious culture as the rules of the establishment do not forbid. The list of four hundred and eighty-three pupils whose terms of apprenticeship have expired presents an encouraging view of the usefulness of the institution; for, as Mr. Steel says, nearly every department of serviceable industry is strengthened by them. If the whole number admitted during the twenty-six years the College has existed (1,761) can give as good an account of themselves, its usefulness must be so far conceded.

It must, however, be remembered that the fundamental objections to Girard College are the same which are urged against all asylums, where several hundred people of the same class are kept together for years within the same enclosure, and made subject to the restrictions that the purposes of their confinement require. There is a growing conviction that the very little the indigent can do for themselves is better than the very much the opulent can do for them; and the salutary effects of liberty on mental and moral health, which have been proven in the case of the insane, suggest the wisdom of adopting a new method of treatment for the deserted and outcast of society. The huge orphan asylums of the Roman Catholic Church, notwithstanding the show of utility and beneficence they make, are gravely suspected of being hostile to the permanent interests of society; and this, not because they are sectarian institutions, but because they interfere with the normal action of human nature and the regular working of the social laws. Considerations of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, of sectarianism or anti-sectarianism, though important, are secondary. The philosophy of the method is in question; and so far Girard College comes within the same category with the institutions which modern social reformers distrust.

O. B. F.

SOUTHERN FEELING TOWARDS THE COLORED PEOPLE.

In the present disturbed state of our relations with the Southern States, it is interesting to note the expressions used in regard to the colored people by Gov. Smith, of Georgia, in his annual message. He speaks very encouragingly of the prospects of the public school system in the State, but says nothing in regard to the colored schools; although we know from other sources that colored children are not admitted to the public school, and that the few separate schools for them are very poor. But he is obliged to speak of the grant to Atlanta University, which was made by the last General Assembly on condition that a certain number of colored pupils, nominated by the representatives, should be admitted there. These conditions have been complied with, and the amount was paid last year; but the Governor recommends that this appropriation be repealed, because "the class upon whom the burden of taxation chiefly falls" cannot be expected "to support an institution wherein the mischievous doctrine of social equality is practically inculcated." So even this small opportunity for higher education is to be taken from the blacks. Yet, if we mistake not, this University was founded by the American Missionary Association confessedly in the interests of the blacks as well as whites. This is the spirit of the South: "We have been obliged to accept emancipation and a nominal political equality; but we set our faces as a flint against every recognition of the negro as an equal.

We are the rulers and he is to be the ruled, either with the vote or without it."

In conclusion, Governor Smith argues against the civil rights bill, claiming that the laws of the State guarantee equal rights to the negro. (He has just advised against their admission to the State University!) He claims that the self-interest of the whites is a sufficient protection for the colored people:—

"Self-interest, to take no higher view of the subject, would dictate to the white people the policy of forbearance, conciliation, and fair-dealing towards the colored race. Even when a slave, the negro was sure of protection and kind treatment, and now that he has become a free and independent laborer, and possesses every legal right that the white man has, it is still to the interest of the latter that his rights should be carefully guarded, that his efficiency as a laborer should be increased, and that his general condition should be improved in all practicable ways."

We should like to have Governor Smith point out an instance in all history, from Moses down to Harriet Tubman, wherein the self-interest of a ruling party proved a sufficient protection for the subject class. The instance he quotes would hardly be considered a happy one, as most slaves did not consider even their physical well-being very well cared for on account of its value to the master, to say nothing of intellectual and social development.

This spirit in the South is the natural result of slavery. We must meet it with temperance and patience; but we must not trust the negro to its tender mercies. He still needs the protection of the North, which owes him this justice for its long years of inaction and connivance with his oppressors.

E. D. C.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—The Christian community here have been recently amused by a new sect, calling themselves "Bible Christians," who have been brought into prominence by great misfortune.

A Mrs. Girling, surrounded by about one hundred and twenty disciples, had been in possession of a small property at Hordle, near Lymington, in the New Forest, trying the experiment of living in strict accordance with the example and precepts of the Early Church. One of their number had advanced £3,000 for the purchase of the estate, £1,000 being left on mortgage, the interest of which the society found themselves unable to pay.

After a reasonable allowance of time had been granted them, the mortgagee exercised his legal right of foreclosing, and they were in due course of law ejected from the property and turned into the road.

As the season has been unusually severe, you can easily imagine the danger as well as the distress of this summary ejection.

The shelter at first offered to them was absolutely refused; and they passed the first night, at all events, in a drenching rain and sleet, dancing and singing hymns, and consoling each other by frequent ejaculations, "It is the Lord; let him do what seemeth him good."

Nothing would induce the disciples to desert or disobey their "Mother," Mrs. Girling; and at last she consented to the community (now consisting of about seventy persons) occupying a barn offered them by a kind farmer in the neighborhood.

This act of humanity on the part of Mr. Beazly was followed by the intervention of the Hon. Auber-on Herbert, whom no one would accuse of being a Christian in creed—still less a "Bible Christian." He appealed through the *Times* on behalf of these poor people, and made good use of his opportunity to cast in the teeth of the Orthodox world the parallel superstitions which they themselves hold. The features of the creed and practice of these "Bible Christians" included, among others, the belief in the Godhead of Christ, and in his sure return to earth during their lifetime. They believe that they "will not taste of death till they see the Son of God coming in the clouds of heaven."

They also believe in the direct and miraculous protection of Providence, rising above all fear of sickness, and want, and danger. They believe in the efficacy of prayer precisely as taught them by the apostle James; and in consequence they refuse all medical aid in sickness, and can with difficulty be induced to accept aid offered them by human hands.

They believe in the Holy Ghost as set forth in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the Pauline Epistles; namely, a Divine indwelling which supersedes the

human will, and even controls and animates the movements of the body.

The Holy Ghost not only excites them to dance or shake during their devotions, but enables them to see visions, to work miracles, to speak with tongues, and to prophesy.

In practice, they are communists, having nothing belonging to the individual, but all things belonging to God. They are also strictly celibate, and there is no ground for suspecting them to be otherwise than pure and chaste in their habits.

The only fault of which they can be accused is that of gross mismanagement, by which they were involved in debt they could not pay. Their misfortune is that they believed their New Testament too well, and that they thought it really possible to rule their lives in this century and in this "Christian" England in strict accordance with the examples, precepts, and beliefs of Christ and his apostles.

From our stand-point, we cannot regret that the experiment has been made, nor can we wonder that the experiment has been a total failure. But we are moved with indignation against those who, while professing to believe the New Testament to be divine and infallible, Christ to be "very God of very God" and to be coming some day to judge the world, and the apostles and Early Church to be the inspired oracles of duty and examples of life, nevertheless openly deride this little band of sincere believers for their earnest endeavors to live strictly in accordance with their belief.

Practical acceptance of part of the New Testament teaching, and practical rejection of another part, is only consistent conduct in those who deny its divine origin and authority; but monstrously inconsistent in those who profess to maintain it. The Christians who have joined in this melancholy laugh at the spectacle of a "faith showing itself by works" ought to be ashamed of themselves, and deserve much more the ridicule which they have heaped upon the "Bible Christians."

We do not blame them for their eclecticism; we do not blame them for yielding to the dictates of common sense, and letting it supersede some foolish and wild Scriptural injunctions; we do not reproach them for ordering their lives more in harmony with the greater light and knowledge of this age; no, nor do we blame them much for the inconsistency of their course with the creeds they profess, for inconsistency is but a human failing; but we do and we must denounce as both cruel and pharisaical their derision of the Bible Christians for that very sincerity and consistency which have made them heroic.

No doubt, the episode in the New Forest will do good; there are many good, sincere Christians who do not know their own inconsistency whose eyes will be opened, by the collapse of Mrs. Girling's community, to see the hopeless incongruity between some of the examples and precepts of the Bible, and the true life which God-loving men ought to live in this later period of the march of mankind.

It will have done much, if it should have served to remind the Orthodox world that "people who live in glass houses should not throw stones."

Of the attempt to deal with Mrs. Girling as a lunatic (which, however, signally failed) the Hon. Auber-on Herbert says with great pungency:—

"Another and a clearer-headed generation might arise which might learn to look upon the superstition of the educated as more pitiable than the superstition of the ignorant, and might be induced to include in a verdict of religious insanity even distinguished and Orthodox prelates, who, like David in their scanty equipment of fighting gear, undertook in some thirty pages of a quarterly to demolish the scientific speculations of the age in which they live. At all events, in this matter discretion will be useful, for it may be difficult to find some people to judge who are the madmen."

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S. E., Jan. 2, 1875.

LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU sent in 1718 the following description of French ladies to England: "I must tell you something of the French ladies: I have seen all the beauties, and such nauseous creatures, so fantastically absurd in their dress, so monstrously unnatural in their paint,—their hair cut short and curled round their faces, loaded with powder that makes it look like white wool, and on their cheeks to their chins, unmercifully laid on, a shining red japan that glistens in a most flaming manner, so that they seem to have no resemblance to human faces, and I am apt to believe took the first hint of their dress from a fair sheep newly ruddled. 'Tis with pleasure I recollect my dear, pretty countrywomen."—*Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Life and Letters.*

Communications.

GIRARD COLLEGE.

No. 600 MARKET ST., PHILADELPHIA, }
Jan. 17, 1875. }

MR. O. B. FROTHINGHAM:

Dear Sir,—In a sermon delivered by you entitled "Charity and the Poor," and published in THE INDEX of December 31, you make allusion to the Girard College, to which you will allow me to reply:—

Your position as a public teacher and seeker after truth makes it impossible for you intentionally to misrepresent a noble charity, whose great usefulness is well-known to every one at all acquainted with its operations. As it must, therefore, be from a want of proper information that you so fearfully decry one of the most useful institutions of the age, I hope you will permit me, with the best intentions, to endeavor to set the matter before you in its correct aspect.

Having been a pupil of Girard College for more than five years, and maintaining during the eighteen years which have since elapsed a lively interest in its welfare and management, I feel well qualified to judge of the results of the institution, regarding it as my duty to endeavor respectfully to correct the misapprehensions of the College evidenced in your sermon.

The purpose for which Mr. Girard endowed the institution was to take charge of, educate, feed, and clothe poor male children, who had lost one or both parents, and fit them to become useful and self-supporting citizens. This, then, according to some "thoughtful people," has been a failure. Such a remark could only come from persons entirely unacquainted with the institution; probably residents of some other locality, their opinions have been formed upon hearsay evidence, or the reports of other equally misinformed. No more complete charity, or successful accomplishment of a testator's purposes, could possibly exist. Children are received, kindly cared for, and educated. The establishment is no "sumptuous asylum," but a home. What would people desire such an institution to be? Is comfort to have no part in the domicile in which the child is to pass up through the susceptible age of youth? Must children, in order to make useful citizens, be brought up under the Squeers régime, abused, starved, and degraded? Of what natural discipline and education of circumstances are these boys deprived? Generally remaining in the college until fifteen or sixteen years of age, is it to be supposed that other boys of equal age living out in the world are better fitted to undertake the business of life than they? Is the constant association of over five hundred youths in all conditions of daily existence, in the study-rooms, in school, at meals, and during the hours of recreation, no preparation for active life? There is no training for "the world's broad field of battle" like that obtained through the association together of a large number of boys of different ages. Every phase of human nature comes in play, and the boy learns that he must assert his individuality and look out for himself, or else be over-ridden by others and take an inferior place.

The mode of life at Girard College does not differ in any essential regard from that of any respectable boarding-school in the country, except that the inmates of the former are more amenable to discipline than pupils who can resent any fancied severity, by leaving an institution where it is shown. The course of instruction is practical, and designed to fit them for any position they may fill after graduating; while the training is such as to instill into their minds a love of honesty and industry. The boys are made to understand that, while the college does all in its power to fit them for the struggles of life, by furnishing an excellent education and pointing out the difficulties to be encountered, they must depend entirely upon their own exertions for success. She provides her children with tools, and shows them their use, but requires that they should find the work to which they are to be applied, and must themselves be responsible for the excellence or neglect with which it is executed.

Since the opening of the Girard College in 1843, almost two thousand children have been rescued from poverty and started on their way through life. This is surely not a nuisance, nor is it such to relieve the poor and despairing mother of a burden which only parental love enables her to bear from day to day. Ask the hard-working and conscientious woman, struggling to provide daily bread for her fatherless children, if the Girard College is a nuisance, which takes her little one, rears it with almost her solicitude, gives it advantages of instruction only the most wealthy can command, and turns it out a man, whom her mother's heart, with joy, claims as her son. It would be just as correct to say that the Cooper Institute was an injury to the people of New York, or that Yale College was useless in its purpose.

That it does not throw upon society a number of lads whom it is harder to provide for than for the poor themselves is easily proven. If you will be kind enough to refer to the Annual Report of the Board of City Trusts, which I send you, and look at the names and occupations of the graduates, beginning at page 102, you will notice that almost all callings are represented. Your probably not being familiar with local points in our city prevents my bringing as vividly before your eyes the work accomplished by some of my school-fellows. The buildings for the great Sanitary Fair of 1864 were designed by one of them, as was also the magnificent Masonic Temple and many other public edifices and private residences. One of our most prominent lawyers, who held for several years the presidency of Select Council, was a pupil of Girard College. As a

rule, wherever the graduates have located, they have earned and retained the respect of the entire community; many, although commencing life without pecuniary capital, by indefatigable exertion have achieved competence, while the great majority are quietly fulfilling their duties as conscientiously and faithfully as it is possible for them to do.

Having, I hope, succeeded in the object for which I ventured to address you, please allow me to add a few words. The Girard College is fortunately independent of the world in a pecuniary point of view, but its good name is of none the less value; remarks such as those contained in your sermon and publicly made injure it, however innocent of such a design they may be. You have proclaimed and published broadcast sayings which give an incorrect impression of a good work; though I feel without intention of harm and under a misapprehension of facts. Should you not, then, in the same manner, after satisfying yourself as to the state of the case, make a correction which will have equal publicity?

I have the honor to be, yours respectfully,

HENRY STEEL.

VIRTUE AND INTELLIGENCE AS CONDITIONS OF SUFFRAGE.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In your issue of Dec. 17, 1874, a correspondent (F. M. Holland), in remarking upon the question of extending suffrage, says: "The first duty of the reformer is not to increase the quantity of our voters, but to improve their quality."

It is seldom that so much of importance is said in so few words.

Let us consider how it comes that we, as a nation, have largely overlooked this golden truth, premature authorized suffrage and the general powers inherent to our system in consequence of such oversight, and are reaping the direful consequences.

Our national order clearly involves universal suffrage; but it distinctly plants this broad range of political power upon the equally broad ground of universal intelligence and virtue, which it makes the only true base of suffrage. All the grand privileges, powers, and rights affirmed by our national system as rightly belonging to every man without exception—all the principles of freedom and equality—presuppose, at least, the existence of virtue and intelligence as the only rightful ground of such conditions of citizenship.

Here, then, we had a national system, as delineated in its principles, that implied the universal prevalence of truly educated character and power—our public conduct endowing the citizens accordingly,—when actually those essential conditions did not exist, and the powers conferred, consequently, were sure to hazard, if not destroy, the system. We had national quantity in citizenship quite fully inaugurated and operative when the involved quality was largely wanting. Such was manifestly the difficulty; and how was the practical solution to be found? With a national code that affirmed unexceptional rights and powers of citizenship, and basing such rights and powers, of course, upon amply qualified manhood, while yet such conditions in character were largely wanting, the national conduct should have been this: Instead of regarding the system as a structure matured and ready to dispense all that it promised in its essential nature at the very first, our statesmanship should have seen that, while magnificent in its conceptions, perfect in its principles, it was only an involved form of nationality, which, though embodying in its nature every promise of civil excellence that man could desire, must first be evolved; consistently developed and built accordingly. The builders should have seen that only plans, specifications, and foundation materials could be given at first; that superstructural materials must be seized, fashioned, and applied in steady conformity to the designed end, ere there could be any rational thought of full occupancy and use consistently with the great design. In plain terms, those who gave initial form to our national system should have known and clearly shown that national systems are not exceptions to those universal laws which make every good known to man a form of growth from initial germ to adequate fruition. Wherefore all they could distinctly supply at first was a mere germinal form, with principles, or nature, sufficiently defined to guide future conduct to successful achievement—to shape, steady, and direct constructive methods so that involved excellencies should be surely evolved and embodied in requisite institutions to give consistent and lasting effect finally. This future conduct of statesmanship must aim first to qualify and then empower. The conditions of material, that did not and could not exist at first, could be realized only through developing means. Such means were only to be found in systems of education competent to bring out and establish the whole nature of man, so making him capable of the privileges and powers of citizenship contemplated by the system. Thus while the logic of the system perfected was big with the promise of all human excellence and power, the logic of the system in constructive process demanded tutelary discipline, restraint, and limitations manifold. But clearly such discipline and restraints, being constantly employed with design more fully to qualify and empower the subjects of them, could not be much felt as burdens or pressures. They would be recognized and accepted, mostly, as requisite to steady and direct the state of minority, in citizenship, to which they belonged.

True national development, under our system, meant the unfolding of character and institutions in strict accordance with our national principles of manly worth and power in citizenship, whatever were the immediate limitations either in personal power or institutional forms. It meant that the prime re-

sources and energies of the nation should be directed to unfold human character and power with corresponding development of institutional forms. Not alone mental development was concerned, for the physical powers of the citizen were to be educated, instructed, and held to active expression in all cases where circumstances and inclinations threatened neglect or harmful use. Hence national and State industrial schools, graded and variously constituted, were as much in demand as were those that concern only the mental powers; thus assuring all citizens in the various industries and artisanships so essential to worthy membership of a worthy republic.

Having started upon the mistaken idea that the nation was consummated when only the national germ was given and its planting effected, and having thereupon proceeded to invest every form of weakness and grossness with the prerogatives belonging only to true manhood, our statesmanship had no care for distinctively national development. It mistakenly sought national growth and strength in extent of territory, population, maritime power, manufactures, and other like interests common to all civilized nations, of whatever institutional character. Under a true system of national conduct institutions would develop and mature with the gradual growth and maturity of the nation; hence no form should be deemed permanent till finally perfected and ordered in scientific accordance with the whole system. Previous to such result formation and transformation must continually take place: only being sure that the involved principles or ultimate objects of the nation should dictate such forms and reforms. Partial and special interests of any kind, whether moved by a person or rings of persons, or civic organisms, should never be allowed to frustrate the designs and interests of a people's government.

Let our statesmen come to true conceptions, both as to the needs and methods of national development upon national principles strictly, take a new departure therefrom, providing the consistent means of universal education and instruction, under the stern stress of compulsion that will hold every particle of human driftwood to the use and advantages of those means, and a new glow of national health will at once begin; and with this, consistently maintained, the nation will go on, outgrowing and supplanting the swarming evils that now peril it, and come, in a few generations, to realize the nobility of character and unrestricted rights and powers involved, but which, otherwise, can never be experienced. If reformers will no longer waste their energies in beating branches—in denouncing and battling with special evils, but will unite to regulate and give proper nurture to the root whence growth and fruit are derived, healthy growth will at once begin, and complete success be sure in the end.

Special evils, as objects of direct action to restrain or extinguish, need hardly to be named. Let us, instead, go straight to the root and build steadily upon national principles, which are the principles of perfect humanity, and all growth will become orderly and all fruit perfect. Thus may we duly qualify and ultimately attain full measure, both of quality and quantity; not only as regards some special ends, but as to all results requisite to fulfil the national integrity. Thus may we supplant the miserable greed of self-service, now so common and distracting, call out the latent spirit of public service, which alone can truly animate the conduct of a commonwealth or people's government, and unite the whole people in endeavors and interests full of the promise of actual national fruition and consequent universal beneficence.

CONCORD, N. H.

THERON GRAY.

"THEOLOGICAL PENALTIES."

In THE INDEX of December 31 there appeared an article from the *Liberal Christian* with the above heading. The writer, with commendable charity, urges upon all true friends of liberalism to be cautious in raising issues which are likely to put a strain upon the consciences of our young ministers.

Half a century ago, when the notion prevailed that no man could preach except he was "called of God," men wrestled for months, sometimes even years, with an innate timidity of disposition, a sense of unworthiness, a fear of the responsibilities of the position, before they acceded to the divine behest. But, the decision once made, they stepped forth into the ministry with a depth of conviction, a resoluteness of purpose, that sealed the mountains of doubt, and made a clean path through the sloughs of despond. Though seemingly lacking every other qualification, this one quality of earnestness, this "woe is me if I preach not the gospel of Christ," was an abundant assurance of success.

Since the decline of this old-fashioned dogma, the clerical ranks are filled up with a class of men of quite a different type,—men who need the ministry more than it may be said to need them. The choice between preaching and any other of a dozen vocations may have turned upon the cast of a die, or throw of a penny; or, if he deliberated at all, it was because the young candidate for clerical honors saw from the vantage ground of the pulpit his way clear to a social privilege and position which he could never hope to attain from a less favorable standpoint.

I would impute no unworthy motives. Young men entering the ministry are as candid and conscientious as the balance of mankind. Their chief trouble springs not more from a false estimate of their own capabilities than from a misapprehension of the task set before them. In these days, when the religious atmosphere is thick with questions of vital importance, questions touching the very foundations of all religions, no man can hope long to maintain his

position as a religious teacher who is not able to give a rational account of the faith he professes to hold. When, therefore, one of these well-meaning but weak brethren finds himself installed over a modern parish of liberal thinkers, the result is what our friend so aptly describes. "A few years of superficial experience under the impulse which first sent him into the ministry" finds him waging an uneven war with unsettled convictions on the one hand and unsettled bills on the other. The spectacle of human failure, especially when it involves the welfare of those in no wise responsible for the causes which have induced it, is always a sorry one, and deserving of human sympathy. But it is so entirely in the order of Nature, when a weak man undertakes a strong man's work, that, though there be room for pity, there is none for surprise. Perhaps that desire to plant churches, that denominational zeal which results in supplying every country town of a thousand inhabitants with a half dozen, more or less, of feeble societies representing as many different shades of religious faith, is partly responsible for this abundant supply of cheap ministers. But, whatever the cause, no sane person can expect the world to stand still to save any man's conscience or livelihood. The world is full of honest and honorable work sufficient to employ all the energies that are incarnated in human brain and muscle. No man who has a fair modicum of either need sit down in despair because he cannot acceptably preach.

There is, without doubt, a well-grounded apprehension among our Unitarian friends as to the future prospects of Liberal Christianity in this country. The flower of their young ministry have already gone over to Free Religion. Many others are casting their eyes in the same direction. The men who have been and still are the pride and ornament of the denomination are in the decline of their powers. The next decade must find some places vacant. And what then? To those who value denominational success above every other interest, the outlook is not encouraging.

H. B. CLARK.

CLEVELAND, O.

BARBARIAN MONEY.

How long shall it dwell in the bosom of civilization to poison the fountains of its life?

"The use of substances of intrinsic value as the materials of a currency is a barbarism."—RUSKIN.

All national money was first barbarous—is now semi-barbarous; and while it continues we can never attain a higher state than semi-civilization.

We cannot call society civilized where men prey upon or live upon the labor of others. We must have a money to correspond with our progress in science and the mechanic arts, or "history will continue to repeat itself," "world without end," because the same causes will always produce the same results. "God is not mocked."

If we were called upon for the first time in the world's history to devise a medium of exchange or money, should we be likely to go to digging into the bowels of the earth or hunting in the gorges of mountains for metals the most scarce, or diving into the depths of the ocean for pearls most difficult and dangerous to obtain, to find it?

This was appropriate enough to barbarians, with their meagre cerebral development, their fondness for trinkets and glitter of diamonds; but would it be becoming a people professing to be civilized? Should we not be likely to search our intellects instead of the mountains and the ocean's bed—draw upon our knowledge of science and the arts, and see if something could not be devised better for a medium of exchange than pieces of a metal so scarce as to set everybody scrambling for their possession? Something better even than parchment money based exclusively upon a metal? Should we not seek to relieve mankind of this disease called avarice, and try to save our souls from contamination and our bodies from want and suffering?

It seems to me, if the thing was now for the first time proposed, the task would be easy; but our minds are mystified and stultified by the use of a false money.

The first question we should be likely to ask ourselves would probably be: What function do we want a medium of exchange, or money, to perform? Do we want it to enable the cunning and crafty to enrich themselves by the labor of the simple and honest? Do we want it to be an instrument in the hands of the more intelligent by which they may appropriate from two to four fifths of the labor-products of the less intelligent? Do we want it to enable a Stewart or an Astor to own half a city like New York? Or to enable the Scotts and Vanderbilts to become kings of highways [highwaymen are not so dangerous]; or a few men to own Fall River, Boston, Lowell, Lawrence, the State itself; or a Slater to own three villages, and virtually the inhabitants thereof, in Webster, Worcester County, Mass? I think we want none of these. But do we want justice and equity established in this nation—in this world of ours? If we do, then the answer to the first question is simple and easy: A medium of exchange, or money, should enable all persons to exchange their labor or service (or labor-products, which is practically the same thing) one with another, the world over, with no loss to either, but with all the equal and mutual advantage to each by which two farmers or carpenters now "change works."

There are a variety of ways in which this could be done; and if there was no false system of money to be superseded, the following, I think, would be best adapted to equitable and universal exchange: Let depositories (or warehouses) be established in sufficient numbers, and in locations to suit the public convenience, where every kind of staple articles, not subject to immediate decay, could be deposited in the

hands of responsible parties, where they could be delivered at the labor cost of production and exchange estimated in the number of hours of labor, and not in the turns of the currency. The parties holding these deposits, whether individuals or agencies established (or sanctioned, as the post-office or express companies are sanctioned) by the people, could issue certificates to depositors to one-half or two-thirds of the amount of the labor cost of production, risk, and exchange, entitling the holder of each certificate to a specific kind, quality, and quantity of these deposits, at the same time giving him a receipt for the full amount deposited. This would furnish the money required, and plenty of it.

The "volume" of such money in circulation would not need regulating by the financial wisdom of legislators. It would always be redeemable in gold, silver, copper, or some other equally "valuable" merchandise, except temporarily and locally in case of fire or some other accident, which would be covered by insurance.

It would never be above or below par. It could not be monopolized, nor could interest be obtained upon it, and there could be no fluctuation in prices, but only a steady diminution in prices as the labor cost of production should be diminished by the introduction of scientific methods and labor-saving machinery.

But, owing to prejudices and false habits, some modification of this proposition must be made, or people could not be persuaded to believe it was money at all, it is so simple. Yet the money of the future must contain the elements proposed in the foregoing, or it would not secure the emancipation of labor, which is the object in view.

The money now in use is elementarily the same in character that money has always been. It is adapted only to speculative purposes; i. e., to "buying and selling for gain," which is a crime against society denounced by the Bible and condemned by the wise and good of all ages. It is not adapted to, nor can it be used to effect, an equitable exchange of labor or service; yet the character of a circulating medium must be such as to effect that, or labor will continue to be plundered and enslaved.

No analytical statement is required to prove this, for we have only to look at the world's history and its condition to-day to see that those who do the work of the world and create its wealth (except the natural wealth which God has created, and which should bear no price) are always poor, and vastly the larger number suffering extreme poverty. Those who build all the houses own, comparatively, no houses. Those who make all the clothing and fancy goods have only the coarsest of the former and shabbiest of the latter to use, and scant at that; and because men do not always work with alacrity, all the day time, under these circumstances, they are often called lazy by those who never performed a useful day's work in their lives. O Shame, where is thy blush!

No adage is more true than the one which says that "money [of the past] is the root of all evil." But I hear some one say, It is not the money, but the love of it that does the harm. But if money was but the representation of Truth, Justice, and Equity, would the love of it harm any one?

And such is the kind of money we must have, or labor is doomed to be enslaved in the future as it has been in the past, with all the direful train of consequences.

Is such a kind of money possible? Yes. Can it be introduced in the midst of a false civilization and in the presence of a false money? Yes, as easily as railroads were introduced in the midst of streets and turnpikes, or telegraphs in the presence of post-horses and ocean-mails, if only the intelligent and conscientious people of the nation will it. I will endeavor hereafter to show how this can be done.

E. D. LINTON.

BOSTON.

IMMORTALITY.

The subject of individual immortality, like many others, has been profoundly affected by modern science, and still more so by the modern scientific spirit. The main arguments in support of it are four:—

First, the consciousness of it; second, the need of another world wherein the injustices of this may be compensated; third, the aspiration and desire for it; fourth, the sense of interruption when the young die.

Let these arguments be considered:—

First, the consciousness of immortality is not felt by many, the writer for one; and, any way, consciousness is no criterion of absolute truth. The natural love of life, a necessary parallel with struggle, worry, and depression, is present in excess, like other instincts (amativeness for instance), and in health imagination is apt to prolong it beyond the grave.

Second, the admission that injustice goes unbalanced in this world would lead to the inference that a similar state of things would be found in another, conducted by the same Power. It is admitted that a small fraction of the total operations of Nature do seem unjust, but knowledge is continually reducing the fraction; and it is the least difficulty to attribute this residue to our ignorance rather than to the imperfection of Nature.

Third, the aspirations for immortality wherein our higher nature may be developed unhampered by the lower are less frequent and forcible than the contrary manifestations of the animal in man. Man, "on the isthmus of a middle state," is a link in evolution; while a record of the past, he is a prophecy of the future; while the heir of the animal, he may be the ancestor of what may feel demeaned by the title "coming man." And so the aspirations of the

mind find an explanation in the same philosophy that traces the survival of instincts.

Fourth, the sense of interruption at premature death is modified, when it is seen that the inexorable laws of life have been violated; the life of a man who from infancy and childhood, through youth and manhood, has gradually declined to old age and senility, suggests nothing else; the faculties withdraw as gradually as they came.

The normal rather than the abnormal life should be the criterion, and statistics show that in Europe the average duration of life is steadily increasing. While the short life of a youth prematurely cut off is an arc, and at first view would suggest a prolongation, the normal life of man is a circle and suggests nothing.

This doctrine of immortality is an integral feature of a body of ideas wherein Creation, Spontaneity, Gratuitous, etc., found place. All such ideas the achievements and spirit of modern science oppose; enjoyment must be earned by its exact equivalent of work, trouble, or pain; it can be created no more than force or matter can. Experience has always said this; but the constant desire of men to get something for nothing has led to the invention of a future state—a heaven impossibly better than earth; a very safe invention, for, if we do not survive the grave, we can never twit the theologian with it.

We can suppose one of our ancestors just sufficiently advanced to imagine the advantages realized in modern civilization: entire safety from wild beasts, protection from extreme heat and cold, antidotes for malaria, rapid travel, instantaneous communication of messages, etc. If he considered that coming state very happy,—after it was paid for, our experience proves him wrong; so we may be as well satisfied with this era as with any other, for we are sure that action and reaction shall be equal in the future as now.

Life in this is like death, that it costs just what it is worth; and when this is realized, the dread of death disappears.

There never has been any unbelief in the resolution of the human body into its component gases, and the modern tendency is to the belief that no line can be drawn between animate and inanimate matter, and that even an atom of gas in its degree may be alive and conscious, and that man is a complex molecule built up of atoms whose natures determine his.

One of the plain lessons of Nature is that matter persists and forms do not; if men are to persist, why not all forms until new ones shall be impossible by the exhaustion of material?

J. G. H.

MONTREAL.

"THY MONEY PERISH WITH THEE."

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

IN THE INDEX of December 31, I see an extract from a sermon preached in Boston on December 6, by Bishop Haven, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The sermon was a "fervent appeal for contributions to the missionary cause," and contained the following:—

"They (the Methodists) must send out their missions, or they could not live. But to do that they had to have money. If they had money they would soon have all Europe, all Asia, all Africa in their hands!"

This greed for money is deplorable in individuals—terrible in the Church. Out of it spring all, or nearly all, the evils of the world. Above all other sins, avarice is of the devil. Forty years ago the West, from Pittsburgh to St. Louis, from Chicago to New Orleans, was peopled with the clergy of the Methodist Church,—rough, uncouth, uncultured, strong men, loving God, their religion, and their fellows with an intensity which prompted them to untold privations and hardships, and asking only, "How can we serve the Master?" Honest they were, too, and natural; ready to pray for a soul overburdened with sin, or trounce a camp-meeting rough with equal gusto and on the shortest possible notice. When a boy, in a backwoods village in Indiana, I remember hearing one of these muscular missionaries named Haven (can it be possible he was a relation of the bishop? Who knows?) relate from a camp-meeting platform how he had travelled hundreds of miles; waded swamps; buffeted swollen streams; defied wild beasts and wild men, and preached over one hundred discourses in twelve months. Now mark: He closed the statement with the assertion that he had accomplished all this, and received therefor only one hundred and fifty dollars in money—did not ask for a donation, and only thanked God that he had given him the strength and will to do his duty. No, no, bishop! It is not money that you want, but, verily, something harder to obtain than filthy lucre; something the Methodist Church once possessed, but will never have again, for it comes to no church but once in its history. It was youth, and vitality, and a self-sacrificing love of earnest, hearty, natural religion; and all this the era of wealth, and cushioned pews, and swelling organs has driven into the background as vulgar and intolerable.

Permit me to give Bishop Haven (I do wonder if he is a relative of "Old Sorrel"!) a text for his next missionary discourse: "When Simon saw that through laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, saying, 'Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost.' But Peter said unto him, 'Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money.'" (Acts viii., 18-20.)

Very truly yours,

FRANK J. MEAD.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Jan. 6, 1875.

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EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:
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To increase general intelligence with respect to religion:

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

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The Committee of the Free Religious Association, in charge of the Horticultural Hall Lectures on Sunday afternoons, again invite the friends interested in maintaining these lectures, either for their own or for others' sake, to contribute the money necessary for the purpose. It is believed that, from winter to winter, such friends will be glad to join in offering the course, as their gift, free to the public. Their speakers—whose names and subjects will be found below,—in receiving but thirty dollars for a carefully prepared essay, are themselves the largest contributors. The whole expenses for this winter, including the hall, &c., will be about seven hundred dollars. Money sent to any one of the undersigned committee will be gratefully acknowledged.—

RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, 139 Federal St., Boston.
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CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, 19 Pinckney St., Boston.
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W. C. GANNETT, 155 Boylston St., Boston.
Boston, Dec. 15, 1874.

**Seventh Course of Horticultural Hall
Lectures on Sunday Afternoons.**

Jan. 3.—O. B. FROTHINGHAM, "The Scientific View of Human Nature."
Jan. 10.—ANDREW D. WHITE, President of Cornell University, "The Warfare of Science."
Jan. 17.—WILLIAM B. WEEDEN, of Providence, "Evils of Prohibitory Liquor Laws."
Jan. 24.—SAMUEL JOHNSON, "Laws of Personal Function Unrecognized in American Life."
Jan. 31.—CHARLES G. AMES.
Feb. 7.—WENDELL PHILLIPS, "Some Aspects of the Labor Question."
Feb. 14.—WILLIAM J. POTTER, "Names and Things in Religion."
Feb. 21. } Hall occupied by Fair for Protec-
Feb. 28. } tion of Dumb Animals.
March 7.—DEXTER A. HAWKINS, Chairman of Committee on Education of the New York City Council of Political Reform, "Our Sick Man, and How to Cure Him; or, The Educational Problem in the Cotton States."
March 14.—JOHN WEISS, "Tragedy in Nature."
March 21.—FRANCIS E. ABBOT, "Individualism; or Atomism in Religion."

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The NEW YORK TRIBUNE closes a four and a half column review of this book by saying: "It holds up a remarkable specimen of robust manliness whose form and lineaments can be studied with equal advantage by friend and foe."

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1875.

WHOLE No. 267.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT: PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

THE GENUINE radical measures the thinker by his thought, and not the thought by the thinker.

DR. VAN DE WARKER, in the *Popular Science Monthly* for February, has an article on "The Relations of Women to the Professions and Skilled Labor" which is likely to excite even more commotion in reformatory circles than Dr. Clarke's *Sex in Education* did last winter.

THE CHICAGO *Times* says of Mr. Charles D. B. Mills, who is now lecturing in the West, that "he is no dry scientific explorer, but a devout student of the religious unfolding of humanity." It also says that the "best representatives of the intelligence and culture of Chicago society attend his lectures."

THE *Independent* tells this pithy story: "We once heard a sharp thinker thus addressed: 'What! Do you say you do not believe anything you do not understand? Do you understand how the grass grows?' 'No,' was the reply, 'and I do not believe how the grass grows. I believe that it grows, and that I understand.'"

THE SUICIDE of Miss Crissy Hacker, at White's Valley, Pennsylvania, about a fortnight since, is an extraordinary instance of religious fanaticism. The poor girl burned herself to death on a pyre of her own construction, as a sacrifice to "her Immanuel" in expiation of the "unpardonable sin," which she imagined herself to have committed. Superstition still bears its deadly fruits even in this age of comparative light.

A VERY pleasant meeting of some sixty ladies and gentlemen was held, last Saturday evening, in the parlors of Mrs. Kimball at the Commonwealth Hotel in this city, to listen to an essay from Miss Townsend on "Some Questions Concerning Woman." The essay was spirited and full of interest, and its style excellent. A discussion followed, which was participated in by Rev. Messrs. Hoyt and C. C. Carpenter, Mrs. Severance, Miss Hotchkiss, Jennie Collins, and others. The meeting altogether was very successful, which was largely owing to the skilful and graceful hospitality dispensed by the hostess. A. W. S.

SAA KEE, a Chinese teacher in California, has published a caustic and indignant protest in the San Francisco *Chronicle* against the interference of Christian missionaries with the religion of his own countrymen at home and abroad. He accuses converted Chinamen of being the "most sycophantic, fawning, and contemptible of all our people"; he declares that "the question of sending missionaries from China to America has been argued in our councils at home, but our best men (as they should) frowned upon it at once, and, strenuously advocating the religion of Confucius, said, 'Let us mind our own business.'" He concludes: "I will only say to the Christians, Keep your people, as pretended teachers, out of our country, do not meddle with our dearest and most cherished ideas, and our people will thank you."

THE PAINE MEMORIAL BUILDING, and Home of the Boston *Investigator*, was dedicated according to announcement on Friday, January 29. Mr. Horace Seaver welcomed the public in the morning, and pronounced the dedicatory address in the afternoon. In the evening Mr. B. F. Underwood made an address, followed by Messrs. Abbot, Barker, Mendum, and Henderson. A public ball concluded the exercises at a late hour. The fine building was crowded all day with enthusiastic friends and sympathetic visitors, and a happier gathering has seldom been held anywhere. Mr. Seaver and Mr. Mendum were overwhelmed with congratulations on the successful accomplishment of their cherished purpose, and the pleasure they so evidently felt was considered by all

present to have been well earned by their long and faithful service to the cause of free thought. This brief notice is all that is possible in this issue of THE INDEX.

A GLOOMY picture of Louisiana prospects is drawn in another column by one of our correspondents. Every true patriot is now anxiously seeking light upon his duty respecting the Southern question; and this description of the crisis as it appears to a thoughtful and candid observer on the spot ought by no means to be overlooked. Is it indeed true that the National government is reduced to the necessity either of a military occupation of the South or else of a total surrender of the principles for which the great civil war was fought through to the end? We cannot believe that the case is so bad as that; but if it is, we cannot doubt which of the two alternatives will be embraced. If the turbulent Southern element is determined to precipitate a new conflict, it will fare even worse than before; and all that is wanted to render certain a new "uprising of a great people" is undoubted information as to the fact. But all the more must the country demand that enormities shall not be perpetrated upon the South in the name of Republican principles. The blacks should be defended against White Leagues at any and every cost; but none the less should the whites be saved from bloodsuckers of the Warmoth and Kellogg stamp. Charles Sumner was right in his doctrine of "State suicide through secession," and the wisdom of the "impractical" idealist becomes every day more patent. The great political reaction of last autumn did not mean repudiation of the results of the war, but irrepressible indignation at the wickedness of Republican leaders; and if it becomes plainly inevitable that the nation must choose between the two alternatives presented by our correspondent, we believe that Charles Sumner's rejected doctrine will be even at this late day practically adopted.

THE following passage in a letter just received from Judge Hoadley, of Cincinnati, and dated January 26, was apparently intended for publication, and Mr. Hallowell himself would be the last to wish it pigeon-holed: "I should like to put in a very earnest protest against the sentiments of Mr. Hallowell's article in the last INDEX, in which he characterized as White Leaguers of the North a vast number of our fellow-citizens, constituting, as I am sure they ought to and believe they do, the great majority of the Northern people, many of whom are as warm friends of freedom as is Mr. H. I believe myself the Kellogg government of Louisiana to be a very bad fraud, and unsupported by any considerable number of people of intelligence in Louisiana. If the right hand of power of the Federal administration should be withdrawn, it would go down in a day, and be succeeded, in my judgment, by an era, not perhaps of prosperity, but of comparative quiet and orderly, honest administration. The mischief in that State results from the fact that by force and fraud the will of the majority is thwarted and defeated, and that not in the interest of good, but of very bad government. The freedom-loving people of the North cannot afford in time of peace to have minority government backed up by Federal bayonets, and sustained by the precedents of the wicked intervention at Topeka or the righteous dispersion during war of the Maryland Legislature. The honest people of the North will not, even to secure the vote of Louisiana for Grant or some other Republican in the electoral college of 1876, encourage the wasteful and profligate maladministration prevailing in Louisiana. I will go as far as any man to secure the execution of the fifteenth Amendment and the equal rights of the freedmen, which I labored in a humble way many years to procure the adoption of; but it surely is not necessary, to accomplish this object, to give up honest government or government by the ballot."

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[For THE INDEX.]

Will the Coming Man attend Church?

A SERMON DELIVERED IN THE FREE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, BLOOMINGTON, ILLINOIS, JAN. 10, 1875.

BY REV. J. S. THOMSON.

"The church in the wilderness."—St. Stephen.

The church of popular theology is fast losing its authority over the laity. Many of our best lay thinkers and writers have ignored the theologic claims of the Protestant church; and the number of such thinkers and writers is rapidly increasing. The people are learning to respect the opinions of "scientists" and philosophers on religious questions; and there is a growing belief in the final victory of science over many of the theologic conceptions of our ancestors. Some radicals hold that the churches are founded entirely in error, and that, therefore, as knowledge increases, religious organizations must decrease, until public worship of every form will fall into disuse. In view of this opinion, the question, *"Will the Coming Man attend Church?"* is both important and pertinent, and it should be examined carefully, conscientiously, and charitably.

The present question suggests another: *What will the Coming Church be?* Will it be Roman Catholic or Protestant, Presbyterian or Methodist, Conservative or Liberal? We must answer the latter question before we can attempt to answer the former. A church is an assembly, great or small, of men and women that believe in the existence of Deity, the immortality of the soul, and the necessity and helpfulness of public worship. The main question, then, may be resolved into three others: Will men and women continue to believe in the existence of Deity? Will they still deem it to be their duty to worship him collectively? Will they always discharge that duty? In other words, Will the coming generations be theistic, devotional, and conscientious?

Before answering these questions, let us examine the statement so often made, both by extreme radicals and extreme conservatives, that "church attendance is continually decreasing." We must concede that there is a very large non-church element in modern society. We believe that many neglect to attend public worship for the following four reasons:—

I. *Unattractive Preaching.*—Many of our conservative preachers fail to touch the hearts of those persons who are strong believers in the Evangelical creeds. The sermons are prosy, pointless, and unspiritual; the preacher is cold, formal, and unnatural; and the hearer is sleepy, uneasy, or disappointed. The hungry soul is not satisfied; the sorrowful heart is not made glad; the weary spirit is not refreshed; the conscientious doubter, or inquirer, is severely rebuked, but not helped; the poor pilgrim is commanded to shut his eyes and follow a leadership that mocks reason and slanders conscience; Sunday is gloomy, ceremonious, and irksome; creeds are fortified with texts and assumptions; and God's children are almost starved in their Father's house, because the stewards are incompetent, dishonest, or lazy. All know that the preacher is "sound in the faith," that he will utter no heresies, and that the church's position will be faithfully and scripturally defended; and therefore they can fall asleep in the pew, or remain at home and dream on the lounge, knowing the pulpit will speak only "according to the law and the testimony." Many a church is dying, because the members thereof can safely trust their minister's Orthodoxy. It is not

strange that so many people have ceased to attend church; but it is strange that so many do still occupy their pews, when we consider the lifelessness and coldness of the average sermon. We think that we are perfectly justified in saying that thousands stay away from the "sanctuary," not because they do not love it, but because its services have become so perfunctory and spiritless that they neither instruct, nor inspire, nor bless the worshippers. But when our conservative preacher does not confine himself to the exposition of dogma, when he speaks from the Bible of Nature, and from the more wonderful Bible of Human Nature, and when he consecrates his reason as well as his heart to the service of God and humanity, his utterances find a lodgment in the souls of his audience, the spirit of devotion manifests its presence in the pews, the sleepers begin to "watch and pray," and the deserters one by one return to their posts of duty; yet we must not forget that the preacher's heresy is the cause of all this change, re-animation, and spirituality. He has plucked some fruit from the tree of knowledge, he has listened to the voice of God in Nature, and he has found religion in science, philosophy, and art; and if he can succeed in wearing the livery of conservatism while he preaches the gospel of liberalism, without detection, he can promote the cause of progress within the ecclesiastic fold. Such a preacher may not be altogether "a wolf in sheep's clothes," but he certainly rationalizes texts, passages, and beliefs into a tolerable conformity to our modern ideas and tendencies, and in this way he exercises a healthy influence over the superstitious, and satisfies and improves those who have not escaped the progressive spirit of our age.

We must say, however, that he lacks the honesty, manfulness, and conscience of the Nazarene preacher, who, on account of his unmistakable liberalism, "was cast out of the synagogue," and who persisted afterward in trusting to the humanity of outsiders for his daily bread, while he spent his time and strength in preaching his sublime gospel wherever he found an audience. Very often our liberal-conservative preacher, after he has eaten the forbidden fruit, made for himself an apron out of prudence and cowardice, and hidden himself among the safeties of non-committals, hears some shrewd creedist, saying: "Adam, where art thou?" He is excommunicated from his unmerciful restraints, and thrown into the creedless world where his honest convictions will be heartily welcomed, if his salary is much smaller. Some observing conservative may inform us that liberal congregations are generally small; but we have much to contend with. We have not the wealth, prestige, and popularity of the Evangelical churches; our cause has to bear the odium attached to it by misconception and uncharitableness; some people are afraid to speak out their convictions, or to join a liberal church, lest the sacerdotal Mrs. Grundy may use her influence to injure them socially or in business; very few are qualified to comprehend and appreciate the doctrines of liberalism; and it must be remembered that organized liberalism is only a few years old. We fear that too many of our liberal preachers spend so much time in proving that Orthodoxy is in error that they have scarcely any time to show how true, beautiful, and noble human nature can be made. Conventionalism, and a sectarian mannerism, and a desire to avoid everything that has the least resemblance to Evangelical opinion or action, have frequently dwarfed the progress of the liberal pulpit. When a preacher fears that it would lower his dignity to let his emotional nature manifest itself, even in the most subdued action, he should retire into the solitudes of philosophy, or into the quietudes of a literary life; for true religion is a union of reason and love, of intellect and emotion, of head and heart; and what Infinite Wisdom has joined together, let no one-sided preacher separate. Liberal people sometimes believe that they can more acceptably and profitably worship their Creator at home than in the church. They can read a good book, converse with an intelligent friend, or take a walk through the fields, or woods, or parks. There is certainly more worshipfulness in studying or admiring the works of Nature or of art than in sleeping in a pew. Still millions go to church, even when the sermons are inferior, because the songs of praise and the hallowed associations of the place conspire to lift their souls to heaven.

II. *Conscience.*—Owing to the general diffusion of knowledge among the masses by means of newspapers, magazines, and lectures, there is springing up a public sentiment in favor of free inquiry into every subject. The public schools are becoming the nurseries of liberal tendencies—preparing the young minds to pray for what Emerson defines as "the luxury of a religion that does not degrade." Already there is a rich harvest of progressive thought and faithful expression; and millions are outgrowing the superstition of their early training, and beseeching God and man and Nature for light, guidance, and certainty, while they are passing through the process of conversion from the law to the gospel, from credulity to faith, from a belief in miracle to a trust in law, from incarceration in dogma to religion in liberty, from the fear of God to the love of God, from the shadow to the substance, from the letter to the spirit. The converts to liberal religion, if conscientious, do not support a cause that can neither advance their spiritual interests nor command their respect; but, although they do not endorse the dogmas as the *dicta* of Omniscience, or even as the best statements of religious faith which man can make, or has made, yet they are deeply religious and naturally devotional, and would gladly attend a church where Deity is worshipped "in spirit and in truth," if such a church were in their neighborhood.

III. *Fatigue.*—In this age of competition, great numbers of people have to toil so hard during the

week that they are exhausted physically and mentally, and so they are unable to attend church. Others are so busy in attending to the superfluities of modern life that they have neither time, nor force, nor a desire to unfold their higher faculties. They have devoted their lives to a fashionable animalism—a grovelling practical materialism; and their jealous god will not share their devotions with any other deity. The aims of any church in Christendom are too lofty for their comprehensions. The magnetism of a revivalist may frighten them into a concession that their aims and lives have been low; but it requires a mightier force than animal magnetism to save them from wallowing in immoralities and bestialities. They must pass through purgatorial fires, here or hereafter, before they can pray for admission into religious society. It does not seem fair to claim that, because such persons are not found in church, the church is in danger of being forsaken. We may just remark, in this connection, that any course of life that denies a man or woman a religious rest, or a few hours each week to cultivate the higher or spiritual nature of humanity, is unnatural and dehumanizing, and should be abandoned.

IV. *An Increase of Sunday Recreation.*—Many of those persons who are shut up in large cities during the week—in their smoke, bustle, noise, and numerous deformities of life—joyfully hail Sunday as a precious opportunity to breathe the fresh air in the parks or the fields, and to enjoy the rest and calm of Nature; but it is not true that all the sons and daughters of toil who leave the city to worship in God's creedless and inspiring temple in Nature are antipathetic to church worship. They may believe that they need the recreation, and that Nature preaches better sermons than the average preacher does. Yet the Sunday excursionist is rarely a fair representative of ennobled humanity. Too often he knows little of Nature, and can neither appreciate her beauties nor study her works; but he carries the low habits of the city with him, and enjoys degrading amusements, and returns home tired, and sinful, and foolish. Country people live in the midst of Nature's blessings every day; and Sunday gives them an opportunity, not only to worship their Creator in the church, but to renew and strengthen old friendships, and to make new ones, sometimes very dear ones. The country church has been a refiner and helper, even if we eliminate from our conceptions of it its religious character; for it causes the members to wash themselves, put on their best clothes, and meet together to cultivate their social nature. City people in the winter months and in inclement weather cannot go into the country for pleasure; and if they do not spend their Sundays at home, or go to church, they must patronize the saloon, the public library, or the art gallery. We believe that the man who attends church and works earnestly in the Sunday-school is just as healthy, as wise, as rich, as good, and as well rested as the man who "lives and moves and has his being" in the saloon. At any rate, bad preaching has not created as much misery as bad drink has. Some reformers think that museums, art galleries, and public libraries can educate, elevate, and refine humanity better than our churches can or do. Such places make very large contributions to the education, refinement, and uplifting of society; but may not the church have a mission that no other institution can fulfil? This question has not yet been settled. Besides, the church is now "common property" in town and country; but the institutions which our radical reformers propose as a substitute for the church are rarely opened on Sundays, only the larger cities have them, very few would like to spend their rest-days in them, whole families could not conveniently meet together in them, and they would soon become quite as monotonous as it is claimed church services are. It is desirable that father, mother, and children—the whole family—live, love, pray, aspire, and rejoice together, and with other families, each Sunday; and this could not be done conveniently only in a church.

At the foot of a hill, I saw a dwelling-house in ruins. I came to the hasty conclusion that its last occupants had been reduced to beggary or had gone to the poor-house; but on ascending the hill I discovered the evidences of skill and industry on the farm, and on the other side of the hill there was a large and fine house, just finished. A family was living in it. Hard work and prudence had made them rich. They had lived in the old house until they could afford to build a new one. A great deal of the material belonging to the old one was used in the construction of the new one.

To a superficial observer, the disintegration of theology, the destruction of dogmas, and the tendency to individualism, are proofs that the coming generations will not be church-goers. We should not, however, identify religion with superstition or theology. Superstition is erroneous speculation, and theology is an attempt to reconcile such speculation to the last revelation of science—to wed the ignorance of the old past to the clearest knowledge of today; but the attempt has always failed to effect a permanent union. Yet superstition was the only science which the human race in its infancy could create. In fact, our modern science is an evolution from superstition; or rather superstition is the babyhood of science. If there never had been any superstition, there never could have been a science; for science is the sum total of the knowledge which we have gained from the scrutinizing of phenomena. The savage observed phenomena as we do—he strove to guess out their meaning; and his guesses were great achievements of thought, considering his barbarous and hostile environment. He erred more or less in his attempts to analyze the causes of natural phenomena. The scientists of to-day may make mistakes. Boyle and Newton detected errors in the works of the older scientists; we know that Newton

formed several false theories; and the school-girl of the twentieth century will smile at some of the absurdities of Tyndall, Huxley, Darwin, Carpenter, Wallace, Crookes, and Agassiz. The highway to the temple of truth lies through a wilderness of guesses, mistakes, and intricacies. The science of chemistry has been evolved out of alchemy, the science of astronomy has grown out of the irrationalities of astrology, and we may expect that there will soon be a weather-science to take the place of the prognostications of the old almanacs and the "Probabilities" of Mr. Myer. The great prophet of cultured materialism, Auguste Comte, teaches that the human race was theological in its infancy, metaphysical in its boyhood, and that it will be scientific in its manhood. He says that we find this to be the case in the individual. The child is a theologian, the boy a metaphysician, and the man a scientist, if properly educated. Superstition was the father of philosophy and science; but superstition was the first prayer which the infancy of the race made to the Unknown for help to solve the problems of life, a prayer that has received countless millions of answers, which answers have raised the human family to the lofty position it occupies to-day in the civilized world.

Religion, in some form or other, has always been the leader of science and philosophy. It projects itself into the future, and bids science and philosophy follow it. It does not obey the stern command of Conservatism: "Thus far shalt thou come, but no farther;" it goes farther. It is always looking out for new worlds. It prophesies about the victories of faithful efforts in every department of life. It heralds the coming light of each revelation. It is the force which moves the chariot of progress. It is believed by some that religion is a perishable superstition and that we shall soon be summoned to attend its funeral; but we see everywhere the imperishable monuments it has built and is building to human glory, and we have many proofs that it is the soul of the highest activities. Will the builder of the soul's houses and the shaper of the soul's destinies find its grave in the future? We believe in no prophecies of such a gloomy character. As the human soul outlives the destruction of several of its bodies, so religion will survive the destruction of its theologic forms. It has already created and destroyed innumerable beautiful and ugly rites and ceremonies; and at present it is picking out of the entanglements of religious thought the white threads of truth, and it will weave them into a white and seamless garment, and wear it in the holy temple which the coming man will build. Analogy, also, points to the universal enthronement of pure and true religion in the heart of man. As science has been evolved from the guess-work of savages, so religion will come forth from the speculations of theologians to sanctify the earth for the regenerated man and woman of the future. Religion has often preached inspiring sermons to the sons and daughters of earth; but the sermons have been mutilated, misconstrued, or woven into the world's traditions, and the preacher has again and again been banished or thrown into prison. Moses gave the Hebrews the decalogue, a simple and comprehensive code; but the traditionalists embellished his gospel so extravagantly that it became invisible. When the Jerusalem traditionalists asked Jesus why his disciples transgressed the traditions of the elders, he replied: "Why do ye also transgress the commandment of God by your traditions?" So also the sublime life of Jesus and his liberal gospel have been surrounded with tradition, fable, and conjecture; and we are asked to praise and magnify God for the surroundings of the life and gospel; but we prefer to express our gratitude only for the life and gospel. Religion is now struggling to get out of the imprisonments of the theologies and superstitions of the ages; and criticism, science, and philosophy, are rescuing their leader from the pitiless grasp of its jailers, and they will also lay the prisons in ruins. The ruins which some weep over and others rejoice over are only the ruins of sacerdotal jails, creed-walls, and theologic bulwarks. The prisoner is alive, the captive is escaping, the keepers are trembling. The new home is rising on the other and sunny side of the hill. All the true ideas and beautiful expressions of the past will be wrought into the walls of the new home. If man has no religious sentiment, no root of religion in his nature, we ask what has raised the altars and built the temples of all nations and ages? What has made the prophets and bards and martyrs of every faith? What thought out the gospels, wrote the Bibles, and incarnated itself in the songs of praise? What created the divinest ideals, and inspired men and women to pass through the fiery ordeals of the bitterest experience to actualize them? The extreme radical will answer that superstition, delusion, ignorance, priestcraft, have done all this. We answer that the spiritual nature of man, often warped, misdirected, and unhelped, but always tending upward, has done all this. We shall be told that what we call religion has burned and drowned and hanged millions on account of their religious opinions. We sorrowfully concede that the bigotry, intolerance, and passions of religionists have committed frightful outrages; and yet that is no argument against the divine nature of religion; for it would be as just to hold medical science responsible for the thousands of crimes annually committed in its name by heartless charlatans as to charge religion with all the crimes which priests have committed in its holy name. We cannot argue that, because some business men and professional men have "erred and gone astray," business and the professions must be abandoned. If our milkmen put too much water into the milk which they sell us, we cannot use this fact as an argument against the necessity of milk or of the milkman. When the *Crédit Mobilier* men were shown to be greater lovers

of "filthy lucre" than of their country, the people did not destroy the system of government, or think that statesmen are not a necessity. Some husbands and wives live very unhappily together; yet sensible people believe that marriage is a divine institution.

The positivists believe neither in the existence of Deity nor in the doctrine of immortality; and yet they recognize the fact that each individual must have something greater than himself to worship, and that the human soul shudders at the thought of annihilation; and therefore they have expressed their belief in the necessity and continuance of public worship of some form. They have originated a system of religion, and contrived a form of public worship, that bear a great resemblance to the theology and gorgeous worship of the Church of Rome. Their Deity is the "Great Humanity," and their doctrine of immortality teaches that the race is immortal, but that the individual will never wake to consciousness after death. They are the foremost school of materialism. In this country and in Europe, they have a few congregations, worshipping according to the *formule* of their catechism. We refer to the Positive church only to show that the most thoughtful and cultured materialists of the age have come to the conclusion that there is something in man that seeks to express itself in some kind of public worship.

We all believe that there is a power, force, spirit, or influence, permeating, shaping, changing, modifying, moving, controlling, all things and beings. The Hindu calls this power Brahman; the Mohammedan, Allah; the Jew, Jehovah; the Saxon, God; the modern scientist, Force; and some, Nature. This power, which we prefer to name God, has given us life, thought, feeling. It has thrown us into consciousness on this planet; it is carrying us through the strange scenes of life, with or without our consent; and it will conduct us into the mysteries of the coming eternity. Scientists are only guessing at its methods of eternal action; but religion, speaking through the prophets of every century, has taught man to bend in reverence before this power and say, "Our Father." The human heart has always sought a communion with him, even when the intellect most denied him. If we believe that our common Father is the source of life, light, truth, law, love, beauty, and knowledge, and if we believe that we are indebted to him for all we have and are—for air, food, water, and clothing; for friendship, sympathy, love, mercy; for ideas and inspirations; and if we believe that all the favors which we have received from him since we were born until now have been bestowed from the purest motives—shall we not feel thankful, and express the feeling in some natural and rational way? Will not the feeling and the expression thereof be spontaneous—an outburst of soul in song or prayer, if we are in a normal condition? The expression of the feeling of gratitude to Deity, no matter what form it may assume, is devotion, or worship. Man, while he can appreciate God's gifts and while his heart is not petrified into ingratitude, will be a thinker.

As far back as history points, we find that Deity was worshipped in a *collective* sense, if praise, prayer, and thanks be constituents of worship. It is said that there are tribes that have no idea of God, or immortality, or heaven; and it is argued that these exceptions prove conclusively that the religious sentiment—the root of all worship—is not inherent in human nature. This is a fallacious method of argument. Every rule has its exceptions; at least, a great many have. Would it be rational for a stranger visiting a large city with hospitals and asylums to assume that all the inhabitants are sick or insane? If we see a few beggars, when we first visit a country, is that any proof that the citizens are all beggars? So, if a few tribes could be found without a religious faculty, our position is still tenable; for the human race has sung praises, made prayers, and returned thanks to its Creator for thousands of ages, and does so to-day. It has not yet been proved satisfactorily that any tribe is without the religious faculty; and if there were such a tribe, it must be in the most savage condition. Perhaps man was once in a condition that made it impossible for him to be devotional, as we understand the term. Science has not yet decided the matter. Many of our present developed faculties were, doubtless, latent at some time. The powers of the mind which make painters, poets, mathematicians, musicians, and sculptors, were rudimentary in the pre-historic man; and these powers or faculties have not been developed in many people of our own time. The organ of speech may have been imperfect in the primeval man, so that articulation was not possible.

Some hold that our senses are capable of wonderful expansion. The senses of taste, smell, and touch, could receive a greater education than they do. The sense of taste in the tea-taster is so well developed that he can detect the different teas in a mixture. Dr. Thomas Brown, the successor of Dugald Stewart in the Chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, thought he had discovered a *sense of weight*. When we hold anything in our hands, we say it is light or heavy; but Brown theorized that the power which enables us to say so is a new sense, as he did not think the sense of feeling, or touch, was capable of informing us whether the specific gravity of a cubic inch of gold is greater or less than that of a cubic inch of silver. Other philosophers think we have the rudiments of new senses, and some think differently. Seeing is the best educated sense; yet the artist can see perfections and defects in a painting that the rest of us cannot see, because his sense of seeing is better educated than ours in that direction; but we can see a tree, or a house, or a man, as well as he. May there not be unknown powers in every sense we have? Take an individual, say a child, from any of the tribes re-

ported to have no faculty for religion, or devotion, educate it in a religious community, and it will grow up religious and reverential. But science says you cannot bring out of human nature, or out of anything else, what is not in it. If God have placed no seed, or germ, or rudiment, or faculty, for religion in our nature, how could we be religious? But we are religious. Or how could the child of a savage be educated into a religious man? The doctrine of evolution implies that there is something to be evolved. By giving a child a religious education, you do not insert anything into its nature; you merely *draw out* what its Creator had implanted there. Education is not *in-putting*, it is *out-drawing*. We may be told for the thousandth time that there are fishes without eyes in the Mammoth Cave in Kentucky, that a faculty or sense, if not used, as in the case of the fishes referred to, may perish, and that, therefore, religious societies may be dispensed with. A cause that needs such a support as this kind of argument can yield is weak indeed. The fishes in the cave have rudimentary eyes, which have not been used; so the fishes are blind. If they had been placed in the proper conditions, their eyes would be useful to them. We should study how to develop the full set of our faculties; but it is folly to attempt to destroy any one of them. Hindu and Christian fanatics have furnished us with numerous examples of such folly. In the most civilized nations public worship shows no signs of decay. A few churches may be dying, yet hundreds are now in course of erection, and theologic seminaries do not seem to be decreasing. Public worship is now a fact, and there is no sign that it will not continue to be a helper and refiner of society. As to the forms which it will assume no one can prophesy; for they will be changed or modified according to the advancements and requirements of the future generations. Forms are conservative things, and will always be tenacious of life and authority; for, like old people, they claim they have a right to live and be respected, after they have done their life-work. Let us honor them for the good they have done, while we know that we belong to another age and should adopt other fashions.

Man is the only religious being within our *knowledge*. We believe there are higher intelligences than man, somewhere in God's infinite home, and that sometime we shall see them; but in no order of beings or animals below man is there a religious instinct. No training could make a horse, or any other animal, religious, because there is no germ in him to be developed into a religious character. If ever phrenology be accepted as a science, man's devotional nature will be able to produce another proof of its existence, as you will find by reading the works of Spurzheim, Combe, or Fowler.

The church in its *highest forms* has stood for universal brotherhood and self-surrender for the good of all. Freemasonry, Odd-Fellowship, and kindred societies, are founded in the belief of the fatherhood of God and in the love of the brotherhood of man; but these philanthropic societies are young when compared with the church, which has also taught that there is a sisterhood of woman. The church has clothed the naked, fed the hungry, and protected the homeless. She has built hospitals, and sent sisters of mercy, with flowers, kind words, and willing hands, to bless the inmates thereof. She has committed many sins, but she has restrained many from sinning. She has controlled the turbulent passions of men, when no other institution could do so; and in her Roman Catholic form, she is now a greater safeguard to society than all the police force of Christendom. Her mission has been a grand one. The noblest sons and daughters of earth have been born, nursed, trained, and inspired in the church. Zoroaster, Buddha, Moses, Socrates, Jesus, William Penn, George Fox, Theodore Parker, Charles Sumner, and the saintly Lucretia Mott, all came, at some time and in some way, within the reach of her influence. In some of her multitudinous forms; and if they did progress beyond her conservative limits and extend her boundaries, to the no small vexation of those who deemed themselves supernaturally "set for the defence of the gospel," still through her they received the inspiration which made them come-outers and prophets. She has been an outgrowth of the thoughts, aspirations, and necessities of fallible man; and therefore her life has not been free from error and cruelty; but, from her usefulness, progress, and spirituality in the past, and from her culture, wisdom, and influence in the present, we prophesy that she will live as long as man on this planet to encourage the arts, to spiritualize the sciences, to correct the philosophies, to restrain wild reformers from injuring society, to purify literature, to fight sin, to help her children to resist temptation, to present to the world the highest ideals of human life, to give the weary sons and daughters of toil a Sabbath, and to preach the welcome gospel of eternal life to mortals. Her spires indicate the tendency of her spirit to pierce the unknown, and to live in the glorious realities which are yet to unveil themselves to the upward gaze of man. Like her members, she believes "there is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we may," as Shakespeare has it. We may safely trust the destiny of the church in the future to him who holds our own destinies in his hands, believing that she must become the mightiest factor of all progress and the foster-mother of all the actual and possible good there is, though often deeply hidden, in the heart of man.

The preacher of the Coming Church must live in the light, liberty, and holiness of manly thought and exalted life. On his breastplate will be written *holiness of thought to God and humanity*. He must be a slave of no party, school, or sect. He must utter his heart-felt convictions boldly and charitably. He will be a teacher, a prophet, or a preacher, not a priest. The sermon will be full of earnest thought,

IS A NEW REBELLION BREWING?

NEW ORLEANS, La., Jan. 21, 1875.

MR. F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—I do not wonder that, with all the contradictory statements from this city regarding the events of the 4th instant, you are forced to say, as you do in THE INDEX of the 14th: "This is eminently a time to keep cool and pass no snap-judgments."

If you will remain in this happy mood a short time longer, I think you will be able to separate facts from fiction with comparative ease.

You say: "If war or secret rebellion exists at the South, it is high time to know it, as armed interference with State governments is to be tolerated only in a state of war."

Possibly a brief summary of events in this State the past ten years may be of interest to you just now, and show you better than in any other way that the contest between Kellogg and McEnery sinks into insignificance, when compared with the weightier questions at issue.

As mentioned in a former letter, I have been in this city ten years, coming here from the Union army at the close of the war. My earnest wish is to see Louisiana at peace; but I must confess the prospect is not encouraging.

The effect upon my own mind of the scenes of the past ten years has been to convince me that the Southern whites and the negro can never live together in peace under a republican form of government. Yet, as you well know, I believe implicitly in republican principles, and I know of no other form of government that can be substituted. Those principles which the war made an important part of the laws of our land have never been accepted at heart by the Southern people. Sometimes I think the present generation South can never see these things as the great North and West see them.

Force, not a conviction of error, brought a surrender of the South to the North. Complete amnesty, and a shifting of the votes North last fall, have brought out in clear light the real feeling South.

In one of Von Arnim's letters to Bismarck, he says: "In spite of all our victories and our army of occupation, I cannot compel a private Frenchman to treat a German with decency." And well might Sheridan say, In spite of the surrender of 1865, and the army of occupation in this State since that time, the North has not been able to make the average Southerner treat the negro (as a free man with equal rights) with decency.

The fact is that, with little or no harmony between two races since the institution of slavery was abolished, the State of Louisiana has been no better than a vast, bloody battle-field.

From several summaries before me I select one to quote as follows:—

From 1866 to the present time there have been nine great butcheries or massacres for political reasons in the State of Louisiana. I give you the list. In 1866, 200 persons were killed, and 160 were taken wounded to the Marine Hospital, and this is not counting those dead and wounded whose bodies were carted away by the authorities and dumped in some unknown places. At that massacre, I have the authority of a surgeon in the United States army, now on duty in this city, for stating that, after these 160 wounded were taken to the Marine Hospital, the perpetrators of the massacre, standing in line on the new canal, fired volleys into the hospital itself, the marks of whose bullets were for a long time visible on the walls.

The Bossier parish massacre, in which over 300 negroes were killed and wounded; the St. Landry massacre, in which 200 were killed and wounded; the Orleans massacres, in which 63 were killed and wounded; the Caddo massacre, in which 46 were killed and wounded; the Jefferson massacre, in which 47 were killed and wounded; the St. Bernard massacre, in which 68 were killed and wounded,—all these occurred in the one year 1868.

In 1873 the Calfax massacre, in which 100 were killed and wounded; in 1874 the Coushatta massacre, in which six white men were first captured by a mob and afterward taken out and shot in cold blood. Add to these an estimate given by members of the General Assembly from the different parishes of over 1,000 persons since 1869 who have been killed for political reasons, and you have the grand total, and by no means an accurate or full one, but such as I have been able to gather hastily together of 2,190. You will observe that of these 724 were perpetrated in 1868, in the fall and summer preceding the presidential election. To these 724, which belong to the particular massacres which I have just enumerated, must be added over 300 individual murders, which occurred in that same period, making somewhere over 1,000 persons killed in 1868, and for political reasons.

It will be observed that this inhuman butchery commenced in 1866, long before the cry of thieving carpet-baggers was raised. That cry came up later in the history of Louisiana.

The very first appearance of the negro in politics was like throwing hot shot into a magazine of powder, bringing a horrible massacre one year only after the surrender. Doubtless the surrender at Appomattox by a handful of brave men was made in good faith, and some of those men have acted nobly in their efforts for a kindly coöperation of the races in politics, as well as on the plantation. But, alas, the acts of a few of the best could not, or did not, lead the rest.

The feeling against the negro in politics was deadly. The haughty Southerner had been reduced by the war to poverty. He had never been accustomed to work, and he found his gorge rising when the full force of the fact came to him that his former goods and chattels were down at the polls voting. The white man still entertained a kindly feeling for his horse, his dog, his cat, for the law had not given the right of suffrage to them. But it had given this right to the negro, placing him on an equality with his late master; and the white man, no longer having the incentive to protect the negro as valuable property, loathed him as an unclean thing. Yet under the institution of slavery there was no such repugnance. Even social equality had no terrors there, as 50,000 mixed blood, or one to every eight of pure black, at-

Deity, humanity, life, and permeated with the spirit of love and heaven; and it will expound vital themes, touch the heart, inspire the soul, create a desire to rise from one achievement of thought and action to another, and teach the precepts and explain the laws of true life. The preacher will be ordained to his mission, not by the hand of a bishop or the vote of an ecclesiastic body, but by the consent of his conscience, his general fitness for the work, and the will of heaven. He will commune with God, Nature, and man, and so be able to teach with authority and "not as the scribes." While he will not believe that he is clothed with supernatural power, yet he will "magnify his office" by his life; and he will not be esteemed a "sleeping partner" among the workers and thinkers, as he will find his true place in the noble army of bread-winners, and receive a due respect, a proper meed of praise, and just wages, because he will be a true man, a thinker, and a helper. He will press the old and the new into the service of his race, and be a "workman not needing to be ashamed, but rightly dividing the word of truth." Such a preacher will stand in the sacred desk of the future church, after God shall have "purified the sons of Levi" from cant, cowardice, and hypocrisy.

The departing church emphasized fear as a motive; the coming one will proclaim conscience as the authoritative voice of Deity in the world of action. Matter and spirit were sworn enemies in the old church; they will be good friends in the new one. God moved in fire, smoke, and thunder, in the dying church; his presence will fill the living one with a holy calmness, an uplifting devotion, and a sacred joyfulness. The ancient church had only one divine man—Buddha, Moses, Jesus, or Mohammed; the ideal one will make humanity divine. The creed church had only one holy book—Veda, Zendavesta, Koran, or Bible; the progressive one will read all the chapters which Omniscience will write for man. The conservative church worshipped a local Deity and believed in a small monotonous heaven for unthinking and credulous people; the future church will adore the Infinite, and create heaven in every human heart. The sectarian church engendered bigotry, hate, and wars; the liberal one will be established in the divine harmony of truth, wisdom, and love. In the old church, death was a dark valley, and immortality an incomprehensible dogma; in the spiritualized church, death will be a birth into unseen realities, and every soul will see its brighter mansion, whenever it looks heavenward. The Orthodox church was a mother with a whip in her hand; the coming one will be a mother with a smile on her face. The old church loved theology and superstition, and hated science and philosophy; the new one will not need the services of theology and superstition, and it will pronounce a benediction on science and philosophy and make them missionaries. The old church killed the prophets and then canonized them, and crucified the Christs and then deified and worshipped them; the humane one will find a field of labor for the prophets and Christs. The old church was in the wilderness; the coming one will glorify every mountain, hill, and valley.

The church idea is a beautiful one. On a day consecrated to rest and spiritual enjoyment, father and mother, brother and sister, husband and wife, friend and stranger, meet together on the same footing, before the same God, and for the same purpose. We are reminded of our common brotherhood and sisterhood and of the relationship which we sustain to Deity, our common Father. We are a family. The invisible hands of God are over our heads blessing us, and the unseen speaker whispers to each of us: "Love one another." The music inspires, the song touches, the prayer lifts, the reading teaches, the sermon stirs, and the sacred associations of the place calm the hearts of the worshippers.

CHURCH-GOING: ANOTHER VIEW.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I find it admitted, in the paper entitled "Worship in the Nineteenth Century," that the author—whose beautiful spirit and fine thought we all admire—differs from the judgment of "not a few persons of intelligence and virtue." May I suggest a reason for holding an opinion quite opposite from Mr. Potter's?

Decrease of church-attendance is an established and admitted fact. This decrease is largely among the great middle class, who do the hard working and hard thinking of the present age. The most robust thought upon social life is found not at the foot nor at the top of the hill, but among the struggling climbers. Church-going is still in vogue. The rich and the fashionable—those who value appearances—all go regularly to church. Also the ignorant and superstitious go to church. Those who think for themselves, and then act as they think, are the people who do not go to church. And these people form the steady, valuable, reliable substratum of society. They are acting in opposition to the authorized prejudices of the times. They have a reason for such action. It is that the regular church services do not give the aid needed in the strong, earnest effort of daily life. That struggle lacks an element that the services of our churches not only do not, but, I believe, cannot give.

Mr. Potter defines worship as "an expression of man's sense of relation to a mysterious sovereignty in the universe beyond himself." In all expression of feeling there are two methods, form and action, or barren acts and fertile acts—acts that are merely a personal gratification and acts that aim at, if they do not accomplish, some good thing, some betterment of humanity. Church services are more and more of the former class. All sensuous delights of eye and ear are cultivated in the church surroundings. Religious sentiment is not strengthened but weakened by them.

To retain its force and integrity every feeling must be expressed in earnest action toward some end. To retain grace and symmetry it should also find expression in forms; but feeling whose expression is limited to forms is false and worthless, and feeling whose expression is chiefly through forms is fast becoming so.

Compare the churches of to-day: Is there more "spiritual inertness" in the plain and unadorned Quaker meeting-house than in the cushioned, carpeted, and colored churches where operatic music and undoubted eloquence prevail? A good discourse, call it a sermon or call it a lecture, on any of the living movements of reform is not wanting for enthusiastic appreciation and numbers of hearers. But in this day of general education and intelligence the standard of excellence is placed high, and few ministers can command admiration for weekly discourses, with none of the old superstitious reverence for the holy office to cloud the intellects and dim the eyes that judge. In these days "a church cannot live on emotions." "A religion without thought is emasculated, and must dwindle to decay." "If religious emotion does not issue in good works, it proves itself of little worth, and to many souls it doubtless operates as a delusion and a snare." In these three sentences we have the key of the whole subject. There must be religious feeling, but I aver that no true and virile religious feeling is born of pictures and music, or any sensuous pleasure; there must be thought to guide and direct wisely the expression of this feeling; and then from the union of these two must be born effort clothed in action to complete the trinity of thorough religious living. As our nature is threefold,—emotional, intellectual, and physical,—so must our virtue be a virtue of good impulse, good thought, and good action. Mr. Potter stops just short of the last. True, he urges morality, but morality is coming to be understood as a negative term signifying doing no wrong. It is not enough to be moral. We must move on; we must do something for the betterment of humanity; not mere amelioration, binding up a sore here and giving a loaf there. This insatiable monster of general intelligence demands not amelioration, but prevention of evils. Our impulses die for want of propagation in acts. Intellect, the great idol of the present, though most valuable to human progress, is least important to human integrity. If not continually humiliated by the errors of action, it grows arrogant in its self-sufficiency, checks too hardly the natural impulses, and so undermines integrity.

Encouragement of individual feeling, thought, and action is what we need. The strength to speak, to act, to live differently from other people, from moral conviction, is what we crave. What courage, what bravery, what strength is gleaned from the fair walls, the sweet sounds, the soothing religious platitudes of the churches? To-day, when newspapers, telegraphs, and railroads conspire to overwhelm us with petty details of how other folks feel, think, and act, what help from the churches have we to resist these moulding and forming influences, and to dare base our life on some noble purpose for others, instead of the continual and ubiquitous struggle to "get on," and in old age be rich and comfortable? Church-going does sometimes help the "getting on" in life; but what active worker for the good of humanity found his inspiration in churches? Did Garrison? Did Sumner? No; church services signally failed to meet the needs of active life. Therefore is church attendance on the decline. It will continue to be so until the great religious war now gathering—be it a war of words or a war of swords—is decided. And after that, I hope experience will have suggested a new and better way to cultivate religious living than any church service that now vainly essays that work.

In closing, I cannot but repeat the quotation from Goethe made by Mr. Frothingham in his paper on "Spiritual Force and its Supply": "There are three worships—worship of that which is above us; worship of that which is on a level with us; and worship of that which is below us; and the last is the highest of the three." Mankind has pretty generally outgrown the first worship; education is undermining it. We are entered on the era of worship for that which is on a level with us. And some few minds are soaring onward to worship that which is below, though the era of such a general worship is far in the future. The worship of the nineteenth century must be classed as in the second stage, the worship of human possibility and power, expressed in the urgency of intellectual culture and education, by which alone man's powers are fully utilized and man's progress chiefly promoted. It will require some experience of each worship to truly and justly establish the relations of man's threefold nature. The simplest life offers something of each. It comes in the child's reverence for parents, the lover's reverence for the chosen beloved, and the parent's reverence for the tender child, always wonderful and uncomprehended in its sweet unconsciousness and unwisdom.

In this age we study social problems; we train intellects that they may study; we incite them to application that we may learn; we devote our lives; therefore we worship. There is no stronger expression of "sense of relation to a sovereign mystery" than the effort to learn and understand concerning it; therefore we worship through the great church service of social science, humanity, its powers and possibilities.

LEXINGTON, Mass., Jan. 23, 1875.

An English clergyman exclaimed in a company of his fellow-preachers, "Ah, well! there is only one thing in our ministrations more trying to me than preaching." "Indeed," they said, "and what may that be?" "Hearing any one else preach," he replied.

test. But enough; let us return to the summary of events.

Referring to the effect upon the colored voters of the bloodshed up to the fall of 1868, the record reads: "Now mark the result. The day of election in 1868 was as peaceable and quiet an election day as ever occurred in this country. Yet in the parish of Orleans, where there were from 13,000 to 16,000 registered Republican voters, the total vote for the Republican national ticket was but 270."

Twenty-two parishes are then enumerated at length, the registered voters and the votes being given in each parish with this result: "The net result of the Democratic and White Camelia campaign of 1868 was that, out of 36,278 Republican voters in twenty-two parishes of the State, through the intimidation, fear, and terrorism resulting from the massacres before mentioned, only 1,118 Republican votes were allowed to be deposited for the Republican national ticket."

Let those who regard Returning Boards with disfavor (and I confess that I am one) mark the following:—

These facts were the origin and the cause of the peculiar election laws of this State, sometimes styled by our White League friends "infamous." They have, however, no word of similar reprobation for the massacres which made their enactment necessary. These massacres, in which riots were substituted for elections, are what made a Returning Board right and necessary.

I will now quote more at length from the summary before me:—

These facts have been officially proven before a committee of the General Assembly, and before two congressional committees. They are not denied. They have been notorious for years. Now when General Sheridan characterizes the perpetrators of similar deeds of atrocity in 1874 as "banditti," the Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Trade, the Cotton Exchange, the City Council, the bodies of merchants and a part of the clergy, assemble and pass indignant resolutions, denouncing his statements as untrue. Let me ask the Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Trade, and these other indignant mercantile and theological bodies a question: Gentlemen, did you ever call one single meeting to denounce these massacres? Did you ever denounce them in public or private? Were you afraid? Did your press denounce them, or did it not try to conceal or apologize for them? Were they afraid? And did not a part of your press boldly justify them? France had one great massacre—St. Bartholomew—and ever since, for hundreds of years, the black cloud of its memory has darkened the fame of that nation. And her savants, her clergy, her business men, her statesmen, have solemnly, before the world, denounced the horrid crime. England had her massacre in the obscure Scotch valley of Glencoe. One hundred persons were murdered. England, up to the day of Macaulay, 200 years afterward, kept repenting for and denouncing her crime before the civilized world. Macaulay has crystallized her repentance in the tearful and indignant confession and rebuke of his immortal history. Louisiana has had nine massacres in eight years, all of them as atrocious as St. Bartholomew; most of them bloodier and with more victims than Glencoe. Gentlemen, merchants and clergy of New Orleans, when did you ever call a meeting to denounce these horrid crimes? Are you afraid?

And yet you denounce Sheridan as being untrue in his statements. What is untrue? That these atrocities were committed? You dare not say that! That the men who committed them are banditti? You dare not say that! That you have kept silence and refused to condemn them in the same manner that you were so swift to condemn Sheridan? You dare not say that!

The Democratic and White League campaign of 1874 was a second edition of the White Camelia campaign of 1868. It opened by an organized, systematic plan, commenced simultaneously throughout the State, for ejecting by violence from their positions the lawfully appointed or elected parish officials, and substituting in their places the so-called McEnery officials. The opening act of this novel political campaign was the capture by a mob, of six men, officials of Lincoln parish, two of whom held appointments under the United States, and their murder in cold blood. Not a solitary conservative newspaper in this State has denounced this atrocity, while several of them have boldly and repeatedly applauded and endorsed it. Advice of the most sanguinary character and the most revolutionary lawlessness was given from week to week in the columns of the principal newspapers of the State. The *Picayune*, on the 16th of September, advised that any white man found addressing colored people as I am addressing you should be "shot down like a dog in his tracks." The *Bulletin* threatened United States soldiers and officers with torn uniforms and punched heads should they interfere with the White Leagues in their operations, and quoted with approval the resistance to United States troops in Tennessee. The *Shreveport Times* advocated over and over the murder of every Republican official who should be found elected by the returning officers against the decrees of the White Leagues; and its chief proprietor recently in this city, before the congressional committee itself, openly and boldly stated that such had been his advice, and would continue to be his advice, and that he thought the murders would be committed. Threats of assassination of the Governor, of the returning officers, and of various leaders of the Republican party, were made openly throughout the summer in the newspapers and on the streets, in the hotels and in all places of public resort. Finally, the White League conspiracy culminated in the bloody insurrection of September 14, which for a moment overpowered the State government, and which, next to the Coushatta massacre, had the most powerful influence throughout the whole State in intimidating and deterring negroes from voting.

I come now to the special function of the White League conspiracy in controlling the late election. The White League organization is a semi-military, semi-political society. It is also a confederated organization, being in sympathy, cooperation, and correspondence with organizations of a similar character in the other reconstructed States of the South. Its objective point in all these States is the overthrow of the reconstructed governments as based upon negro suffrage.

Finally, I charge that in the White League Coushatta campaign of 1874, in its assassinations and massacres, in the tone of its press, in its war upon negro children in the schools, in their proposition for restoring star cars, and in the thoroughly proscriptive, vindictive, and revengeful spirit which they have reawakened in the people, and heightened to a fury never known before, the white people of this State have more completely repudiated every principle they professed, and every promise they made in 1872, than was ever done by any political party in the history of the world before. In 1872 they had adopted Greeley and his platform of peace and conciliation and the recognition of the legitimate results of reconstruction. In their adoption of the Liberal platform they more expressly and specifically repudiated themselves to these principles. In the speeches of all their orators, in the resolutions of all their meetings, and in the professions of all their newspapers, they again and again iterated and reiterated these same principles. There is not a single one of these principles that they have not abandoned, repudiated,

condemned, and put under the ban of a terrible proscription by their course for the last eighteen months.

The massacre of 1868 led to reconstruction; the massacres of 1868 led to the election laws, and the enforcement acts of Congress; the massacre of Colfax in 1873 sent a chill over the wave of sympathy, which was rising at the North for us, and in my opinion defeated Mr. Carpenter's bill for a new election; and the massacre at Coushatta, and the White League campaign of 1874, with the riot of September 14, ending in the revolutionary attempt to overthrow the State government on January 4, have undone all that the Liberal and Conservative men of both parties sought to accomplish in 1872, and have brought the State to the brink of war and desolation.

In the returning sense of the country of the true situation here, and in the continued ascendancy of Republican principles, rests our only hope for salvation from a reign of terror under the second Confederacy, equal in violence to that of the first Confederacy of 1860.

Is it not time for those who have supposed that the present disordered condition of Louisiana is due simply to the contest between Kellogg and McEnery, and the alleged usurpation of the former, to look at the fact that these disturbances commenced nine years ago?

The cry has been of late, "thieves, bad legislation," etc. No honest Republican will seek to cover or palliate the acts of bad men in office, although the affliction is not confined to Louisiana. Let thieving carpet-baggers suffer the merited rebuke of honest Republicans North and West; but don't, because of the acts of a few bad men, turn the whole State and four hundred thousand negroes over to the tender mercies of those who have no sympathy with the fundamental principles of republican government. They might make immaculate legislators, although the record of the Slidell Legislature before the war, as well as the *coup d'état* of the Wiltz wing of the present Legislature, does not inspire me with much enthusiasm in that direction. To this must be added the lamentable fact that some of "the oldest and the best of Louisiana's sons" were mixed up in the carpet-bag legislation so much complained of. Must the record of the past ten years be repeated? Must civil rights continue to wade through seas of blood? Shall this half-enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution go on? Either a vigorous course, or a repeal of those laws, and the surrender of the negroes to the whites, should be the next move. If those amendments are to be enforced, nothing but a military government will do it.

Two days ago the Associated Press despatches gave us the following from the London *Times*, editorial:—

In the gloom surrounding us, one thing is perceptible: all men are arming; Germany is arming *en masse* and surrounding nations; the best part of the world cannot do otherwise; the momentary dreams of peace have fled away. Germany recognizes the stern necessity. What she won by arms, she can only hold by arms, and while arms are in her hands.

And must the Republic of the United States do the same to give effect to those laws which I claim are virtually a dead letter in this State? Or shall those laws be repealed? It is this last that the Southerners hope for. They predict the fall of this Republic in two years. They declare that the voting North points all this way. They predict, and certain New York papers join them, in the ascendancy of a party utterly opposed to the principles upon which the war was fought. If this prediction should prove to be true (and the hope of it is what gives vitality to every White League organization), it will simply show that a majority of the people North have reconsidered and gone back upon the ideas and principles which led them to prosecute the late war. Its immediate effect would be a reversal of legislation regarding equal rights, a virtual surrender of the results of the war, a triumph of the South, and recovery of the lost cause. Shall the South, encouraged by their friends North, effect this?

It would be a bitter fact for many to accept, that the war was a failure, and that the life and treasure freely given but ten years ago were worse than useless.

This is a blue letter. Perhaps you can draw a brighter picture. But I will venture to say that, were you here, you could not write other than as I have done this evening.

W. F. P.

In a Bavarian town of the most pronounced Catholic Orthodoxy, relates a South German paper, a priest preached lately against the Old Catholics, and in the course of his address said: "The Old Catholics are so vile that they will all be cast into the pit, and if what I tell you is not true, may the devil take me now on the spot!" Just then he knocked his book off the desk, and an American sitting near with a negro servant told the latter to return the book to the priest, who, perhaps, had never seen one of those sons of Ham in his life. The negro at once obeyed, and as he mounted the lowest of the pulpit steps the clergyman repeated his wish that the devil might come and take him if what he had said against the Old Catholics was not true. Although the negro went softly, the preacher heard his footsteps, and, turning round, saw a black object solemnly, steadily, and surely approaching him. He looked at him with terror, and believing that he would be the next instant collared by his Satanic Majesty, he cried out, with trembling voice, "It is, after all, possible that there may be good people among the Old Catholics." Turning then round to see if the object had disappeared, he saw it still steadily approaching. The perspiration burst out on his brow, and full of despair he called out, "There are even many good people among the Old Catholics!" Thinking that this would suffice, he turned round, but what was his horror to find that the object was close at hand. Imagining himself in the very grasp of Beelzebub, turning partly to the negro and partly to the congregation, he cried out, "May the devil come and take me if all the Old Catholics are not better than we are!" The terrified priest fainted from the fright.—*Advertiser*.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

GOD'S LOVE.

He loves me well!
And such a spell
Of joy the thought flings o'er me,
I cannot see
That there should be
Despair in aught before me.

So let me wake
From dreams, and take
The staff he lays beside me,
And, trying still
To work his will,
Be sure that he will guide me.

I am at home:
I do not roam
An exile through illusion,—
With gifts my God
The very sod
Has strewn in rich profusion.

To him I cried,
Himself to hide
No more from my beholding;
And, lo! his arm
I saw, from harm
The whole creation folding.

Like babes that rest
On mother's breast,
With confidence grown bolder,
We slowly rise
To meet his eyes,
Or fall upon his shoulder.

KATE D. MAY.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

GOODNESS.

Thought, mighty thought, is struggling now;
Hearts young and old beat with its power;
The hand that soothes the throbbing brow
Points also to the coming hour—
The hour that lifts the darkened veil
From off the eyes that long have slept,
And gives to man the earth-born right
That priestly cunning long has kept.

Hail, blessed day of love and light!
Be thy bright banner now unfurled;
Sweet Goodness! lift the pendant high,
And wave it o'er a restless world.
Thy power alone can make us free,
Thou wilt supply our every need;
Sweet Goodness, Love, and Charity!
Thou art to us a sacred creed.

MARY WARD.

WEST ACTON, MASS.

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N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

The Index.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 4, 1875.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLTOAKE
(England), Editorial Contributors.

SUNDAY LECTURES.—The Editors of THE INDEX will lecture occasionally on Sundays, if desired, within a convenient distance of Boston.

THE COMPLETE *Theological Works of Thomas Paine* have just been republished by J. P. Mendum in a single octavo volume of about four hundred pages, embracing the *Age of Reason* and various minor works. The issue of the book is very timely, as the erection and dedication of a stately building in Boston to the memory of Thomas Paine have excited fresh curiosity to know what the writings were which have been so bitterly attacked by the clergy and so stoutly defended and signally honored by their opponents.

CAPTAIN J. A. FREMONT, keeper of the Parish Prison of Orleans, Louisiana, which is the prison for the city of New Orleans, has just published a statement in reply to Sheridan that the total number of prisoners confined there *for murder* is 72, of whom 17 only are white Conservatives, while 24 are white, and 31 are colored, Radicals. On this statement Mrs. Cheney sends us the following acute criticism: "We have never understood that the complaint of the Radicals was that there are too many murderers in prison in Louisiana, but too many out of it who ought to be there." That is precisely the trouble.

MR. JOHN ALBEE, of Washington, sends this "squib" for our "woman's rights corner":—

WOMAN'S LOGIC.

Vainly I plead my cause with Portia for my judge,
Though all the logic mine and all the precedents:
When her beloved Milo speaks, my words are fudge—
For woman weighs the *man* and not the arguments.

If any brilliant woman is stung to retaliate for this saucy epigram on "Woman's Logic" by sending us an equally saucy epigram on "Man's Conceit," the imperturbable INDEX will with all demureness and impartiality put it in its "man's rights corner." Seriously, when we find men ignoring the reasons we offer for our anti-Christian position and regarding it as a mere matter of "temperament," we see that it is by no means an exclusively feminine trait to "weigh the man and not the arguments."

A SOCIAL "NEST OF SNAKES."

Dr. Harris, of New York, has recently given to the public some of the most curious and instructive criminal statistics ever published. Not long ago his attention was called to the fact that a county on the upper Hudson exhibited a very unusual proportion of criminals and paupers to the whole population, 480 out of its 40,000 inhabitants being in the almshouse. Examination of the records made evident a constant recurrence of certain names, which indicated that certain families contributed most of the persons thus thrown upon the public for support. Dr. Harris became so much interested in the matter that he made a thorough investigation into the genealogies of these families, and reached results of a most remarkable character.

It appears that about seventy years ago a young girl named "Margaret" was left adrift in a village of the county, nobody remembers how; but, as there was no almshouse then in the county, it is sufficiently evident that the public neglected her altogether, and left her to grow up as best she could. This neglect on the part of the public, however, entailed a fearful retribution on itself. From this girl have descended *two hundred criminals*! In one generation of her unhappy line there were twenty children, three of whom died in infancy and seventeen grew to

maturity. Of the seventeen survivors, nine served out sentences for high crimes in the State prisons amounting in the aggregate to fifty years; the eight others were frequent inmates of almshouses, jails, and penitentiaries. The total number of Margaret's descendants, through six generations, is nine hundred; and this small army, besides furnishing the two hundred convicted criminals already mentioned, have been in the main "idiots, imbeciles, drunkards, lunatics, prostitutes, and paupers." What a terrible revenge has Nature inflicted on society for its original contempt of the obligations of humanity towards the poor little waif "Margaret"!

Doubtless an extreme case like the above cannot easily be paralleled elsewhere; yet it illustrates none the less the working of a universal and inexorable law. The human race is one immense social organism, and comes under the principle laid down by Kant that in every organism the whole and the parts are mutually means and ends. On the one hand, the true end of the individual is the highest welfare of the race; on the other hand, the true end of the race is the highest welfare of the individual—of *all* the individuals composing it. Until this mutual self-dedication of the part to the whole and of the whole to the part has become the perfectly comprehended and universally obeyed law of all human existence, there must continue to be in the world a vast amount of avoidable pain, misery, and degradation. It is the great law of HUMAN SOLIDARITY, which is involved in the very constitution of human nature; and human nature is itself part of cosmical or universal Nature. Sociology can never attain the rank of a true science until these truths are recognized as its first principles.

Believing this, we have not a particle of sympathy with any theory of individualism which leaves out of sight the sacred mutual obligations existing between the individual and society. What do people usually mean when they say that So-and-so is "in society"? Merely that So-and-so is a member of a petty fashionable clique of persons who assume to be "society" in a worldly sense, just as a petty Christian clique assume to be the Church of God, or "society" in a religious sense. The humanitarian must feel as profound a contempt for the one assumption as for the other. Show us a man, woman, or child that is "out of society," and we will make a bonfire of all our writings from the day we first set pen to paper. Doubtless poor "Margaret" was never once thought of in her day as being "in society"; she was an outcast, excluded, neglected, despised. Yet the fearful story of her influence on society set forth by Dr. Harris is the proof that she was "in society" a thousand times more powerfully than most of those who disdained even so much as to speak to her. If the "society" that so quietly voted her out of itself had known that it might as wisely have voted her off the planet or out of the solar system,—if it had been aware of its own responsibility for the care of this helpless creature, and had discharged faithfully the duty it owed to her,—would it not have escaped its present enormous burden of supporting a thousand paupers and criminals, more or less? Yet the same policy is continued to-day towards vast multitudes of such outcasts, with the certainty that the same results will follow hereafter.

"But what is to be done?"

A great deal more than any individual, or any number of individuals as such, can ever accomplish. Society as a whole must recognize not only the duty, but also the imperative necessity, of rescuing pauper children from the inexorable fate which awaits them, if they are suffered to grow up in pauperism. It will take the combined efforts and resources of the whole State to apply the only remedy. No matter what it costs, the cheapest course in the end will be that which insists on educating and fitting for a useful career every child born into the community. Property will at last discover its own interest in this matter; but the best and wisest already recognize the duty of caring for the now neglected classes. They acknowledge the obligations imposed by the law of human solidarity, and advocate as a matter of public morality what property-owners will eventually advocate as a matter of public interest. Whatever poisons the blood of the social organism becomes a subject of universal concern; and the day will undoubtedly come when social diseases shall be treated by skilled physicians rather than, as now, by quacks and charlatans. That a part of their treatment, at least, will be the requisition that every child shall be educated, whether the parents do or do not neglect their natural duties, and that no child shall be suffered to be brought up in a hotbed of crime and pauperism,

we have no doubt whatever. The wretched "Margarets" of the future will not be abandoned to their fate, to become mothers of desperadoes and imbeciles by the score, but rescued betimes from the influences that predestine them to ruin, unless counteracted by better ones. May the day come speedily when social science and natural ethics, reduced to practice, shall render impossible such dreary histories as that which Dr. Harris has dragged before the dismayed public!

WHAT SHALL BE THE NUCLEUS?

The discussion which has been going on in some of the religious papers in regard to the reunion of the Trinitarian and Unitarian Congregational bodies has been the occasion of several noteworthy articles. Among these none is more worthy of note than a leading editorial in the *Liberal Christian* of Jan. 9th, under the caption, "Union of all Congregationalists." The article is remarkable for its breadth of view, for its keenness of observation, for its unsectarian candor and impartiality, for its concessions to liberal thought, and for its large and generous spirit of fellowship. It is an article that in itself should attract attention. But it is especially noteworthy from its position as the prominent leader in a paper of which Dr. Bellows is the editor. Whether he is the author of the article or not, it is to be assumed that he gave it his assent.

To give a brief hint of the argument: the article begins by speaking of the natural tendencies to union that exist among all Congregationalists, considering it "certain that, before the New Year of the twentieth century comes, all the more religious and earnest men of the Congregational bodies will have come into some practical coöperation." "If the Congregational Council [Orthodox] ceases to be dogmatic, and the Free Religious Association continues to be religious, even they will have found a basis of cordial agreement and coöperation."

The writer then proceeds to inquire what shall be the centre of attraction, or the *tertium quid*, for effecting this fellowship. And here is where the candor and liberality of the article are especially displayed. It might naturally be expected that a Unitarian would say that the Unitarian body must be this attracting nucleus, since it stands midway between the extremes that are to be drawn together. That is what a sectarian Unitarian would be most likely to say. But the writer has too clear an insight into modern religious tendencies to say this. He sees that the three bodies named, so far as they have any vital contribution to make towards the coming union, represent motion on converging lines towards a common point of attraction, and asserts that in neither body, as it exists at present, is this centre of attraction to be found. Orthodox Congregationalism cannot furnish the centre of the coming religious unity, because it is still too much "hampered by dogma," and does not allow the necessary "freedom of motion." Unitarian Congregationalism once gave more hope of furnishing it, "but that hope with the present tendency has less justification." "For the present it is too much intent upon its *boundary*": for the writer says, applying an astronomical illustration previously used in the article in explaining the law of religious organization and fellowship, "no nebula which defined its boundaries by excision of its contents ever became a star." The Free Religious Association, he thinks, is equally incapacitated for furnishing the centre of attraction, because it simply provides "a platform for free discussion." It may contribute towards the coming religious unity by "educating the people to a love of liberty and the practice of it," but it fails as a "centre of organization."

Still the writer finds in all these bodies the vital elements of the new religious union that is to be. And he indicates his own idea of the "centre of attraction" whence the organizing power is to come, by the following paragraph: "We heartily and joyfully believe that what the 'dogma,' the 'boundary,' and the 'platform' cannot do, the heart of Christian charity can. Whatever body of religious men and women are able and willing to obey the impulse which drives them in pursuit of goodness and truth, and will allow no other force to dominate, will have found the way to the central forces which shall yet shape a world in which righteousness shall be the attraction of cohesion."

Such a word as this in a denominational paper of Christendom is, indeed, a sign of the times; and it cannot but be most cordially welcomed by all lovers of religious liberty and by all who believe in a possible religious fellowship on the basis of liberty. What is there said of the Free Religious Association would

probably be accepted in the main by the members of that Association, as a just characterization of at least its present position and aims in respect to the practical work of organization. That Association has not attempted to organize the coming religion or the coming church. It has not offered itself even as the centre of a general organization. It has studiously refrained from anything that would seem like a new form of ecclesiastical manipulation. Though sometimes urged to take up the work of local organization it has thus far declined to do so. It has been content to be an educating force in behalf of the principles of religious liberty and fellowship, and then to let these principles crystallize into such organizations as should be natural and legitimate to them.

At the same time (though of course I am only speaking as one individual) I think the members of the Free Religious Association generally would recognize in the closing sentence above quoted a very accurate expression of the organizing centre of the Association itself. To lead men and women "to obey the impulse which drives them in pursuit of goodness and truth," to remove such obstructions as dogmatism, superstition, and sectarianism throw in the way of this impulse, so that the pure impulse to truth and goodness may "dominate" all other forces—this is the one controlling aim, in my view, of that organization. Perhaps the phrase "Christian charity," in the preceding sentence, was meant by the writer to indicate a peculiar spiritual quality in this impelling force, though for aught that appears elsewhere in the article "human charity" would be a phrase quite as true to his thought, and more consistent with the breadth of his aim. Whenever and wherever the human impulse to truth and goodness, without any ecclesiastical label and freed from ecclesiastical restraint, becomes the dominating force in life, then and there the coming religious fellowship will have found its central attraction. Whether, however, this new centre of union will evolve some one grand external organization, corresponding, for instance, to the Church of Rome, is more than doubtful. More likely the new religious forces will organize themselves in social and individual life, with only such local organizations and appliances as are called forth by local exigencies and demands, and such opportunities for general intercourse and fellowship as free minds, seeking the same general ends, will crave and supply.

W. J. P.

MR. HARRIS ON EDUCATION.

Mr. William T. Harris, of St. Louis, has again made a noteworthy contribution to the cause of education in his address delivered before the State Teachers' Association at Jefferson City, Mo., December 31. His subject was the relation of common schools to high schools and colleges. The striking feature of Mr. Harris' writings on education is the breadth of view with which he regards all the topics of education. It is with him a matter of large national concern; nay, more,—a matter of human necessity and interest; and his programme of studies considers the whole nature and circumstances of the pupil, in relation to the present development of civilization.

We cannot forbear contrasting his utterances with those of his great fellow-citizen, Mr. Schurz, who spoke in Boston so recently. Instead of a broad, statesmanlike view of the questions of national education, which we wished to hear discussed by a legislator of Mr. Schurz's undoubted high qualifications, we had the old platitudes in regard to woman's education for marriage, home duties, etc.; while from Mr. Harris we have a broad, clear outlook on the whole relation of the school to the State as well as to individual welfare.

He treats with especial power the subject of the mutual relations of classic and scientific study, showing how the one puts the student in possession of the facts of mental growth and development, and makes him kin to all the achievements of civilization, while the other gives him a perpetually increasing insight into the great organic laws of Nature. These two elements of education, he claims, should go hand in hand through the whole course of education. Even in the nursery, the child's fairy stories lead him into communion with the mythology of the remotest ages; while the training of his senses is putting him into possession of the forces of the outer world.

In this constant relation he finds the corrective for the tendency of the pursuit of natural science to destroy the sense of human and divine personality, and to lessen the consciousness of free-will and individual responsibility. He considers the inner facts of consciousness, and the traditions of history, to be as legitimate subjects of scientific study as the histories

written in the rocks, and the affinities revealed by chemistry.

It is to the university, enlarged in its methods and brought into close relation with the common school system, that he looks to hold with even hand the scales between these two opposing but not irreconcilable tendencies of thought, and to secure our future development against practical materialism, on one side, and a reaction to superstition and religious intolerance, on the other.

E. D. C.

FREE-THOUGHT NOTES.

BY A VETERAN ENGLISH FREE-THINKER.

There was a period, ranging from 1840 to about 1846, when the Socialist disciples of Robert Owen were mostly alarmed by the unpleasant proceedings of the Bishop of Exeter against them. His speeches in the House of Lords, demanding the interference of the Socialists to put them down, obliged Mr. William Pare, the most eminent of the missionaries among them, who held the Office of Registrar of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in the town of Birmingham, to resign. The clerical pressure in the town otherwise led to his dismissal. Many gentlemen publicly known to be favorable to the Socialism of the time found things made threatening in their connections. Then a reaction set in against the continuance of anti-theological discussion in the social body. It never had any proper place in it. It was always irrelevant, but it had been openly encouraged by Mr. Owen, by his son Robert Dale, by the editor of the *New Moral World*, the organ of the society, and all the missionaries, who were to a man inclined to vex the clerical mind, which certainly left them no rest and gave them no quarter. But on the appearance of the Bishop of Exeter, the society came to the wise conclusion of observing neutrality with regard to the clergy, but not providing for the necessary expression of the free-thought conviction in their ranks in a separate way, in which the responsibility was removed from the social directors to those who individually took part in it. They took the unwise course of denouncing it altogether. The clerical public were delighted to see them denouncing what they had hitherto applauded and participated in; and, where they enforced compliance among their missionaries, their new behavior looked to the public like cowardice. Some of their leading missionaries, as Mr. Lloyd Jones and Robert Buchanan, father of the poet of that name, took oaths as licensed preachers of the gospel to qualify them for speaking in the public halls of the party without prosecution. Mr. Buchanan showed an honorable reluctance to comply with this ceremony. The old narrative, with all its details of historic interest, I have given in my *History of Coöperation*, which, as you are aware, is in the press.

THE ORIGIN OF "SECULARISM."

This explanation is necessary to explain the origin of the new party of free-thinkers which arose at that time, and ultimately adopted that new form of free-thought which has since been known as Secularism. Mr. Watson, whose death I mentioned in my last, his coadjutors, Henry Hetherington, John Cleave, London radical publishers, Abel Heywood, of Manchester, who was sometime since the candidate for the representation of that city, and had a great and well-earned following of electors there, and many other publishers throughout the country, who were all imprisoned for their intrepidity in issuing free-thought works, constituted, together with the Socialist party under Robert Owen, the band of old free-thinkers who continued the work of Richard Carlile and Robert Taylor, and who maintained the right of free-thought, free discussion, free publication of opinion, without much caring what the opinion was, or making any attempt to organize the expression of it.

PERSECUTION OF THE "SECULARISTS."

The Socialist reaction of timidity occasioned a revolt among those missionaries who thought that the courage of free-thought was compromised by this mode of suppression which I have described. Foremost of these was Charles Southwell, a man of daring and dramatic ability, William Chilton, a Bristol printer, and Maltus Questell Ryall, the most accomplished iconoclast—original, fiery, always gentlemanly—whom agitation in this century has produced; Mrs. Emma Martin, a handsome and keen-witted lecturer who never lost her womanliness on the platform; myself, Thomas Paterson, who shrank from no consequences of his coöperation, and Miss Matilda Roalfe, who ought to have been mentioned earlier, and whose courage and services were considerable. Most of us were imprisoned—I who took Mr. South-

well's place as editor of the *Oracle of Reason* during his incarceration, and Mr. Paterson also. Three editors of the *Oracle of Reason* were in prison at the time. I was delivering a lecture on "Home Colonization." I did not transgress the limits of neutrality. The judge who tried me admitted this. After the lecture, I was questioned about my personal opinions on religion; I answered frankly. When my imprisonment came, Mr. Owen, although I was one of his social missionaries, never took the slightest notice of me. The editor of the organ which represented my party, the *New Moral World*, ignored me altogether, so timorous were they of any identification with the free-thought they had so gallantly advocated.

ESTABLISHMENT OF "THE REASONER."

Thus the new party of free-thinkers was founded. So long as persecution lasted, we thought it sufficient to maintain the right of free discussion. Afterwards we applied ourselves to the organization of free-thought. *The Reasoner*, which I conducted during thirty annual volumes, early took for its militant motto these words:—

"They who believe that they have truth, ask no favor save that of being heard; they dare the judgment of mankind. Refused coöperation, they invoke opposition; for opposition is their opportunity."

We continued this until the clergy, believing what we said, withdrew all opposition whatever. In religious tracts and the pulpit, they were not complimentary to us; but for twenty years no respectable or representative advocate of Christianity came forward to oppose us. They believed we should die out if left alone. They reasoned as the head of an army might, that it was best to leave the few open adversaries alone. To engage with them gave them importance, and attracted numerous people to their side who are accustomed to befriend a smaller party. For fifty years the policy of the Church of England has been one of silence, and for twenty years the dissenters have followed it, until they have found the open country has been silently filled with adversaries created by writers, by the press, by science, by reason,—the progress which comes by time,—until Mr. Gladstone, two years ago, with an intrepidity of reproach which must have been heard by prelates and preachers with dismay, said to the students of the Liverpool College:—

"I wish to place on record my conviction that belief cannot now be defended by reticence any more than by railing, or by any privileges and assumption. . . . We commit a fatal error if we allow this to become a merely professional question. It is the affair of all."

Since these words were spoken, battle has been given on both sides, and we are all in the midst of it now.

BISHOP COLENSO.

It came to pass, as you have no doubt heard, that Bishop Colenso did not speak at Westminster Abbey. That was no fault of the intrepid and liberal Dean, who did invite him, and told the Bishop of London so in the best ecclesiastical letter which has appeared for many years in England. It was a noble vindication of the Bishop of Natal, and also of his own intentions in inviting him. No reply from the Bishop has been made public, and it is unknown what he thought of the intrepid and independent Dean. Bishop Colenso, with great moderation and good taste, declined to raise incidentally the question of his rights as a churchman, and greatly exalted himself, by his unexpected courtesy, in the eyes even of his adversaries.

THE SHAKERS.

You will be surprised to hear that we have got a full-blown colony of Shakers troubling the well-conducted British mind. Our famous old Mother Southcott was succeeded by a vigorous rival—one Mother Girling, an Ipswich prophetess who attracts sentimental young people to her. Some say they dance with great freedom from attire, sing, and won't pay rent. They have been residing on a mortgaged property in Hampshire, and the mortgagee could neither get his money nor his interest. He then evicted the whole colony, brutally or thoughtlessly, in the cold weather, and one hundred and twenty persons, half-clad and ill-fed, passed their days and nights in the snow; whereupon humane England was scandalized. The Hon. Auberon Herbert offered one of his barns to shelter them, and wrote to the *Times* to say he does not see that these Girling Shakers are more superstitious in expecting that God will pay their rent than the Archbishop of Canterbury was in praying for rain, when Mr. Herbert was member for Nottingham. He horrified conventional politicians by declaring himself in favor of a republican form of government, and now he has horrified more people by

comparing the Archbishop to Mother Girling. The Hon. Mr. Cowper-Temple, the heir of Lord Palmerston, who had always a generous side to his nature, is getting up subscriptions for these impracticable Shakers. With our Poor Law we cannot allow poor people to die of want, and these people would die if somebody did not take care of them. They are sharp enough to see they are masters of the situation. Guardians of the poor are distracted to know what to do with them; the hard-working shop-people do not like to be taxed for the support of the impracticable saints. If Mother Girling succeeds in getting her followers supported by the British public, she will soon have a large number of disciples. We have a Tory government strongly in favor of endowments; Mr. Disraeli has a strong idea that he is an ecclesiastical minister of genius; and we are expecting he may bring in a bill to endow the Girlingites.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

THE TRAGEDY OF LABOR.

When we consider how much pain and hardship, deprivation and want the toilers and laborers of the world have always endured, we can scarcely wonder that some of the early writers should have represented labor as a doom imposed upon man in consequence of a terrible disobedience of divine command.

The laborer, indeed, always has been in certain respects a doomed man. In the first place he was a slave; in which capacity he performed labor, not because it was delightful to him, but because he was compelled to do it,—and, moreover, labored not for himself but for others. As a slave, the laborer was not permitted to enjoy the fruits of his own labor, but those fruits—the abundance of them—were appropriated by another, the laborer only being allowed about so much as was necessary to support life. Of course, in this capacity of a slave, where he could not enjoy what he produced, where what wealth he created he could not call his own, where even all his time and strength to labor were claimed by another,—of course, in this condition of enforced servitude the laborer did not find labor anything but a curse, inasmuch as it afforded him neither happiness nor welfare. He looked upon it as an evil, to be avoided if possible; for it brought him wretchedness, disappointment, sorrow, and shame. His master looked upon labor as a degradation, something wholly unfit for himself, and belonging entirely to a servile class. Thus labor really had no honor in the eyes of any lass; it conferred no dignity upon any body, but rather humiliation. Its sign was not a crown but a collar; not a laurel upon the brow, but a chain upon the limb. To create or produce wealth was not honorable; but to possess it, to enjoy it, to spend it—that was honorable!

This was the estimate put upon labor, and this the condition of the laborer, in all countries and in all times where and when slavery existed. This made the part of the laborer in the great world's drama a most tragical one. His part it was to do and dare and suffer most; his part to give but not to take, to supply but not to have, to uphold others but be himself crushed down, to build but not to inhabit. His part it was to be the ladder on which others mounted; his to stand in the background and wait, while others went forward and took the prizes; his to lag behind in the world's civilization, and see others advance to leisure, refinement, culture, art, knowledge, and power. No wonder is it that the enslaved, degraded, and poor laboring class have filled the world with their distressful and clamorous cries; that they have saturated the page of history with their tears, and made its narrative pathetic with their sorrow. No wonder is it that they have besieged Heaven with their prayers for a happy deliverance from this life and a condition all of rest from labor in the life to come; nor that in their woe they have sometimes become desperate, and upheaved society from its foundations in a blind, brute strength of desire for relief. Enslaved labor has been always a mine not only of distress but of danger, because by injustice and tyranny it has fired the slow heart of the oppressed and wronged to blaze forth at last with wrath and revenge and desolation. Simply for this reason, if for no other, that oppression is dangerous even to the oppressor, slavery has been obliged to give way to freedom; and gradually throughout the civilized world voluntary labor has been supplanting enslaved labor.

But although in England and America, to-day, the laborer is no longer a slave before the law, his condition is still a tragical one, and full of pathos. Though not any longer a legal bondman, he is yet a poor man, and, what is worse, a wronged one. The

laborer, though truly "worthy of his hire," has not yet fully and fairly received it; it is still withheld from him by the system of society which includes him.

The world is full of wealth. Who created or produced that wealth? The laborer. Does he then possess it? No; but for the most part they possess it who did not earn it.

No one, I think, can doubt that this is the fact, who looks abroad upon society with keen observing eyes. The laborer toils and toils, but as a rule he does not grow rich. Others who toil far less, and many indeed who toil not at all,—these still, as under the old system of slavery, somehow accumulate in their hands the wealth, and continue to hold it from passing in equitable proportion to the hands of the principal producer. The laborer, then, finds that voluntary labor scarcely brings him more rewards than slave labor did. As a slave he received the necessities of life; as a freeman he receives little more, and not infrequently even less. Moreover, he still finds that the laborer, especially the poor laborer, hardly receives more honor from society than formerly. He sees that in proportion as a man becomes independent of labor, or of that labor which is hardest and most disagreeable, he meets with distinguished social recognition and favor. The distinction between "genteel" and "menial" labor he observes is still made, both as to rank and reward in wages; and the rush from the more productive avocations to the less productive goes on, as though respectability increased in direct ratio with unserviceableness. The laborer of to-day sees all this,—his poverty and want, his lack of refinements and education, his social disfavor and humiliation, his disadvantage with those who are rich and those who have more cunning and less honesty than he,—he sees all this, and he inwardly feels that he is wronged by somebody or something, and he cannot withhold the smothered cry of indignation and protest.

And this is the condition and this the attitude of the laborer in this country to-day. His condition is one of deep-seated discontent, and his attitude one of growing indignation and protest. It is a bad omen for any country when its laborers are not at peace with it; when they feel themselves wronged and oppressed by its laws and its social institutions. When wealth accumulates in the hands of a few, when giant corporations tyrannize over masses of dependent toilers, when huge monopolies are made by selfish men of the necessities of life, which hungry mouths are needing and which hands willing to labor are withheld from procuring, when money-kings control legislatures and dictate legislation solely in their own interests,—when this is to any considerable extent the state of things in any nation, danger is not far from its door. The tragedy of labor prolonged indefinitely is sure to produce tragic results not only to the laborer but to society at large. Actual starvation in some parts of the West, and stagnation of industry and enforced idleness throughout the East, are inexcusable in a land so full of natural and created wealth and intelligent and able-bodied laborers as America is to-day. These facts, taken in connection with the condition of affairs in the Southern States of this Union, involving not only disorganization of politics but of industry and civil society, altogether present a problem to our country, the serious nature of which was never before surpassed.

In my opinion, the Labor Question, and all that it involves, is one of the most important matters before the American people to-day. That settled upon the right basis, and we have proceeded far towards true civilization. That unsettled, or settled upon a false basis, and we have social anarchy, which from being latent must soon become patent. The discussion of this whole question is preëminently in order; and I am glad to know that it is being discussed in many circles, by thoughtful and earnest men and women. Let all views and theories and methods be presented, which any intelligent and serious man or woman has to offer. No one of them is likely exactly or entirely to cover the ground, but out of many counsels wisdom will come at last. Let us proclaim ideas and principles, the best and truest that we know; and let us have faith in the power of these to change not only the conduct of individuals but the character of a whole people. Let us proclaim EQUITY as widely as our fathers proclaimed liberty and equality; EQUITY, without which liberty is worthless and equality impossible. This simple idea,—an idea not belonging to any school or party, but one which commends itself to all just persons,—when lodged in the minds and hearts of men and women, will renovate society from its foundations, and bring capital and labor, the employer and the employed, into mutually respecting and harmonious relations.

A. W. S.

Communications.

GOD AND RELIGION.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

These two words forming the subjects of my communication are forever in the mouth of everybody, the educated and uneducated, the scientist and the ignorant, the believing and the sceptic; and yet no one knows in fact what they really signify. Each gives them a different definition and uses them in a different sense, according either to instructions he has received regarding them or to his own individual thoughts and reflections. Your own lecture as reported in THE INDEX of January 7 brought these facts forcibly to my mind. Let us, then, examine them a little closer.

I. *God*.—The first question that presents itself to us on this subject is, *Is there a God?* and, if we affirm it, *Who or what is he?* These questions divide at once the above heterogeneous classes. The uneducated, ignorant, and believing accept the theological answer, affirm the existence of a personal, anthropomorphic God, believe in him as he was taught to them in Sunday-schools and other ecclesiastical institutions; and these classes will allow neither doubt, reasoning, nor questioning on that subject. With them we have done, then; for, although we may reject their belief as false and erroneous, they cannot be affected thereby (more than getting angry and horrified). *Their God is fixed.* The educated, the scientists, the sceptics, on the other hand, leave these "open questions," which each of them answers according to his own reasonings and reflections, being forced to reject the theological, personal, anthropomorphic God of the former. But while some of them deny the existence of a God altogether (atheists), others believe in a God whom they define or imagine in the most varied manner,—some identifying him with the universe (pantheists), others denying his personal existence, yet ascribing to him an individual existence distinct from the universe (theists). In regard to the nature of this distinct existence and the essence of this God, however, there are almost as many views and explanations as there are such believers. For there never was any one who knew anything on that subject, and all that some pretend to know is, in reality, mere force of habit or teaching, speculation, and fancy. Even the first class of believers (theologians and their followers), in spite of their pretensions, positiveness, and arrogance, know no more on this subject than anybody else.

The belief in the theological God is, of course, as I already stated, not worth our attention; the atheists acknowledge no God, and thus offer us nothing to be considered; and the pantheists know only the Universe—no God out of it. Thus it is really but the God of the theists—to my mind the most inconsistent God—that we may consider. But now, is it not rather curious for rational scientific men to make so much of, and talk so inconsistently about, a being which H. Spencer and those who follow him call "the Unknowable," of which those who oppose him—yourself among them—not only admit that they, too, know nothing, but cannot know anything? All we know and can know is *Facts—Nature*; and even of her we know but comparatively little. Our part it is, however, to study her, and to conform our lives to her laws. "Harmony with Nature," you say yourself in the above quoted lecture, "is most complete when most conscious, free, and glad; and it follows that he will be in the highest sense religious who enters willingly, cheerfully, and gladly into relations of entire harmony between himself and the universal All." (Would it not be better, clearer, and more consistent to say plainly *Nature*?) "Names are of small moment, when ideas of such sublimity engage our thoughts; yet I freely confess to you that no name for this universal All, with which every rational and sincere mind desires most profoundly to be at peace, is so sweet, so satisfying, so true, as the name of God."

Now, my dear friend, are names really of so "small moment"? I think the name is, at least in this case, of very great moment. That name, God, has in the English as in every language a most definite use and signification; one, too, greatly at variance with your indefinite and, if not pantheistic, imaginary "universal All." Can, then, a name thus made use of be of "small moment"? Say, rather, that we know not, cannot know, anything of God, yet that some insist to imagine him in one fashion or another, and you express the truth. No name will express it.

II. *Religion*.—As in respect to God, so must I, in respect to religion, first of all ask, *What is religion?* But no more satisfactory answer can be given to this than to the former question. It is but a word, a name again, explained, interpreted, used, and understood according to the individuality of the one who uses it, like the word God; and this accounts for the many and various explanations given of it. To explain it etymologically, as is generally done, may do well enough for theologians and their dupes; but it is now becoming obsolete, and rejected by the best thinkers. Webster defines it, "The recognition of God as an object of worship. . . . any system of faith and worship." But of all definitions I have ever seen—and they are numerous and varying enough,—I like your own best; and this, to my mind, needs no apology, as you seem to think it does, "because religion thus defined does not include an avowal of faith in God and immortality." On the contrary, I consider it best because it does not include this avowal of faith in ideas the reality of whose objects cannot be proven, while it includes all the realities that alone make life worth living for. "Abstract recog-

tions,' or 'attractions,' or 'relations.' I do not consider inferior to it "because they take religion out of the world of real life," but because they are but abstractions, while life is a reality, and can only deal with realities. But religion itself is no reality, however we may define it. Strauss, in *The Old and the New Faith*, is right, as that acute reasoner generally is, when he says: "In so far Feuerbach is correct, when he says the origin and the real essence of religion is the wish. Had man no wishes, he had also no gods. What man wishes to be, but is not, that he makes his god; what he would like to have, but knows not to procure for himself, that his God shall procure him."

Your own definition is again the best because it means reality—humanity, not religion. "The trouble is," you also say correctly, though not exactly in your sense, "that religion means so much that no concise phrase can utter it all." In the sense, however, you put this sentence, it is only true when you take the word religion in its common sense (e.g., as above in Webster's); but taken in the sense of being "an effort of man to perfect himself in all his relations," it is true and simple, not meaning much, only requiring much of man. Yet all it requires are human efforts, blessed and blessing realities, no abstract or imaginary relations and duties. But, thus understood, you will on close scrutinizing find that your definition is not a definition of religion, but of humanity; that you put again only a name for another thing, a name, having a sense, meaning, and use quite different from the thing or word you put it for. Nevertheless, thus defined, I will accept your definition and—your "religion."

But if you mean by your definition and by "religion" really the thing—ideas that this name or word conveys,—I cannot agree with you. For thus used it includes, and must include whether you mean it or not, "an avowal of faith in God and immortality;" in other words, it is but the name, but not the thing, religion. More: it must include also the "relations of man to God." But how can your or any other person's definition "include an avowal of faith in God and immortality," or of "man's relations to God," as long as God and immortality remain but problems? Truly you may say again, "The trouble is that religion means so much."

Now, my dear friend, having the fact before us that God and immortality are, at best, but problems; that religion is but an abstraction, as are consequently the relations of man to God; that the only reality, the only thing that really concerns us, is humanity, would it not be time and best, more becoming at least rational, scientific men, to leave these problems to the "spirits out of the body" (if there should be such things) to solve, and give their attention and "efforts" to facts and realities, and names to things they signify and belong to?

Yours for Humanity, MORRIS EINSTEIN.
TITUSVILLE, Pa., Jan. 15, 1875.

[The only answer we can give to the above at present is to refer Mr. Einstein to the Index Tracts, "The God of Science" and "A Study of Religion: the Name and the Thing." We do not see that he has raised any points not already considered at length in those essays.—ED.]

AN APPEAL TO THE PHILANTHROPIC.

WELLINGTON, Kan., Jan. 3, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

As our "Christian" friends are receiving material aid, to be distributed among the suffering masses of our county, from different societies in the East, and as many poor mothers with large families of small children are still suffering for the common necessities of life, and without other and further help than yet seems to be presented will suffer still, I am constrained to appeal to our liberal friends through THE INDEX, in the hope that they too will lend to us of Sumner County, Kansas, such aid as their abilities and desires may prompt them to give, after considering the following facts and figures: Sumner County has a population of about six thousand inhabitants, the majority of whom are natives of the Eastern States. During the year 1873, the crop of corn (our staple) was a total failure. In consequence of this very little meat was fattened for use during the winter of 1873 and 1874, and the ensuing summer. Potatoes, and all other vegetables, were a total failure. Some winter wheat was raised, but not enough for home consumption until it is grown again. It will be, at least, six long months, before another crop will begin to assist our impoverished people in living without hunger; and not more than one in fifty families has sufficient provisions on hand to last them sixty days, or clothing to protect them from the cold blasts of winter, now upon them, nor money or credit to obtain the same from any source whatever. Stock of all kinds has to be wintered on hay, as there is no grain to give them; and though there are hundreds of acres of good ground under cultivation, and ready or the plough in the spring, very few can successfully cultivate it, for want of seed-grain and grain for teams, while ploughing, planting, and tending their crops. We have been credibly informed that three car-loads of provisions were donated in the State of Illinois for the sufferers of this county, and placed in charge of a good parson of the Methodist Church, to be shipped free to Wichita, Kansas; but this "man of God" sent these liberal donations to another county in this State, "where several Methodist societies were unable to be left without their respective ministers, if not relieved." The quotation is the excuse of this ecclesiastical scamp for his "pious fraud," by which these generous donors, and the sufferers to be relieved hereby, were cheated. The donation that would do

our fellow-citizens the most good, after the first of February next, would, in my opinion, be the means to purchase seed-oats for spring sowing. We cannot rely on corn grown in Northern latitudes for planting here. Spring wheat is an unsafe crop, while oats can be raised with less work for our poor teams, and are quite sure of good returns. Parties wishing to assist us in Sumner County may do so, without the fear of imposition, by conferring with Gov. T. A. Osborn, Topeka, Kansas, who will furnish directions for the application of all donations, through the Kansas Aid Society, with office at Topeka, agreeably to the directions of the donors.

Respectfully,
L. F. BLODGETT.

[Owing to the great number of manuscripts in our hands waiting for publication, the above appeal remained unread among them till this week—it being impossible to read them all immediately on receipt; and we greatly regret the delay thus caused. We can now only express our hope that the many wealthy readers of THE INDEX will be moved to respond promptly and generously to this call for their assistance, which we doubt not is sorely needed.—ED.]

A PROTEST, WITH AN ADDITION.

Most cordially do I unite with THE INDEX in its protest against the refusal of a court to admit the testimony of a witness merely because of his religious views. There must be a deep-seated superstition in our laws, if this is allowable. Surely there is something for liberals to do in behalf of perfect freedom.

How can one be declared to have no religious views who believes in the Infinite, Eternal, and Self-Existent? If one adds "Universe," instead of God, does that alter the fundamental conception? Call the Infinite God, or Universe, or Nature, or Law, or Matter, or Spirit, the same idea is at the bottom, the same adorable reality. All these terms are but vague human expressions of that wondrous mystery before which we all bow. I use the word God because it conveys more of its light and beauty to the mind. It is the fullest and grandest expression I can get. But if another uses the word "Universe," is his belief, his reverence, necessarily less than mine? That one should be thrust out of court as a witness because he uses a certain word to express the Illimitable is indeed a disgrace, not only to our law that makes it possible, but to a judge who so interprets it; for he must have a very shallow notion of religion.

But I wish to protest against the action of Woodhull, Claflin & Co. as the hugest disgrace of all. This notorious firm profess to be liberals of the liberals; and yet for the sake of a few dollars and cents they resort to the most shameful trickery. They raise a hue and cry for freedom, and yet violate its most sacred principles. What is the use of liberalism, if this is the end? Better stick to the old superstitions and be honest, than sweep the country with "new ideas," and have "chaos come again" where rascality wins the day. The popular impression is that Orthodoxy, even if false, conduces to morality: So long as that impression remains, so long will Orthodoxy remain, and liberalism will be left out in the cold; as it ought to be, if it cannot make men more honest than Orthodoxy. This is a radical trouble with liberalism. It is too much a mere hurrah for freedom. It is not a struggle for more honor, nobility, and manhood. Too many liberals cheat and lie, and do all sorts of mean things. Give us the grim morality of the Puritans, if we can have nothing better. Our modern sweetness and light are a shame, if they do not make us pay our debts fairly and squarely. John Calvin burning Servetus, with an intense conviction to back him up, is infinitely preferable to our "new lights" putting an "atheist" out of court as a witness for the sake of a mere legal advantage. The "Religious Freedom Amendment" is not the main thing, though of vast importance, nor perfect freedom, nor new truths, however glorious; but that liberals be honest, true, and regardful of the rights of others. If we have new truths, put them into new virtues, new nobilities, new honesties, new purities, and new excellences.

I would not condemn Woodhull & Claflin in the least for opinions honestly held and expressed; but if what Mr. Treat says is true, then I for one proclaim their liberalism a sham, and the less we have of that sort the better.

S. P. PUTNAM.

"TOO MUCH OF SPIRITUALISM."

SAVANNAH, Ga., Jan. 19, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Though a Spiritualist, I am also a constant reader of THE INDEX, and a special admirer of the fair and impartial manner in which the editor treats and allows to be treated all questions in its columns; but I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise that any one professing to be liberal could possibly give expression to sentiments so narrow and prejudiced as those breathed forth in the communication headed, "Too Much of Spiritualism."

The writer, with an egotism and self-complacency that present the double aspect of being ludicrous as well as lamentable, pronounces his imperial dictum against all the phenomena of Spiritualism, because, forsooth, it seems to his mind a foolish superstition; and because of occasional exposures of fraud and deception, he would, with one sweep of his mighty hand, dismiss the whole subject as unworthy of discussion in the columns of THE INDEX.

Now it is a matter of no concern whatever to intelligent Spiritualists, nor to the cause they represent, whether your correspondent believe or disbelieve in the constantly-occurring facts and phenomena of Spiritualism. The world is acquainted with a man

wiser and more learned than himself (Faraday) who said of tables rising, "It cannot be, it is impossible." But the facts stand, nevertheless; tables do rise without even so much as the touch of a human hand upon them. Thousands of reliable witnesses affirm the truth of these things, and it would avail nothing, as proof, though ten times as many of the dogmatic negations of ignorance and prejudice were arrayed against these facts. Nay, more; not only do these facts exist, but science utterly fails to explain or account for them upon any known scientific law. This is now being generally conceded; but as to whether the origin of the phenomena is a spiritual one, as claimed by Spiritualists, is yet an open question in the minds of many earnest investigators. But we repeat, as to the facts themselves, they exist beyond the possibility of doubt; and your correspondent displays not only ignorance, but a spirit of prejudice unbecoming a professedly liberal mind, in his wholesale denial of, and contempt for, phenomena that baffle the skill of science itself in discovering the laws which govern them. If, as this writer flippantly asserts, these rappings and table-tippings are foolish, we can consistently conclude that there is a great deal of foolishness in Nature; for in her fields phenomena constantly occur, the cause or use of which science fails to divine or to comprehend. But who dares to deny their existence, or that they serve some use in the laboratories of the universe, because human wisdom thus far fails to fathom them? Surely no reverent soul will presume to pronounce that a fraud, or a superstition, which involves a question of so grave importance as these phenomena involve; that is, the question of immortality. Feeling only a desire to vindicate the truth as it appears to me, I am, fraternally,

ELVIRA WHEELLOCK RUGGLES.

A "GLIMPSE."

One beautiful morning in June, I stood beneath a tall maple, admiring its beauty, and listening to the prattle of a seven-year-old boy whose questions in regard to God and Nature often put me to a stand-still for reply. Presently a large robin-redbreast flew to the top of the tree, and, swelling his little throat, sung forth in merry glee. This caught the attention of my little boy. He turned to his mother, who was coming into the garden, and said: "Mother, who made that robin? What makes him sing so?" "God made the robin," said the mother, "and the robin is praising him for this delightful morning."

We went to an arbor and sat down. The boy looked thoughtful beyond his years. In about half an hour the kitchen-maid came running into the garden, saying: "The robin had flown to the ground and was picking at the strawberry bed, when old Tom, the cat, was behind the rose-bushes, and sprang upon the bird, and was eating him." We all went to the spot where Tom, the cat, had the pretty bird weltering in its blood.

"Mother," said our blue-eyed boy, who was the first to speak, "Mother, who made Tom, our old cat?" "God made him, my child," replied the mother. "Well," said the child, "who made him catch our dear, darling birdie that was singing to God?" "Tis his nature to catch birds," said the mother; "God made him so."

The child's brow contracted; a peculiar movement of the curved lips showed the feelings within. His hands were raised to his little head, as he caught my eyes, and, looking me full in the face, he said: "I can't! I can't!" then, rushing up to me, whispered in my ear: "I can't love God." He was not old enough to say: "I cannot see any consistency in such things; I cannot reconcile them to my mind;" but the natural instincts of his nature, the law of love and goodness within him, a little one, was insulted by such answers from even his mother. How easy to teach such a child to cultivate the God within—the light that lighteth every mind!

MARY WARD.

WEST ACTON.

A PLAN FOR SECURING EDUCATED SUFFRAGE.

DEAR INDEX:—

The importance of the subject makes me ask a chance to say a word more about "Female Suffrage" and "Ignorant Voters." I think the whole problem would be solved, if all men and women who have the requisite age and length of residence, and are naturalized or native-born citizens, but are not already voters, could become so by appearing at the place of registry at least three months before the election, filling up in a printed form of application the blanks for name, place of residence, length of residence in that State and district, and date of birth, as well as of naturalization if not American-born; and then, after themselves writing out all this, reading aloud the completed form of application to be registered as voters.

This would enfranchise all women fit to vote, would disfranchise no one now voting except illiterates who change their residence, and would subject all men and women, not already voters, to precisely the same educational test.

It seems to me that female suffrage could be established as easily in this way as in any other, and much more advantageously, not only to the State, but to the sex.

F. M. HOLLAND.

A SCOTCHMAN went to a lawyer once for advice, and detailed the circumstances of the case. "Have you told me the facts precisely as they occurred?" asked the lawyer. "Oh, ay, sir," replied he; "I tell ye the plain truth. Ye can put the lies into it yourself!"

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Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India;" also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

Proceedings of Fifth Annual Meeting, 1872. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by J. W. Chadwick on "Liberty and the Church in America," by C. D. B. Mills on "Religion as the Expression of a Permanent Sentiment of the Human Mind," and by O. B. Frothingham on "The Religion of Humanity," with addresses by Rowland Connor, Celia Burleigh, Lucretia Mott, A. B. Alcott, C. A. Bartol, Horace Seaver, Alexander Loos, and others.

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Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains *verbatim* reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Sonnenschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Calthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity,—as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"—together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Keshub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. Wasson.

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Boston, Dec. 15, 1874.

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1875.

WHOLE No. 268.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSSES.

ALL of our readers, whether Spiritualists or not, will be interested to read Hon. Robert Dale Owen's letter among our "Communications" this week.

REV. E. E. HALE took Mr. Phillips' place last Sunday in the Horticultural Hall lecture course. His subject was "The American Theory of Government."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON protests against "caste schools" at the South. So must every citizen who wishes to "get the negro out of politics" in the only practicable way—by respecting all his rights.

THE PRESBYTERY of Louisville voted that Rev. Dr. Wilson should apologize to Rev. Dr. Robinson for outrageous personality; whereupon the culprit defiantly announced his intention of "waiting till the Day of Judgment"!

THE TOTAL military force at the command of Germany is 1,684,200 men; of Russia, 1,376,860; of France, 1,098,400; of Austria, 865,900; of Italy, 741,700; of England, 280,240. How far off appears the day of universal peace!

REV. J. S. DICKERSON (Baptist) preached his farewell sermon at South Boston last Sunday. At the close of the services "nine young ladies and a young blind man" joined the church, as the daily papers say with unconscious satire.

"A. G." has a capital article against tax-exemption in the *Hampshire Gazette* of February 2. Let every reader of THE INDEX who believes in the righteousness of repealing the laws which exempt church-property from taxation get a short article on the subject into his local paper. Such voices will be heard by thousands where THE INDEX never penetrates.

IN JUSTICE to Mr. Hallowell, we ought to have stated last week that he did not represent the "majority of the Northern people" as "White Leaguers." His article was on the "Boston White League" only, and was not intended to be of universal application; and as it was so fresh in the minds of our readers, it did not occur to us, as it should have done, to make any rectification on this point.

THE CHINESE have just celebrated their New Year festival in New York city, at their joss-house or temple in the Sixth Ward. "Wooden idols and heathen ceremonies" are said to have been prominent features of the occasion, which ended with a "grand opium smoke." Such things may be grossly superstitious, and worse; but the Buddhists have as good a right as the Christians to celebrate public worship in their own way.

THE TOWN of Concord, Massachusetts, proposes to celebrate the Centennial Anniversary of the "Concord Fight" on the nineteenth of April. George William Curtis, Esq., will deliver the oration; the President of the United States, and many other distinguished personages, are expected to be present. A bronze statue of a Minute-Man is to be set up on the spot where was "fired the shot heard round the world"; and various festivities will signalize the occasion.

THE *Congregationalist* says: "THE INDEX wants to know if the people are to accept the Bible, the corner-stone of Protestantism, as being also the corner-stone of the Republic? We so understand it." We doubt whether the *Congregationalist* understands itself, at any rate. Does it mean to say that the Bible is the foundation of the organic law of the land? That is what our question meant. If that is what the *Congregationalist* means to answer affirmatively, the Christian Amendment movement has gained a convert, and common sense has lost one.

THE NEW YORK *Graphic* of February 2 has an excellent editorial on "Atheists in Court," which states that "Mr. James Parton, the historian, Mr. Charles Moran, ex-President of the Erie Railway, Mr. Courtlandt Palmer, and other well-known gentlemen have subscribed a sum of money sufficient to test the legality and constitutionality of Judge McAdams' decision" in the case of Mr. Joseph Treat. We are pleased to notice that two of the above-named gentlemen, at least, are subscribers to THE INDEX; and we hope that their generous effort for equal rights will be crowned with success.

IN an inland town of California, it is reported that a certain man has become "converted," and recently made this touching speech at a church-meeting: "I have made up my mind to give my property to the service of the Lord. I have several thousand dollars in money, all of which I bestow on the church. I have some fine blooded stock, especially some Black Hawk horses, all of which I give to the church. I have also a lot of grain and farm produce, which in like manner I bestow on the church. There is but one thing in all my possessions which I reserve for myself, and that is my celebrated medicine for the cure of diphtheria, which I will continue to sell, as heretofore, for the moderate price of \$2 a bottle."

THE CIVIL RIGHTS bill which has passed the United States House of Representatives is good as far as it goes; but it ought to have been made to protect the right of colored children to attend the public schools. It is impossible to furnish separate schools of equal excellence for whites and blacks; the only way to secure the full benefits of school privileges to the negroes is to insist on their right to attend the same schools provided for the whites. Hence we regret the timidity which has prevented the Republican majority in the House from passing a thorough-going bill before the golden hour is lost. But the bill as it is is better than one sanctioning separate schools explicitly, and simply postpones the question to the future.

"I WILL freely confess," said Bishop Wilmer to the Louisiana investigating committee, "that I am not in favor of universal suffrage." That tells the whole story. There is a widespread conspiracy at the South to crush out negro suffrage, and it will succeed if the North does not do its duty. It becomes daily plainer that the rascality of Republican officials at the South is endangering the whole fruits of the war—that greed of office and plunder on their part threatens to create a disgust for Republicanism so deep and strong as to throw all political power into the hands of those who are determined, if possible, to annul the fifteenth Amendment. Whoever defends the Kelloggs and Returning Boards of the South to-day is directly contributing to this result. We must insist on equal rights and honest administration *both*, or there are terrible perils ahead.

THIS SENTENCE in the *Nation* of February 4 surprises us by its admission that Charles Sumner's doctrine of the territorial condition of the South at the close of the war was a tenable one, contrary to what was, we believe, the *Nation's* opinion at the time. It now admits that the government "could, in short, by either taking charge of the machinery of government at the South itself, or using its influence to throw it into the hands of the more intelligent portion of the community, and prevent its prostitution to the base uses of knaves and adventurers, have so lightened the evil results of the war that the two races might have drifted into amicable relations, and the negroes have learned their lesson in politics without associating power with plunder and corruption." The italics are ours. Would that Sumner's wise foresight had been possessed by the people ten years ago, and that the *Nation* had been as wise then as it is now on that point!

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[FOR THE INDEX.]

God in the Constitution, and the Bible in the Schools.

EXTRACT FROM A LECTURE DELIVERED IN THE CITY OF NEWCASTLE, PA., JAN. 4, 1875.

BY A. B. BRADFORD.

The next attainment which our century has made, not only for America but for the world, is a clear and correct view of the relations between Government and the Church.

The contrast between the European and American ideas on this subject is striking. The darkness of night is not more opposite to the brightness of the mid-day sun than these two theories of government are to each other. The doctrine in which Europe has been educated for many centuries is that, in the economy of grace, the State is merely subsidiary to the Church, and that this relation is settled by the voice of inspiration in Isaiah, xlix., 23, and its parallel passages, where it is declared for all time that "Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers; they shall bow down to thee with their faces towards the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet. Kings shall minister unto thee. And the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish." Upon these texts is built the doctrine imported into this country, and advocated with much zeal and ability by the Religious Amendment party, that the State is a person—a "moral person," and I might add, a good-natured, stupid person; that it has breasts full of milk; that it is androgynous in its gender,—that is to say, it is a hermaphrodite, combining the male and female sexes in one person; that its chief function is to suckle the Church, the father giving milk as well as the mother.

In illustration of this, take any of the governments of the Old World, England, for instance. On one knee, and tugging at one breast, this venerable dame called Great Britain, in her capacity of "nursing mother," has the Church of England on her lap. On the other knee she has the Church of Scotland, which, from the way she "lays to," is as fond of milk as her Episcopal sister. As there is not room enough on her lap for more than two, the Irish Presbyterians have a bone to pick with a little meat on it, thrown to them in the shape of *regium donum*.

The majority of the English people are Dissenters. That is, they are neither Episcopalians nor Presbyterians; but Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Catholics, who dissent from the religion established by law, and build their own meeting-houses, and support their own ministers; and in addition to all this, pay their share towards the expense of keeping the "nursing mother" in milk for the exclusive benefit of the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches; and this milk costs many millions of dollars every year. If any one rises up and cries shame at the Established Church for compelling dissenters and outsiders to give their money to support a church they don't believe in, the bishops and clergy reply in this style: "We are the Church of God; and is it not foretold and ordained of the Church, in the sixtieth chapter of Isaiah and sixteenth verse, not only that she 'shall suck the breast of kings,' but especially that 'she shall suck the milk of the Gentiles'—the outsiders? Did not the prescient eye of the Evangelical prophet rest upon the Church of England, when he assures her, in the closing chapter of his prophecy, 'that she may suck and be satisfied with the breasts of her consolations;' 'that she may

milk out, and be delighted with the abundance of her glory;' 'that the glory of the Gentiles shall be extended to her like a flowing stream' (*of milk*); and 'that she shall suck, yea, that she shall be borne upon her sides, and be dandled on her knees?'"

The effect, all over Europe, and in all past ages, of thus converting the Civil Magistrate, under the name of a nursing father and nursing mother, into a milk-giving animal, which, like a farrow cow, is always fresh, has been to make the Church alternately proud and cringing, haughty and mean, domineering and sycophantic.

Among the Protestant sects of the United States there is but one, the Reformed Presbyterian church, whose creed is the unexpurgated Westminster Confession of Faith, which makes the same claim upon civil government for money support on the one side, and ecclesiastical control on the other, that the Catholic Church does. In chapter twenty-nine of her "Testimony," which is superadded to the Confession, and equally binding upon her members, she declares that "it is the duty of the Christian magistrate to take order that open blasphemy and idolatry, licentiousness and immorality be suppressed, and that the Church of Christ be supported throughout the Commonwealth; and for the better discharge of these important duties, it is lawful for him to call synods, in order to consult with them; to be present at them, not interfering with their proceedings, but supporting the independency of the Church, and its righteous decisions, and preserving its unity and order against the attempts of such despisers of ecclesiastical authority as should endeavor in a riotous manner to disturb their proceedings." If any one is curious to ask what is meant by the phrase "Church of Christ," in whose behalf so astounding a claim is made, the answer is found in the formula of queries to be put to ministers and ruling elders at their ordination, where it is declared in the third section that "the Lord Jesus Christ, the only Redeemer and Head of his Church, has appointed one permanent form of ecclesiastical government; and that this form is, by divine right, Presbyterian."

Now, when our fathers of the American Revolution cleared away the rubbish of centuries, and laid the foundations of the Republic, after securing the union of the States, their next care was to divorce the State from the Church by an eternal and irrevocable decree. They declared that the government of the United States was neither masculine nor feminine in its gender, but neuter, and therefore, in the very nature of the case, could not nurse. Our body politic is not a person, but a thing; it has no milk organs developed; from the neck down it is as straight and as flat as a plank. Having no teats to suck, as Mr. John Bull has, of course it has no lap to dandle children on, and no lullaby to sing them to sleep when they are full.

In thus secularizing the government the founders of the Republic were actuated by two motives. In the first place, they wished to avoid in this country the bloody wars and persecutions which had been desolating Europe for a thousand years, all growing out of a union of Church and State; and which would inevitably be repeated here if they adopted the European idea that the State was a nursing mother with fine lacteal glands that never went dry; and that the church which had the most strength to fight for it could get the most milk.

In the second place, they had too much respect for religion to treat the Church as an infant to remain in the swaddling bands of babyhood forever, sucking its unnatural and poisonous nourishment from the breasts of the State. And does not time prove their judgment to be correct? Where on earth is religion more respected by the masses than it is in this country? In what nation of Europe has the Church, notwithstanding her divisions, reached such a stalwart growth? The reason is that here the Church is free. The government treats her as a full-grown person, able to take care of herself, and not as a sucking babe, incapable of standing on its own legs, and puling and puking in its nurse's arms. The Pope himself, if he were to leave his old headquarters at Rome, and establish his ecclesiastical power in New York, would be more free to originate and carry out his church plans than he is in Italy, or would be in any other State of Europe where the Catholic religion is established and supported by law.

The American idea is that government is a secular, soulless corporation, constituted for specific ends, like any other corporate body, and has nothing at all to do with religion or the Church, except to prevent any person from interfering with another in the expressions of his opinions, or in his worship. The name of God does not occur in the Constitution any more than it should in a railroad or bank charter; and President Grant's successor, if he were a Mohammedan, or a Buddhist, or a Parsee, or a Deist, or even an Atheist, could take the oath of office and administer the government. All this was done by our fathers, not because they were not religious—for no men ever had more faith in God, in Man, in truth, and liberty than they had,—but because the sole object of civil government was, not to meddle with religion, or dictate religious dogmas or ceremonies, but to protect from aggression the persons and property of all its people. I know no other way of accounting for the fact that the Catholic church, which is losing ground everywhere in Europe, where it dovetails with monarchy, and is supported by law, is making such rapid advances in this country where it is in deadly antagonism to all our free institutions, and has to support itself. Our Catholic fellow-citizens have found out that, unlike the governments of Europe, the government of the United States, as an incorporated body politic, has no organs which secrete milk, and no teats for the Church to suck; and, depending on their own resources, they are con-

scious of strength and independence, and are progressing in numbers and influence faster than any Protestant sect.

There are two objections brought to the American governmental theory I have laid down which are worthy of notice. The first, which is no doubt suggested at this moment by an hundred minds in this audience, is that government—State and national—exempts the Church from paying taxes on her property to the amount of more than three hundred and fifty millions of dollars yearly; and that this tax, which the owners of the property ought to pay themselves, has to be paid *pro rata* by the citizens as such. Yet, when a mob destroys a church building, which pays no taxes for protection, as other property does, the government is to make good the loss out of the public treasury. The explanation of this inconsistency is as follows: In the early settlement of this country the people were sparse and poor; and the States encouraged the various sects that were struggling for existence by exempting their churches, as well as institutions of learning, from taxation, never dreaming that the day would come before the close of the century that the amount of property thus exempted would be over three hundred millions of dollars. From official sources it appears that the value of untaxed

Church property in the United States in the year 1850 was.....	\$87,328,801
Value of church property in 1860.....	171,397,932
Value of church property in 1870.....	351,483,581
At the same rate in the year 1900 it would be..	2,835,868,648

Public attention, however, is now directed to this anomaly, and it affords me infinite satisfaction to state that the Rev. Dr. Hovey, a leading minister of the Baptist church, has declared against this tax-exemption as unjust to the rest of the citizens. Also, the Committee of the Illinois Methodist Conference, with a patriotism and a sense of justice which do them honor, have given, in their Report on the subject, ten reasons why church property, in consideration of its protection by the government, should, like every other kind of property, pay its taxes—thus effecting the complete disavowance of the Church and State, and the entire independence of the Church, as the best policy for both parties.

The other objection to the American theory of government as embodied in the Constitution is that millions of dollars are raised every year in the States for the benevolent purpose of popular education. To this I reply, that the money raised by taxation for schools is anything else than benevolence, although it is true that many persons who have no children to educate are largely and cheerfully taxed to educate the children of others. Our common school system is based on the principle that self-preservation is the first law of Nature for a government as well as a person. You might as well try to subvert one of the pyramids of Egypt, and make it stand on its apex, as to perpetuate a Republican government for six generations without diffusing knowledge among the people. In all countries the knowing classes are the rich, the healthy, and the virtuous; while the ignorant classes are the poor, the diseased, and the vicious. Statistics show that three-fourths of the disease, and more than half the crime, are among the poorer classes. Knowledge makes a man virtuous by teaching him that every violation of moral law is inevitably punished. It makes him healthy and happy by teaching him that a natural law is as much a law of God as a moral law, and that health and happiness are the rewards of obedience, while sickness, poverty, loss of character, and wretchedness, are the results of disobedience. Knowledge helps a man to wealth by teaching him the laws of trade, and opening up avenues to enterprise. Ignorance, on the contrary, has no aspiration to better its circumstances, and no power to do so if it had. It victimizes the masses in all countries, and compels them to do the drudgery of the knowing classes.

But in a Republic where every person votes, except women, idiots, and convicts, the masses of the voters must be enlightened, or the government degenerates towards a monarchy, where the king has a standing army to keep the people down, and where the Church, hanging on the breast of its "nursing mother," pays for the milk it sucks by fostering the ignorance, and consequent weakness and superstition, of the masses.

In this connection it is right to say a word on the proposition to introduce the Bible into the schools as a text-book. Remembering that we are an English-speaking race, there is no man of any scholarship who would object to the children of the public schools reading a chapter or two every day from selected portions of the Bible. King James' translation, which is the one in common use, is the best sample of standard English that we have. It is unsurpassed in the beauty and simplicity of its style. Besides, this English language of ours, better spoken in the United States than in the British Isles, is destined to be the universal language of the civilized world. Of course, then, as a literary and educational question, we would all agree to have it as a hand-book in the schools.

But it is a religious question. The Church of Rome repudiates our Bible, both as a translation and as to the subject-matter of it; and forbids her people to read it. As Protestants we make everything of the Bible, placing it before the Church, asserting its plenary inspiration and infallibility, and making it a reading book from infancy to old age. The Church of Rome, on the contrary, claims that she is nearer to Christ, and existed before the New Testament Scriptures were written; and that the rule of faith is in her, and not in them. The Catholics form a large part of the citizenship of the State. They pay their share of the taxes which support the schools. Is it fair, by making our Bible a reading-book, to expose their children to the danger of being Protestantized?

Suppose that in the State of Pennsylvania the Catholics outnumbered the Protestants. Would it be fair in them, because they had the numerical majority, to introduce into the schools their Douai Bible, including the apocryphal books which we reject, and thus run the risk of Romanizing our children? No doubt there is a terrible conflict to be waged with the Church of Rome in this country. She honestly believes in the infallibility of the Pope, and his absolute supremacy over all governments and persons, and that Protestantism is a rebellion against her authority which should be put down. She honestly believes that the education of children should be religious, and that her priesthood should have the control. Our Constitution does not recognize any religion or any church in the world as authority, and our government holds that public education is purely secular. Let us as Protestants adopt no principle, or policy, which, in case we get into a minority, will recoil, like a boomerang, and wound ourselves. Let us plant our feet on the principles laid down by our fathers, and make the divorce between the Church and State complete and eternal. Here alone are we invulnerable. If our Protestant children had no other chance in the world for reading the Bible except in the public schools, the question for some might take another phase. But when we have Sunday-schools and Bible classes innumerable, church reading of the Bible, and all the means of religious instruction at home, it is foolish to say that the Bible as a religious book is needed in the schools. And when we see what a mighty weapon of defence we throw away in the coming conflict by persisting that our Bible shall be read in the schools, it is not only folly but madness to do so. No; it is purely a question of sectarian polemics growing out of the old European quarrels between Catholics and Protestants, and imported into this country by both parties. The Protestant, in placing his version of the Bible in the schools, puts a chip upon his hat, after the fashion of rural bullies, and dares the Catholic, or any other comer, to knock it off. But I hope when our countrymen come to reflect upon the subject, they will allow wisdom and patriotism to triumph over folly and bigotry; and carry out the doctrine of the fathers, and confine the government, the schools, and the churches to their legitimate vocations.

GERRIT SMITH, OF PETERBORO.

BY HON. RUTGER B. MILLER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Whatever difference of opinion may exist in regard to the speculative philosophy, general theories, and practical results which characterize the brilliant personal career of Gerrit Smith, his most determined adversary in the field of controversy concedes to him the possession of the attributes of energetic activity, stimulated by benevolence, and guided by intellect, which combined to render his name eminently worthy of commemoration upon the calendar of the pioneers of progress.

Born in 1797, of Huguenot parentage, on the frontiers of civilization, in the county of Oneida, N. Y., and educated after the strictest order of the sect a Calvinist, he rose superior to his environment, and lived and died a gentleman, a scholar, and a philosopher. In this child of the forest, the love of freedom was organic, innate, invincible, and anarchical in its tendencies. The authority of established institutions, temporal and spiritual, was considered an obstacle rather than a guide in the path of progress, which he determined to demolish by the energy of his Herculean activity. Individualism was his creed—liberty, equality, fraternity, his political motto. Like Calvin, and other great reformers, he disorganized without reorganizing society; like the pioneers who levelled the forest and cleared the land, he left the task of social reconstruction to his successors, to whom he bequeathed his betterments. Like Joseph II., of Austria, he was an iconoclast, destroying the symbols of the social system of the Middle Ages, organized by Hildebrand, as well as the social system of the present day, without rebuilding the social system of the future, thus sacrificing order to progress.

The old Calvinistic church is reformed into a secular school well endowed, and the old academy is reformed into an asylum for children taken from the County Poor House, and placed for service as soon as they become capable of labor. These are the good works by which the Church of Reason is known in Peterboro; and they are the works of Individualism, of the author and finisher of the Church of Reason, which belongs to Gerrit Smith, whose love of freedom prevented him from belonging to any organized church or party. "Sworn to no party, of no sect am I"—was his motto.

But for this unconquerable love of freedom, the Church of Humanity, of Lyric Hall, would perhaps realize Mr. Smith's ideal of a church better than his own Church of Reason: for Mr. Smith was social and æsthetic in his temperament; cold, dry reason was not his natural element. He was emotional, affectionate almost to the feminine degree; hospitable, charitable, full of loving kindness, benevolence, and philanthropy, as is shown by his deeds rather than words. Had Mr. Smith been born some years later, he would probably have embraced the reorganizing Positive Philosophy of the nineteenth century, rather than the disorganizing Negative Philosophy of the eighteenth.

The purely literary and metaphysical character of the early education of Mr. Smith, at a period when the natural sciences were untaught in our academies and colleges, added to his early and wild associations with uncivilized and semi-civilized companions, stimulated an imagination of great power which required the mental discipline and training of a later period, not even yet rigidly applied in our educational sys-

tem. Poetry, romance, eloquence, rhetoric, oratory, added fuel to the flame of his romantic nature, and rendered purely scientific research unpalatable to a mind naturally independent, and never restrained by financial necessity or social discipline. Hence the extremes and the erratic tendency which characterized his political course, always leaning to virtue's side in his motives and intentions.

His ample fortune, inherited and acquired, enabled him to live in baronial seclusion; above and beyond habitual intercourse and contact with the world upon equal terms, thus aggravating the difficulties arising from early associations, and preventing the development of faculties which, but for this arrest, would have increased his power to do good, and diminished the catastrophes resulting from his premature efforts to reform abuses by remedies worse than the disease. Joseph II., of Austria, is the political prototype of Gerrit Smith, of Peterboro.

"The abilities of Joseph," says his biographer, "might have raised him to a high rank among modern potentates, if his judgment had been more mature and correct. But his spirit was so restless, and his rage so violent for reform, that he did not sufficiently consider the nature, tendency, or probable efficacy of his schemes, or examine how far one was consistent with another; and his disposition was so arbitrary that he would not condescend to adapt his innovations to the temper or wishes of his people, but seemed to think that his will and pleasure constituted an ample recommendation of all the projects or whims with which his brain teemed." At the close of his life, he said: "I would have engraven on my tomb—Here lies a sovereign who, with the best intentions, never carried a single project into execution."

The analogy between Joseph's expulsion of the nuns and the Jesuits, and the anti-dram-shop and anti-slavery movements of Gerrit Smith, is manifest to all candid and competent observers of human events. Frederick the Great, of Prussia, pursued a different policy. While equally opposed to Catholicism, in the abstract, Frederick's philosophy taught him to beware of attempting to disturb existing and long-established institutions, temporal or spiritual, until the ideas upon which these institutions are founded, enlightened by science, have become obsolete; when they will gradually, and spontaneously, and peaceably disappear, without political intervention. Frederick, who was a more profound thinker than Joseph, and a much older man, clearly understood that the social system should be organized in conformity with the spirit of the times, and of the existing state of civilization. Although an absolute monarch and a soldier, and even because he was such, he practised as well as enforced upon others the doctrine of submission to law, of strict discipline, and prompt obedience of orders. Acknowledging no "higher power," no supreme will, he did not substitute his arbitrary will and power as the guiding rule of his conduct in grave political emergencies. No sovereign was ever more intelligent or docile than Frederick as a philosopher, who thoroughly comprehended the meaning of the term *law*, in the most comprehensive sense of the word as defined by Montesquieu, in his *Spirit of Laws*, and equally comprehended the wisdom of submission to the inevitable as the only means of modifying the modifiable conditions of existence. In this policy he was imitated by Napoleon III., whose maxim was "*On ne détruit que ce qu'on remplace*." He only destroyed in order to replace. Catholicism being the basis of the feudal system, the corner-stone of his throne, Frederick did not deem it wise to demolish the foundation of the social system until he had secured a more reliable basis of operations; and the same is true of Napoleon III.

As Catholicism is the basis of the feudal system, slavery was the basis of union of the American colonies in 1776; and the policy of the abolitionists in 1834 was analogous to the expulsion of the Jesuits by Joseph, a policy which he revoked as a blunder worse than a crime. The policy of abolition was persisted in, and our constitutional social system founded upon slavery perished with it, leaving anarchy and a *de facto* dictatorship as the result of the philanthropic efforts of 1834 to ameliorate the condition of society, without even the semblance of an organic doctrine as a basis of reorganization of either Church or State; both of which were disorganized by the anti-slavery doctrine. How reconstruct the temporal and spiritual institutions of the social system of the future? Does the speculative philosophy of Gerrit Smith furnish any answer to this question? Can any of our political philosophers of theological or metaphysical tendencies furnish the answer? If so, let them furnish it now, or forever hold their peace! Let us have no more disorganization, until we are prepared with a scientific general theory and plan of operations as a basis of reorganization of our disorganized social system, in both its spiritual and temporal branches. If neither "self-evident truths" nor revealed truths furnish a solution of the "Gordian knot of policy," let us try the power of *demonstrated truths* before cutting the knot with the sword. Theological and metaphysical politics having failed, let us try scientific politics, as the only effectual means of reconciling the contending antagonisms of order and progress. When construction becomes the order of the day, we at once find the profound inanity of all those schools whose function it is to protest forever against Catholicism, the basis of the feudal system, while conceding and adopting its fundamental dogma as the basis of the social system of the future.

Of these schools, Gerrit Smith is an eminent representative, struggling against the practical and logical result of their own anarchical principles, which is military despotism. "So long as progress remains anarchical, order must continue despotic." The

President, having called in vain upon Congress for an organic doctrine of reconstruction for the South, resorts to military force to preserve order. Why does not Congress answer? Why not solve the social problem as well as the financial problem before adjournment? Let us have the *previous* question at once.

"The problem of political and spiritual organization, which is now the order of the day, is a far more difficult one than that of political and spiritual disorganization, requiring a scientific organic doctrine as a basis, derived from and furnished by the Positive Philosophy. The disorganizing and destructive doctrines of the negative philosophy of the eighteenth century are the necessary precursor and pioneer of the nineteenth. This problem is reducible to the rational construction of a political organic doctrine, which in the whole of its practical application shall be always fully consequent upon its own fundamental principles, and free from self-contradiction in its active execution, thus establishing logical harmony instead of incoherence in the troubled system of our ideas." (*Comte*.)

"Inasmuch as our political and religious and social difficulties spring from intellectual anarchy of opinion, rather than from our institutions, their treatment requires doctrinal rather than methodical remedies, and a modification of opinions, morals, and manners, prior to organic changes in our temporal or spiritual institutions, as a logical security of social order." (*Idem*.)

"Race and climate being the chief causes of social variations, arbitrary legislation can have no social efficacy, but so far as it is in accordance with the corresponding tendencies of the human mind produced by these causes. The action of one nation upon another, whether by conquest or legislation, can effect merely such modifications as are in accordance with existing social tendencies; the power of the individual over the race is subject to these general limits, even where the effects, for good or for evil, are as easy as possible to produce." (*Idem*.)

"Political science rightly understood, leading us on in the march of civilization, with as much exactness as the extreme complexity of its phenomena allows, to a systematic prevision of the events which must result from either a given situation or a given aggregate of antecedents, enlightens the practical politician, not only as to the tendencies which should be aided, but as to the means of avoiding the pitfalls into which indiscreet activity is liable to be deluded." (*Idem*.)

The spiritual and temporal power of the feudal social system being no longer an obstacle to free inquiry and private judgment, in this country at least; liberty, equality, fraternity being secured so far as to leave social forces exempt from despotic interference, temporal or spiritual, reorganization and reconstruction become the order of the day, instead of disorganization and destruction. The old primeval forest having been cleared away, society requires the shelter of systematic order to protect us from the anarchy incidental to the transition between the social system of the past and the social system of the future just dawning upon us. The architectural genius of a Hildebrand is now more needed than the demolishing agencies of the eighteenth century; but more to be desired than either is a scientific organic doctrine as the corner-stone and basis of the industrial régime of the arts and sciences. The feudal social system of Hildebrand, based upon war and theology, has been undermined and shaken to its centre by the constitutional régime, based upon the metaphysical dogma of self-evident truths as an organic doctrine.

The fallacy of this doctrine having been demonstrated, both *a priori* and *a posteriori*, during the past century, the crying need of the hour is the generalization of a scientific organic doctrine as the basis of social reconstruction, securing as a practical result order and progress to replace anarchy and despotism.

The close of Gerrit Smith's career, like the eve of a tropical day, was as brilliant as its meridian splendor:

"No pale gradations quench his ray,
No twilight dews his wrath allay;
With disc like bloody target red,
He rushes to his gory bed,
Fills the wide wave with bloody light,
Then sinks at once, and all is night!"

In accordance with his often-expressed desire, he died suddenly; without suffering, in the bosom of his family, and in peace with all. He died on the twenty-sixth of December, 1874, of apoplexy, at the residence of his niece, Mrs. Walters, Clinton Place, New York, surrounded by wife, and children, and grandchildren, nephews, nieces, and friends, by whom he was followed to the grave prepared by himself in Peterboro, Madison County, New York.

To the memory of this great and good man this humble and sincere tribute of respect, containing a dispassionate sketch of his philosophical character, is offered by a life-long political opponent and personal friend.

UTICA, N. Y., Jan. 10, 1875.

MANY years ago Elder Place was called to attend the funeral of an aged female parishioner. At the close of the services the surviving partner stepped forward to the casket to take one last look, and in a tone of regretful resignation gave utterance to the following remark:—

"Well, Betsey, you've been a good wife to me, and I'm sorry to lose you; but I've no doubt you're now sleeping sweetly in Beelzebub's bosom."

"No! no! brother," hastily interposed the astonished minister, "you don't mean that. You mean she is now sleeping in Abraham's bosom."

"Well, elder," rejoined the sorrowing man, "I don't know as it makes much difference whether it is Beelzebub or Abraham. I expect they are both very good men, for we read their names in the Bible."

"PHYSICIAN, HEAL THYSELF."

MY DEAR ABBOT:—

I have read with attention your "Appeal to those who Think and those who Dare"; also your more recent editorial on "The Conflict of Consciences." Will you grant me space in which to present somewhat different views?

1. In both of these editorials you are stating the general question of "Liberty and Light" as opposed to their opposites. You draw the line in the one as between Christian and anti-Christian; in the other, between Roman Catholic and Protestant. [No: between Roman Catholic and Radical.—Ed.] In the first your "appeal" is to all radicals to be "brave," so brave as to take an anti-Christian stand. You urge them to do this as "friends to liberty and light, science and civilization, truth, brotherhood, and humanitarian religion." You say, "I do but tell you where you are." Then you appear to assure them that in your judgment they are under the spell of a "mental delusion that paralyzes courage, deadens conscience, and darkens the eye of reason." Let me confess that this sentence reminds me of the old-time Christian admonition, "Believe, or"—take the consequences. It has that spirit of infallibility which, to say the least, is not persuasive and pleasing.

2. Imagine a conversation:—

A.—"B, shall I tell you where you are? You are anti-Christian in spite of your dreams to the contrary."

B.—"Explain."

A.—"Well, you are the friend of liberty. Christianity stands arrayed against liberty. If you are on one side, you are not on the other. Devotion to freedom makes us all anti-Christians."

B.—"That depends. With your interpretation of Christianity I should be anti-Christian. With my own, I am not."

A.—"But I say your interpretation is wrong. That is my point."

B.—"My point is that, consistently with my own, I am Christian. Rightly reported, I believe Christianity is liberty. Hence, to be anti-Christian, I must oppose liberty."

A.—"B, there is great intellectual and moral gain to ourselves and great increase of usefulness to the world at large in opening our eyes to the realities of things, and breaking the spell of a mental delusion that paralyzes courage, deadens conscience, and darkens the eye of reason."

B.—"Indeed—very likely. Do you apply the remark to yourself or to me?"

A.—"I mean no offence."

Of course you don't, Mr. Abbot. I understand that. But the tone of your editorial will suggest to many minds, I think, just this fatal conclusion: "Mr. Abbot is not so far outside of that worst phase of Christianity as he supposes."

I see well enough that A—to make A and B serve me a little longer—might go on to show that B's private interpretation of Christianity was of no consequence. "Christianity," he would say, "must be represented by the Universal Church, and not by private persons or factions; and, as thus represented, every friend of freedom must set himself as steel against it."

But what if B responds: "What I array myself against is intellectual and spiritual bondage, against slavery and slavishness of all kinds and descriptions. This was the meaning of Christianity. It has been betrayed in the house of its professed friends. I will oppose your 'Universal Church,' but not it. And I am not led to this position by 'private prejudices' nor 'preconceptions.' It is honest interpretation. As for being 'brave,' I do not raise the question. If I am under 'enchantment,' it is the enchantment of what I believe to be truth. Will not A confess a like bondage?"

3. Now I am not disposed to take sides in this controversy. Finding myself "outside" of all names, Christian, anti-Christian, Free Religionist, or what not, I strive to consider the matter impartially. I care little for names—names are misleading. I would scrutinize the thing named. If B is "Free Religionist Christian," and A is "Free Religionist anti-Christian," what does it signify, if only both are also devotees of "Liberty and Light"? If two men bring me a rose, I suspect it will smell as sweet as though they did not come disputing about its name. If they bring me liberty, I shall care little for "anti" or "not anti." They may split their logic as they please. I want liberty: thanks for that. So, on the contrary, if they come, the one saying, "I am Christian," the other, "I am anti-Christian," and both bring me something else in the place of liberty, I shall say, "Go your ways. I cannot be caught by a name." The test question is, "What are the things you prize?" Settle that, and you have practically settled all.

Human nature crops out in about the same fashion in whatever religion or no-religion, in whatever party or sect. Under the shelter of different names people act pretty much alike. The practical outcome of their lives does not vary so much. It is this naming, this sect-gathering, this party-ranging, that reduces all classes and professions to a common or similar pulp. To speak of the party of liberty is a misnomer, to my thinking. Party falls out with liberty very soon. Let B call himself "Christian," or "extra-Christian." If so be he sees the path of freedom and will persevere therein, he is, as I value him, of far more worth than A, unless A shall in like manner emancipate himself, however emphatic he may make the anti-Christian protest.

4. As regards what you have to say on "The Conflict of Consciences," I cannot well express the degree of my surprise. For the sake of carrying "com-

pulsory education," you appear to be whittling away all recognized principles of freedom. Rejecting Christianity formally, you practically adhere to the very essence of it, as you yourself have described it; so that the difference between your scientific religion and ecclesiastical religion lies only in the shade of color. Your scientific religion bristles with the same kind of coercive infallibility that has distinguished so often the Christian religion. You abolish intuitionism to set up scientificism, and its energizing power is the reserved bayonet. It is all very strange. But the evidence you have volunteered forbids doubt of your intent. Your motto is "Liberty and Light." Nevertheless the liberty and light of others you will set at naught. You justify the State in saying, "If you cannot do as I think best, I am sorry for it, but cannot excuse you. You must pay for what you get—that is, for what I think you ought to have, and propose to furnish." Had not the State better wait until it is asked before it offers its wares, and forces them on unwilling purchasers? "Pay for what I get," says the Catholic; "I get what I don't want." "Ah, but if you are a reasonable being," you reply for the State, "you will admit the justice of my decision." What is this State but the will of the majority? You should rather say "majority conscience" than "enlightened conscience." The "enlightened" part, in considering the question of freedom, you have no business to assume. It is the old, old story, the everlasting oppression of the weak which it is the business of the republic—such is the boast—to prevent.

See how the case stands. Your State says its duty is to see to it that society suffers no detriment; its mission is to defend itself. If it says, "I must have intelligence, and therefore schools and universal education," you eagerly tender your approval. If it says, "I must have intelligence and morality, I must have religion, in order to make my life sure and prosperous, and therefore I must establish both school-houses and churches," you think the liberty of the citizen is invaded, and at once propose a "Liberal League." You can go the school-house, but not the church. I am not saying which is best. I only remind you that there is a difference of opinion it will be well to heed. Others are as conscientiously opposed to your school-system as you are to a church-system. If the one system may be put through in spite of protesting consciences, so may the other. It is a game at which two parties can play with equal right. "Take heed, when ye think ye stand, lest ye fall." SIDNEY H. MORSE.

BOSTON.

ADDRESS OF HORACE SEEVER

AT THE DEDICATION OF THE PAINE MEMORIAL BUILDING, IN BOSTON, JANUARY 29, 1875.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I thank you for your very kind and cordial greeting; and I would observe, in behalf of our committee of arrangements, who have very kindly invited me to perform this pleasing service, that I most fraternally and respectfully bid you one and all a very cordial, hearty, and sincere welcome to our Paine Memorial Building and Home of the Boston Investigator.

I presume I have the honor and the pleasure of addressing an audience composed of different shades of religious belief. But that makes no difference here. You are none the less welcome on that account; for though we may be distinct in opinion, like the billows, I trust that in union or purpose we are one, like the sea. [Applause.] And so, whether you are Infidels, Atheists, Liberals, Materialists, Spiritualists, Free Religionists, Parkerites, Scientists, Evolutionists, Progressionists, Darwinians, Inquirers, curiosity-seekers, or any kind of Christians, native or adopted citizens,—whether you come here from motives of sympathy, desire for instruction, from curiosity, or amusement, we are very glad to see you [applause], and hope that you have come to pass the day and night with us, for we intend to make a night of it. [Laughter and applause.] You will please, therefore, in household phrase, make yourselves comfortable and at home. [Applause.] We here to-day keep open house. We say to nobody "go," but to everybody "come—witness our proceedings, and judge for yourselves what manner of people we Infidels are." We are not very popular at present; but, as we are growing, we can wait and bide our time, believing that one day it will come, because, my friends, we are actuated by the hopeful, cheering, and inspiring motto:—

"Bound to no party, to no sect confined,
This world our home, our brethren mankind,
Be brave, and just, and true to all,
Exalt the right though every 'ism' fall."

And therefore in the liberal spirit of the world-renowned patriot, author, political and religious reformer, whose birthday we have met to celebrate, and whose philanthropic motto was, "The world is my country, and to do good my religion," we meet here, as I trust, on common ground, engaged in a common object, for the benefit of a common humanity.

At last, after years and years of patient, arduous, persevering toil and struggle, of doubt and uncertainty, of hopes and fears, the Infidels of Boston, assisted by their brethren throughout the United States and elsewhere, have succeeded in erecting this splendid edifice in honor of Thomas Paine, the Liberal cause, and the Boston Investigator.

In this noted city of ours, as you are all aware, we have, in Faneuil Hall, what is called the cradle of political liberty. Here in the Investigator and Paine Halls, we hope to have the cradles of mental liberty, without which political liberty is scarcely more than a name, or a charm that lulls to sleep. [Applause.]

As Daniel Webster once said of the Bunker Hill

Monument, allow me to say of this temple of mental freedom: May it remain through future centuries; and as generation after generation come up here, let it always rise, as it were, to meet the sun in his coming, for like the sun it will shine for all. And long after we shall have passed from off the stage of action, may the rosy beams of the morning continue to gild its spires, and the last beams of day linger and play upon its summit.

By the unexpected and most generous bounty of our principal benefactor, James Lick, Esq., of California [applause], together with the donations of sympathizing friends from all parts of the country, we have been enabled to erect this handsome and stately edifice; and now, in the presence of these numerous witnesses, we dedicate it to Truth, to Reason, to Justice, Humanity, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity, Free Thought, Free Speech, a Free Press, to all the rights of man—and all the rights of woman also [great applause],—and to every useful and practical object that can ennoble and adorn, or contribute to the wisdom, improvement, and happiness of our race.

For upwards of forty years the Liberals or Infidels of Boston have been endeavoring to erect a building of this description. My learned and venerable predecessor upon our paper—the honest, the faithful, the incorruptible Abner Kneeland, whose name and memory deserve to be held in grateful remembrance by all the friends of freedom and humanity—attempted to erect in this city a Hall of Science; but it proved a failure, on account of his persecution and imprisonment for blasphemy. More than thirty-six years have rolled away since that event, but I think I see him now, in my mind's eye, as he stood up, a prisoner, in the Supreme Court, with his long, flowing white hair, and dignified and commanding presence, arguing with the serenity of a philosopher, or as the modern Socrates, before the fishmongers of our modern Athens, for the right of free thought and free speech. I also saw Mr. Kneeland when he was confined in the Leverett Street Jail, and as I conversed with him through his dungeon bars, I remember, as though it were but yesterday, that the oath of Jefferson irresistibly forced itself into my mind: "I have sworn," said he, "upon the altar of God, eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the mind of man." That oath has been to me like a warning and a guide, and I hope that in endeavoring, in my humble way, to follow in the footsteps of our martyred brother, I never have falsified that oath. But Mr. Kneeland's persecutors did not, however, make a Christian of him. No! As it is said of the fabled Jewish children that they passed through the fiery furnace unscathed, so he came from his cell with the same indomitable will and firm resolve, that neither bolts nor bars could break, or even bend. On his release, he left for another and a distant State, and soon after died. And I indulge in no extravagant language when I say, that the Western winds as they float over the prairies chant not the requiem of a nobler man than Abner Kneeland, the founder and the original editor of the Boston Investigator.

After his death, the project of a Free Hall was but little agitated for a number of years. But, as if in confirmation of the doctrine that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church—and of our church as well as others,—another friend set the ball in motion, and to him belongs the high honor of having originated this beautiful building. That friend is my life-long associate, most faithful, devoted, and untiring fellow-laborer, Josiah P. Mendum [great applause], whose many sterling virtues and merits no one knows so well as I do, and no one can possibly appreciate more highly. To him is due the credit of not only originating this stately building, but of sustaining, also, the Investigator and our Liberal bookstore as well.

And now, friend Mendum, old helper and comrade, our golden dream is realized, our ambition to-day is consummated. And since our Chairman has referred to Moses [laughter], allow me to refer to him, too,—odd as it may seem that we heretics should make any allusion to Moses. You remember it is said of him that he only had the satisfaction of looking over into the "Promised Land," but we, more fortunate than he, are on our land and in our building. [Applause.]

But I will not conceal the fact that we have had a long and difficult struggle. It is common among farmers, you know, when referring to a stubborn field, to say that they have "a hard row to hoe;" but then, as Paine said, in the Revolution, "The harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph. For what merit to be dropped on Fortune's hill; the honor is, to mount it." Ours has been an up-hill work, but we have got to the top at last. [Applause.] After almost forty years of incessant toil and struggle, when both of us have grown old and "fallen into the sere and yellow leaf," here we are to-day in the Investigator Hall!—a consummation that in our wildest dreams we could not have imagined. After all these long years of struggle, to know that we have triumphed at last, that now we "sit (as it were) under our own vine and fig-tree, with none to molest or make us afraid!" Like two old ships that have been long tossed upon a stormy sea, buffeted by adverse winds and waves, we at length come into a safe and quiet port, and can now say to the tempests of bigotry, superstition, and priestcraft, "You may roar and whistle now, for we have at last found a safe and pleasant home." [Applause.]

But of all those active friends, who, in the morning of our days, shipped with us, on our long and tedious voyage, you and I, friend Mendum, are almost the only two that remain. And as I look around for the old familiar faces, I think on more than I behold, and I can realize something of the feelings of him who "treads a banquet hall deserted." But this is life, and in view of the thought I

can hardly help exclaiming, in the lines of a religious poet:—

"Thank Heaven! no seer unblest am I,
Before the time to tell,—
When next the fleeting year goes by,
For whom the bell again shall swell.
The hoary Mower strides apace,
Nor crops alone the ripened ear,
And we may miss the merriest face
Amongst us, 'gainst another year.
Whoe'er survives, be kind as we have been,
And think of those who sleep beneath the green."

Our brothers who have fallen by the way should not be forgotten; but while we treasure up their names and memories "within the book and volume of the brain, where every day we turn the leaf to read," we are cheered and encouraged with the thought that we still have the kind wishes of at least some of the living. These generous friends who were present at the laying of the corner-stone of our Temple, are here to-day at its dedication, and they show by their presence and respectful attention that you and I are not alone, and that we have not entirely labored in vain. You, my friends, let me venture to say, will be true to yourselves, and help us to carry on the Liberal work for which we have toiled for so many years; and therefore, in conclusion, let me hope that as future generations come up to this Hall they may find, after our work has been done, and we have passed from among the ranks of the living, that

"Here shall the press the people's rights maintain,
Unawed by influence, and unbribed by gain.
Here shall the press its glorious precursors draw,
Pledged but to Reason, Liberty, and Law."

And that then, as now, the general invocation shall be:—

"Spirit of Freedom, on!
Oh! pause not in thy flight
Till every land is won
To worship in thy light.
On! till throughout the earth
Thy name shall honored be,
On! till thou reign'st supreme,
Man's heritage by birth."

—Boston Investigator.

SUICIDES FROM RELIGIOUS INSANITY.

These clippings from recent English journals are kindly forwarded by an English subscriber to THE INDEX:—

DR. LANKESTER ON TRACT READING.—Dr. Lankester held an inquest yesterday at the Prince Alfred Tavern, Camden Town, on the body of Frederick John Willis, aged sixteen years. Deceased, an orphan, had been ill since Christmas, and until Saturday, the 15th inst., had been in the infirmary at Highgate. On that day, although he spoke in high terms of his kind treatment, he insisted on taking his discharge, and went to his brother's home in Equitable-buildings. He then seemed very comfortable. His brother left him at night time to attend to his business. On returning about midday on Sunday he was surprised to notice a strangeness about him. They went to bed, and about eleven o'clock the brother was awoke by hearing a noise like the dripping of water. On looking into the next room he saw deceased lying in a pool of blood near the fender, with a gash across his throat, and a razor by his side. Notwithstanding every exertion, the hemorrhage could not be stopped, and he expired from the effects of the wound. On the Saturday, when left, he was reading tracts which had been given him by a missionary. These tracts were shown to the coroner, who said that, in his opinion, they would affect a person suffering like the deceased. A verdict of "suicide while in a state of unsound mind" was returned.

SUICIDE FROM RELIGIOUS MANIA.—A girl named Mary Leigh, a domestic servant in the service of Mr. Allenboro, near Peterborough, has committed suicide under rather peculiar circumstances. From the evidence of one of her fellow-servants at the inquest, it appeared that the deceased was very quiet in her manner, and was frequently seen to be much affected while reading the Bible. Without there being anything in her manner leading to an apprehension of such an occurrence, she rose in the night and drowned herself in a pond close to the house. A verdict of "suicide while in a state of insanity" was returned.

"OLD BENDIGO," THE CONVERTED PRIZE-FIGHTER.

This is from a report of a meeting of London cabmen. "Bendigo" is the *alias* of a converted expugilist and prize-fighter, whose real name is Thomson. His *nomme de ring* was adopted from his style of fighting:—

"The hymn was a well-known one with, as given out by the preacher, an alteration in the second line thus:—

"Praise God from whom all blessings flow,
Praise him for brother Bendigo.

"At the outset Bendigo's enthusiasm was somewhat misdirected, as manifested at an infidel meeting he attended in company with his sponsor. 'Who's them fellows on the platform?' said Bendigo to Jim. 'Infidels,' said Jim. 'What's that?' queried Bendigo. 'Why, fellows as don't believe in God or the devil.' 'Then come along, and we'll soon clear the platform,' said Bendigo, beginning to strip. 'His address, though occasionally marked by those grotesque touches which characterized the remarks of the two preceding speakers, was also not without its pathos. 'I've been a fighting character,' he said, and this was a periphrastic way of referring to his old occupation in which he evidently took great pleasure, 'but now I'm a miracle. What could I do? I

was the youngest born of twenty-one children, and the first thing that was done with me was to put me in a work-house. There I got amongst fellows who brought me out, and I became a fighting character. Thirty years ago I came up to London to fight Ben Caunt, and I licked him. I'm sixty-three now, and I didn't think I should ever come up to London to fight for King Jesus. But here I am, and I wish I could read out of the Blessed Book and I could talk to you better. But I never learnt to read, though I'm hoping, by listening to the conversation around me, to pick up a good deal of the Bible, and then I'll talk to you better. I'm only two years old at present, and know no more than a baby. *It's two years ago since Jesus came to me and had a bout with me, and I can tell you he licked me the first round. He got me down on my knees the first go, and there I found grace. I've got a good many cups and belts which I won when I was a fighting character. Them cups and belts will fade, but there's a crown being prepared for old Bendigo that'll never fade.*"
—English paper.

A GERMAN writer told the newspaper readers of Vienna, a short time ago, about a religious play he saw last year in a village in Tyrol. In the first scene was God the Father, clad in a grotesque costume, wearing big leather gloves, and walking up and down on a rainbow, at one end of which was the sun, and at the other the moon. The Creator was smoking a pipe, which he occasionally lit at the two heavenly orbs, soliloquizing all the while. He declared himself very well satisfied with the work he had already done; he had made the world out of nothing, now he would try his hand at making the image of himself. Thereupon came an angel, bringing a huge lump of clay. God the Father put his pipe out of the way, and then with his gloved hands began kneading the mass until he had made a form as near resembling a man as he could make it. Then, after some further manipulations, behind some shrubs, the mass was rolled out again, and God the Father just gave a whiff of breath, and up jumped Father Adam—a handsome youth of the village, scantily clad, who began to dance about on the stage, at which God the Father took up again his pipe and began philosophizing about how he should make the woman. This feat, too, was accomplished in a successful manner by cutting her out of Adam's rib, in the true Biblical method. The play was entitled *The Creation*.—English paper.

THE ABODE OF A HERO.—Just read how Garibaldi lives at Caprera. He has only three persons with him on the island. First, Monsieur Basso, an old friend and companion in arms; next, a countryman about twenty; and lastly, an old female cook. His dwelling, as is known, is of the most simple kind. The principal room, that occupied by himself, contains only a fireplace, a bed, a few chairs and a sideboard, and in a corner a heap of books. There is also a plaster bust of Colonel Nullo, who died in Poland, and a large portrait in oil of the American General Flores. This is the richest chamber of the house. The island produces plenty of almonds, figs, and grapes, but only a few orange and lemon trees transplanted thither by Garibaldi and cultivated by himself. Goats abound, and there is a considerable number of wild cats. In this kind of seclusion the hero of many revolutions is passing his days. He still retains the fierce and impetuous ardor of early life, which partly explains why he has not long since yielded to the heavy bodily afflictions which have come upon him. Mazzini and many of his other comrades are gone. He must apparently soon follow them.—Morning Star.

A BLOCK IN Dubuque, Iowa, known as the "Bishop's Block," covered with residences and business houses, is owned by the Roman Catholic bishop. Claiming it to be exempt from taxation, he refused to pay taxes upon it. In due time it went the way of other delinquent property, and was sold to a man named Hintrager. Now the bishop is likely to give about half his block to get a clear title to the remainder. The Northwestern University (Methodist) owns several hundred acres of land in Cook County, Illinois, on some of which are built valuable business blocks. It also owns a large area in Evanston which has never paid taxes. The county treasurer having claimed judgment for unpaid taxes upon this property, the university resisted. But the county court decided that under the State constitution no exemptions apply excepting upon property used exclusively for education, and all property held for profit must be taxed. An appeal has been taken to the Supreme Court, which can hardly stretch the exemption principle over property held purely for gain, filching from the people at large to benefit some peculiar creed or organization.

THE *Saturday Review* bestows the following handsome notice upon one of the popular novelists of the day: "The years come round with their appointed regularity, and we know pretty well what we have to expect. Flowers in spring, weeds in autumn, a transcript of real life told in choice English by George Eliot, a novel of impossibilities hammered out in dubious syntax by Mrs. Henry Wood, larks in the sky, frogs in the pond—we know them all, and accept all with thankfulness or resignation, according to their respective deserts. As for Mrs. Henry Wood's novels, the wisest thing that we can do now is to receive them with resignation. We have done our best to induce her to reconsider her ways, and give the world good work instead of bad; but it is in vain. Mrs. Wood is an institution which changeth not; and mean ideas, vulgar diction, wooden characters, and

absurd sensationalism come in regularly as part of the produce of the year."

THE other day a minister offered prayer at the laying of a corner-stone. A brisk young reporter bustled up and said: "I wish you would give me the manuscript of that prayer." "I never write out my prayers," replied the preacher. "Well," said the reporter, "I couldn't hear a word you said." "I wasn't praying to you," quickly responded the parson.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE MODERN MISSIONARY.

BY MARION V. DUDLEY.

O white wings flying eastward,
O white wings flying west,
O steam-throats speaking blessings
Across the ocean's breast!
Ye are the mighty agents
That link our human hands,
And preach a common heaven
To near and distant lands.

Fair COMMERCE!—groveling priestess,
They say who know thee not,—
Thy rising fame shall brighten
Till darkness is forgot;
Earth ever crowns the victor
To whom is honor due,
And hands must twine the laurel
Who plant for thee the rue.

Sweep on, O stately Priestess,
Speed swift from main to main!
Not King nor Nation scorneth
To swell thy splendid train;
The poor ones rise to bless thee,
The lowly and the proud
Alike shall send before thee
Their acclamations loud.

Thou muse of future poets,
Thou prayer we've prayed so long!
Speed on to swift fulfilment
The vision and the song:
Upon the mighty headlands
Where prophet's rainbows play,
Behold, we catch the dawning
And glory of thy day.

Thy silent voice, firm-speaking,
Swung wide the ponderous doors
That hid the sleeping nations
On Oriental shores:
Pacific's "Island Empire"
Unclosed her almond eyes,
And met the new effulgence
With radiant, glad surprise.

And tawny-skinned Celestials,
Behind their mouldering wall,
Shook off their poppy slumber,
And answered to thy call:
Old India, torpid, drunken
With wine of elder years,
Revives to sing the music
Thou'rt sounding in her ears.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 6.

George W. Schull, \$1.35; J. R. Hawley, \$4.20; Chas. T. How, \$30; G. H. Foster, \$1.95; John Verity, 25 cents; M. J. Savage, \$2; T. M. Lamb, \$13.20; J. Haskins, 70 cents; J. J. Hoopes, \$2.10; E. S. Barrows, 50 cents; W. E. Lukens, 35 cents; M. T. James, 50 cents; W. T. Phelan, 30 cents; E. C. Towne, 70 cents; R. D. Owen, 50 cents; George Iles, 50 cents; W. H. Spencer, 50 cents; J. Brockway, \$2.25; Richard Owen, 25 cents; Dr. Finlayson, \$2.15; American News Co., \$8.90; Col. Forlong, \$1.70; E. D. Schull, \$1.60; W. W. Justice, \$3.20; S. C. Mason, \$3; Henrietta Hyde, \$3.20; W. T. Allen, \$3; W. A. Jenkins, 20 cents; J. W. Fowler, \$3; Daniel Cony, \$1.60; Henry Baething, \$3.20; Anna Dorman, \$3.20; A. B. Swaine, \$3.20; C. M. Matthews, \$3.10; D. B. Harris, \$3.25; Andrew Moodie, \$3.20; H. W. Aldrich, 25 cents; E. P. Hassinger, \$3.20; H. P. Clarke, \$3.20; E. P. Pond, \$4.40; O. H. Bailey, \$2.50; Chas. H. Smith, \$3.20; S. Webster, \$3.20; D. B. Morton, \$3; B. W. Franklin, \$1.50; F. Adler, \$3; E. P. Wright, \$3; George O. Basington, \$3; Jacob Miller, \$3; E. C. Hart, \$3; J. A. Tite, \$3; Elmer Adams, \$10; Mrs. B. F. Tenney, \$3.20; J. S. Perry, \$3.20; H. C. DeLong, \$3.20; Mary Osborne, \$3.20; J. J. Nichols, \$3.20; W. H. Aldridge, \$3.20; N. B. Harrington, \$3.20; C. A. Smith, \$2.50; John Briggs, \$3.20; M. E. Marten, 20 cents; J. Mehrin, \$3.20; A. A. Reed, \$3; M. D. Wade, \$3; G. A. Lane, \$3.20; J. Hurst, \$3.20; H. G. Boynton, \$3.20; J. E. Emerson, \$1; J. T. Thornton, \$3.20; H. Molineaux, \$3.20; M. A. Marsheed, 30 cents; H. E. Parsons, \$3; H. W. Henning, \$6.20; S. T. Douglas, \$3.20; J. Stevenson, 50 cents; A. H. Brockway, \$3.20; J. Cowan, \$3.20; Benj. Fish, 10 cents; C. B. Moore, \$3; H. M. Hastings, 20 cents; T. M. Hart, \$3.20; H. C. Hurd, \$3.20; S. B. Fuller, \$3.20; B. W. Parker, \$1; George Richardson, 75 cents; J. Singer, \$3; A. G. Waltze, \$3; Israel Betz, 75 cents; D. H. Clark, 30 cents; C. M. Wilson, 25 cents; Sarah L. Hawly, \$1.50; S. P. Putnam, \$5; W. W. Baker, 75 cents; H. H. Chase, 75 cents; Chas. E. Pratt, \$10; W. H. Hamlin, \$3.20; F. L. Hosmer, \$3.20; H. Lowry, \$3; W. Hanaford, \$3.50; J. T. Muller, \$3.30; J. C. Mearns, \$1; T. M. Day, \$3.20; C. H. Shepard, \$3.20; Frank Cheney, \$3.20; D. Lyman, 25 cents; N. M. Mann, \$3.20; G. H. Goddard, \$3.20; W. H. Jenkins, \$3.20.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 11, 1875.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
ABRAM WALTER STEVENS, Associate Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E.
D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRAN-
CIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), Editorial Contributors.

In the article of last week on "A Social Nest of Snakes," it should have been said that "Margaret" was left adrift, not seventy, but one hundred and seventy years ago. The evident error in the account which we followed escaped notice till too late.

THE *Woman's Journal* of January 30 quotes a long passage from the article in THE INDEX of January 7 on "Large and Small Families," and attributes it to "a lady correspondent of THE INDEX"! Is it possible that our neighbor does not yet know that "A. W. S." are the initials of Mr. Stevens? We can certify that he is not a "lady correspondent," but very much of a gentleman; is the *Woman's Journal* enough of a lady to correct the mistake, and give honor to whom it is due?

THE *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* for January, 1875, is very true to its name, being filled with articles on the highest philosophical themes, with one or two artistic subjects treated in the same method. Mr. Alcott gives a series of extracts from old philosophers, whose thoughts he has made his own so fully that we seem to hear his voice in all of them. Mr. Snider gives us one of his curiously analytical and unpoetical criticisms of Shakspeare's "Winter's Tale;" and Mr. Chapman a discussion of Beethoven's "Sonata Appassionata." Readers acquainted with the philosophical circles of the West will be interested to see the notes taken at the sessions of the Jacksonville, Ill., Plato Club, embodying the views of their leader, Dr. H. K. Jones, on the Immortality of the Soul; while the metaphysical student will turn to "The Theory of Cognition" and Mr. Harris' article on Trendelenburg and Hegel. The short reviews are brief and comprehensive. This new number of the ninth volume of the *Journal* well maintains its reputation, which is now widely extended. E. D. C.

AGAINST our statement that Christianity and Freedom are irreconcilably antagonistic, the *Independent* of February 4 quotes Fitzjames Stephens, editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, who predicts a future alliance between the Roman Catholic Church and the Democracy of Europe, anticipates that this Church will strike for a coalition with the democratic and socialistic organizations now so strongly arrayed against it, and refers to the fact that Jesus was a carpenter as a basis of appeal to the working classes. Also Mr. Stephens alludes to the well-known fact that the mediæval bishops often sided with the common people against the feudal barons and kings. If the *Independent* imagines that there is any information in these trite references, it is greatly mistaken. On the other hand we urge that a carpenter who claims to be absolute Lord and King of all mankind by Divine right is not much of a democrat, and is very unlikely to be made standard-bearer by any democratic party not already gone to seed; and that, like the kings of France, who sided with the people in order to break down the great lords that were the chief obstacle to their own despotic sway, the Roman Church is ready at all times to abet the revolutionists in destroying the modern State, in order to pave the way for its own supreme temporal and spiritual power. But Louis XIV. and the French Revolution that was the reaction against the successful despotism he established show how insincere is this pretence of secular kingcraft to befriend the common people; and if the Roman Church should equally succeed in its attempt at cheating the democrats of Europe, a new and more frightful revolution would expose the hollow pretence that a religion founded on ecclesiastical kingcraft is or can be friendly to popular liberty. The *Independent* has with astonishing readiness fallen into the trap set by Fitzjames Stephens for all simple-minded liberals; for every well-informed person knows that he is an enemy of modern democracy, even as exemplified in the established institutions of this country.

THE APPEAL TO FACTS.

MY DEAR MORSE:—

Your letter is published in another column of this issue of THE INDEX, and I thank you for its keen and friendly criticism. I know you well enough to be sure that you want a reply as frank and direct, and, without devoting space to unnecessary expressions of the great friendliness and respect I cherish towards you, will begin at once.

1. You find in recent editorials of mine "that spirit of infallibility which, to say the least, is not persuasive and pleasing;" and which "will suggest to many minds just this fatal conclusion: 'Mr. Abbot is not so far outside of that worst phase of Christianity as he supposes.'"

Now I will confess my disappointment at finding myself continually baffled in the attempt to concentrate attention on facts and truths which are wholly independent of my own personality. That seems to me to be my private affair, and not at all profitable or interesting to the general public. But if it will give you or any one the faintest satisfaction, I forthwith surrender at discretion; I plead guilty to the indictment; I confess myself to be insufferably dogmatic, arrogant, opinionated, conceited, vain, puffed-up, despotic, intolerant, self-sufficient, presumptuous, egotistic, a very monster of pretentious infallibility and papal absurdities of all sorts. Not that I am conscious of any one of these things, for I am not. But I am willing to take them all for granted as sins of mine that are patent to all the world except myself, for the sake of putting a stop to an irrelevant discussion in the shortest possible way. So far as the main point is concerned, I don't care a button whether the charge is true or false. In the private confessional of my own conscience, perhaps I care a great many buttons whether or not I am falsifying my own principles in practice; but, the question being one of the real relation of radicalism to Christianity in general, I shall keep my concern to myself. So I confess that I am as much of an infallibilist as you imagine, sunk up to the very eyes in "that worst phase of Christianity." But what of it? Does that confession prove that radicals are not anti-Christians by the intrinsic necessities of their radicalism? I do not see any "fatal conclusion" about it; for, notwithstanding all my mountainous pretensions so unreservedly confessed, I cannot see that the settlement of the general question has anything to do with what I am or am not.

Suppose I come to you in your studio, and tell you that the house is on fire. You "guess not." I repeat with earnestness that it is on fire; that I have seen the flames, and that there is no time to be lost. You then inform me that there is a "spirit of infallibility" in my remarks not "persuasive and pleasing," and pathetically intimate that I am a "Christian," after all. To this I shall only say: "Very well—I waive that point, and confess you have not told half the horrid truth about me. But nevertheless be so good as to step into the hall, and smell the smoke for yourself. We will discuss the infallibility question afterwards." Now I submit that the only vindication I want is your perception that *the fact is as I state it*. If it is, you will not care to press the charge of infallibility; if it is not, you will be justified in adding several other charges to it. All I want is to secure the *appeal to facts*, and the withdrawal of attention from all personalities that obscure them.

2. Your imaginary conversation between A and B, in which A speaks for me and B speaks for any one who holds that "Christianity is liberty," is not conducted on A's side with quite the uncompromisingness that I should recommend. After B's statement that "Christianity is liberty," you make A quote a sentence of mine about "mental delusion;" and when B inquires, "Do you apply the remark to yourself or to me?" you make A stammer out, "I mean no offence—" Now, if I were in A's place, I should not so shrink the responsibility of my convictions. I should say to B: "I apply the remark directly to *you*. When you tell me that 'Christianity is liberty,' I do not hesitate an instant to pronounce that opinion a 'mental delusion' that paralyzes courage, deadens conscience, and darkens the eye of reason." I have not the slightest wish to give you offence, I assure you; but I tell you what I see to be truth, and, if you choose to take a causeless offence at me instead of appealing to the facts of the case to find out whether it is a 'delusion' or not, I shall of course be sorry for the stubborn prejudice and total carelessness of truth you manifest, but shall not pretend to be sorry for any fault of mine in simply tell-

ing you the truth as it is." That is the very bigoted, arrogant, and "infallible" reply I should make to your B; I should not be induced to retract, modify, or apologize for a single syllable of the sentence you quote; I should stand by my convictions and take the consequences, hoping that B would take a fresh look at the facts, but not being disturbed if he preferred to berate me for telling him what I see to be true. And, further, I should know that nobody would consider my course as either disrespectful to B or arrogant in itself, who can discriminate between *intense conviction* and the *assumption of infallibility*; for recognition of the rightfulness of appeal both from B and from myself to the facts which both B and myself are equally bound to respect is inconsistent with the assumption of infallibility, which denies the rightfulness of the appeal to facts. Whoever admits that his own conclusions are not final, however strongly convinced he may be of their truth, and submits them to the test of facts, holds ground diametrically opposite to that of all pretenders to personal infallibility; namely, the ground of SCIENCE.

This brings me to the chief point in this part of your letter. You assume that B has a valid right in reason to plant himself on his own "private interpretation of Christianity" as distinct from the "Universal Church," and to plead that the sanctity of this private interpretation protects it from criticism or challenge. You assume that A is silenced, if B declares that he arrays himself against bondage and on the side of liberty, admits that bondage *was* the meaning of Christianity but is so no longer, and therefore sides with liberty when he sides with Christianity. This ground you treat as impregnable, because evidently B has, in your opinion, a right in reason to make his own interpretation of Christianity and to deny any obligation to submit this private interpretation to any superior tribunal.

Now I must hold that this position of B is totally indefensible, and that A is not at all silenced by it. I admit that B's private interpretation is just as good as A's, if men are forever tied up to private interpretations and cannot get beyond them; and I admit that, if A had only his own private interpretation to set over against B's, he could not insist on the truth of his own without making in reality an assumption of personal infallibility. This you imagine I do; this you imagine gives a "spirit of infallibility" to what I have said; and thus you wholly misunderstand the position I really take. But my ground is quite different. Although B's private interpretation of Christianity is just as good as A's, and A's just as good as B's, I hold that neither can be held as valid in reason until submitted to the test of facts and verified by observation and experiment. I appeal from the private interpretations of both A and B to the universal criterion of science. When B so confidently sets up his own private interpretation as an impregnable fortress, A will not set up a rival fortress of his own; he only points out that reason permits no such sacred refuges anywhere, and binds us all to submit to the test of facts. When B declares that Christianity *was* bondage, but is liberty, and (to make good his paradox) asserts that Christianity "has been betrayed in the house of its professed friends," namely, the "Universal Church," A responds that this can easily be settled by observation and experiment. History, which is only the record of human observations long continued, knows nothing of a Christianity which is not in the Church; experiment, applied to the world of modern life, fails to discover it. When B gives up the Christianity of the Church, he gives up his hold on facts, and loses himself in the clouds of his own imagination. Observation and experiment, historical study and philosophical analysis, find that Christianity is the religion of Christians, and the totality of Christians constitutes the "Universal Church." Not only would A deny possessing a private interpretation of Christianity to offset B's, but he would submit all his conclusions on the subject to the test of facts, which is the test of science; and he would hold himself at all times ready to accept the results of scholarship, criticism, and scientific historical investigation, as the standard by which all his own thinking must be judged. If B has anything to urge in rejoinder, it does not appear in your imaginary conversation.

3. You entirely misconceive the point of the editorials you are criticising, if you suppose I care anything for names except as the signs of things. But I do hold that the names belong to the things, and that private interpretation has no right to disjoin them. You say that you "find yourself 'outside' of all names;" yet you say you "care little for names."

To my thinking, the pains you take to stand "outside of all names" shows quite as profound a concern for them as I have, who profess no unconcern for them, but strive to use them accurately. Are you "outside" of all things as well as names? If not, other people will see that the names of the things you are not outside of belong to you, notwithstanding your disclaimer. You say you are for liberty. Very well: I have no wish whatever to foist any name upon you to which you object. But just so far as you act for liberty the thing, you act against Christianity the thing (as the whole world knows it, excepting only the sporadic B's who think they know more than the whole world). Using the name Christian of all those who act for the thing Christianity, as observation and experiment have made it known, and the name anti-Christian of all those who act against it, how can I help seeing that, scientifically considered, you belong to the latter genus? The botanist does not ask the consent of the plants he classifies; he assigns them exactly the place in the vegetable kingdom to which they are assigned by their organic structure and relations. The philosopher, the historian, the student of opinions, can do no otherwise; and I should as soon protest against being seen as against being named by them. I don't care enough for names to stand outside of them all—which is impossible unless I stand outside of the things they signify; it quite satisfies me if I am only classed where I scientifically belong.

But you say: "To speak of the party of liberty is a misnomer, to my thinking. Party falls out with liberty very soon." Nevertheless, all who act for liberty act together, in a large way; and in a large sense they constitute a party of liberty. As a matter of fact, the liberty you and I enjoy has been won by parties: why not in turn use the same means to win a larger liberty for others? It certainly behooves us all not to let "party spirit" take the place of devotion to the ends for which party should exist; yet I do not think that the jealous individualism which refuses all organized coöperation with others for great objects is one whit more noble than "party spirit." The free man holds his safety in his own hand; he can secede whenever parties become oppressive or unprincipled. I believe in the divine right of bolting; I have bolted more than once; and I share fully your own repugnance to being governed by parties. But I cannot give up parties altogether without giving up all organized efforts for the betterment of mankind; and it seems very selfish to do that. I only wish that men like yourself, who would never seek to govern, but only to assist, were more ready to combine their influence and exertions for human welfare.

4. With regard to the "conflict of consciences," I have looked to your letter for light in vain, and do not know what you would do when consciences conflict. The Catholic school question is one in which no device can meet all the conflicting demands made in conscience' name. The Catholic demands the right to govern the public schools and force his dogmas on the children; the liberal's conscience demands the exclusion of dogmatic instruction from schools supported by general taxation. If the schools are kept up at all, one or the other conscience must be denied; and how are you going to help it? You propose nothing at all. But if I can gather your intent from what you oppose, you would give up the public schools to conciliate the Catholic conscience. Very well: in that case you violate mine. You have got to meet this question of conflicting consciences just as much as I have; and if you can propound a way by which all consciences can be satisfied, I shall be only too grateful for the escape. This letter is too long already, and I cannot now go into a defence of my former position; but I am more than ready to abandon it for yours, if you have a better one. Abolishing the schools or the State is not going to satisfy many consciences, I assure you; certainly not mine. Perhaps I was all wrong; tell me what is right. I do not myself see how to get rid of this school question without violating somebody's conscience, and I would not do that if it could be helped. But it is no solution of the difficulty to re-state it, which is all you have done; I admitted the necessity, in this practical question which must be met practically, of violating somebody's conscience. Now show me how to satisfy everybody's conscience, and it will need no argument to persuade me to adopt your view. When you have taken a position of your own, I can judge whether it is better than mine, but not before.

With cordial friendship yours,

F. E. ABBOT.

MAPS OF WEALTH AND ILLITERACY.

In the report of the United States Bureau of Education for 1872 are two very instructive maps which do not seem to have attracted the attention which they merit. The first represents the United States colored according to its wealth in different degrees of an orange color, and the other shows by shades of black the comparative amount of illiteracy in different States. The first thing that strikes the eye is the close correspondence between the two—the line of least wealth, or a population with less than three hundred dollars per head, following pretty nearly (with some local exceptions) the famous Mason and Dixon line of prohibited slavery; and the line of illiteracy, or a percentage of sixty or over who cannot read and write, coinciding with it yet more fully.

Connecticut and Rhode Island are the most uniformly wealthy States in the Union, while New York rises to the highest grade of all in the Metropolis, and sinks to the lowest in a small spot of the Adirondack region. The only other places numbered as in the highest grade of two thousand dollars per head are on the borders of Lake Michigan, probably the seats of great mining companies.

But while the broad lines of wealth and education are nearly coincident as dividing the Union in halves, we find great differences in narrower local divisions. Maine, which only in a small spot on the coast rises to even the second grade of wealth, is free from the stain of illiteracy, less than five per cent. of her population being unable to read and write; while all of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and very nearly all of Massachusetts, are marked I. or II., these numbers representing five to twelve per cent. of those who cannot read or write. No place in the old free States, save the southern end of New Jersey, falls into the third grade of twenty-five per cent. of illiteracy, and scarcely one in the old slave States rises above it.

These figures seem to be full of meaning, and to show just where the system of public education needs to be fostered and applied more strictly. At the South we need to multiply the simple district school, laying broad a foundation of the mere elements of learning, while encouraging all genuine effort after a higher culture; but in the North we need rather to perfect our work, and to see that its benefits are secured to the class of the population who need it most. It is evidently the large foreign population and the crowded factory regions which keep up the percentage of illiteracy in New England above that of her rural districts; and there seems to be no reason why wise legislation and more flexible methods of education should not meet and conquer this difficulty.

We thank the Bureau for these valuable aids to the study of this subject, and commend them to the attention of our readers.

E. D. C.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—There is a much closer affinity between superstition and unbelief than is commonly supposed.

We hear it often said that the superstitious believe too much, while the Rationalists believe too little.

Now, *prima facie*, the superstitious do believe a very great quantity of marvels and myths, while Rationalists believe next to none at all. The former from this point of view are abundantly credulous; the latter incredulous.

But if we look deeper into the matter, we shall find that the marvels and myths are believed, owing to a want of faith in that which is true, and to an apparent inability to exercise "pure faith," which I define to be, trust in the invisible God.

Take, for example, the superstitious regard for sacred books. The real reason why these books are regarded as the words of Divine inspiration is because men do not believe rationally in a God who can instruct, guide, and console the heart without such a medium. The belief in incarnations, again, springs from the inability to believe in a God who is without visible form, and who is ever present with men. The belief in Atonement is another form of superstition, founded on an utter want of trust in God's justice and love.

Superstitious regard for union with some church as a security against hell-fire can only take root where God is not thoroughly trusted for eternity. The sacramental theory is based upon the untrustworthiness of God, upon the dread of being left to his "uncovenanted mercies."

More especially in the sacramental theory of the "Real Presence" of Christ in the Lord's Supper, this

want of faith in the abiding presence of the Most High is glaringly conspicuous.

If the Catholics, Roman and Anglican, only believed God to be ever with them, do you think they would be at the trouble of juggling their bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ?

Passing from Orthodox superstitions to that of Spiritualism, we trace the same feature. It is absolute unbelief in the immortality of the soul, and want of trust in God, which has created this passionate desire to have evidence of continued life after death. Just as the Bible-worshippers piteously cry that, if you take away their Bible, they would have no God left to them; so do the Spiritualists say that without these manifestations of the departed they could not have any ground for a hope of immortality.

The Rationalist, on the other hand, supports my assertion in having given up certain superstitions, not because he believes in and trusts God less, but because he trusts God more. He has relinquished his former reliance on the Bible, because he believes in God himself, and looks to him for help, guidance, and consolation. He has renounced the miracles and myths which it contains, because they diminished, instead of adding to, the real glory and dignity of the Supreme. His conceptions of God are expanded and elevated, and that is why he has abandoned superstitious belief in miraculous interferences and visitations.

He believes God to be so infinitely superior to the very best of men, that it seems to him degrading to believe him to have ever become incarnate.

He relies so entirely upon the justice and goodness of God towards all men, that salvation by union with a church appears both needless and ridiculous. He rejects Atonement on the same ground. By the same pure faith he becomes indifferent to the sacraments, which he has completely outgrown, and would no more use than he would ride through the streets of Boston on his umbrella.

The supposed "Real Presence" of Christ is of as little value to him as would be a farthing taper lighted at noonday. Fear, be it remembered, is the foundation of all superstition; and fear is the antipodes of faith. Faith is confidence, and begets fearlessness; and it is because a man believes in absolute and universal goodness that he is able to be fearless, and to cast aside the superstitions which only fear has engendered.

We may then turn the tables on Orthodoxy and proclaim it to be "infidel,"—infidel in its origin, infidel in its practice, and infidel in its tendency to crush true faith altogether, or to prevent its development.

The author of the *New Koran*, after paying a most just and eloquent tribute to the great mind of Comte, observes:—

"And now in his latter days the defect of his universal science is seen by Comte himself, as was long ago foreshown by his master St. Simon; and he is bewildered by many things that were left out of his reckoning, and for which he had made no provision.

"And having broken down in his mind the noble image of God, which he cannot tell how to reestablish so as to afford him satisfaction and the sweet sympathy of the just, he must needs go the way of all other idolaters, and set up a worse image of humanity." (*New Koran. Counsels III. Vers. : 12, 13.*)

The entire absence of faith in God may thus lead to superstitions of the Orthodox or of the opposite kind; nor must we forget that in proportion as our own faith (though it be the purest we can imagine) is necessarily mixed up with conceptions which must be faulty and defective, it may lead us into some kind of superstition unawares; and this thought should effectually prevent us from the very least approach to dogmatism, lest we should be petrifying the very errors which time and growth would have otherwise enabled us to see and to discard.

Were it not pitiable to see clever and cultivated men in abject prostration of mind before a gross superstition, the spectacle of the controversy now raging between Canon Liddon, of St. Paul's, and Monsignor Capel, of the Church of Rome, about the "Real Presence," would be ludicrous.

The Romanist charges the Anglican with teaching Roman doctrine on this point; and the Anglican, while fully admitting and exulting in the performance of the miracle himself, yet wriggles and struggles to prove that the manner in which the miraculous change is effected is differently defined by himself and the Ritualists from the precise terms used by the Romanists. Neither of the disputants dream that they are alike exposing their superstition and their utter unbelief in the ever-present God.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, Jan. 16, 1875.

Literary Notices.

THE TRUE HISTORY OF JOSHUA DAVIDSON, COMMUNIST. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. 1875.

I have just reread with renewed interest this beautiful and thrilling story of a Cornish carpenter's son, who from his boyhood attempts to imitate the Carpenter's Son of Nazareth, asks the priests strange questions when he is but twelve years old, devotes himself to teaching the poor and raising the fallen, leagues himself to carry out the latter purpose with the Communists, in whose defeat perishes one of his most active followers, a poor girl named Mary, whom he had restored to virtue and adopted as his sister, while another follower, named John, survives to write his story, after a mob (stirred up by the same priest whom he had long before provoked by asking him, "Why don't you obey the gospel, and give all your money to the poor?") murders him in indignation at his attempt to justify the Commune. So much has been said against the latter body that it is pleasant to read something in its favor, though the author goes no farther than to assert that Communism and gospel Christianity have so much in common that they must be either both right or both wrong. Both are, however, incidentally said to be at variance with social science. The peculiar significance of the names of the chief characters is easily seen, especially when we remember that the Nazarene Carpenter, who called himself the Son of David, was really named Joshua. F. M. H.

WE HAVE accidentally neglected to notice the Prospectus of the *Western*, sent to us a few weeks ago, a new monthly journal of literature and art to be published at St. Louis.

The *Western* is to a great extent in the hands of the same gentlemen who have given its high reputation to the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*; but we judge from the list of contents of the January number that it is intended to be more popular in its character. Artistic and literary criticism forms a large part of its work. When we have so often reason to blush at a comparison of our own periodical literature with that of England, France, or Germany, we rejoice at every new effort of educated men to raise it to a higher level. Boston has little reason to be proud of her contribution to this department of letters; for although we could name many valuable papers which she has contributed to it, yet she has never long sustained any journal which was both excellent and popular.

The *Dial* was a remarkable and permanently valuable contribution to the literary history of the country; but it was confined mainly to a special clique of highly cultivated thinkers, and never met the popular need, and was unable to command pecuniary support.

The *Radical* met a similar fate. The *North American Review* may now be considered a veteran in the field; but, with all its acknowledged value, its circulation has always been small, and it has never exercised a wide influence. The Unitarian denomination, with its breadth of culture and great amount of talent, has no organ that adequately represents it. The scholarly *Christian Examiner* met with the same fate as the *Dial* and the *Radical*, and *Old and New* by no means supplies the vacancy. The *Atlantic* has had greater popular success, but is hardly equal to its New York rivals, not to institute a comparison with European journals.

Perhaps St. Louis is to show us the way to combine thoroughness with brilliancy, and instruction with pleasure, so that the literary life of our country may be fairly represented in periodical literature. If so, we shall hail the *Western* as a rising star, and hope that its light will shine brightly even to our Eastern shores. E. D. C.

Communications.

IS IT A SCIENCE OR A SUPERSTITION?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—I read with pleasure the remarks which, in your issue of January 14, you appended to the letter of your Canadian correspondent, who thinks THE INDEX admits "too much Spiritualism." Your cheerful—"I don't know, do you?" touching spiritual matters, is philosophical and modest; but your correspondent's "I don't know: neither do you,"—for that is virtually his position—is neither modest nor philosophical. His dictum that there is no "spiritual existence outside of organization" is as much a dogma as any other. He regards it as infallibly true, the affirmative not even worth discussing. But it is too late in the world's history to build upon infallibility, whether the building be erected by Protestant, or by Catholic, or by Materialist.

Your correspondent brings it up as an accusation against us that, in speaking of Spiritualism, "we drag in the word science." Some of the ablest scientific men of the day have done the same thing; Alfred Wallace, and William Crookes, and the electrician Varley, all Fellows of the Royal Society, among the number. Wallace, who shares with Darwin the honor of having first brought to public notice the great principle of "Natural Selection," wrote a ten-page review of *The Debatable Land*, which was published, without comment, in the April, 1872, number of the (London) *Quarterly Journal of Science*, edited by Crookes; and the reviewer there speaks of my work as treating "a subject not out of place in a scientific journal; for in whatever light we view it, it is really a scientific question." (It is I, not Wallace, who italicized these last words.) Crookes, by admitting

the review under the heading "Notices of Scientific Works" (Scheller's *Spectrum Analysis* being next after it), endorses Wallace's view of the subject.

This same Mr. Crookes, the discoverer of the metal Thallium, sent evidence, during the spring of last year, to the (London) *Spiritualist* that Humboldt, not long before his death, at a dinner at which the subject of Spiritualism came up, said: "The facts are undeniable; it remains for science to furnish an explanation of them." (The exact words in the original German were: "Die Thatfachen stehen unneinbar: die Erklärung bleibt der Wissenschaft schuldig.") The attesting witness present on that occasion was Lieutenant-General Count von Lüttichau.

Now, is a matter to be pooh-poohed as unworthy to be spoken of in a rational journal, or contemptuously set aside as a mere nursery superstition, which such men as Humboldt, and Wallace, and Crookes, and Varley—all admitting the facts—think worthy of grave consideration?

ROBERT DALE OWEN.

PHILADELPHIA, January 27, 1875.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have had brought to my notice Mr. Stevens' editorial on this subject in THE INDEX of January 21. The temper and the style of reasoning of that article are both highly to be commended. Mr. Stevens may not need phenomenal proof of a higher life: yet I hope that so candid a mind as his may not pass from this world without obtaining it. R. D. O.

NATIONAL POLITICS.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—

Love is the moral foundation of just authority, and the desire to exercise the small amount of authority concerned in giving good advice is justifiable only by an earnest good will toward the one on whom it is to be inflicted.

Let me say, therefore, that but for my earnest friendship and esteem for THE INDEX and its writers I should not feel disposed to offer any suggestions as to their course. I must, however, beg them to consider the calm suggestion of a friend, that the influence of THE INDEX might be in some respects much more beneficial than it is. While I do not doubt the conscientious humanity and love of truth in THE INDEX corps, I am painfully impressed with the apparent intensity of prejudice, the partisanship, and the sectional feeling apparent in the political utterances of THE INDEX. That these are based upon sincere convictions as to a series of facts and statistics which I could not refute or assail within the limits that you could give me, I do not doubt; and therefore shall not attempt the statistical refutation of many things you believe, which will not bear the test of authentic figures fairly selected.

I would only ask you to consider a few things. Consider that a friend who is equally familiar with the North and the South, who has never been a partisan, but has been equally ready to censure either section in its wrong doing, and to applaud its good deeds, is pained to see in THE INDEX so great a lack of the impartial and kind consideration of political questions. In the eyes of THE INDEX the people of the South are not of the same moral organization as those of the North, but are a bloody, selfish, vindictive, semi-civilized race, who need to be withheld from daily crime by military power. The members of the Democratic party, too, are like the people of the South, inhuman, corrupt, reactionary, and dangerous to the welfare of the Republic.

Upon these subjects I have impressions from personal intercourse with each section and each party, which are sufficient for myself, and which differ greatly from yours, but which I would not offer to the public. I would not presume to offer any opinions on this subject, not based in positive facts and statistics carefully eliminated of error. On such a basis I would say (what can be proved) that the opinion of the moral inferiority of the Southern people (socially and politically) is an illusion of prejudice which will not bear investigation. An important examination of national statistics, which I made several years since, convinced me (to my surprise) that, instead of moral inferiority, the Southern States may claim moral superiority to the Northern. They have had during the half century past less of crime in proportion to population, and a greater amount of personal friendship, justice, hospitality, courtesy and love in all the relations of life. There are very few Northern men, who have resided a few years in the Southern half of the Union, who are not prepared to confirm this statement by their own experience. Ten years' residence in the South would confirm the editors of THE INDEX in a similar opinion. If we should leave to the negroes of the South (aside from politics) the decision of the question whether they prefer, as friends, Northern or Southern white men, there would be an overwhelming majority in favor of the latter. Though my intellectual sympathies are with the North, where my best friends reside, I cannot deny that in our whole Republic the minimum of crime among white men heretofore has been in the Southern States, the maximum of legislative corruption has been in Northern States, and the maximum of crime in the negro population.

These are very invidious comparisons, excusable only as an act of justice to a much-slandered people. Against such a people, half a century of political contest and misrepresentation has created such a feeling that many of the best people of the North, even the cultured thinkers of THE INDEX, have an astonishing credulity for every evil report—a credulity which attracts and invites the miserable calumnies of such men as Congressman Hays, Gen. Sheridan, Col. Merrill, and many others equally malignant but more obscure.

That the wholesale robbery by political criminals

of South Carolina and Louisiana, and the wonderful forbearance of their people, excite no sentiment of justice in noisy Methodist congregations at the North is not surprising; but when the enlightened editors of THE INDEX (credulous to every slander) sneer and scoff, but never speak a word for the oppressed and plundered citizens of the South, one may well despair of a republic whose citizens can be so estranged from each other, so dead to the noble sentiment of Solon.

When strangers from the North, and men of opposite politics, speak in behalf of the robbed, THE INDEX does not respond. When a Republican judge in South Carolina says of the white people in that State "that no English-speaking people have been subjected to like infliction since the Saxon wore the Norman collar," surely, if judgment has not "fled to brutish beasts," the editors of THE INDEX will at least cease to denounce the Southern victims, and speak a manly word for impartial justice, or else leave the foul field of politics, and remain henceforth in their own nobler and purer field of labor, for which their pages are entirely too narrow, even when all irrelevancy is excluded. J. R. B.

LOUISVILLE, Ky.

[Our correspondent is respectfully requested to quote from the editorial utterances of THE INDEX a single word of condemnation, reproach, or sectional prejudice against the Southern people as such—a single word tending to show that "in the eyes of THE INDEX the people of the South are not of the same moral organization as those of the North, but are a bloody, selfish, vindictive, semi-civilized race who need to be withheld from daily crime by military power." We have repeatedly condemned the dishonest Republican governments of the Southern States, as all our readers know; and we have repeatedly condemned the acts of violence committed without local protest against the black people of the South. We deny absolutely all sectional or partisan feeling on these subjects; but we avow emphatically an intense desire to see the equal rights of all, white, black, or yellow, universally respected and protected in the South as well as in the North. The religion of equal rights is the religion of this paper; and it is opposed to any party, either in religion or politics, which opposes equal rights. But it has never made any wholesale condemnation of the South, or expressed the slightest bitterness against it. It wishes well to South, North, East, West alike, and does its best to advance the cause of equal rights the whole world over. If that gives offence, we cannot help it, and must take the consequences.—ED.]

DO WOMEN WANT TO VOTE?

AVOCA, N. Y., Feb. 1, 1875.

MR. ABBOT:—

It is well enough to discuss woman's right to the ballot, and there is something to be said on both sides of the question. But it is also well to inquire whether woman desires the ballot. Of my female friends not one in ten wants to vote. And they are not "slaves" who have been crushed with the burden of servitude: they are intelligent women, cultured some of them, and do know what they do and do not want, and can give a reason. If they truly represent the sentiment of the women of our country—and I do not doubt that they do,—then it seems to me that the effort to enfranchise woman is wasted energy. It may be possible to make a clear case in her favor as to her right, but if she will not have it, what then?

Women never have asked, anywhere, to share with men their political privileges and duties, they do not ask it now, and it is my personal belief they never will. In the "good time coming" there will be no political duties, for each will be a law unto himself; meantime women will continue to believe that politics is not their "sphere." They dislike it. "It's ag'in' natur." The peculiar womanliness of the sex does not harmonize with it. All this in a general way. I do not forget Wyoming, and I cheerfully recognize the fact that some noble women ask for the ballot. I commend them for their devotion to what they think is right. They speak for their sex, but they are self-appointed, and their acts are repudiated. If this is doubted, let readers of this article get an "expression" from their lady friends, and see how it is. If nine-tenths of the women demanded suffrage instead of refusing or being indifferent, I believe they would get it without delay. The greatest obstacle in the way of suffrage for woman is woman herself; the strongest argument against it is drawn from her attitude in relation to the question.

But if women voted as generally as men, I cannot see one good reason to believe that results as to parties and measures would be materially changed thereby. Such full vote, however, it is obvious could never be obtained. The maximum ratio would be approached slowly. It would take years before women would overcome their innate repugnance to such business sufficiently to permit their general voting, if indeed they ever would. In the interim there would be danger. At first a few independent women—those who now ask for the ballot—would vote, and they would vote rightly because intelligently. They would meet at the polls a much larger number of women their opposites in character and qualification, while the great mass would remain quietly at home. It requires no acute discernment to see what vital interests would be likely to suffer from the preponderance of this element at the polls.

And this danger would be constant, though it would become less than at first. We see how it is with men,—many of them will not vote, and there is danger in the fact, for these are almost to a man qualified to vote understandingly, and would speak, if at all, for good government and good morals. If women were voters this class would ever be very much larger among them than among men. Thus the aggregate effect would be bad.

Now why shall we take this risk? Why not "let well enough alone"? Women suffer no peculiar hardships. They are subject to the same laws as men, and their property is taxed neither more nor less than men's. The women who do not want the change have a right to be heard, especially so seeing they are immensely in the majority. The few cry, Equality and Justice! and the words are a talisman to open the hearts of Americans, to their honor be it said. But I have heard of men's standing so straight that they leaned backwards. History records where license came at the call for Liberty, and "Justice" was inscribed above the bloody jaws of the guillotine!

The proposed change is far-reaching and fundamental, and I am firm in the conviction would not be justified by a wish to give the ballot to the comparatively few women who desire it. The possible good would not nearly equal the probable evil. This may seem a cold-hearted arguing away of the sacred rights of these women. Then in the seeming it is, for I know I do profoundly respect human rights. But without more or less surrender of our personal rights, civil government is impossible. It seems hard that an intelligent, educated young man twenty years old is forbidden to vote. But it is the best we can do. He may be better qualified to vote than many men double his age. And of lawful voters, the wisest man is on a level at the polls with the most ignorant. And after the voting is done, it turns out that nearly one-half are practically disfranchised, for the majority have the power, and the minority become as—women.

Now who can contemplate these and cognate facts, and not see that ideal justice and equality are unattainable in political adjustments? They should be approached as near as possible, all things considered,—in other words, as near as is expedient. I am not afraid of the word. The best form of civil government is an expediency, and the wisest men study expediency all their lives.

If the time shall ever come when women ask for the ballot with something approaching unanimity, and if their wish is gratified, it will relieve men from the imputation of an ungallant imposition of unwelcome burdens on unwilling shoulders; and it may also be taken that they are qualified for the service which they ask to assume. Meanwhile, as a matter of expediency, the few women who now desire the franchise must continue "to labor and to wait," for all I can see, and it may be the future will justify to them the faith they have in their cause.

F. H. G.

SHOULD ALL PRAYING CEASE?

IN THE INDEX of January 1, there appeared an article headed "The Week of Prayer," wherein the well-known and able writer answers this question unhesitatingly and decisively in the affirmative. He speaks of "faith in prayer as a means of obtaining mental, moral, spiritual, or social gifts" as being "practically immoral, and immoral in proportion to the vitality of the faith." No distinction is apparently made between one kind or spirit of prayer and another, or between a faith in its efficacy which commands itself to the intellect, as well as the heart, of wise and good men, and that which is manifestly blind and irrational.

Sad as it would be to many never again to bow in supplication before the Supreme Spirit, whose name they lisped in childhood as they knelt by the mother's knee, and to whom, through all life's changes and trials, they have continued to look up in trustful appeal, no one who realizes that loving God means honestly seeking and faithfully using all attainable truth will shrink from the sacrifice, when once assured that reason demands it.

But is it true that, if we would be rational, we must regard the strong and sometimes irresistible impulse felt by the purest and noblest souls, in all times and in all lands, to seek, through earnest supplication, help and strength from Divine sources, as a delusion, hurtful if yielded to, and originating in superstitious ignorance?

Can it be that while the little child may, in its need, ask and obtain help from earthly parents, we, who are as little children in our weakness and blindness, may not ask anything of our heavenly Father, trusting that he will hear and aid? And are there, in truth, no "ministering spirits" who, through natural laws, may, at least, exert a sustaining and strengthening influence, like that which sometimes comes to us (if on earth we be not friendless) through words of counsel and of love uttered by our fellow-mortals—like, but more direct and unfettered in its power than spoken words can ever be? Is this, too, a dream and a foolishness which we must shake off in order to become wise? Are we acted upon daily by direct influence and influx from spirits in the flesh, and is there none which comes to us from, or through, those who have dropped its fetters?

No one can really pray who does not so earnestly and actively will that which he asks as to make every effort in his power to obtain it. Prayer is but one means, and we can no more avail ourselves of that one, while we neglect all others which have been given us to use, than we can run without exerting both the will and the muscles.

He prays well who lives well (or at least who desires and strives so to live), and who, having the

opportunity, bends all his energies to the fulfilment of his highest aspirations.

As to the supplication for help, in cases where our own unaided efforts are unavailing, being wrong and hurtful,—if he who is sick implores healing aid from one able to afford it, whether by the administration of medicine or by that "laying on of hands" (often far more effectual) which is physical influx spiritually directed, between man and man, and if, asking, he should obtain the needed help, would the seeking it be reprehensible? And, if not, why does it become so when the agencies employed are different? In either case we receive all things, primarily, from the Infinite Source of life and love; and may we ask and receive needful assistance when it comes through certain channels, and must we refuse to do so when the means employed to reach us are different?

Because we may entreat and obtain help in our need when our own best efforts fail, it does not follow that we may, or can, be at once so inactive morally as to leave our own proper work undone (hoping to get "the best gifts for the asking"), and yet be able to lift the soul up in true, vital, availing supplication. I do not believe that, so long as we leave one stone unturned to accomplish the desired end, it is possible really to pray for help in gaining it.

Every chord of the soul must be stretched to its utmost tension by the mental and moral energies which war with evil and struggle for the right before those energies can culminate in prayer—prayer in its most exalted and perfect acceptance.

If the strings of that living harp whose harmonies may pierce the heavens hang neglected and relaxed, they cannot vibrate in accord with those unseen instruments that can only respond when in unison with them.

Who can really pray against a sin who does not, at the same time, strive with all his might to conquer it? No real prayer is possible when the mind and heart are in a condition so inert and indifferent as this practical inaction implies. But when we both strive and pray, I do, with my whole soul, believe that we receive actual and direct help, the value of which only those can estimate who have experienced it, and which no words can express, far less exaggerate.

Why should it be a delusion to imagine that, in lifting the mind and heart up towards the source of all good and all power, we receive therefrom, as from a fountain which we approach with thirsting lips, refreshment and strength?

Because work has its proper place and we cannot live true life without it, does it follow that there is no place for prayer?

If never anything beside, may not spiritual nourishment—a satisfaction of the soul's inmost and craving hunger—come through direct communication with that which is above us, just as truly as we are fed by the influences which surround us in and through our daily life?

Wise and virtuous men and women have believed, and have had their faith strengthened by life-long experience, that in asking for strength and light, for aid "moral and spiritual," they have been heard and answered, and that through prayer they have gained a power to do, to endure, and to resist, attainable in no other way. But they well know that this availing prayer is possible only when, with soul-deep earnestness, they determine to obey and to do in all things the will of God, so far as in them lies,—that true prayer cannot emanate from a spirit which is inactive, self-indulgent, or uncharitable towards any fellow-being.

The laws which govern the action and reaction of prayer are as real and as stringent (whatever its possible scope or potency may be) as any others which control and limit our being and doing, our giving and receiving. And when these laws are understood and obeyed (and many obey them instinctively without understanding them), then do we learn to regard prayer rationally, as a duty because a divinely appointed means, and as a high and holy privilege because, through experience which will not be gainsaid, we find that its results, far from being "disorganizing" or "immoral," are purely beneficial and exalting—good, and not evil, as in all which comes to us through the working of natural laws, whether material or spiritual, when we act in conformity with them, seeking and desiring, above all selfish considerations, that which is highest and best.

L. A.
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

THE CAUSE OF BELIEF.

Christians exhort unbelievers to embrace immediately the tenets of their faith, with an earnestness that shows that they consider belief of this character the product of an arbitrary will. Indeed, all Christian churches teach that through the power of volition all rational persons can believe the essential doctrines of their faith, and that those who remain sceptical are wilfully seeking "darkness rather than light." This proposition, that belief in religion is subject to the will, though in conflict with the facts of every mental experience, and contrary to the most rational philosophy of human nature, is the very life and soul of the bigotry and intolerance of modern Christianity. It is this dogma, founded on ignorance of the philosophy of belief, that still arrays Christianity against heresy, and inspires the churches with the spirit of persecution. "Ye will not believe" is the summary argument of Christians in answering the most invincible sceptic.

Suppose I should go to my Christian friends, and tell them that I believe the "Fountain of Youth" is no fabulous story; that in some unexplored region this fountain of life is welling forth its rejuvenating waters, waiting for some fortunate adventurer to reveal its immortal virtues to dying mankind; and I solicit them to go with me in search of this magical

fountain. When they refuse to believe my dream, and attempt to convince me of my hallucination, I reproach them for their obstinate unbelief, and tell them they do not wish to save themselves and their fellow-men from pain and death. Should I act less rationally and kindly toward them than they do toward me, when they accuse me of perverse wickedness for not believing their doctrine of salvation, which they do not attempt to prove by rational evidence? I might adopt the Christian dogma of voluntary belief, and argue that, though my faith in the existence of this wonderful fountain were a delusion, still, as it afforded satisfaction to be thus deceived, they should believe with me and be happy. If we can believe anything we wish, why not believe all the delightful fancies the mind can conceive? How many persons are now suffering from the most painful doubts concerning a future existence, who would gladly believe in immortality, if they had rational evidence to support this faith? Why do not such persons expel their doubts, and find the peace they covet in a voluntary belief of this doctrine, if this is possible?

This false idea of the cause of belief is the source of that bitter, inveterate enmity that characterizes the attitude of the Christian Church toward free thought. It degrades the moral grandeur of honest doubt into obstinate mendacity, and, in the name of the holiest truth that mankind has learned to revere, it leads a pious fanaticism against the most sacred rights of mind and conscience. From this religious tyranny it is comforting to turn and contemplate "The Coming Religion," which Mr. Abbot has so beautifully described.

H. CLAY NEVILLE.
OZARK, Mo.

APROPOS OF THOMAS PAINE.

CONWAY, Mass., Jan. 26, 1875.

DEAR INDEX:—

Your first number of Volume Six was received with a mental greeting ineffable. It is just what is indispensably needed—at least it was a cordial calmer to the anxious aspirations of an octogenarian. While reading "The Coming Religion," an incident was vividly brought to my recollection, that occurred some thirty years ago. At that time I was engaged in Boston in the printing business—connected with which was the printing of a large number of newspapers and periodicals. Among the matter that came under my observation was the correspondence of Thomas Paine with those to whom he sent copies of his revised edition of the *Age of Reason* near the last of the eighteenth century. Various were the views expressed of the work; some congratulated him for his moral courage, while others reviled him in no measured terms of reproach for his blasphemy. Among those who remarked upon the missive was an eminent statesman, who afterwards received the highest honors that the nation can confer. His expressions were to this purport: "Mr. Paine, a copy of your book is before me; I have perused it with a mingled feeling of astonishment and regret. I confess that the avocations of a large portion of my life have prevented me from giving that attention to the Bible which probably ought to have been given to a book that holds so high a place in the estimation of a large portion of the civilized world. Yet I was not prepared to be informed of the absurdities, contradictions and anachronisms that you have obviously pointed out. Still I very much regret, on your account, particularly, that you have sent forth the book to the indiscriminate gaze of a large mass of religious people who have none other than an implicit belief in the dogmas they have embraced. Again you have given a lacerating blow to the dearest and most cherished interest of the clergy—their temporal power. The different religious sects, whose belief is founded on the Bible, no matter how malignantly ferocious they may have been towards each other, will become a unit to form a power to destroy your influence, and render you odious in social intercourse, and they will succeed; notwithstanding you may have planted a seed which eventually will produce a tree that will bear fruit that shall be for the healing of the nations; and, although for a time your name may be a reproach and a 'cause for hissing,' yet it is not unlikely that the child is now born who shall live to see a monument raised to your memory." This prophetic suggestion, clothed in appropriate phrase, may be fittingly quoted in the discussions at the dedication of the Paine Memorial Building. It is at your disposal.

Yours,
ABNER FORBES.

OUR "Free Religious Society" over on the "West Side" of Chicago had been in existence six months before it concluded to inquire, "What is Free Religion?" It is now having a protracted and desperate wrestle with that question, which bids fair to prove too much for the wrestlers. It seems too large to be grasped by the average intellect of a Free Religious society. Every member of this association knows that he is a Free Religiionist. Perhaps half-a-dozen of them can agree in determining what Free Religion is *not*, but when it comes to declaring what it *is*, no two of them seem able to agree. These denouncers of all creeds seem to be hunting for a creed. If they should find one, and stick to it, it might help them. If they should find and adopt one, and then allow every subscriber to it to think, and talk, and teach as he pleased, their condition would not be improved, and they would soon be under the necessity of re-debating the question, "What is Free Religion?" for a "period limited only by the duration of human life." There is a moral in all this which is left to be appropriated by those who need it.—*Chicago Presbyterian*.

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(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

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Jan. 3.—O. B. FROTHINGHAM, "The Scientific View of Human Nature."
Jan. 10.—ANDREW D. WHITE, President of Cornell University, "The Warfare of Science."
Jan. 17.—WILLIAM B. WEEDEN, of Providence, "Evils of Prohibitory Liquor Laws."
Jan. 24.—SAMUEL JOHNSON, "Laws of Personal Function Unrecognized in American Life."
Jan. 31.—CHARLES G. AMES.
Feb. 7.—WENDELL PHILLIPS, "Some Aspects of the Labor Question."
Feb. 14.—WILLIAM J. POTTER, "Names and Things in Religion."
Feb. 21.—Hall occupied by Fair for Protection of Dumb Animals.
March 7.—DEXTER A. HAWKINS, Chairman of Committee on Education of the New York City Council of Political Reform, "Our Sick Man, and How to Cure Him; or, The Educational Problem in the Cotton States."
March 14.—JOHN WEISS, "Tragedy in Nature."
March 21.—FRANCIS E. ABBOT, "Individualism; or Atomism in Religion."

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1875.

WHOLE No. 269.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———. Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement when adopted by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article; and appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

THE BILL providing for compulsory education in Maine has passed the Senate, but has not yet passed the House.

AT THE last meeting of the Second Radical Club, Mr. Charles E. Pratt read a very interesting paper on "The Inward Light," as held by the Quakers.

REV. S. P. PUTNAM says he "does not consider Mr. Abbot anti-Christian, except in the use of the word." Suppose he should ask Christianity what she thinks about it herself?

THE RADICAL CLUB had a very good meeting last Monday. Mr. C. P. Cranch read the essay, and Mr. Potter, Dr. Clarke, Mrs. Cheney, Mr. Gannett, Mr. James, and others, joined in the discussion.

"THE unanimity of the ignorant, the disagreement of the inquiring, the unanimity of the wise"—these have been well declared to be the three stages of the process through which mankind must necessarily pass in order to become civilized.

CANON IVERS, a Catholic English priest, protests against "allowing" apostates like Hyacinthe and Dollinger to call themselves Old Catholics, or Catholics of any sort. Inasmuch as their grievance is the Pope's infallibility, he proposes to dub them "the Fallibles."

THE MORAL Education Society will meet at Wesleyan Building, Bromfield Street, Room 19, to-morrow, Friday, P.M., at 3 o'clock. Essay by Mrs. C. E. Streeter. Subject: "A Practical Conversation with Mothers and Daughters—the Mothers to be." All are invited.

THE *Christian Register* says: "Able and appropriate lectures on 'The Evils of Prohibitory Laws,' 'The American Theory of Government,' &c., &c., have been delivered on recent Sunday afternoons, at Horticultural Hall, before the Free Political Association." The *Register*, like the pro-slavery Christians of other days, wants to "keep politics out of religion."

"DID I," says the Boston correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, "ever give you the Rev. Petroleum V. Nasby's definition of the Radical Club? He said it was 'the Den of the Unintelligible, where they talked of the Unknowable.' Boston hasn't been a safe place for the reverend gentleman since then." A good joke is like Holy Writ—there is no answering it.

THE *Golden Age*, because we persist in opposing the fundamental principles of Christianity, indulges itself in the stale talk about "throwing stones at our mother's head." Now, 'pon honor, we think this "mother" business is a little overdone. To adopt this loose metaphor for the moment, Humanity, not Christianity, is the only "mother" in the case. But the *Golden Age* cannot distinguish its own mother from her last year's bonnet!

"THE SCRAMBLE among a certain class of ministers," says the *Christian Union*, "for the office of Chaplain to the Massachusetts Legislature is said to have excited general disgust in that body. Some of the candidates employed runners to button-hole members at their homes, and the wire-pulling was simply disgraceful. It is consoling to reflect that not one of these self-nominated candidates succeeded, the office having been bestowed upon a clergyman who had too much modesty and self-respect to seek it. Such a scramble as was witnessed in this instance is calculated to do more to bring religion into reproach than the office itself, however wisely filled, can do to honor it." How much longer will the people submit to this farce of "chaplainships"?

PROFESSOR W. DENTON and Mr. J. W. Pike declined to take part in the dedication of the Paine

Memorial Building, because Mr. Moses Hull, a noted advocate of "free love," was announced among the speakers on that occasion. The *Investigator* publishes their notes, and replies that "the Spiritualism of Professor Denton, the Materialism of B. F. Underwood, the Free Religion of F. E. Abbot, Protestantism, Catholicism, Judaism, or any other ism, including the Social Reform theory of Moses Hull, will have a hearing in the Paine Building." We do not see any other consistent view of the matter, so far as advocates of the right of free thought and free speech are concerned. Undoubtedly we differ from Mr. Hull quite as earnestly as Mr. Denton or Mr. Pike; yet the fact that he was to speak on that platform did not appear to us a reason why we should refuse to speak on it. If the "free love" theory is true, it ought not to be denied a hearing; if (as we believe) it is false, it will talk itself down. But the principle of free speech must be respected on every free platform; and it is quite time to understand that, on a free platform, every speaker must be judged by his or her own words alone.

LAST WEEK we were present by invitation at a private residence, near Boston, in which there were very remarkable "manifestations"—the occasion being strictly private and no money being taken by the performer. At the front opening of a small box, which rested on a very light three-legged table with screens at a considerable distance behind and on each side of it, hands were very distinctly shown, and allowed to be touched by many of the audience; fresh flowers were produced and handed to the audience; two or three different faces were distinctly exhibited; and, blank cards being sealed in blank envelopes by several persons in the audience and placed in the opening, immediately envelopes addressed to the same parties, enclosing cards with messages and their own autographs wonderfully well imitated, were returned to them. The peculiarity of the exhibition consisted in the fact that all these astonishing "phenomena" were produced avowedly by natural means and independently of "spirits." Although the means used were not explained, they were divined by a few sharp-sighted observers; and the audience dispersed with a unanimous conviction that no "spiritualistic" hypothesis was necessary to account for such "manifestations" as these.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, JR., in an able lecture on "Stock-Watering" delivered in Boston last Friday, is reported to have said that, notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary, "a rude average had resulted under which the community had paid a fair profit only [of about seven per cent.] on the whole capital which had been actually invested in its railroad system." He denied that "the burden of increased dividends on the strong lines fell on the movement of commerce from the West to the seaboard. Competition did and would prevent its falling there, and would force that carriage down to cost. That burden fell on the local business of the great lines, and showed itself in keeping those living on those lines but little better off than their neighbors." These statements should be carefully pondered and inwardly digested by the Grangers. Mr. Adams also said: "The issue of railroad stock should be freely permitted, but only under public supervision. The difficulty was in the unwillingness of people to be logical. They want the railroad to be at once a public institution and a private corporation. If it is to be a public institution, it must in so far be under public supervision. How long it will take to draw this line, the lecturer could not say; we were as a community just closing the work of railroad construction, and entering upon the study of railroad administration." *The unwillingness of people to be logical!* That phrase explains nine-tenths of all public difficulties, whether in business, politics, or religion.

Let us test the soundness of this criticism by looking at the actual antagonism which arrays Free Religion against Christianity, and opposes Science to Religion. There is no need of giving here the history of the Free Religious movement in this country. Every one at all conversant with that history knows that the constitution of the Free Religious Association invites to its membership "all persons interested in 'pure religion,' in the 'scientific study of theology,' and in 'fellowship in the spirit.'"

It is well known, also, that some earnest and zealous believers in Christianity have at different times joined this Association, and taken part in its meetings. At the same time it is no secret that many of those who have been most prominent in this Association have disclaimed the Christian name, regarding Free Religion as a movement to merge Christianity, together with every other special religious faith, whether Buddhism, or Mohammedanism, or Judaism, into something which is not Christianity, but, it may be, a development of Christianity into that which is larger and better than Christianity itself ever was, or by itself could ever become.

Now our attitude as Unitarian Christians towards this Free Religious movement depends, of course, upon what we understand to be its "platform." If by that platform is meant only the above-quoted article of the Constitution of the American "Free Religious Association," then there is, as Mr. Savage asserts, "no harm in it." But in this case there is also no more antagonism between the "Free Religious platform" and Unitarianism than there is between the principles of Methodism and an "Evangelical Alliance," or a "Young Men's Christian Association," or than there is an antagonism between the citizenship of our Minister to Great Britain and his observance of the etiquette of diplomatic intercourse while he is at the Court of St. James. If the "Free Religious platform" has that extent, and no more, we can all unite with Mr. Savage in asking, "What harm is there in it? Who or what will suffer by it?" But if the platform of Free Religion (not, be it observed, the platform of the Free Religious Association), as constructed by the public teachings of the able men who, by common consent, are recognized as Free Religionists, has in it certain planks of a very different sort, which have been built into it for a very different purpose than that of promoting the "scientific study of theology," it may be well for us to stop and consider the real significance of such a platform before we jump upon it and cry out, This, too, is "Christianity Notwithstanding." The square issue which Free Religion makes with Unitarian Christianity concerns the principles on which, from the beginning, Unitarianism has been based, and the logical results of those principles to-day. Where, then, as a matter of fact, has Unitarianism laid the emphasis of its denials and its affirmations? According to Mr. Potter, on the two principles of the right of free inquiry and character more important than creed. Logically, therefore, he says Unitarianism ought now to take the next step forward to free and universal religion. But I question the accuracy of Mr. Potter's reading of Unitarian history. He himself frankly admits that Unitarianism "has always been under the influence of Christian traditions, and has held more or less strongly to the doctrine of a special authority in Christian revelation." But more than this, the vital inspiration and genuine strength of Unitarianism has always been, not its passively yielding to the influence of Christian traditions, but its positive and emphatic affirmation of the religion of Christ in its pure and personal essence, free from all erroneous interpretations, and separated from all aftergrowths of dogma or of ritual. Unitarians have, it is true, zealously maintained the right of private judgment, the dignity of human nature, and the use of reason in religion. But they have never subordinated the end to the means, have never thought that freedom in truth-seeking is better than the truth itself, nor in their boldest searchings have they ever once lost sight of the supreme worth and importance of the Christian character and the Christian life. The Unitarian movement is neither historically nor logically a movement away from Christianity, but a movement towards its central truths, its life-giving teachings, its permanent essence. All its denials have been denials of the mistaken statements, or the partial interpretations, or the injurious accretions which Christianity has been subject to in its course through history, by its contact with human philosophies, prejudices, and passions. Now for any one to say at this period in the history of Unitarianism that the Christianity which affirms the great ideals of Jesus, and joyfully acknowledges the "life-impulse he gave the world," is logically consistent with the Free Religion which bids us rise above such "provincial claims" and such "theological narrowness" to the plane of a "world-wide and universal" faith, is to say that there is something higher than "the truth," and something better than "the life," and something broader than "the way" that came through Jesus Christ.

The undeniable right of every individual to make "an absolutely free search for truth" is not paramount to the duty of defending those truths which, by virtue of his very position (if freely chosen), the recognized teacher of any faith is pledged to defend. Even the teacher of "Free Religion" is limited by his own definition of what religion is. Mr. Savage's fine sense of manly honor deprived him of the liberty to remain in an evangelical pulpit after his free search had led him to drop his former Orthodoxy. Will he not agree with me in saying that the "Christian" teacher who has taken the liberty to drop the Christian name is no longer free (as men of the world would declare, is "in honor bound" not) to remain in a Christian pulpit; while if he should "advance" so far as to drop his belief in God he could remain a

teacher of "Free Religion" only by first coining a very new definition of a very old word?

The attitude of Unitarian Christianity is, then, positively and emphatically antagonistic to Free Religion, so far as Free Religion carries in its movement the denials of what Unitarianism affirms. We may not, indeed, deny the Christian character of any man who displays those moral and spiritual elements of character which are distinctively and preëminently Christian; but we are not on this account compelled to erase the plain distinctions which separate those who own from those who disown the spiritual authority of him from whom alone the name Christian is derived. The division is not a division of character, but simply of affiliation. But I hold that it is a division as radical and as fundamental as that which separates the Catholic who holds to the Church of Rome from the Protestant who has broken away therefrom, and divides the Protestant of the evangelical school, who says, The Bible is my religion, from the Protestant of the liberal school, who says, The spirit of life in Jesus Christ is my religion. And all this may be said not to disparage the moral worth and spiritual excellence of believers in a religion which, as they think, is freer and better than Christianity, but simply to keep actual differences of aim and purpose from being blotted out or hopelessly confused, to the injury of all concerned. And those who say it will be found ready at all times to acknowledge and commend the true words and good works of all who, in whatever name, and under whatever guidance, help the race forward, and uplift human souls to heavenly rest.—*Christian Register*, Feb. 13.

A HEATHEN PROTEST.

A CHINAMAN ON CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY EFFORTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRONICLE:

Sir,—I noticed in your daily of January 4 a most excellent article entitled "Charity Begins at Home," in which some remarks concerning my countrymen occur. Allow me to say that my people are perfectly satisfied and contented with their lot here if let alone; but there is too much interference with their affairs, especially by the Christian people. We want them to let us alone, not only in our own country, but here also. The Christian religion is not the only religion in the world, although it makes such a bluster about being the correct one. It is "great I and little you." In point of numbers or wealth it is far in the minority, and probably ever will be; and yet it is ever attempting to force its peculiar and, to us, abominable belief upon those who not only do not desire it, but to whom it should look up to as a father. Their religion makes all our Eastern nations quarrel with each other, plants the seeds of contention and trouble where all was peace before; then, no wonder people are angry and rise in their might and slay every missionary in their midst. Your own countrymen would do the same under the same circumstances. Long after our nation, as a great and mighty empire, was, as it were, in its manhood, the Christian religion was a baby in its swaddling clothes, while now it gravely assumes to send men and women to "teach its father" or elder brother how to live and die. To us as a people this looks contemptible indeed, and we look upon them simply with disgust. Let us suppose that our Chinese Empire should send its missionaries to the United States on purpose to convert you "outside barbarians" to our religion, and go about it earnestly and systematically; what would be said? What would be done? Do not tell me we could do it quietly and without serious opposition. Not only jeers and taunts would meet us at every turn, but the press and pulpit would vie with each other in denouncing us, and our very lives would be in danger. They would cry, "Our holy religion is menaced!" But is not ours sacred to us? "But," says the Christian, "you are wrong and we are right. You heathen nations are not competent to judge." Great I and little you! The question of sending missionaries from China to America has been argued in our councils at home, but our best men (as they should) frowned upon it at once, and, strenuously advocating the religion of Confucius, said, "Let us mind our own business. Their religion is as sacred to them as ours to us." Those who know our history know that we have never interfered with the religion of other nations. I will leave the answer to Americans themselves, if those of my people who have embraced Christianity are not the most sycophantic, fawning, and contemptible of all our people, despised by their own countrymen, outcasts from the land of their birth, and closely watched and snubbed by Americans. Our own religion teaches us that it is not only wrong to steal and lie, but that punishment is certain and sure. The Christian religion teaches that punishment is not sure, as, if you can evade human laws, God will forgive you if you only ask it. Consequently, all the Christian Chinese, without exception, will lie and steal, if money can be made by it; and they will tell you so, too.

Christians often abuse their own families, even to the abandonment of father and mother. Such a thing is unknown in China. No matter how degraded a man may be, he never forgets his duty to the aged and helpless. Public sentiment in China would punish him severely should he neglect that duty. Compare the morals of this Christian land with ours? They dare not publicly do it. Justice, which Christians talk so much about, is nowhere so impartially administered as in what you are pleased to call heathen countries, and punishment cannot there be evaded. No cases of crime are put off or laid over in China, that the criminal may escape. No prisons hold lives of wretchedness from which there is no appeal; no packed juries can ever shelter

crime there. The evidence is demanded and heard on both sides, and a just judgment rendered and immediately executed. Your bolts and bars, your locksmiths, your iron safes—made larger and stronger each year—are all speaking commentaries on your boasted Christian teachings. Count the criminals in your prisons. Forty-nine in every fifty are professing Christians! and they admit it, too. We, as a nation, do not believe the Christian religion has any foundation whatever, except as it is based upon the writings of Confucius, who, it is well known, lived and wrote five hundred years before the New Testament was known. Many of our wise rules for the government of mankind now found in your Testament were remodelled from our ancient books. Bear with me whilst I give the very words from Confucius: "Do unto another as thou wouldst be dealt with thyself. Thou only needst this law alone; it is the foundation and principal of all the rest."

"The wise man has no sooner fixed his eyes on a good man but he endeavors to imitate his virtue; but the same wise man has no sooner fixed his eyes on a man given up to his vices but, mistrusting himself, he interrogates himself in a trembling manner if he be not like that man."

"It is not enough to know virtue, it is necessary to love it; but it is not sufficient to love it, it is necessary to possess it."

"Acknowledge thy benefits by the return of other benefits, but never revenge injuries."

"Heaven shortens not the life of man; it is man that does it by his own crimes."

"Let frugality, temperance, modesty, and prudent economy become the objects of your reflection, and regulate your conduct."

"Let the public schools be carefully maintained, and, above all, let youth be instructed early in the duties of life, and formed to good morals."

Let those who would make light of our religion and morals ponder well upon the above, and remember where they obtained the best of theirs. Who should know so well as the Jews about the origin of the Christian religion? Let them testify who lived at the time and on the spot where all those wonderful things are said to have occurred. They deny that there is any truth in the miracles recorded, and treat the whole subject with derision. I will only say to the Christians, Keep your people (as pretended teachers) out of our country, do not meddle with our dearest and most cherished ideas, and our people will thank you. But I have said sufficient for the present. SAA KEE, English Teacher. —*San Francisco Chronicle*, Jan. 15.

ATHEISTS IN COURT.

In the trial of Mrs. Woodhull some months ago a witness against her was excluded on the ground of his disbelief in a personal God. It is understood that Mr. James Parton, the historian, and Mr. Charles Moran, ex-President of the Erie Railway, and Mr. Courtlandt Palmer, and other well-known gentlemen, have subscribed a sum of money sufficient to test the legality and constitutionality of Judge McAdam's decision in the courts. It is the question whether civil rights are suspended on beliefs of any sort. Is a man obliged to hold any opinion on any subject in order to have his testimony taken in a court, or to get justice done him in any cause? The question is a simple one, but of fundamental importance, and without advocating either side we simply call attention to the issue it involves.

Of course a great deal may be said as to the necessity of surrounding the administration of justice with such restrictions and defences as shall make it the citadel of truth and fairness. But it is an open question what those defences and restrictions shall be. Once the unbeliever in a personal Deity was regarded as an atheist, and held as the enemy of order and mankind and truth. He was very likely to be an immoral and bad man, and there was a show of reason for not accepting the testimony of a man who could not take an oath because he acknowledged no Being to whom he was bound in moral obligation. But the progress of society has been through minute differentiations, and the rule adopted to exclude the denying and blaspheming atheist of the Middle Ages now cuts off the most advanced thinkers of the world—men who believe in a Supreme Intelligence and Power of some sort, but cannot attribute personality to him or it. They are anything but atheists, yet the Unknown Power they call God, when they use that term at all, does not correspond to the old or generally received idea of personality. The rule, as laid down by Judge McAdam, and by many of our Roman Catholic police justices, would exclude such men as Spinoza, regarded by many as the greatest mind of the last century, and Alexander Humboldt and John Stuart Mill, regarded by many as the two greatest intellects of the present century. It would cut off Tyndall, and Huxley, and Grote, and Morley, Maudsley, and Herbert Spencer, and Professor John Fiske, and Dr. John W. Draper, and indeed a large body of advanced scientists of Europe and America. Many of the clergymen of this country and England are pantheists, and could not testify under this ruling. It is a question whether the American people will consent to a decision which will admit the testimony of any ignorant wretch who will hold up his hand and kiss the Bible, and yet exclude men like Francis W. Newman, of England, and Ralph Waldo Emerson, of this country, as incompetent and untrustworthy. It is a question of opinions versus civil rights, and as such is of the utmost interest to all men, especially to all Americans. Besides this, the provision of the law in apparent accordance with which the testimony of atheists is excluded in courts of justice was really intended to admit it, since it guarantees that no person shall be held incompetent

to testify because of his religious belief. By a strange perversion of meaning, this has been held to assert the necessity of some religious belief in the mind of him who may testify.—*New York Graphic*, February 2.

LETTER FROM MEXICO.

CITY OF MEXICO, Dec. 29, 1874.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRANSCRIPT:—

In Catholic countries the celebration of Christmas takes a different form from that which it presents in Protestant lands. The preëminent importance of her by whose instrumentality the great scheme announced by prophecy was carried into effect influences the ceremonies by which this ancient church celebrates so important an event. For, while the Protestants consider the birth of the Divine Child as the central point of interest, and commence their Christmas at the Nativity, the Catholics begin a week or two previously, and the festival closes when the Protestants begin. It is the Virgin who is the principal figure in the Catholic celebration. In Mexico, for example, at the approach of the 25th of December, the talk is of

"POSADAS,"

and each family is expected to "give" a set of them, or each member of the family may "give" one as its patron. And, again, it seems proper to explain what may be a mystery to our young and innocent readers, and show how this celebration is conducted. Not only the professed Catholics here have these *posadas*, but the young people of American or English families will most likely take part as heartily as the Catholics would in our Christmas eve plays. We asked a bright boy of Protestant antecedents, who invited us to the *posada* he was to give in his Protestant family, "What do you do?" "Oh, we pray [to the Virgin Mary], and we sing [also to the Virgin], and go in procession with the 'holy pilgrims' [the Virgin and St. Joseph], and the angel and the donkey [on which the Virgin rode to Bethlehem], and we let off rockets, and eat sweetmeats, and we dance."

This is the general programme of this solemn ceremony. The word *posada* means an inn, or place of shelter for travellers, or the shelter there given. The ceremony represents the painful journey to Bethlehem, where Jesus was to be born. A party of singers carry on a board the figures, plain or elegant as means will allow, of the Virgin and her spouse St. Joseph; also an angel and an ass, and perhaps some lambs, and a shed for their final accommodation. This party sings verses which represent the need of shelter for the night, and at a door of the supposed inn or house they ask for hospitality. But inside is another choir which denies this accommodation. The travellers insist, and represent their condition and urgent needs, specifying, indeed, with great clearness, the merits of the case. Although at first the people inside declare that the Holy Family were open to suspicion, and as likely as not might be robbers, yet at last they understand how things are, and gladly receive the blessed pilgrims. According to the religious state of the people, there is more or less of prayers and litanies recited and sung; now it seems that this part is greatly curtailed, but it is made up by the refreshments—at the cost of the "giver," or patron of the *posada*,—the fireworks, and especially by the ball, where are social and intimate relations between the swains and young ladies, who, during the rest of the year perhaps, have been separated from them by the height of lofty balconies, or cold, iron window-gratings. So the Christmas everywhere is celebrated according to the various ideas of the celebrants, and the *posadas* in some form are likely to keep their place.

A LIBERAL CATHOLIC SCHOOL.

Being present at the examination of the classes in "Religion" in a "Roman Catholic" college, we were entertained by the lively manner in which the worthy and wide-awake priest—one of the most distinguished in this capital—spoke of the United States. In order to bring out the knowledge of the girls he pretended to dispute indisputable doctrines, giving the pupils an opportunity of defending them. It ought to be well known to our readers, and doubtless is, that there are three forms of worship, the third being *public* worship. During this part of the examination it comes out that "Mexico has no public worship (its government and rulers being completely irreligious), while in the United States, at the simple recommendation of President Grant, the whole nation recognizes the Supreme Being and renders thanks to him; the American Thanksgiving being an act of public worship." The expulsion of the Sisters of Charity just now, and the pressure of this "ungodly" government, is evidently causing a feeling of respect and admiration for the toleration and general religious spirit in the North. From positive declarations and clear inferences it was evident, in this examination, that the Catholic director of the class of "Religion" had great respect for the Christians who were not counted in his own fold, and that there might be salvation outside of his own peculiar church. And in his examination of ancient history and of the Phœnicians, he paid high praise to the Americans, who showed the energy of that vigorous people.

THE SISTERS OF CHARITY EXPELLED FROM MEXICO.

This society has been finally suppressed, and virtually banished. They might stay as individuals if they would abandon their distinctive dress, their living "and community," and giving up what they cannot possibly give up. So three hundred of them are preparing to leave. The government allows them a month to get away, permitting them to use their

white bonnets, etc., meanwhile. The general feeling of the Mexicans and foreigners, of Protestants as well as Catholics, is regret at this measure, which gives an opportunity to blame the government. One authority cites, as proof of their weakness, that they were "afraid of three hundred old women." By the law, however, by which the other convents were suppressed, these are equally included. If they should pass to the United States they will doubtless be well received, and can live together and wear the clothes they choose. H. W. P.

—*Boston Transcript*.

A CRUCIAL TEST.

In spite of alleged exposures, Mrs. Hardy continues her weekly materializing *séances* at her residence in Concord Square, beside giving frequent exhibitions in other parts of the country. At her last *séance* in this city several Boston journalists were present, including Mr. Abbot, of THE INDEX, who did not hesitate to declare the phenomena quite inexplicable. Mr. Abbot, by the by, was of the party lately entertained by the amateur medium described in the *Globe* as having excelled Mrs. Hardy in her own specialty and by a trick of legerdemain. By Mr. Abbot's account, however, it appears that the amateur medium had a confederate, and did not submit to the investigation courted by Mrs. Hardy, who at her last Friday night *séance* submitted to what might be called the crucial test of allowing Mr. Abbot and another journalist to go into the very laboratory from whence the spirit hands were projected, and that, too, during the exhibition. Both gentlemen satisfied themselves that no machinery or devices for simulating the phenomena were beneath the table, but the first explorer had scarcely emerged from the dark space before a hand was seen to thrust itself through the aperture in the table. The same exhibition succeeded the investigation by Mr. Abbot, but after a somewhat longer interval of time.

Some of the hands shown were very remarkable for their perfect resemblance to the form and movements of the mortal member, and one of them, agreeably to an expressed wish, pointed upward with its index finger, showing the flexibility and voluntary motion of its mates.—*Boston Herald*, Feb. 13.

THOSE SPIRIT HANDS.

The controversy about those "spirit hands" goes on without much prospect of a satisfactory conclusion; but nobody will like to be set down as a convert to the belief in their genuineness until he has been actually persuaded by proofs conclusive to his own mind. A paragraph in the *Evening Herald* of Saturday is calculated to give the impression that Mr. Abbot, of THE INDEX, who was present at the last *séance* at Mrs. Hardy's, was convinced that there was no fraud or deception in the exhibition. We are assured by Mr. Abbot himself that nothing could be further from the truth than such an impression, though he admits that he discovered nothing. He says that, so far as he is able to reach any conclusion now, the cause of the phenomena is unintelligible to him, but he is by no means convinced that it is spirits. He was not satisfied that no "machinery or devices" were used in producing these phenomena, though he found no indication of any in the enclosure under the table. Like almost everybody else, he is unable to account for the appearance of those hands, but he is not therefore convinced that they are produced by spirits, or that they are not produced by some device of jugglery. There is another misstatement in the *Herald* paragraph, which is of little consequence, but as some people are sensitive on this subject we wish to be fairly understood. We did not state that the exhibition of the "amateur medium" excelled Mrs. Hardy's, except in the matter of distinctness and light. It was far from being so inexplicable. A respectful distance was necessary to the completeness of the illusion, and a critical examination after the performance began would have been fatal to its success. We have, as yet, heard of no one who has discovered any trick or mode of deception in Mrs. Hardy's exhibition of visible hands, and if it is a trick it is yet to be discovered and exposed. If it is not, all that we desire is to have that clearly proved by the exclusion of every chance for deception, and the application of tests that shall be absolutely conclusive. It is a matter which, if what it claims to be, is of transcendent interest and importance; and if an imposture, it is one of the most atrocious on record. All we want is the truth, and we assume nothing without evidence.—*Boston Globe*, Feb. 15.

ROBINSON CRUSOE'S ISLAND.—Prof. Agassiz gives an interesting account of the appearance of the very famous island called Juan Fernandez at the present time, which will entertain our Crusoe readers. It is inhabited by some twelve persons, including children. They have good poultry and vegetables, splendid beef, and can get goats by climbing after them, for the wild goats are still numerous there, and flocks of hundreds of them may be seen upon the mountains. The island is ten or twelve miles long, and four wide; the shore mostly precipitous, and the mountain ridges three thousand feet high. The water around the island is deep, and the appearance is as if there had once been an extensive island, with a splendid rugged chain upon it; that suddenly the bottom had been knocked from under all except this patch of ten miles by four, and all but this had sunk into the sea. Valleys and mountains, spurs and gentle slopes, are all cut off by this precipitous edge, and there are but few places on the island where a landing can be effected.

THERE is a foolish corner even in the brain of a sage.—*Selected*.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

GOOD CHEER.

BY S. H. MORSE.

Hurrah!

Yet stay your hands from forcing rights,—
That cause shall fail ignobly fights.
Great truths ascend to hold the throne,
As all souls make those truths their own.

Hurrah!

For words of Truth with spirit free
Have wings will waft them o'er the sea:
Where mortals dwell they'll make their way,
And cheerily sing the glad new day!

I THANK THEE, GOD, THAT I CAN DIE.

BY WILLIAM BRUNTON.

I thank thee, God, that I can die;
That soul and body part at last;
That I, uncaged, like bird shall fly,
Till all of earth and time is past.
I thank thee fully, freely, strong,
For very joy I almost cry,
I thank thee, God, with joyous song,
I thank thee, God, that I can die!

I thank thee, God, that I can die;
My heart rejoices Death is made—
That Death will not in slight pass by
Till I within the grave am laid.
I have no fears of this "last sleep,"
No doubts, no griefs, no askings why;
My soul adores thy wisdom deep,
I thank thee, God, that I can die.

I love the life thy wisdom sent,
The sphere in which I move to-day;
I have no scorn, no discontent,
Yet would not here forever stay.
I pray for other scenes, above;
For other realms I earnest try;
And thus I own thy liberal love,
And thank thee, God, that I can die.

I must resign this present lot,
Or let me weep or bless thy name;
Death comes to all, or pleased or not,
And has on all an equal claim.
And I would fain thy love allow,
And meet thy will without a sigh;
And so I love the living now,
And thank thee, God, that I can die.

Oh, when I leave this mortal form,
And wend my way to higher life,
How shall I bless these days of storm,
This scene of struggle, care, and strife;
And how shall I rejoice to see
The blessed reach of opening sky!
To be so blest, to be so free!
I thank thee, God, that I can die.

I die—yet live,—and live with thee!
I live to grow in health and grace,
I live that I may perfect be,
And serve before thy friendly face.
Oh, Death is dear, and bright, and glad,
'Tis Life in infinite supply:
The highest gift thy goodness had—
I thank thee, God, that I can die!

—*Banner of Light*.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 14.

Frances D. Wason, \$3.20; W. D. Gunning, \$3.20; E. B. Loring, \$6.20; Chas. Voysey, \$37.52; W. A. Leonard, \$4.11; T. B. Gunn, \$4.12; Josiah Gimson, \$4.05; R. C. Jones, 38 cents; W. C. Russel, \$23.20; George Hoadley, \$25; George N. Fletcher, \$13.20; M. H. Doolittle, \$13.20; Wm. Jabine, \$23.20; J. N. Lyman, \$13.20; J. M. Hadley, \$13.95; J. H. Jones, \$3.20; Ernst Prussing, \$4.20; J. H. Clark, \$3.20; R. G. Deathe, \$3.20; Fannie Wertz, \$3.25; Ollie B. Squier, \$1; Wm. T. Menefee, \$3.20; W. P. Atkinson, \$3.20; J. McKachnie, \$3.20; Wm. Shank, \$2.40; Guido Marx, \$3.20; C. Stratton, \$3; E. P. Wright, 20 cents; J. W. Sulist, \$3; S. C. Johnson, \$3.20; A. R. Wyeth, \$5; J. R. Brown, \$3.20; Chas. D. Haskins, \$3.20; C. F. Fay, \$1.50; G. L. Henderson, \$8; O. A. Taft, Jr., \$3.20; Geo. W. Shock, \$1.75; Thos. R. Davis, \$3.30; Leon Sampson, \$2.20; O. N. Preston, \$1.70; W. H. Randall, \$3; Thos. S. Murray, \$5.10; M. T. Palmer, \$3.20; Hiram Colt, \$3.20; M. Deifendorf, \$1; A. D. Dickenson, \$3.20; C. A. Hayden, \$1.60; John Scott, \$1.50; George H. Stone, \$3; P. L. Messler, \$1.50; W. Beechenbach, \$1.50; John Cristie, \$1.50; N. R. High, \$3; Henry Phillips, \$3; C. M. Dillon, \$2; F. J. Norton, \$2; H. G. Donayson, \$2; L. S. Gessner, \$2; Byron Scoville, \$2; E. B. Belding, \$2; W. B. Kidder, Jr., \$2; George Engler, \$2; J. W. Groat, \$2; N. P. Birdseye, \$2; George Carleton, \$2; Milo Hunter, \$2; James Tuck, \$2; T. P. Hurd, \$2; David Beard, \$3; W. H. Kaufmann, \$2; D. J. Harris, \$2; Lucia H. Cales, \$2; Rooney Mason, \$2; Elias Denton, \$2; Col. Forlong, \$1.70; J. H. Jones, 50 cents; P. Fisk, \$3; Wm. Wiley, \$10; Wm. Newman, \$10; St. Louis Advertising Co., \$1.55; George Allen, \$1.40; Henry Apthorp, \$10; Josiah Stetson, 95 cents; N. P. Halliwell, \$3; Wm. Dudgeon, 50 cents; C. E. Streeter, 14 cents; J. S. Thomson, \$1.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 18, 1875.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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GREAT EFFORTS are making by the Catholics to acquire control of the colored people of the South. The Right Reverend Bishop Vaughan, of England, Superior-general of St. Joseph's Mission of the Sacred Heart, and six priests, have lately arrived here on this business. The chief houses of this mission are at Baltimore and Louisville, and another will be established soon at Charleston or some other Southern city.

MR. H. L. GREEN, of Syracuse, N. Y., who is very successful canvassing for THE INDEX in the West, is cordially commended to the hospitality and good offices of its friends wherever he may go. He has lately been securing new subscribers at the rate of ten a day, and shows what zeal and enterprise in the good cause can accomplish. Will not others take encouragement from his success, and give the paper a little cordial help just now in the very necessary work of increasing its circulation? All we want is a simultaneous advance "all along the line."

PINK SLIPS with this printed inscription—"Dear Sir, This specimen copy of THE INDEX is mailed to your address at the suggestion of a friend, with the hope that you will be sufficiently interested to subscribe for the paper. Please examine it, and, if in sympathy with its general tenor, favor us with your subscription. Respectfully yours, *The Index Association*,"—are affixed to specimen copies of THE INDEX, and mailed to all the addresses of possible subscribers which are furnished to the paper by its friends. Please send in your lists of names, and thus aid in extending the circulation of the "wickedest paper"!

A BOUND volume of THE INDEX either for 1871 or 1872, as desired, will be sent as a premium by express to any one who will remit the names of two new subscribers, with their addresses in full and the six dollars in advance. These volumes labor under the serious disadvantage of containing more essays by the editor than either of the subsequent ones, as his "barrel" was not then exhausted; but the contributed and selected articles of permanent interest are good enough to atone for his prosy pen, and render the books very valuable premiums. This offer cannot be continued long, as the supply of the volumes is limited to a small number; but it is thought best to give the old friends of the paper this chance of helping themselves and it at the same time.

A MR. ANTHONY, according to a correspondent of the *Investigator*, has introduced into the Missouri Legislature a school bill which is moulded in the interest of the Roman Catholic Church, and which, if passed, will accomplish a division of the school money among individual parents. It consolidates the school fund, and places it under the control of the Governor and the County Treasurers; it provides that—"Parents, guardians, and other persons who have care of children, can send them to any school in the State and draw the full amount of money due each child; and such books can be selected as each one may desire. No act shall be construed so as to force a mixture of races, etc." By this bill the public school money will be paid out to any one who can establish a claim to the care of a child, and thus placed under the control of the Catholic priests in a large number of instances; and the destruction of the whole school system would soon be the result. The intelligent friends of education must be vigilant and united, or the era of "ignorance and devotion" will return once more before long.

"CHRISTIANITY NOTWITHSTANDING."

Rev. Minot J. Savage, who, while still an Orthodox clergyman, published two or three years ago a book that attained a wide circulation under the title of *Christianity the Science of Manhood*, and who is now the pastor of Rev. George H. Hepworth's former society in this city, delivered an address on January 14 before a Unitarian Conference, which will be found republished in this week's INDEX as the opening essay. We have read it with great admiration of the general tone and spirit it manifests, so intrepid, truth-loving, and direct; it kindles a hope that the Unitarians will be incited by this example of a new recruit from Orthodoxy to grapple vigorously with the great issues they have until lately met by a seeming "conspiracy of silence." Mr. Savage intends, at least, to grapple with these issues; and, if he fails to do so fully, it is evident enough that the sole reason is his present unfamiliarity with the grounds of the convictions he opposes. This sermon is proof of courage, ability, and great moral earnestness. When he comes to appreciate at its full strength the position he now controverts because he as yet only partially apprehends it, we shall be greatly mistaken if he does not put his thought into action once more; and we venture to predict that, before many years have elapsed, he will find himself in unendurable want of harmony with the collective action and general drift of the denomination he has so lately joined, however delightful its private fellowship may be and is.

Without attempting to follow all its argument, we wish to say something respecting some of the leading points of this discourse.

Mr. Savage begins by affirming the right of free thought in the most absolute way—concedes "all the liberty that is claimed by the Free Religious platform"—declares that he "sees nothing to be gained by Unitarianism's allowing Free Religion to take from her the glorious prestige of utter freedom"—and uses language of thrilling manliness on this point. He then affirms that "the Free Religious platform seems to me to contain nothing whatever inconsistent with Christianity," and believes that this platform is "misrepresented" by THE INDEX.

Now this is a matter which can be subjected to the test of observation and experiment. The constitution of the Free Religious Association, which is the only "platform" ever adopted by them or accepted as in any way expressing their collective position, affirms "that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every human being." When has any such freedom as that even been verbally affirmed by any Unitarian body? If any explicit affirmation of the unqualified right of free thought and free speech has ever been made by any Unitarian organization, we have yet to learn the fact, and must wait till it is proved before conceding that Unitarianism has ever gone so far as even to profess the fundamental principle of Free Religion, which is *absolute religious freedom in unlimited religious fellowship*. We must respectfully decline to accept as evidence the words of any individual Unitarian, and must insist that the words of Unitarian organizations are the only evidence that is admissible on this subject; for every individual assertion of Unitarian freedom can be more than matched with equally strong individual assertions of Unitarian submission to the "authority of the Lord Jesus Christ." These balance and neutralize each other as evidence; the only proof that will prove anything must be collective, not individual, affirmations.

If from words we turn to acts, we find that the Free Religious Association has actually had on their platform persons representing all phases of belief—Christians, extra-Christians, anti-Christians, Jews and "infidels," theists and atheists, materialists and spiritualists, orthodox and heterodox of almost all degrees of orthodoxy and heterodoxy; and persons of all these opinions are or may be, by simple subscription, enrolled on the list of membership without any inquiry as to their belief. Can any Unitarian organization say as much? Is their fellowship practically thrown open to persons of all types of religious thought? If so, we shall be very glad to learn a fact of which we are now in total ignorance.

But, more than this, the Free Religious Association can say truthfully that they set up not even a name as a limit to thought or a test of fellowship. They do not require any one to profess himself a "Free Religionist," or to call himself a believer in "religion" of any sort; on the contrary, some of the members of the Association reject the word "religion" as synonymous with superstition, yet no one dreams of questioning their right to full membership

with all its privileges. No name whatever is a shibboleth in that Association. Can any Unitarian organization say as much? Did not a Unitarian society, within eight years, apply for and obtain from the Supreme Court of New Hampshire an injunction prohibiting forever the minister of a certain Independent society, or any one holding his views, to utter them in their church-building—an application secretly favored and backed by the then officers of the American Unitarian Association, and approved by a Unitarian judge on the bench of the Supreme Court itself? Have not the present officers of the same Association recently stricken from the official list of Unitarian clergymen the name of one of their most prominent and most highly respected ministers, for the avowed reason that he declined to call himself explicitly by the Unitarian Christian name? And was not this act approved by the American Unitarian Association at their last annual meeting? And was it not again approved by the National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches? Has any protest against these glaring violations of the rights of spiritual freedom and spiritual fellowship ever been uttered by a single Unitarian organization? We point now to facts—not to frothy declamations unbacked by deeds. Will Mr. Savage look these facts squarely in the face, and still claim that Unitarianism has all the liberty of Free Religion?

Thus far we have appealed to observation—to facts which are patent to all who will look at them. But a short and easy experiment will settle the matter beyond a doubt. Let Mr. Savage, or any other minister of his denomination, explicitly say in public that he is neither a Christian nor a Unitarian; and not only will his name be struck out of the next *Year Book*, but he will be driven from his pulpit without any great delay. This is a rash prediction of ours on which we unhesitatingly stake whatever reputation we may enjoy as a divinely inspired prophet! Perhaps a Unitarian society may here and there retain an already settled minister even under these circumstances, by reason of long or close personal attachment; but such anomalies will soon disappear, the minister finding no new society, and the old one either retreating to Unitarianism or advancing to independence. Experiment will not fail, we think, if faithfully tried, to prove the same conclusions to which the facts already cited clearly point.

Mr. Savage cannot name an opinion whose open avowal or public advocacy would affect in the slightest degree the rights of any member of the Free Religious Association. But we venture to say that no minister will be long tolerated in Unitarian pulpits who publicly denies that Jesus is the Christ in any sense; or who publicly denies the existence of a personal God; or who publicly denies the doctrine of a future life after death. When Mr. Savage, therefore, says that the Free Religious platform contains "nothing whatever inconsistent with Christianity," we are constrained to reply that it contains at least one thing which is inconsistent with the Christianity professed by his own denomination,—namely, "absolute liberty of thought and expression."

One other point only will we notice here. Mr. Savage says: "It is a noteworthy fact that, when Mr. Abbot wishes to take his anti-Christian position, he leaves his old platform of Liberal Christianity, and frames a new definition to meet the exigencies of his warfare." No! Discovering by personal experience, as well as by observation and study, that there is no such thing as "Liberal" Christianity, and loving Christianity less than liberty, we found the definition which Christianity has written out for itself on the page of history and on the living Christian institutions of to-day. We have "framed no new definition" of it at all; we deny the right in reason of any man to "frame a new definition" of it, except as a consequence of getting new light on the thing itself. The collective utterances of the Christian Church, the venerable formularies and creeds gradually built up in obedience to the inherent laws of the Christian organism, give the only definition of Christianity which the scientific student of history will ever accept. To these creeds we add only the perception that their net influence on the course of human progress has been crippling, retarding, and hostile; and there you have all the elements of our "new definition." It is not we, but Unitarianism, telling the vast Christian Church that it does not understand its own religion and benevolently undertaking to "teach its grandmother how to suck eggs," that is guilty of innovation in this matter. If it does not like our definition, its quarrel is not with us, but with Christendom. Is it not about time to cease ex-

claiming at our audacity in pressing a "new definition" of our own, when we have only picked up one as old as the Christian era? Really, the criticism pays an undeserved compliment to our originality; and we waive it in honor of the Neo-Christianity which has discovered a strikingly novel view of the universe by standing on its own head. It is Unitarianism alone which attempts to "force its private dictionary into public circulation"; and we would invite Mr. Savage to step outside the little circle of his newly adopted denomination, in order to see what "dictionary" is in actual use in the great world he has for a while forgotten. He will then find that he might as well talk Choctaw as persist in using the bizarre technology of the Neo-Christian school.

KNOWLEDGE AND WISDOM.

This is the *knowing* age. We have had other ages of art, philosophy, and literature; but this is distinctively the age of science. The scientific spirit is in the air. It is quickening our schools and all our institutions of learning. Society at large is permeated with it, and under its stimulus men are becoming inquirers and seekers, explorers and discoverers. People are hungry for facts, eager for information. They are ransacking the earth and the heavens with telescopes and microscopes, and every other instrument of invention. They are experimenting in every field of physics; they are pushing their inquiries into every department of social statistics, being infinitely busy in collecting statistics, tabulating facts, making reports, and planning reforms; they are studying into political economy, and proposing to organize and reorganize politics and governments on the basis of new theories and principles; in every conceivable way they are intent on enlarging the boundaries of their knowledge, and gathering stores of information from all possible quarters.

No fault can be found with this, surely. We cannot *know* too much. We cannot be too well informed as to the contents of the world we live in, the nature of beast and bird and man, the history of the earth and all its races, the unfolding of the heavens with their infinitude of stars, the foundation and structure of human society, the mysteries of matter and the problems of mind. The universe is before us, awaiting our investigation, and inviting us to its acquaintance. We have no power in it or over it except as knowledge arms and equips us with that efficiency. We are slaves to ignorance and fear and superstition until knowledge breaks our bonds and sets us free. To know is, then, in order. The spirit of curiosity, of inquiry and investigation, we are fortunate to have inherited from all the past; and we do well to cultivate and make the most of it.

But is there any difference between knowledge and wisdom? Is it possible for one to be quite knowing, and yet not really wise? The system of education in vogue at the present time does seem to give occasion for the suspicion that this may be true. Knowledge, in the popular and ordinary scientific sense of the word, implies mainly the exercise and development of our purely intellectual faculties; but wisdom implies the exercise and development of all our faculties, intellectual, spiritual, and moral. Knowledge appears to imply the intelligent apprehension of things and the truth about things; whereas wisdom implies this and more,—namely, the perception of the relations between things and the truths of things. Knowledge makes men acquainted with and fit for some sphere or vocation in life; but wisdom makes them to understand and be fit for life itself, and interested in the whole of life's meaning and outcome. Knowledge, even much knowledge, often leaves a man narrow, dogmatic, conceited, and bigoted; but wisdom, even a little wisdom, makes him broad, liberal, modest, and humanitarian. With knowledge come cunning, skill, and efficiency; with wisdom come light, life, and inspiration. Wisdom is knowledge well digested, and diffused throughout the whole being, and rightly related and applied to all the subjects and objects of experience.

Now, our schools and colleges for the most part teach knowledge, but not wisdom; they make our children and youth very knowing, but not very wise. Often the playground teaches the boy more wisdom than the schoolroom, and the collegian finds that life gives him a more liberal education than he obtained at the university. Our schools teach technicalities, not ideas. Ideas are not the qualification demanded of teachers, but some special and narrow training. If the teacher have ideas, the temptation if not the necessity of his or her vocation is to keep them for the club or the private circle; the routine of class lessons must not be enlivened by them; besides,

the marks of rank are determined, not by the general wisdom of the scholar, but by his particular knowledge of some one or more technical studies. Thus, not inspiration but stimulation fills the air of the schoolroom, and is breathed by both teacher and scholar,—a stimulation which is unwholesome to body and mind, and deteriorating to their finest tone and quality.

A few years ago, circumstances led me to pass one whole year in the daily society of several instructors in one of the oldest and best institutions of learning in the land. I was constantly being impressed with the really narrow and illiberal education which many of these knowing men had received, with their lack of general intelligence and actual ignorance of many things which made them appear curiosities of learned foolishness, with their one-sided, formal, uninspired, and uninspiring views of life altogether. I saw plainly that these men had plenty of knowledge of certain kinds, but little or no wisdom; that instead of being instructors they ought to be instructed; that the education which they were imparting to young men was in no sense a broad, liberal, and rational one; and that the world had little to hope from these unwise wise ones, except that they would contrive to live and die without causing it too much trouble.

Far too much of the so-called culture of our modern times is knowledge without wisdom, intellect without soul, mental understanding without spiritual discernment. It is characterized by a striking deficiency of good judgment and good sense, and the capacity of perceiving the interior significance of things. People go on learning *things*, but remain ignorant all the while of the soul of things; they add this, that, and the other accomplishment to their catalogue of knowledges, and yet they persevere to be men and women without ideas, and without value as choice friends and companions. A distinguished man of letters, himself an important contributor to the very finest literature of this generation, remarked to me not long since that he found the common run of literary society in this country to be very dry and uninteresting; "beyond the ordinary chit-chat of their profession, speak to these people of ideas," he said, "and they stare at you with the most amiable imbecility!" But why should this be so, if literature means anything more than a popular grammatical arrangement of words? It ought to be the vehicle of grand and inspiring ideas—ideas which should enlighten the intellect, and set the heart and soul on fire. Yet we never shall have such a literature in this country, until our education and culture impart to the children and youth wisdom as well as knowledge.

"With all thy getting get understanding," says the proverb,—the understanding of the heart as well as of the head, of the spirit as well as of the intellect. No one word can express the whole, not even that broad one of science. To *know* is not enough; we must hope, imagine, believe, love, aspire, and worship. The most adorable trinity is composed of the True, the Good, the Beautiful. Knowledge is not enough to recognize all these; but wisdom leads us to bow before the wonderful Three! A. W. S.

THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION.

"A Statement of the Theory of Education in the United States of America, as approved by many Leading Educators."

"The National Bureau of Education: its History, Work, and Limitations."

I should like to call the attention of readers of THE INDEX to these last two circulars of the National Bureau, as, although very brief and simple, they may serve to correct many erroneous notions. Our people have such a jealous dread of centralized authority that many of them imagine the establishment of this bureau to be a step towards arbitrary power; but this circular shows it to be simply a convenient agency for collecting and diffusing information in regard to our public schools, and matters of interest connected with them.

We all desire to see constant and great improvement in our public school system; but we are a little likely to forget that the first indispensable condition for introducing reforms judiciously is a thorough knowledge of these institutions as they actually exist. Many critics of the public schools speak as if the methods of fifty years ago were the ones now generally used, and will strenuously advocate the introduction of measures as wholly new which have been in use for years. Others propose Utopian plans which could be carried out with unlimited pecuniary means, without considering that economy of the

public resources is one of the constant limitations of the legislator. When Goldsmith was in need of employment, some of his friends proposed to send him to China to bring home new inventions in the mechanic arts. "He!" said Dr. Johnson,—"he would bring home a wheelbarrow and think it a new invention." Many of our enthusiastic advocates for improvement in the schools resemble the delightful writer in this respect, and, if they would spend as many hours in examining the public schools as they do in talking about them, would find a great deal to cheer and encourage their hearts, as well as plenty of opportunity to suggest really necessary improvements.

Every person can do a great deal also in aiding the National Bureau in its work, by sending for its publications and spreading them abroad, and by carefully furnishing in return such local information as is desired.

The plain statement of the public school system may seem dry and meagre; but, when it is remembered that it was necessary to confine it to such views as would meet the approbation of all,—and that, as the schools are State and not national institutions, they vary very greatly in different localities,—it will be seen that a fuller statement would be impossible. This one does give the plain, fundamental principles in which all agree, although perhaps all could not have stated them in the metaphysical terms which are here employed. The one most important condition for the improvement of our schools is the thorough acquaintance of the whole people with them, and the Bureau is doing much to make this possible. E. D. C.

CHURCH AND NAVY.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, so the newspaper informs us, has prepared a form of service to be used at the launching of any vessel belonging to the British Navy. The service begins with Psalm one hundred and seven, at the twenty-third verse: "They that go down to the sea in ships." Will he allude to the kind of "business" they purpose doing in the great waters? There might be a propriety in a religious service associating the Church with the merchant marine, for that is an agent of civilization. The merchant-ship suggests intercourse among nations, peace, friendly relations, the cessation of war, and the destruction of its causes. The navy suggests war, mutual hostility, jealousy, national pride, insolence, and vindictiveness. But the navy represents government, the State; and the alliance between State and Church demands these little courtesies. The Church leaves bales of goods unattended to, and reserves its blessing for banners. It prays for victory on national arms, not for the triumph of peaceful enterprise. This is natural. The Church cannot afford to be on ill terms with its friend; and, as its friend holds both army and navy precious as the apple of his eye, it would be ungracious not to implore on them the special favor of heaven. Had the Church maintained its dignity apart from the State, it would never have been caught in such absurd and inhuman practices.

Mr. Lecky (*European Morals*, II., 269) makes the terrible assertion: "We may look in vain for any period since Constantine in which the clergy, as a body, exerted themselves to repress the military spirit, or to abridge or prevent a particular war, with an energy or a success the least comparable to what they displayed during several centuries in stimulating the fanaticism of the crusaders, in producing the atrocious massacre of the Albigenses, in embittering the religious wars that followed the Reformation." And on the next page: "The broad fact remains that, with the exception of Mohammedanism, no other religion has done so much to produce war as was done by the religious teachers of Christendom during several centuries." Lecky justly ascribes this to the military fanaticism evoked by the indulgences of the popes, and to the extreme antipathy towards unorthodox opinions on theology. But something of the ferocity must be imputed to the very early and close association between religion and the government. Worldly policy had much to do with the fanaticism of the crusades, which were a business of princes as much as of priests—of princes and priests combined. The persecution of the Albigenses was not due to theological aversions alone; and the frightful religious wars that followed the Reformation must be charged to the account of the intimate alliances between spiritual and temporal powers. The sudden rise of peace doctrines in the last century accompanied the protest of the Quakers, a religious body that laid stress on the

absolute separation between Church and State, as earlier it had marked the outbreak of the Anabaptists. The dissolution of that direful union certainly would not put a stop to war or its preparations; but it would deprive war and all its appurtenances of the sanction of religion, and would throw all the moral influences there might be on the side of humanity.

The fanatical performance of the English Archbishop reminds me of a good story which has the merit, I am assured, of being *vero* as well as *ben trovato*. An enthusiastic rationalist was arguing with a neighbor on the subject of war, and advocating extreme peace principles. His neighbor, a good conservative man, said: "Oh, that is all owing to your loose opinions on religion. You are a fanatic on the subject of peace, because you are a fanatic on the subject of belief." Sometime afterwards the two men chanced to meet, and again fell into conversation on the same old topic. To the surprise of the worthy churchman, the aforetime infidel advanced views similar to his own. "How is this?" he exclaimed; "I thought you were a peace man!" "So I was once," the friend replied; "but I have been converted; I am no longer an infidel, I am a Christian." O. B. F.

Communications.

EAST WISCONSIN NOTES.

MILWAUKEE, Feb. 5, 1875.

It will scarcely be understood in the East how much of an event has been a series of "Parlor Conversational Lectures," held in Milwaukee the past week. They were led by Mr. Charles Mills, whose name and fame are well known to the readers of THE INDEX, and were the first of the kind ever given in this city. The course comprised three lectures; namely, "Our Aryan Ancestors," "Oriental Thought," and "Greek Thought." Dr. Dudley, of Plymouth Church, was instrumental in securing Mr. Mills for this course, and the city owes him a vote of thanks.

As Mr. Mills is widely known, and as to speak of his attainments and his felicitous manner of imparting his views would savor of flattery, however temperately I might express myself, I will not enlarge upon these points, but will simply say with all modesty that the very marked favor with which this gentleman was received in Milwaukee, together with the fact of his fearless utterance of free thought, has prompted me to jot down these notes. The work of Mr. Mills seems to me to harmonize admirably with the work of THE INDEX, which means the religious redemption of the Christian world.

A facetious reporter, writing up the "Parlor Lectures," says they were given to "Milwaukee's society pets." The phrase may be interpreted by each reader of these notes as he likes. The fact is, that the most elegant residences in our city (and we do have these among us, notwithstanding some down-east people have never been quite able to dissociate the ideas of wigwags and Wisconsin) were thrown open, and made doubly attractive by the most cordial hospitalities shown, not only to "society's pets," but to the most radical of radicals, who were drawn thither by the promise of good things hinted in the subjects announced for the lectures. The promise was more than fulfilled. The radical had a rare, rich feast, and the "pet" an appetizing taste of what will season all his future intellectual culture.

Here (if I may be allowed to say so much) among "society's pets" there is a vast field for the cultivation of intellectual tastes. Wealth and leisure are of comparatively little value, unless adjusted to the development of high thought and intellectual progress. They are of inexpressible value when so adjusted. The advent of apostles such as Mr. Mills should be hailed with enthusiasm by all who desire social redemption. May not the parlor with its æsthetic opportunities, hitherto dedicated solely to social occasions, become the scene of rare conjunctions of intellectual conversation with social enjoyment? To the parlor belong possibilities of informal interchange of thought that are denied to more public places,—to the pulpit or the platform. Parlor clubs are no rarity in far Eastern cities. Between them and the rapidly growing cities of the far West are scores of intermediate towns where such feasts of reason are unknown, and where there is a vast congregation of the unchurched, hungry for rational food, waiting to welcome the true teacher who "can speak to their condition." In the churches of these cities are also intelligent minds, dormant under the fossilizing influence of mere forms, that need but the awakening word to be impelled to the search of the fresh, upspringing flowers of free thought, growing to-day by the common roadside, but hidden from so many eyes by old beliefs. The spirit of free inquiry is stirring the blood of thousands. The air is thick with doubts and oppressive with vague unrest. Leaders of free thought are needed. The field is ripe for a new departure in the methods of teaching the better thought. Pulpit preachers are fighting a losing battle against this omnipresent spirit of inquiry. Iconoclasts are too apt to be mere individualists. They form a one-man or a one-woman congregation, enjoy their own emancipation, and disregard those who are still in thralldom. Not many are qualified by research, attainment, and power of expression, like Mr. Mills and his co-workers, but all may have

the spirit of the teacher; and this spirit should be that of the young Carpenter of Galilee, seeking not to destroy but to fulfil. Though but two or three gather together, with the spirit of free investigation in their midst, they will find it good for them to be there. I am glad to see the list of Liberal Leagues increasing.

The teacher may be timid, and feel sensibly all his short-comings, but these informal conversations will rub off the shyness. We all know how a brisk talk operates upon us to bring out a thought from a brain cell,—hidden away, forgotten perhaps, but really registered there, as our later physiologists tell us. There should be a club of some sort formed upon a free basis in every town and village in the States. In every one of them more freethinkers than would be believed can be found. Among them will be one or more capable and willing to teach, and the many will willingly be taught. There is work to be done, and Free Religion needs its missionaries, its preachers.

In Mr. Mills I have seemed to recognize the missionary spirit. He does not take old beliefs by storm, nor say as the Christian does to the Pagan, "I am the way, and the truth, and the light, and except ye follow me ye shall be damned." He is not a proselytizer, but a preserver; not an aggressor, but a constructor; not exclusive, but inclusive. The tendency of his thought, however, is to correct the Christian bias which disparages religiousness in all religions save the Christian, by suggesting that there is a sacredness in other Scriptures than our own, and that ideals of holiness vitalize them all. He culls from the centuries before Christ such rare buds of wisdom and goodness that one not before familiar with those old Scriptures is led to marvel that the rich blossoming-time of purity and devotion has been delayed so long. We almost ask, Does it remain for modern free thought to discover those great truths in the past, and bring them at this late day to their natural fulfillment?

To Mr. Dudley the Milwaukee people are also indebted for the privilege of hearing Mr. Mills speak on Sunday evening, in Plymouth Church, upon the "Aspects and Omens of the Times." This eloquent lecture was full of striking facts, and the lecturer followed them fearlessly into whatsoever field of liberal thought they might lead. In so doing, however, he emphasized, as he continually does in his parlor talks, the idea of infinite perfection, the possibilities of finite attainment to this perfection, and the permeation of the human with the Divine essence.

A pleasant surprise occurred during Mr. Mills' stay in the city. This was a visit from Mr. A. Bronson Alcott, of Concord, who took part in the conversational lectures, and also spoke in Plymouth Church parlor upon the "Ideal Church of the Future." The benignity and wisdom of this aged apostle of high thought gave a peculiar grace to his words. If walls could speak, as they are often said to hear, it might be curious to question Plymouth walls as to how they could stand such an overturning of Orthodoxy as the venerable prophet pictured. They seemed to stand the unusual applause which the shocking picture called out, and did not fall brick by brick upon the heretical heads which prompted the feet and hands to movements that not even Orthodox walls could restrain. This forbearance may be owing to the reverend doctor himself who officiates there, who has educated them to be prepared to tumble down by-and-by gracefully and gladly, and give way for the ideal church he has cultivated his congregation to appreciate.

It will be seen that the angel of progressive thought is hovering over our fair new city of the West. The pulpit preachers feel the breath of its free wings, and chafe under the chains of creeds and forms which fetter their best efforts. Their emancipation is finally certain. Every such signal of religious redemption should be greeted with joy, and hung out to encourage the workers in our cause. Every such worker needs and should receive a hearty God-speed.

In view of the pleasant incidents of the past week, the friends of THE INDEX in Milwaukee feel pretty well, and would like to shake hands with its friends in the East, inasmuch as we have been regaled with a few choice crumbs of the sort of food of which you can partake at will. AMELIA A. WILLIAMS.

THE MINNEAPOLIS LIBERAL LEAGUE.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Feb. 2, 1875.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

The Liberal League of this city has been reorganized and taken upon itself an active existence, instead of remaining passive as during its past history. The officers now are—S. C. Gale, President; John Vander Horck, Vice-President; S. G. Rollins, Secretary; D. L. Buell, Treasurer.

Regular meetings are held each Sunday afternoon at 2.30 P. M., the programme being, first, an essay by some person designated for the task, and, secondly, general discussion of the topic by members of the League or visitors. Considerable interest is manifested, from two to three hundred being present each Sunday, and the discussions being lively and interesting. The platform is absolutely free, persons of every shade of religious opinion being invited to be present and participate in the exercises. Thus far one enthusiastic Orthodox clergyman has put in an appearance and defended the Puritan Sabbath, and, although he was listened to respectfully and criticised moderately, his example has not been followed by others.

To show you that our youthful organization has some vitality, and is not unknown to fame, I enclose a slip clipped from the editorial page of the *Citizen*, an Orthodox religious publication issued in this city, and edited by a Congregational clergyman named Campbell, who, besides being a professor of religion, is also a professor of quite a number of the sciences

in our progressive State University. You will observe that he dwells considerably on education and diplomas, and is utterly opposed to "educated men" casting their pearls before the swine of Radical audiences, if they are to be criticised by the ungodly.

Very truly yours,

FRANK J. MEAD.

FREE THOUGHT IN MINNEAPOLIS.

Minneapolis has a "Liberal League" nearly a month old. As the word "liberal" is of their own choosing, we suspect it has, as usual, a sort of mutual-admiration-society meaning, and is employed to rebut the suspicion that its members may be almost as narrow-minded as other people. They seem to be organized on the general principle of agreeing to disagree. Instead of being an assemblage of persons holding similar views, "it is particularly desired that all shades of religious opinions should be represented." The aim is doubtless to form an assortment of "Hegelian antinomies," and thus make unity by antitheses; or, better still, to apply the old Greek principle that "the proper conception of contradiction is the soul of a philosophical method." Whether in this indiscriminate conglomeration men would be free to carry out their conscientious convictions we fail to comprehend. For instance, the Jew is particularly invited. But is the Jew to act, to do, as well as to believe, or is he to cease to be a Jew before he can be congenial? If not, it would be his conscientious, religious duty to take with him into the hall a bag of stones, and pelt his non-Jewish companions as heretics. It is altogether probable, however, that men "of all shades" are expected to leave their consciences at home.

Just what is to be done doth not yet appear. They seem to "especially desire the presence of evangelical clergymen, provided that they allow their remarks to be criticised." If the ministers were invited to come and see whether there was a possibility of their doing the members any good, it would be a different case. If even they were requested to come and apply Prof. Tyndall's prayer-test, with the understanding that a cablegram would be sent to the professor announcing the proof of his proposition, provided one of the "Liberal" should actually be converted, that would seem reasonable. But for an incoherent jumble of non-professional theologians to invite a set of men who have a thorough education and diploma in their profession to come to be criticised is slightly suggestive of Lessing's shoemaker.

But we beg pardon; we did not intend to make sport of the "Liberal League." We shall wait anxiously for the results. If we cannot have a statement of their points of agreement (for they seem to begin by contraries instead of by similars), perhaps they will be able to work out a creed by inversion—stating in order the points which they do not believe. Still it might impinge on their "liberality" to unite in disbelieving. Meanwhile, it may be well for the ministerial brotherhood to consider Burns' reference to Captain Grose, "a chiel's amang ye takin' notes;" and, while there may be a poor show for thorough, scholarly discussion in science, theology, exegesis, manuscript history, or philosophy proper among the would-be critics, "if there's a tear in a' your coats" see that your skirts are worthy of the servants of the Lord. "Let your garments always be white," and if our prodigal brethren, who are sadly composing themselves among the husks, shall see that your life is worthy of your vocation, these wanderers may yet come back to our Father's house.

SACRED MUSIC FOR CHILDREN.

ST. PAUL, Minn., Feb. 5, 1875.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Cannot some one fitted by culture and sympathy for the work be encouraged to edit for us, and have published, a book, or a series of books, of hymns or sacred songs for our children, carefully selected with reference to their entire freedom from superstition, and set to music?

There is a want in this respect that is widely and deeply felt, that can be met in a comparatively easy way, and the service that would be rendered would be inestimable.

No single influence in education can compare with that which comes through such a channel, in its power to fix permanently right principles of conduct in mind and heart at the earliest beginnings, and to give the mould of character for all after life.

All educators, whether as professional teachers or parents, realize this truth.

There is something in the gift of poesy that is most closely allied to all that is best within us, and the gift is only complete and at its best when it comes to us on the wings of melody. That we all, in our maturer years perhaps no less than in childhood, yield to the sway of the ennobling power and beauty of song, is as true in our day of scientific penetration and enlightened culture as in times past, when the bard and the skald were the only instructors and historians of the race.

Our hymns, and such as have come down to us from the remotest times and from all lands, mark the eras of progress everywhere. They are the very crystals and flowers and "express image," at its best, of the struggling growth of humanity.

The hymns that had their birth in the genius of the Protestant Reformation were the right arm of its success among the people, and will keep its memorials dear, and the eternal cause of truth which (however obscurely recognized then) gave birth to it fresh and living in our hearts, while the delusions of its theology fade from thoughtful minds, and cease to be regarded.

There are those whose aspiration is for the utmost freedom of mind, the completest escape from the bondage of so-called "standards of authority" in matters of religious faith, who have known by personal experience and the discipline of mental conflict what that bondage is, and who, having passed through the shadow of a great darkness to the light, know what the contrast is, and love the light in which they see with an undying fervor, whose whole natures respond as ardently as ever, and with a clearer intelligence growing still more clear every hour of their lives, to Luther's—

"Ein feste Berg ist unser Gott."

They find its immortal strains among the battle-hymns of the reformation now transpiring—a reformation vastly more significant for the rights of man and the sway of the authority of truth.

The sacred lyrics you are giving to the public in THE INDEX from time to time, many of them the ripened fruit of the purest spiritual experience, inspirations from the clearest fountains of thought, no

less than from the holiest sources of feeling, attest the genuine and permanent character and the integrity of the intellectual and moral emancipation of which they are the gospel—their authors, the heralds and teachers sent of God.

It is the adaptation of the powerful influence which springs from this source to the period and wants of childhood, with all its peculiar susceptibilities to such impressions, that I wish to urge. Books of sacred songs are wanted for familiar use at home and in our schools, which, while they shall be for children from the tenderest years an expression of the devotion and spiritual aspiration and those pure domestic and social affections which are the birth-right of their natures, shall be free to the utmost from any taint of darkening creed or dogma, leaving the growing mind to the natural inquiries of its maturing faculties, and the advantages and aids of culture that must then be watchfully supplied. Who is there of us that can fully estimate the value, the controlling power, of such an influence? The cause we have at heart, the cause of freedom in religious faith, of the paramount authority of conscience, of reverence for individual character and all else that this emancipation implies, is clearly enough the characteristic of the immediate future dawning for us now. And we need only reflect that within less than twenty years the youngest of the children we are now educating will be upon the stage of active life to realize the importance of the question whether we are doing all we can, intelligently making use of the best and all the means of education and good culture at our command, to enable them without hindrance, and with every advantage from the start, and with full measure of enjoyment all along, to take their part and do their best service, when they come forward. It is the purpose of these remarks to call to mind the fact that among these means and resources the special influence here referred to is well deserving of practical attention.

Its neglect is the omission of a natural resource for education, the loss of which will not and cannot be otherwise made good. There are those to whom, as well as those for whom, the editing of such books would be indeed a labor of love. The suggestion has no doubt frequently occurred to many among those who are competent in every way to do what is so much to be desired. They will have no cause to regret in any respect the result, if they will undertake it. It requires but a cursory examination of the publications in this department now before the public to satisfy any intelligent mind that the want in this particular is far from being supplied, and we shall be heartily gratified if these remarks shall be instrumental in affording any encouragement to such an enterprise.

W. K. R.

[We say *amen* to this article with all our heart. Would that the need here so well depicted might be supplied by some one who is really competent to the task!—Ed.]

THE ST. LAWRENCE IN WINTER.

A walk across the St. Lawrence in winter, if the day be not too cold, is a delightful recreation.

One bright sunny day recently we crossed with a friend to the village of St. Lambert's, opposite Montreal, and an account of our journey may interest distant readers of THE INDEX.

The inclined planes connecting the wharves with the city afford the school-children rare coasting; and, walking down one at our peril from the youngsters, we come to the rinks cleared on the ice for skaters by industrious stevedores, who sometimes have difficulties with naughty, dodging boys who want skating without paying. As the proprietors with their slippery boats go after these bad boys on their quick irons, the sympathy of spectators may not always be on the side of justice.

The roads leading to the city are marked at the sides by little branches of evergreen, whose considerable firmness shows pretty nearly, by spring, the prevailing direction of the winds. We find the ice-saws busy as we go, and note how friction helps the work by melting the ice; it is loaded on sleighs in beautiful clear blocks, commonly sixteen inches thick, and the driver moves off seated on his transparent throne, with a straw-bag between.

The open water left by the sawyers in moderate weather gives off vapor, which floats away in clouds, retaining their forms sometimes for miles.

The channel of the river narrows very much just below the city, and the ice made by the first cold weather breaks up with the current and is upheaved in many fantastic forms when all has become solid from shore to shore.

Now clothed by the snow, and again denuded by the wind, these slabs might be thought to mark the tombs of Arctic explorers, dead,—and dead a good while.

We pass St. Helen's Island, whose dense woods bear a new foliage now, and notice a number of workmen engaged in filling up "cahots." These cahots are the bane of the teamster, who dreads them more than the north wind; they are depressions in the road made by drifting gusts and aggravated by every sleigh that passes. So the workmen are filling them up with snow, and water from a well made by cutting a hole in the ice; and the road shall soon be even and solid.

Travel compacts the roads, and the winds keep them level with the great plain of snow, so that in spring they are serviceable when all else is weak and oozy.

The plasticity of the ice is remarkable. Without rupture it adapts itself to the varying level of the water underneath; and the same thing can be noticed in large inclined slabs of the early upheaval,

which by warmth and weight gradually nod to their fall. One such slab we saw exquisitely divided internally by sharp lines into a scintillating mosaic.

In a thaw, a touch breaks up these slabs into bundles of *spicule*, always formed at right angles to the plane of freezing, and revealing the varying cohesion of the mighty mass beneath us.

The little snow-birds fly about as if it were summer, and we wonder how they live with what little scanty food they may find on the roads.

Many of the teamsters, with their empty sleighs returning from the city, invite us to come aboard, with the natural politeness of Frenchmen; but we decline, and return home with the sun slowly hiding behind Mount Royal, and making the tips of the slabs into twinkling prisms of light.

Although neither my friend nor myself will admit that he or I feel it *very cold*, still we have decidedly improved feelings toward all such men as deal in stoves and coals.

J. G. H.

MONTREAL, Feb. 5.

DEATH-BEDS OF CHRISTIANS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The flippancy with which Christians indulge in the horrors of the death-scenes of unbelievers, it seems to me, is not backed up with truth; or, in other words, they seem to have adopted a free use of pious falsehood for the purpose of persuading people to "come to Christ." Now I propose to speak of the death-bed of a Christian, and in doing so we shall see that in this case, at least, the wonderful preference for the Christian's death is entirely manufactured by the minister in the pulpit.

A near neighbor of mine (a man much given to prayer and talk about "the goodness of the Lord") was suddenly prostrated with severe nervous disease. A slight derangement of the mind accompanied it to the end. During one of my visits to the afflicted family, a brother churchman came in, and the sick man, just after unmistakable demonstrations of delirium, proposed prayer; during which he twice in a feeble manner shouted "glory." But during the night preceding his final dissolution, which came in about three days, the scene was too fearful for any one, unable to account for such derangement in a scientific way, to contemplate. The poor man was tormented with great black devils, and in the agony of despair begged his wife to keep them away. "Margaret! O Margaret! take the gun and shoot them great black devils. They are after me." And, addressing himself to the imaginary imps, he would say: "Go away! Get away! You can't have me. I'm on the Lord's side." Then, turning to his physician, he would say: "Doctor! O Doctor! Stay here by me, and keep them devils away." These and similar expressions followed in rapid succession, until the effect of morphine quieted his ravings into a slumber from which he never awoke. Now, if this man had not been a Christian, what a terrible example and terror to the unbeliever his death would have been! But the minister in his funeral discourse reviewed his sickness, and adorned it with "perfect trust in God," "an unwavering faith in a joyful resurrection," and described his death as peaceful, calm, and happy.

Another instance which came under my observation was that of a lady friend who died of consumption, and consequently had plenty of time for reflection. But in the different conversations I had with her, she expressed but little piety, though a church-member, and no particular hope or trust, but an entire ignorance of what the future is to be, saying: "I don't know," "I can't tell," "but as it is, so I shall find it." Being a woman of sound integrity, she had no false words for any one; but the minister at the funeral told of the pleasant religious conversation he had had with the lady, and of the strength of her hope and trust in Jesus; adding the stereotyped phrases generally pressed into service at such times. If such preachers cannot be charged with pious falsehood, then let it be called random talk, which is equally unpardonable.

F. W.

HEALDSBURG, Cal.

SCOTCH PRAYER.

An article in THE INDEX a few weeks ago, about answer to prayer, or the intense faith some people have that their prayers are answered because they have advised or given directions about them, has induced me to copy the following from Mr. Stoddard's first volume of the "Bric-a-Brac Series." It is in the interesting reminiscences of Julian Charles Young:—"One of the most notable men for this sort of homely fireside eloquence was Adam Scott of Upper Dalgleish. I had an uncle that herded with him, and from him I had many quotations from Adam Scott's prayers. Here is a short sample:—

"We particularly thank Thee for Thy great goodness to Meg; and that it ever cam into your head to tak ony thought o' sic a useless bow-wow as her [alluding to a little girl of his, who had been miraculously saved from drowning]. For Thy mercy's sake—for the sake o' Thy puir sinfu' creeturis now addressing Thee in their ain shilly-shally way, and for the sake o' mair than we daur weel name to Thee, hae mercy on our Rob. Ye ken yoursel' he's a wild mischievous callant, and thinks nae mair o' committing sin than a dog does o' licking a dish. But put Thy hooke intil his nose, and Thy bridle intil his gab, and gar him come back to Thee wi' a jerk that he'll no forget the longest day he has to live. Dinna forget puir Jamie who's far awa frae us the night. Keep Thy arm o' power about him, and ech, sirs, I wish ye wad endow him with a little spunk and smeddun to act for his sell; for if ye dinna, he'll be but a bauchel i' this world, and a backslider i' the next. Thou hast added one to our family. [N. B.—One of his sons had

just married against his approbation.] So it has been Thy will: it wad never hae been mine. But if it is of Thee, do Thou bless the connection. But if the fule hath done it only out o' carnal desire against a' reason and credit, may the cauld rain o' adversity settle in his habitation."

The last part of this prayer is left open. First it was God who had brought the couple together; but notwithstanding the work of the divine hand, the father boldly tells him he would have made a better choice. Then there creeps a suspicion about God having done it, and, if he really have, a blessing is asked; but, to be safe, in case he have not, a curse. Many such prayers I have heard myself in Scotland; but do we hear many more enlightened ones here? Are not all prayers inconsistent, and more or less blasphemous? If we believe unchangeably in natural laws, what have we to pray for? Or if, for us, prayer mean only thanks and praise, cannot these be best displayed in our lives? Does not "he pray best who loveth" and worketh "best"?

CALHOUN.

DRESS REFORM.

BY DR. W. D. CORKEN.

Feeling as I do a deep interest in the dress reform movement, I read with great pleasure the "literary notice" in the number of your excellent paper for January 7.

The subject of dress is attracting much attention, not only in the United States, but in the civilized world. We cannot suffer our beloved sisters, mothers, and friends to sacrifice the greatest blessing of life (health) to the caprice and folly of foreign fancy and fashion, without our solemn protest.

It would be impossible to exaggerate the inconveniences and disadvantages of the present style of dress, or the sacrifices that have to be made of health, comfort, dignity, and even self-respect.

That the fairest and most lovely portion of the creation of God should allow themselves to be deprived of the greatest blessing of life (health), is not only a shame, but a solemn mockery, in this age of civilization, when every woman in our free and happy country does, or should, understand the laws that govern life, and the consequences of disobeying them. I most sincerely hope that women, in every state and country on the face of the globe, will see the necessity of this "reform," as it will be a means by which many of the obstacles to woman's progress may be removed. A visit to the Dress Reform Rooms, 25 Winter Street, under the judicious and efficient charge of Mrs. H. K. Crane, will not only repay the visitor, but remove every prejudice. There surprise and delight will be expressed at the great progress which has been already made. Every requirement of Nature has been met, whether physiologically, hygienically, or aesthetically, and the foundation laid for a grand and glorious reformation in the dress of woman the wide world over. Dress reform is to become the most vital question; corsets are doomed to everlasting oblivion; and the day of freedom for woman's soul and body has dawned at length.

"Hail! happy, happy day,
When corsets all are done away."

WEST AMESBURY, Mass.

BELONGING NOT TO OURSELVES.

Granting that we are in the dilemma where Mr. Spencer's logic, from the premises that "property is robbery," puts us (of not owning our bodies), even then Proudhon's proposition is not thus disproved, "neatly," or otherwise. It is not even shown to be improbable; rather the contrary. Do we own our bodies? Or do we reciprocally belong to each other, our faculties and capacities of every sort, common wealth, to be expended in the service of right and truth? Does the intellect of Daniel Webster, the genius of Shakspeare, the philanthropic spirit of Wilberforce, Garrison, Bergh, belong to the individual possessor or to humanity? If so, what is the meaning of such a word as *duty*? Are we not rather responsible, if responsible at all, even for the moral conduct of another rather than for our own, since, as "conscious automata," we recognize, and can make the circumstances needed to insure, good conduct in others, though we must wait for external influence to modify our own?

By-and-by, ever so many years hence, of course, there will be universal acknowledgment that we belong, not to ourselves, but to the race; and the practical outcome will be that each will then employ his powers without waste; *i.e.*, in that which those powers are best able to execute, and do it *gratis*, or for the pleasure of being useful. The financial problem will be solved then, for there will be no need of money. The labor question will be settled. There will be no idlers, and, none of us any longer over-worked, we all shall have leisure and inclination to explore and enjoy.

JOHN FRANCIS SMITH.

PROVIDENCE, R.I., Feb. 8, 1875.

THIS IS AN ITEM not to be printed in the Sunday-school books: A crowd of bad boys went bathing in Skunk River, Iowa, on the Sabbath day, and while the Rev Jabez Lynne was reproving them and vainly endeavoring to induce them to come out, a thunder-storm came up and the minister was killed by a flash of lightning. None of the boys were drowned.

A STINGY husband accounted for all the blame of the lawlessness of his children in company by saying his wife always gave them their own way. "Poor things! it's all I have to give them," was the prompt reply.

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of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support. To this end, all improper or "blind" advertisements, all quack advertisements, and all advertisements believed to be fraudulent or unjust to any one, will be excluded from these columns. No cuts will be admitted.

THE INDEX must not be held responsible for any statement made by advertisers, who will in all cases accept the responsibility for their own statements.

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TOLEDO, Ohio, Sept. 20, 1872.

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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1 8 7 5. PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. ABBOT, D. A. WASSON, T. W. HIGGINSON, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. WASSON on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. ABBOT, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

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Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains verbatim reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Sonnenschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Calthrop, ABBOT, and HIGGINSON of their respective attitudes towards Christianity,—as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"—together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Keshub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. WASSON.

Religions of China, by Wm. H. CHANNING. 25 cents.

Reason and Revelation, by William J. POTTER. 10 cents.

Taxation of Church Property, by Jas. FARTON. 10 cents, singly; package of ten, 60 cents; of one hundred, \$3.

These publications are for sale at the office of the Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston. The Annual Reports for 1868 and 1871 cannot be supplied, and the supply of others previous to that of 1872 is quite limited. Orders by mail may be addressed either "Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston," or to the Secretary, New Bedford, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER, Sec. F. R. A.

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

ABRAHAM WALTER STEVENS.

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 GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, England.

THE INDEX aims—

To increase general intelligence with respect to religion:

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

In addition to its general objects, the practical object to which THE INDEX is specially devoted is the ORGANIZATION OF THE LIBERALS OF THE COUNTRY, for the purpose of securing the more complete and consistent secularization of the political and educational institutions of the United States. The Church must give place to the Republic in the affections of the people. The last vestiges of ecclesiastical control must be wiped out of the Constitutions and Statutes of the several States in order to bring them into harmony with the National Constitution. To accomplish this object, the Liberals must make a united demand, and present an unbroken front, and the chief practical aim of THE INDEX will be henceforth to organize a great NATIONAL PARTY OF FREEDOM. Let every one who believes in this movement give it direct aid by helping to increase the circulation of THE INDEX.

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1875.

WHOLE No. 270.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, undimly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSSES.

It is said that there will be sixty ex-rebel officers in the next Congress, and about thirty from the Union army. What does that indicate?

THE MORAL EDUCATION SOCIETY will meet next Friday, 3 P. M., at the New England Woman's Club Rooms. Essay by Dr. Caroline E. Hastings. Subject, "Is it by Inheritance or Education?" All are invited.

REV. JESSE H. JONES, of North Abington, will deliver a lecture, entitled "Jesus Christ or the Nineteenth Century: Which?" in the Cotton Hall Lecture Course, on Wednesday evening, March 3. The tickets to the whole course are 50 cents each.

FROM THE *Montreal Daily Witness* of January 23, it appears that the City Council have refused, by a vote of nine to five, to tax church property in that city. The large majority of the Council are Catholics. We call the attention of the *Brooklyn Catholic Review* to this fact, as it recently boasted of the liberal policy of the Catholics in Canada.

THE *Dundee Advertiser* (Scotland) reports Professor J. S. Blackie as having made this remark at a recent lecture: "Atheism, and the consequent negation of all religion which it implies, is an exception and abnormal type of humanity. An atheist is a monster, just as much as a woman with a beard, or a man without one, or a fox without a tail." One may as well expect figs from thistles as justice or reason from a bigot. Atheists are just like other men. If everybody is a "monster" who thinks for himself or differs from others, it will take the Pope to tell who of us all are not monsters; and he would most certainly overlook Professor Blackie in making up his own list of normal men.

THE DOGMA of the Pope's infallibility, it seems, is not to be the "sleeping giant of the Constitution," but a very wide-awake and terrible fellow: "The *Milan Gazette* says it is reported from the Vatican that categorical instructions have been issued to the priests in reference to confessions to be heard next Easter—at which season all Roman Catholics are bound to confess themselves under pain of excommunication. The confessor will be required, in the first place and above all things, to ask his penitents explicitly whether they believe in the infallibility of the Pope. In case of an affirmative answer the confession will proceed; but if the reply should be in the negative, the penitent will be at once dismissed with the warning that he has incurred the sentence of excommunication."

THE CHRISTIAN AMENDMENT SOCIETY held a convention at St. Louis, January 27, in which Dr. McAllister stated that two great petitions, one to the Senate and one to the House of Representatives, "will be presented to Congress without delay," in favor of that measure. A Mr. Ortleby having moved that Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, who had been referred to by one of the speakers as "the eloquent atheist of Illinois," should be listened to by the convention, it is reported that the request was denied. If the Christianizers won't even listen to protestants to-day, when they are on their good behavior, how will it be if they once get the upper hand? But we ought to say in justice that, at their Cincinnati convention in 1872, they listened very respectfully to a protest of our own.

The *Independent* is accustomed to intimate that we are very unjust to the missionary system. But its own abstract of the Sixty-fourth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, contained in its issue of February 11, is an astonishing confirmation of our own views on that subject. "The Report," says the *Independent*, "is very full in its list of missionaries; but the statistics

of mission membership are far more defective than they should be." Exactly so. Plausible excuses for failure are far more plentiful than proofs of success. Glowing anticipations of the future are abundant; but it is fact, not rhetoric, that is wanted. At Natal, 75 laborers are reported, and only 556 communicants; in Turkey, 591 laborers, and only 4,659 communicants; in the three East India missions, 467 laborers, and only 1,633 communicants; in the two Chinese missions, 95 laborers, and "the results have as yet been small"; in the Japanese mission, 24 laborers, and only "20 converts"; in the Micronesian missions and the American Indian missions, no definite report; in Austria, "the missionaries have scarcely done more than make plans for their work"; "Italy has been abandoned"; "in Spain, there is a feeble mission at Santander"; in Mexico, "there has been some encouragement." With this exhibit of the results of sixty-four years, the Board wants \$500,000 annually. "The receipts for the year were \$469,470, and the debt on Sept. 1st, 1874, was \$36,441." We submit that the *Independent*, when it comes to facts and figures, is just as cruel as THE INDEX to the missionaries. At this rate, how soon will the world be "converted to Christ"?

THE Board of Supervisors of Monroe County, New York, have reported through a special committee that property to the amount of over six and a half millions of dollars is exempted in that county from taxation. The committee's report contains this passage:—

The propriety of exempting church property has been fully considered, and your committee are unanimously in favor of a repeal of the law granting such exemptions. Whatever may have been the excuse or necessity for such discrimination in other days, there can be no good and valid reason for it at the present time. Universal freedom in religious matters, and the right to worship and honor God as seemeth good to every man, is fully guaranteed by our Constitution, and is backed by every man who can shoulder arms. What can church organizations ask more than this? Surely, they would not ask to be sustained by tax; and yet the exemptions granted have been this and nothing else. The time has come when our churches should be willing to pay their ratio and proportion in maintaining a judicious government, both willing and competent to protect them and their institutions.

This State has ever been liberal with churches, and the prosperity and perpetuity of the various churches have, to a great extent, grown out of this State encouragement; and now the time has come when the State should be excused from direct taxation for church purposes.

The law should be abolished; the dignity of the church and Christian manhood demands its prompt repeal, and every other consideration of an enlightened Christian character demands that no tinge of pauperism be associated with matters of religious faith and belief.

The third subject to be considered is the propriety of granting exemptions to clergymen. By reference to the page on recapitulation, it will be seen that we have in Monroe County 209 clergymen (too low) of whom 116 get more or less benefit from exemption, and 93 get no benefit whatever; and of course the reason is because they are poor, and have no property to exempt; and hence the same discrimination so palpably unjust towards the militia comes home to the reverend gentlemen, with convincing proof of its inequality. The statements given in regard to the militia and clergymen are so analogous in so many particulars that they should be classed in the same brigade of facts.

If it is necessary to sustain our clergymen by a tax (and this exemption is only another name for it), then it should become a general State tax, the same as for any State improvement; for then the poor, who most need assistance, will get their ratio and fair proportion.

Your committee are mindful of the important service rendered by our worthy clergymen, and the good which their permeating influence produces in favor of sound morality and Christian purity; but while they are thus mindful of their beneficial influence, they must regard a minister's reward in a higher and more exalted sense than can be derived from tax exemptions.

Your committee are unanimously in favor of a repeal of ministerial exemptions.

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The Divine Decrees

IN THEIR BEARING UPON SOCIAL LIFE AND CIVIL ALLEGIANCE.

[An anonymous pamphlet published by Brown & Co., Salisbury, England.]

It must surely have struck all thoughtful persons as a marvellous thing that the keenest possible interest should be taken in ecclesiastical affairs by men who have clearly never considered it worth their while to reflect first upon the sort of life to which every one of them stands committed, supposing the current ecclesiastical dogmas to be true; and secondly upon the absurdity of wasting their time upon discussions so utterly unprofitable, supposing the current ecclesiastical dogmas to be otherwise than true. Speaking generally, it may be safely asserted that religious questions are the prominent questions of the day. If we pass over the temporary excitement created by the trial of Count Arnim, Germany appears at this moment as profoundly agitated as the German temperament is ever likely to permit, in her attempt to adjust the relations between Church and State. Spain is simply tearing herself to pieces over the problem whether Don Carlos has or has not received a supernatural commission from the Most High. Italy exists among nations apparently for no other purpose than to perpetuate a struggle for very life between things temporal and things eternal. And here in England, though liberty of thought protects us from the necessity of incurring any bodily risks in defence of our faith, and common sense forbids our rushing into a civil war—here in England we are so thoroughly engrossed with topics bearing more or less closely upon religion that ecclesiastical-mindedness may be said to be the characteristic feature of our times. Every newspaper, every magazine, and almost every book, either disputes, or defends, or takes for granted, some specific Christian doctrine. The clergy gravely meet in convocation, and the bishops are summoned to Lambeth to decide upon "Eastward positions" and damnable clauses. Parliament is occupied for half a session, and promises to be occupied for half a session more, in vindicating the *bona fide* Protestantism of the Church established in these realms. Honorable members talk enthusiastically to their constituents about the pure and simple faith for which our English martyrs suffered at the stake, and Mr. Gladstone sells upwards of a hundred thousand copies of a pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees. And yet, if the religion for which these august and formidable champions are putting out all their strength be a false religion, a mere myth, a set of popular traditions, like Paganism, or the superstitions of the Mohammedan or the Hindu, what a miserable waste of power is thus expended on its defence! While on the other hand, if this religion be truly and literally what it professes to be, the revelation of God's unalterable will, a distinct rule of conduct whereby the life of every one among us is to be fashioned after the example left us by Jesus Christ, on pain of judgments so unspeakably horrible that none of us can endure to think of them—if this in downright earnest be the sober truth, and if the whole Christian world admits it to be true, what manner of men ought we to be who talk and write so fluently about things which are matters not of life or death to us, but of life for evermore in the blessed courts of heaven, or of death which shall torment us to all eternity in the unquenchable flames of hell! It cannot but be regarded as the most extraordinary phenomenon of an age abounding in marvels, that this obvious and practical view of the question be-

fore us should be habitually ignored by persons whom it so very immediately concerns.

A ready solution of our difficulty—a solution, perhaps, more ready than substantial—will doubtless be forthcoming. Admitting the fact that all Europe is excited over the discussion of matters theological, and that every living Englishman among ourselves is forced, whether he will or no, to bear his modest part in the controversy, the reader may object that it is not the rule of Christ-like conduct, or any personal relationship of the believer to his God, or any theory about the joys of heaven or the pains of hell, upon which nations and governments and rival parties in the Church dispute so energetically. The question, he will urge, is not whether this or that Prussian Archbishop shall take Christ as the exact model of his daily life, but whether he shall submit politically to the decrees of the Pope, or to those of the German Chancellor. The question again is, not whether God will plunge every living statesman into hell who refuses to bear the cross of Jesus along the way of sorrows, visibly and bravely confessing his Divine Master before an ungodly world, but whether the religious society linked historically with the name of Jesus Christ is to be permitted to dictate measures for the guidance of the State, or the State is to overrule and keep in check the religious society linked historically with the name of Jesus Christ. In short, we shall be met at once with the bold assertion that the conflict between Church and State, between powers ecclesiastical and civil, between things temporal and things eternal, to which Mr. Gladstone has contributed a force so crushing and a feat of arms so brilliant, is a conflict not religious, but purely political.

Now, it would be equally impertinent and beside the mark to pronounce any opinion upon the light in which this or that individual statesman regards the theological controversies of the day. The religion about which public men dispute, and parliaments legislate, and the world in general becomes agitated, possesses without doubt a strong political element, and may be treated for practical purposes as an affair of politics and nothing more. The statesman may concern himself with Christianity only as a system of morals to be utilized for the benefit of society, or as an external hierarchy to be controlled within proper limits and employed as an adjunct to the civil power. It is quite possible to enter keenly into a debate on disestablishment, or to bring in a bill for the regulation of public worship, and yet to ignore utterly the effect which a personal belief in certain dogmas must needs have upon the life and conduct of the believer. Politicians and moralists are clearly at liberty, if they please, to accept the bare fact that Christianity has furnished the world with an admirable code of morals, and to decline entering into the question whether the reputed founder of this code was a true man or an impostor. But whatever may be the view entertained by individual statesmen, we cannot do wrong in refusing flatly to believe that religion is regarded as a matter of politics by any considerable number of Englishmen, or of Europeans, at the present time. Such a belief, if only we might accept it, would very materially simplify the existing controversies themselves. For if our hot discussions about sacred things be merely political discussions under another name, if we are fighting so vigorously about matters which affect, and are capable of affecting, our rights as citizens of this or that earthly empire, and our duties as subjects of this or that earthly king, it follows as a logical consequence that we can afford to throw aside at once all personal belief in the dogmas on which our religion is founded, even as the most loyal and conservative Briton has long ago thrown aside his belief in the theoretically despotic powers of the reigning sovereign of a country. Every one of us subscribes heartily to the doctrine that the Queen is the supreme governor of these realms; and yet not one of us is weak enough to suppose that Her Most Gracious Majesty, by virtue of that supremacy, can perform one single arbitrary action, or dispose of the life or liberty of the lowliest inhabitant of the British Isles. In like manner, it is quite conceivable that men should cordially assent to the truth and excellence of the precepts taught by Christianity, while they nevertheless reject as problematical and out of date the definite occurrences from which Christianity took its rise. If therefore we may be permitted to assume that Germany, and Italy, and France, and Spain, and England, with their respective parliaments, and convocations, and theological cliques, and devoutly-disposed families, and God-fearing individuals, are contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints with reference to its political significance only, our decisions on the general questions at issue may be pronounced with but little hesitation. Viewing them in the light of simple politics, we shall know pretty well how to deal with such questions as the Pope's claim to infallibility, with Don Carlos and his divine right, and the pretensions of the English High Church priest to offer up Christ as a real sacrifice upon the altar. But we cannot regard the religion of our countrymen, or of our fellow-Christians in other countries, as an affair of simple politics, because we have abundant evidence that it is nothing of the kind. Men who go to church, who pray at their bedside or with their family round the breakfast-table, who speak reverently about the Bible, are above all things anxious that their children should receive a sound religious education, and indulge in a vague and misty hope that they shall one day see the face of God—such men mean something very different from politics by their religion, and of such men almost the entire mass of civilized humanity is composed. The question is, What do they mean?

We shall the more readily answer this question if we try to discover, in the first place, what it is that they profess to mean. Fortunately, this inquiry is

settled for us at once by a simple reference to those devotional treatises and confessions of faith which Christians of all denominations accept in common. In spite of our manifold divisions, there are yet some few points of agreement left to us—some bright but tiny plots of ground, in a world of jarring and discord, where even a Romanist and a Dissenter may meet as friends. Setting aside, then, the dogmas about which rival communions and hostile schools of theology dispute, we find every Christian man, to whatever sect or persuasion he may belong, confessing himself to be a miserable sinner in the sight of God; acknowledging that he is guilty every day of transgressions so atrocious that nothing short of the blood of Jesus Christ can suffice to wash them away; declaring that he richly deserves to be cast into hell, from which the unbounded love and mercy of his Savior can alone deliver him; professing his belief that this salvation will only be extended to him upon condition of his sincere repentance and constant endeavors after amendment of life; accepting Christ, the holy, the meek, the prayerful, as his pattern in every word and deed; condemning all the pleasures of this lower world as worthless if not positively hurtful, and renouncing them utterly that he may win the pure joys of heaven hereafter; and bidding himself remember with fear and trembling that, in spite of all his Christian privileges and tokens of Divine favor and means of grace, the lake of brimstone and the undying worm and the untold agonies of the damned shall be his portion for evermore, if at any moment he should make shipwreck of his faith, and love the fashions of the world above the law of God, and grow ashamed of bearing about with him the cross of Christ, and of crucifying himself upon it in the sight of all mankind. It is no exaggeration to say that this is the very least which every Christian man professes to believe, and that he who should be bold enough to profess any creed less comprehensive and less precise than this would most assuredly be accounted an infidel, or a freethinker, or a sceptic, by Orthodox persons of all denominations.

Lest, however, the reader should think the above sketch of the average Christian's professed belief an exaggeration—though we repeat emphatically that it is not an exaggeration at all,—it may be proved without the slightest difficulty that any set of dogmas less definitely phrased would degrade religion into mere superstition. Unless a man believes his doctrines to be true in the sense in which he believes that fire will burn and that food and air will sustain his life, these doctrines are to him absolutely nothing. Unless he knows for certain that Jesus died and rose again—knows it as certainly as he knows that his own lips are moving as he speaks—he knows nothing about Jesus whatever. A belief at which you only guess approximately, or which you accept because you cannot actually prove it to be false, is not a belief, but an ignorant infatuation; and he who worships God on the strength of such a chance that God may possibly be what he imagines him to be, is as surely guilty of idolatry as if he had fashioned him into the likeness of a golden calf, and paid his devotions to a senseless image. Take away from the Christian the reality, the certainty, the living voice, the infallible witness of his creed, and you take from him that which alone distinguishes his religion from the religion of the savage or the Pagan. There remains this difference only between the follower of Baal and the follower of Christ—that the one worships the creature of his hands, and the other the creature of his imagination. In any case, therefore, we are bound to maintain that the average Christian who goes to church and says his prayers professes to believe, at the very least, the literal truth of the few dogmas enumerated above.

And what must be the result of such a belief as this, honestly and soberly entertained? It would ill serve our purpose to color our picture too highly, or to write down one intemperate word. Exaggeration is fatal to every cause, and in common self-defence we would avoid the very suspicion of it. But we put the question fearlessly to every straightforward, intelligent reader, who loves the old-fashioned habit of making words mean what they pretend to mean, and is accustomed to expect, as a simple matter of business, that men shall stand by the logical consequences of the dogmas they advance; and we ask whether it be possible for the Christian to believe all that he professes to believe, or half of it, or a tenth or twentieth part of it, and yet to lead the life which the ordinary church-goer leads—to lead such a life, not as a thing to be regretted, but as a thing to be openly persisted in—to lead such a life, not because the weakness of the flesh has betrayed him into error, but because it is his right to lead it, his duty to lead it—because, as he is not ashamed to look you in the face and solemnly declare, Christ his Master has sanctioned such a life and has bidden him lead it? On the face of it the thing is so hopelessly absurd that we need waste no words in dealing with it. A man who is guilty of the blood of Jesus Christ, a man whose sins are daily crucifying his Savior over and over again, a man who at every moment of his life stands in peril of being cast into the unquenchable flames of hell—and this, be it remembered, is what every Christian says that he believes,—such a man could no more suffer himself to hunt, and shoot, and dance, and play cards, and chat merrily, and lounge, and laugh, and spend three or four hours over a pleasant evening meal, than he can bring down from the midnight sky one of the bright stars of heaven.

It is of no use whatever to reply that our argument proves too much, and that men who know that they must one day die, and are conscious of various dangers hanging over their heads or of various troubles threatening to crush them, are nevertheless able to bear themselves cheerfully, as if they cared nothing for the perilous future. For, in the first place, the

guilt which lies upon the Christian's soul for which God came down from heaven to die, and the positive frightfulness of the risk which the Christian sinner runs, admit of no comparison with earthly guilt or earthly risks, and are incapable of being illustrated by matters of daily life. And, in the second place, even if it were otherwise, our charge against the Christian is not merely that he is able to forget that he has nailed his Savior to the cross, and that an eternity of insupportable agony is staring him in the face, but that he claims the right of enjoying himself as heartily as if Christ had never died, and laughs all day long as boisterously as if hell did not exist. Nor is there any sense whatever in the retort that we have forced upon Christianity a *reductio ad absurdum*, and are proving a holy life to be impossible. It is perfectly fair to demand that men shall abide by the dogmas which they profess to hold. If the dogmas are too tremendous, let them be given up; but if they are maintained as true, we must insist upon their natural issues. The Christian has no just cause to complain that we are treating him unfairly, if, when he tells us of a crucified Christ and an everlasting hell, we require that his life shall act out his doctrines. As reasonably might a juggler in the street, who had boasted of his power to perform a *bond fide* miracle, complain that we treated him unfairly if we asked him to stand away from his apparatus or accomplices, and show us that he had nothing hidden up his sleeve. If the dogmas are true, they will bear the strain of their logical results; if they are false, the sooner we give them up the better.

We conclude, then, that the ordinary Christian, however excellent may be his moral conduct, however kind his heart, however pure his mind, does not really believe in the dogmas to which his Christianity commits him; and, inasmuch as his belief falls short of a true and visible reality, we are justified in deciding that his religion, so far as it concerns doctrine and not practice, is neither more nor less than a simple superstition. And indeed we might almost have determined as much as this by a shorter process still, without convicting the so-called believer of unreality in his creed. For it ought to be diligently remembered, though in truth it would seem to be almost universally forgotten, that the Christian dogmas which fall so lightly from the habitual church-goer's lips are absolutely false, unless the hard historical facts on which they rest are absolutely true. A man easily persuades himself that he believes in Jesus Christ, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary. The sentence conveys to his intelligence the dearest possible meaning, and he has no difficulty in declaring that such is the time-honored faith in which he lives, and hopes to die. Nay, he would indignantly repudiate the suspicion that perhaps his views on such a question were otherwise than Orthodox. But would the same man submit to be catechized backwards and forwards on the dry plain fact to which his dogma pledges him? Has he ever thought within himself what being conceived by the Holy Ghost means? Does he realize the full significance of the word virgin, as applied to the mother of his Lord? Does he accept as a sober, substantial truth that on a certain day—a day on which the sun rose and set, and men went about their business just as they go about their business now—a child was born who never had an earthly father, whom angels came visibly down from heaven to worship, and to whom a multitude of the heavenly host, in the hearing of common men and women like ourselves, sang hymns of praise? It may be doubted whether one Christian in ten thousand honestly believes that these things ever really happened; and, when we carry the details of the Savior's life a little further on, the doubt grows stronger still. The words "ascended into heaven" are easy enough to say; but what are they worth, unless they mean that on a common working day, not so very long ago after all, a man, in bodily shape and substance just as other men, rose up from the earth and mounted visibly into the sky, in defiance of that unalterable law of gravitation whereby alone the order of the universe is maintained—that law which is the very security of our persons and our property, and which keeps us safe in our beds at night? Surely it is no wild assertion, but a sober statement of the truth, to say that whole congregations of Christian worshippers might be polled one after another for a week, or a fortnight, or a month, as fast as their votes could be recorded, before one man of sense and education could be induced to confess his belief in the literal truth of the above astounding marvel.

Having then demonstrated, as a thing tolerably certain, that the ordinary Christian's belief is not a religion, but a superstition—a series of dogmas which he accepts as theologically true, only because he is not in the position to prove that they are historically false,—we are bound in common fairness to consider whether after all the Christian can be reasonably expected to entertain a belief more definite and precise than this, upon the evidence brought before him. In this country, and among the entire mass of Protestants in other lands, the only evidence recognized as satisfactory or even admissible by the vast majority of persons is the Bible—the Bible by itself, telling its own simple story, and preaching its own words of inspired truth to each individual reader. Possibly we may find that the nature of the evidence thus presented to the Protestant inquirer is quite sufficient to account for the fact that superstition has taken the place among us of dogmatic belief.

It is foreign to our purpose to enter into the question whether the several books of the New Testament were written by the persons whose names they bear, or whether the various discrepancies between one passage and another are capable of being reconciled. Many learned treatises have been published, regarding the subject from every conceivable point of view; but it does not appear probable that discus-

sions of such a kind will ever greatly interest the ordinary Christian, or ever exercise any considerable influence over his belief or unbelief. Those students of the Scriptures must always be very few, who are critically competent to appreciate the drift of the inquiry whether St. Matthew's gospel was written in the first century or the second, and whether St. Peter wrote two epistles or only one. There is, however, a real difficulty about the Bible which must occur to the mind of the very humblest reader, and which utterly forbids our accepting that book as an unsupported witness of Christian truth. Taking the Holy Scriptures in our hands as the explanation of God's method in dealing with man, we are at once brought face to face with the most unfortunate fact that whereas, during the entire length of the Old and New Testament, God is represented as dealing with mankind on one distinct and invariable principle, for the last eighteen hundred years he has been dealing with mankind on a principle totally different. The Bible is simply a succession of miracles, from the creation of the world in six days of twenty-four hours each, obviously related as a miracle, in spite of all that scientific men may say, and intended by the writer of the Pentateuch to stand out as the most marvellous exhibition of Almighty power, down to the extraordinary visions witnessed by St. John in the Isle of Patmos. Every page is purely miraculous, and is meant to be; in pursuance no doubt of Jehovah's express design to prove his presence and his workings among his people on every occasion by supernatural tokens which they must needs accept as conclusive. The same God who ruled the world during the four thousand years of Bible history rules the world now; and yet we have no shadow of a reason for believing that in the course of nearly eighteen centuries he has ever once wrought for us on this earth a visible wonder or a visible sign.

It must be admitted that a fact so remarkable as this, a change of government on the part of the Unchangeable so sudden and so incomprehensible, taxes very severely our faith in Scripture history. Nay, unless we can find some logical solution of the difficulty, Christianity, as the revelation of God's will, can no longer stand. It is begging the question to reply that we are now "under a different dispensation," if by such a phrase you mean that the New Testament is meant to supply the place of an ever-present wonder-working Deity. What "dispensation" can that be which breaks, all on a sudden, a continuous chain of evidence, and leaves us groping in the dark, cut off from all personal intercourse with our God, and having for our guide a book written some eighteen centuries ago, and capable, in not a few important instances, of bearing almost any construction which we may please to lay upon it?

It is wholly incredible that God should deal with us after such a manner as this. He who was of old so jealous of his honor as to violate perpetually the laws of Nature in his defence, so that men might be forced to tremble and bow down before him, he who loved the world of former days so well that he visited it from time to time in miracle, in prophecy supernaturally uttered and supernaturally fulfilled, in sending his own Son to set at defiance every physical law in which men had learned by experience and reason to put their trust, so that they might put their trust in Jesus crucified and risen again, and be welcomed into the mansions of heaven hereafter,—it is manifestly impossible to believe that he has now become so unmindful of his majestic glory, so strangely unconcerned in all that his creatures do, so careless whether they are saved or lost, whether they live or die, as to visit them neither with miracle nor prophecy, nor with any one token that he still watches, and works, and rules. How, then, shall we escape the inference that miracles have ceased only because men have grown too enlightened to believe in them; that in point of fact no miracle of any kind, no violation of natural laws, has ever happened since the world began; and that the Bible, which stands or falls by its miracles, is as much a set of myths and legends as the Metamorphoses or the Iliad?

There is but one escape from an inference so inevitable. Christ, when he ascended into heaven, must have left himself a visible witness upon earth, a witness personal, tangible, infallible, who should guard and interpret the momentous dogmas which were to save or to destroy men's lives. Such a living witness there must beyond all question be, and whether you choose to call that witness by the name of Pope, or Church, or United Voice of holy men and women treading palpably in the footsteps of Christ, is a matter, to us Protestants at least, of ecclesiastical etiquette rather than of practical importance. The Pope, of course, thinks the question a vital one, and it must in simple candor be admitted that his position is one which it is extremely difficult to assail. The nature of the case before us almost imperatively requires that the power of interpreting the mind of Christ and the right of enforcing the Divine Decrees should be vested in an individual, because it is to an individual alone that an absolutely final appeal can be made. And really, after embracing with more or less of enthusiasm and rapture such gigantic dogmas as the resurrection of Lazarus and the visible descent of the Holy Ghost in cloven tongues of fire, it is rather an outrage upon common sense to strain at so very small a gnat as the recognition of a vice-regent of Christ on earth, even though he claim to be endowed with supernatural gifts for the enlightenment of mankind, to be commissioned by the great Head of the Church to guide his people into truth, to preside over a vast society whose ministers are the channels of miraculously-imparted graces, and whose members are miraculously nourished with sacramental food. It seems scarcely credible that Christ should make our way less plain before us, when he withdrew from us his own bodily presence, than by setting over us some one living guide and ruler, who should be in-

fallible and supreme. We in England however have cut ourselves off from communion with the Pope, and in default of some authority more precise we must needs accept as the living representative of Christ on earth the united voice of our church or the collective body of our ministers. But whatever be the name by which we call this visible witness ordained of God, the witness must in any case be infallible, and it must be supreme. If it be anything short of this, we are infinitely worse off in a spiritual sense, we know infinitely less of God, than the Israelite with whom he talked face to face in the wilderness, or than the alien Amalekite on whom the visible arrows of his judgments fell.

The question then which Mr. Gladstone has approached so skilfully is a question whose depth and import even that eminent statesman appears as yet to have scarcely recognized. The ex-Premier has mystified his subject by treating it as an affair of politics. It is no affair of politics at all. The issue involved is nothing less than this, and the sooner we face our difficulty with honesty and clear-sightedness and courage the better: Is there or is there not a spiritual, a supernatural, a miraculous Power, at work within us and around us? Can we or can we not draw down mysterious gifts and graces from heaven when we pray? Are we or are we not children of the crucified Jesus, sworn soldiers of his cross, confessors of his death and resurrection before an unbelieving world? Do we or do we not stand in imminent peril of being cast into hell, and tormented with the flames of God's undying wrath for evermore? It is mere straw-splitting, it is a shameful prostitution of talent, a contemptible waste of time, to bandy words about the details of ecclesiastical government, while we shirk habitually the one definite point on which every theological controversy turns. Does the supernatural exist, or does it not? That is the plain question which we have to face; and when we have answered it there will be time enough to turn our attention to the problem whether the right of expounding the supernatural be lodged in the Pope, or in some other witness appointed by God.

That Christians of every creed would theoretically answer this question with an emphatic Yes, every reader of these pages must be perfectly well aware. That all except a fractional minority of professing Christians practically answer this question, by the transparent worldliness of their lives, with an equally emphatic No, must be plain to everybody who will take the trouble to consider what those dogmas distinctly assert in which the Christian pretends to believe. That any belief which falls short of a positive certainty that the events on which the dogmas of a creed are founded took place exactly as they are described is a pure and unadulterated superstition, we will assume as lately proved. It follows that the religion of ordinary Christians among ourselves is a superstition and nothing more; and indeed nobody who possesses an average amount of sense, and who has been accustomed to observe intelligently the habits of his fellow-men, can arrive by any legitimate process of reasoning at any other conclusion. It is a very harmless superstition. If it does not greatly tend to the ennobling of the intellect, so neither does it materially debase the mind. Nay, it acts on a vast multitude of persons beneficially, frightening them away from evil with the threat of hell, and bribing them into the path of virtue with a hazy prospect of possible bliss in heaven. We may even go the length of conceding that we are in the first instance mainly indebted to this superstition for the uprightness of our principles and the purity of our moral tone. But not the less on this account is it a superstition, and not the less certainly does it imply a positive rejection of all true belief in the miraculous and the unseen.

If, on the other hand, we are prepared soberly to profess that there is a supernatural power at work within us and around us, that we can bring down marvellous gifts from heaven in answer to our prayers, and that the one absorbing business of our lives is to save ourselves and our fellow-creatures from the agonies of hell, we stand committed to a spiritual system which must needs be as supreme over every earthly duty as the soul is more precious than the body, as eternity is longer than time. And the representative of this spiritual system, whether pope, or church, or council, claims as justly the right to interfere with our civil allegiance, supposing the occasion for such interference to arise, as the King of kings claims authority over the princes of this lower world. It is simply a question of belief or disbelief in Christ. If we believe in him, he becomes the absolute disposer of all our actions, whether as members of a family, or citizens of a commonwealth, or subjects of the Queen. If we do not believe in him, in this true sense of the word belief, our eager controversies about church government and ceremonial and dogma are the imbecile babblings of a silly superstition; our prayers, our solemn mysteries, our confessions of faith, are worth just precisely what the devotions of the people of Ephesus were worth before the image which fell down from Jupiter,—neither less nor more.

WHEN Laplace met the late Mrs. Somerville for the first time, he said, in his lofty way, "Madam, there have been only three women who have understood me—yourself, Caroline Herschel, and a Mrs. Greig, of whom I have never been able to learn anything." "I was Mrs. Greig," said the modest little woman. "So, then, there are only two of you!" exclaimed the philosopher.

AN Illinois editor returns thanks for a centipede sent to him by mail from Texas, "it being," he says, "the first cent of any kind that we've received for several weeks."

[FOR THE INDEX.]

A CONSCIENCE FOR LIBERTY.

MY DEAR ABBOT:—

Your "Appeal to Facts" has been carefully considered. I do not see that you have given me any occasion to modify the views expressed in my letter to you; but I will go over the ground a little more definitely, in order that we may, at least, the better understand each other.

1. I find it extremely difficult to separate your "facts and truths" from your "personality." You are constantly so mixing the two that, if one would heed what you say, he cannot well keep you out of mind. If you are really anxious to "secure the appeal to facts and the withdrawal of attention from all personalities that obscure them," you ought more rigidly to set the example. You "appeal" to others and tell them "where they are," and with your "intense conviction" you seem to insist that, when they are where they should be, they will be where you are. Or, you say they are already there, only they close their eyes to the "fact." Hence, when they open their eyes, they cannot escape seeing you. If, as you assure them, they are indeed anti-Christians, they will insist on discovering what you mean by the term. And how shall they do this but by learning from your own lips what your anti-Christian science or philosophy is? That is the most I have endeavored to do. I have pointed out the antagonism between some of your convictions and the gospel of liberty. You entirely mistake the scope of my remarks, if you think I sought to hold you up as morally culpable. I am not in any such sense "my brother's keeper." I do not remand you to the "private confessional of your own conscience." I do not say you are "falsifying your own principles" consciously. Certainly your sincerity is above reproach. But I take the same liberty to tell you *where you are* that you exercise when you impart similar information to others. I admit that it is somewhat "irrelevant" to the proper discussion of ideas to do so. But when my friend salutes me, I cannot exactly ignore his "personality." It is far more congenial to my feelings to dwell in the climate of ideas; but now and then one must forego his pleasure to meet an emergency. I shall be very glad, however, to hear no more about "mental delusion," "paralyzed courage," etc.; for these personalities undoubtedly do tend to obscure the truth. Show the truth, and our task will be done.

2. But I am forced to believe that you will not readily consent to this. For one of your convictions appears to be that, when others fail to see the fact as you state it, you are privileged to jump to the conclusion that they are guilty of "stubborn prejudice and total carelessness of truth." You "mean no offence," but you speak plainly; that is all. I foresee that you may deny this. Let me refer you to one of your own illustrations. You imagine yourself as coming to my studio to tell me the house is on fire. The only response you think it possible for me to make is, "Guess not." You entertain not the least suspicion that I know anything about the "fact," but think that I in my ignorance will go on to berate you for your "spirit of infallibility." You leave me to apply this illustration to those who hold that "Christianity is liberty."* Notwithstanding, as in the case of "B," they protest that they have honestly investigated the subject. It is as though I, on hearing your alarm of fire, had said, "Oh, you are mistaken. The smoke you smell is a smudge in my ash-barrel, and the flames you saw were not real flames. I painted them on the wall the other day. In the dim light of the entry, smelling the smudge, you have mistaken them for reality." But to satisfy you, I go out into the hall, search the building through, and find no fire. Now that is precisely what B said he had done. He had searched Christianity faithfully, and did not find any bondage. Yet you say that A "should not hesitate an instant" to inform B of his "delusion," telling him how it will "deadens his conscience and paralyze his courage." And this you think would be "intense conviction" and not the "assumption of infallibility."

I know your argument, and will further consider it. You tell me that B has only his own interpretation of Christianity, and denies any obligation to "submit this private interpretation to any superior tribunal." If A did the same thing, he would then stand on equal terms with B, and could not "insist on the truth of his opinion without making in reality an assumption of personal infallibility." But he does not. You do not. You appeal from all private interpretations to the "Universal Criterion of Science." Let us see what this means. It is a little mystifying, but perhaps it can be fathomed.

The "Criterion of Science" admonishes us to keep close to facts. And these facts are to be determined by observation and experience. The question is, What is Christianity? Or rather, first, where is Christianity to be found? "History knows nothing of a Christianity not in the Church; experiment, applied to the world of modern life, fails to discover it." Now we may ask what Christianity is, because we have discovered its whereabouts. "Christianity is the religion of Christians, and the totality of Christians constitutes the Universal Church." What, then, is Christianity? Let Mr. Abbot answer: "Bondage." Now let the Christian Church reply: "Not a bit of it." Here is disagreement where I had been led to expect perfect accord. Who is right? What is the fact? Mr. Abbot has said, "Bondage." He will not "retract, modify, or apologize." He has "told the truth as it is," and knows

that he has done so, because he has "submitted to the test of facts, and verified his conclusion by observation and experience." I am still in the mist. I want to know by whom was this scientific investigation conducted? I am reluctant to receive the reply, for I am aware of what follows. If the response is, as of course it must be, "Why, by Francis E. Abbot," then I am completely baffled in my attempt to discover whence he derives his right to speak with authority. I am reduced at last to the necessity of falling back upon his "private interpretation," and must value that for what I find it to be worth. If he proposes to argue the case, and to show me facts in the history of the Christian Church that prove his assertion, I must shake my head, for that is all wide of the mark. Others appeal to the same facts and obtain different results. B comes upon the scene, and they wear a different look. A new light is thrown on them, and their color changes.

There is possibly a kink in this matter I fail to see; but I have labored to the best of my abilities to discover any basis for your superior claim, and have failed. I do not mistake your claim; but I am compelled to disallow it. The "appeal to facts" is well. But permit me to say that your error lies in supposing that you alone make this appeal. The real difference between you and your Radical Christian neighbor is not that his "imagination" says one thing and your "facts" another, but that you and he do not agree in your conclusions as to *what the facts are*. I cannot in my own mind relieve you of that "spirit of infallibility" which is not "persuasive or pleasing," while you continue to intimate that his interpretation, as compared with your own, is only a "guess."

If I were to go into this matter to determine, as between A and B, for instance, which had pursued his investigation of Christianity in the most scientific manner, I should be compelled to give my verdict in favor of B. In the first place, he plants himself confessedly upon the right and the duty of private judgment. This, of course, is no guarantee that his judgment will be correct. But I admire and approve his spirit, and feel sure that I shall get from him no second-hand report, but his own judgment formed face to face with the fact he has proposed to investigate. The facts of this world are to each of us as we are able to see them. His ability may so far transcend that of all other men, living or dead, that he will bring from his research a new revelation. It by no means follows that, because the majority are agreed in one report, the minority is wrong, though that minority be represented by a single individual. All progress in science, as in religion, has come about by reason of some new private interpretation which has affirmed the fact to be otherwise than as previously reported and universally believed. So, instead of urging B to "get beyond private interpretations,"—a thing he cannot do unless he surrenders "mental freedom" and walks as one blind,—I abjure him to stand by them. Of course he will never plead that the "sanctity of this private interpretation protects it from criticism or challenge," as you wrongly suppose me to advise. His motto is not only "Liberty," but "all the light the universe can throw." Still he cannot drift away from his own interpretation of all that comes. He has heard of Christianity. Here is a church that professes to expound it. What does he get from this church? Interpretations varying and conflicting. He appeals to *that which the Church interprets*. Justice to the founder of Christianity, respect for his own veracity, alike demand that he should do this. Following back along the lines of history, he seeks the Christian ideal as portrayed by Christ himself. In so far as the Church has departed from this ideal,—he being for himself judge both of the ideal and of the Church's departure,—it is in his opinion, *un-Christian*. In his judgment the Church has so departed, and has made no faithful report. He thinks he finds the teachings of Christ to be proclamations of liberty. Therefore he is pleased to call himself a Christian. I may not agree with him; I may think his conclusion wrong; but I do not see that either you or I can make any "appeal to facts" that shall entitle us to pronounce his conclusion a "guess" and our own "knowledge"; or that his is a mere private interpretation, and ours the verdict of a superior tribunal.

If A shall ask B how it is that this Church has so uniformly in word and deed represented Christianity as "bondage," how he will account for so palpable a fact, I think B will find ample illustration. Historical parables must be numerous. He might refer A to our own national history. How is it that we as a people have so largely failed to interpret the high ideals of freedom? Would he suppose that a great nation dedicating itself to the "inalienable right of all to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," would for nigh a whole century unblushingly defend an institution of human bondage? That is the fact. Is A prepared to say that democracy is a failure? B might state the philosophy of the case something in this way. "The old laps over upon the new. For a long time people see the new through the old glasses. They do not with a bound go from old to new. It is a growth and an outgrowth; republicanism with imperialism; civilization with barbarism; Christianity with Judaism. The higher the ideal, the longer the time ere it is reproduced in the world's life. As republicanism is not republicanism when it defends bondage; so Christianity is not Christianity while it enslaves human nature. Instead of having got beyond Christianity, we have not yet caught up with it. We are living, as it were, in the old time before Christ was born." This would be somewhat in harmony with my own idea. I think that the new departure which Jesus indicated was from Law to Life,—from the *kingdom without* to the *kingdom within*. Very likely he never quite made the transition himself. Nevertheless his life's mission was to em-

phasize it. Now the Church was the symbol of *outwardness*. It represented still that first stage of human development. All instituted religion, all institutions, in fact, embody the same thought. Of course, there are things that are outward, and only so. These naturally require machinery for their locomotion. But the things of the spirit are under no such necessity. Form and ceremony veil and hide them. The machine but cumbers the ground. Now in my judgment the Christian Church has represented this *outwardness* far more than anything else; and whatever acts thus outwardly acts in opposition to liberty. And I think that as an institution it has failed, as it necessarily must, to interpret what my friend B would call the true *Christian* departure.

But I must confess that to my mind all this much discussion about the party name, so far as our practical duty in this modern world is concerned, partakes largely of the *inconsequential*. Do we discuss liberty? Let us say what *liberty* is. Do we discuss justice? Let us say what *justice* is. Do we discuss equity? Let us say what *equity* is. Thus matters are simplified, and we have made several removes from confusion.

3. A word further in response to your query whether I am "outside of things as well as names." No, I think not, for the reason that I am not inside of names; the getting *within* the one is tolerably good evidence you are *out* of the other. Yet I do not "protest against being named." You may call me "anti-Christian" as often as you please. Nor do I take "pains" to stand outside of names. I said only that that was where I "found" myself. It costs me no great trouble. I mean that I have no disposition to hoist the party flag. It does not follow that I may not, when I see fit, coöperate with others to some specified end. That will depend on the end sought, and the method proposed. Parties may have done service, and may still do service; because there are those who believe in them, and all such persons must work in their own way, and I should hate to believe their labor wholly in vain. Perhaps the difference between you and me is, that you do your "bolting" after, while I do my bolting before, entering. Once in, if I recognized the majority principle, I think I should feel in honor bound to stay. You may call this "jealous individualism," but you will have misnamed the thing I mean. I simply wish to be free to serve the world in such ways as I can approve. That is all. If that is "very selfish," then to be "very selfish" is my ambition. I wish to remain outside of an endless and profitless dispute. To my mind the general party name signifies nothing. Experience teaches me that I do not know with greater certainty whether I more agree with the man who calls himself anti-Christian than with one who calls himself Christian; with Republican than with Democrat. I have seen the two, and I find their baskets filled with pretty much the same things, though these may all be labelled with extraordinary dissimilarity.

4. You say, "With regard to the 'conflict of consciences,' I have looked in your letter for light in vain, and do not know what you would do when consciences conflict." The shortest reply I can make is, "*Do nothing*." What saying more commended in Free Religious circles than this—"If we cannot agree, we must agree to disagree"? Indeed, is there any other course left, unless we adopt the maxim that "might makes right," and force the argument? Then we have a pitched battle, and the weakest goes to the wall. Your words have warned me that I am treading here on unpopular ground. I shall not so "satisfy many consciences"; certainly not yours. Well, I must be "brave," and in no way "deadens" my own conscience by withholding the free expression of my conviction. I repeat, then,—supposing that we have first fully accepted the idea of liberty,—when consciences conflict, *Do nothing*. Wait, though it be until doomsday, if you see not the way to harmonious action. I do not shrink from applying this idea to all institutions with "uncompromisingness." "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off." If the public school system is not founded in right and justice, *drop it*. You will find it is not worth the cost of pursuing. Purchased at the price of liberty, you have sold your birthright for a mess of pottage. Alas! that is what America is doing to-day in a thousand ways. Now I would that we could correct all this. I would give more for the education of the country into a CONSCIENCE FOR LIBERTY than for aught else. If to this end you sacrifice your idol of a public school, it will teach a lesson by its death it has been utterly incompetent to convey in life.

Am I then opposed to Universal Education? Some may leap to that conclusion. I reply that I would simply make the practical operation of a free society a part of that education. A child may be educated in *wrong* as well as in *right*. If you trample on principles that ought to be held sacred to give him an education, the example will tell quite as powerfully in the development of his character as will his knowledge of books. It will be a salutary lesson for him and for all to learn *not to do evil that good may come*.

But you still insist that I have not shown how to avoid the "conflict of consciences." To "give up the public schools in order to conciliate the Catholic's conscience" will violate your conscience. I cannot deny it. All I can say is that, if this be true, you cannot have a *Conscience for Liberty*. Ought you not therefore to take down your motto, or let it henceforth read—"Liberty and Bondage Mixed"? I would give up the enforced public school, not to conciliate the Catholic's conscience, but my own. I should hope my good example would tell on him. If not, I would at least have done my duty, and disarmed him of any valid excuse. So long as there are in America two consciences on this question of freedom, there will be conflict. The problem is, how to get but one conscience on this subject the world

* The fault was mine, but you mistook my meaning in making B say that "Christianity was bondage but now is liberty." I meant he should say that in its origin Christianity meant liberty, but the so-called Christian Church had in its name established bondage.

over. I had supposed that in this country we had set ourselves with some degree of earnestness to the task of illustrating its solution. But so long as there are people who cry out that their consciences are violated unless others will come to their terms, I suppose the conflict cannot be avoided. It is this enforced commonism that is the disturbing element. I "show you how to satisfy everybody's conscience," by showing you that it will be better for each and all to mind their own business. When the attempt is made to establish whatever institution by a system of coercive coöperation, the evil begins, and there is no end of it. Voluntary coöperation is, in my view, not only the one method consistent with liberty, it is by far the most practical and effective. I think I do not believe in the "solidarity of the race" so far as measures are concerned, but in its harmony. And this harmony I claim will best be attained, can only be attained, by free individual action. What that action would be as affecting schools and universal education, it is not for me here to anticipate. I will now only say that I have perfect faith that the genius of the American people will prove equal to the emergency, whenever the beneficent sway of freedom shall be established. "First go and be reconciled with thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." When the South asked, "What will you do for cotton when slavery is abolished?" the abolitionist replied, "Do without it, if that is the only alternative." If you still ask, "What will the country do for education when the compulsory school system is abandoned?" I can now only reply: "Do without it, if that is the only alternative. I am no convert to the maxim that 'the end justifies the means.'"

Yours sincerely, SIDNEY H. MORSE.

VENALITY.

WASHINGTON, February, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Wendell Phillips's letter on the capital and labor question (published in THE INDEX of Jan. 28) has fixed my attention. For myself, having never studied this question, I have no suggestions to offer. I see the peril as most intelligent men do, and if any one does not see it let him come to Washington. Congress is now investigating the Pacific mail subsidy of \$750,000. I can tell you nothing about it but what you see in the papers. Meanwhile the sewing machine monopolists, having made enormous profits, are driving for an extension of their patent, which, if it succeeds, will deprive many a widow and poor sewing-girl of the means of livelihood. The express companies, too, are trying hard to get a law passed forbidding the transportation of small parcels through the mails. The post-office, it seems, is a very popular institution for the transmission of small articles, and greatly interferes with the profits of these greedy monopolists, who want the whole. If Congress is beaten by their little game, there will be no limits to the extortion of these vampires, except the limits of endurance on the part of the victim, the suffering people. It is the little things that count up in the aggregate, and off which the greatest profits are made. Hence, to purchase Congress, the monopolists throw their money right and left; for they see "millions in it,"—which, by the present law, are annually saved to the people.

The lobby is now reckoned a powerful, if not the most powerful, element in legislation here. The halls and ante-rooms of Congress are thronged every day with adventurers, and among them beautiful and dangerous women, who add their smiles and fascinations. But every now and then you will see faces in the crowd that make you instinctively feel for your pocket-book, and button tighter your coat. Inside of Congress, ordinarily, not much is going on, because nearly all the work is done in committee-rooms. One must go there to see the drift of things, and be familiar with all the winds and tides of legislation. The Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, the Chairman on Appropriations, on Foreign Relations, on the Judiciary, and the Speaker, are the real rulers, the shaping and governing powers. They are the gods of the lower world (or House), while Jupiter sits in the White House, and occasionally launches his thunderbolt at a rebellious community, or obnoxious legislature. The people were more scared than hurt by his last one. It is not in that direction that danger is to be apprehended. It is in that spirit of corruption which writes "VENAL" over the doors of Congress, over every avenue to legislation, and which is creeping through all branches of the public service. It is in the use of money by those skin-flint monopolies and bloated corporations which adopt, as a sound business principle and as their first rule of action, the famous *bon mot* of Walpole, that "every man has his price." It is said—I hope it is not true, and I am far from vouching for it—that a seat in the American Senate can be bought now, as a seat in the British Parliament used to be. One thing is certain, that "money is power." And this power is corruptly used to defeat the true ends of government. Our ship of state would appear to be sailing in the inner circles of the great maelstrom of corruption which has engulfed so many republics before to-day. We are sweeping in nearer and nearer to the fatal point drawn by that gravitating power of incorporated wealth.

This is the danger, and no one sees it clearer than Wendell Phillips. But when he confesses, "I believe, I can't see," whence the cure is to come, we may well stand aghast in the presence of so gigantic and threatening an evil, so pregnant with unforeseen calamity which may be sprung upon us without a moment's warning. The late rebellion took us unprepared enough. But external forces can be measured, while who can measure the spirit of corruption? Who can, who dares, to probe this foul cancer of the body politic having its roots far down in poverty, ig-

norance, and crime, and slowly but steadily ripening to mutinous revolt—the insurrection of the many against the government of the few? For that is the meaning of a plutocracy, always and everywhere the same. But the deep and immitigable evils of which such government is the source and fountain-head can never be cured by a direct attack on the "evils," or by the "heroic method." Time is an element in the problem which waits for solution.

In a poem of Shelley's entitled "The Masque of Anarchy," an attempt is made to uncover the damning evils of a plutocracy, and the task is not unsuccessfully performed. The grinding slavery of monopoly, and the horrible vices and defects which it engenders in the souls and bodies of its victims are painted in strong colors, of which the awfulness is their very truth. Equally true and beautiful, on the other hand, is the picture of the glorious and emancipating effects of freedom. That was the remedy, if freedom in England were not all a dream. We in America have a better chance to try the remedy, having time before us, and a continent for room. We must convert the dream into a reality. But we must not allow the moneyed despotism to tighten its grasp upon our necks. We must arise in "unvanquishable number," and compel attention to the magnitude of the subject.

But the poem—where Shelley seems to have exerted his entire strength in the cause of the people. He saw the poor of England, the laboring masses, trampled down and oppressed by unjust laws, while monopoly, like a cruel vampire, was draining the life-blood of the nation. He saw the sovereign and parliament of England, the court and the aristocracy, the church and the law, and the sword even, flung into the scale of the oppressor, and all aiming at one object—to coin labor into money, not for the benefit of the laborer, but to support the privileged orders in idleness and luxury. And when the last drop filled the cup to overflowing, when the patience of the people finally gave way, and the many rose in revolt against the oppressive rule of the few—when, in 1819, the news of the Manchester massacre reached Shelley, then residing in Italy near Leghorn,—the poet himself, we are told, unable longer to restrain the violent emotions of indignation and compassion which agitated him, thought the time had come for an appeal to his injured countrymen. He put the trumpet of Poesy to his lips, and uttered that clarion cry. His object was to inspire his countrymen with a belief in the great and certain truth that the "many could control the few," by standing together long enough, as Mr. Phillips says, "to be counted." And how was that to be done? Why, simply enough; by calling an immense mass-meeting of the people, by passing resolutions, and putting forth a declaration of their rights. That was the way, that is the way—is it not, Mr. Phillips?—to gain that attention which you very properly declare to be *here* the half of success. For that is the sort of popular thunder which our venal press and politicians heed.

"Men of England, heirs of glory,
Heroes of unwritten story,
Nurslings of one mighty mother,
Hopes of her and one another!

"Rise like lions after slumber,
In unvanquishable number!
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you!
Ye are many, they are few!"

J. S.

[The remainder of this poem can be found in Rossetti's edition of Shelley, London, 1870: vol. 2, p. 192.—Ed.]

HAPPY is he who expects little book-knowledge from the masses, because he won't be disappointed. The Medical Officer to the General Post-office at London mournfully concludes his report on the candidates for minor appointments in that department during the past year with a gasp of longing for compulsory education. These candidates were obliged to make written statements as to the medical histories of themselves and their families, and these are some of their sad but interesting expressions: "Father had a stroke, and I caught it of him;" "My little brother died of some funny name;" "A great white cat drew my sister's breath, and she died of it;" "Apperplexity;" "Parasles;" "Burrallger in the head;" "Rummitanic pains;" "Shortness of breath;" "Indigestion of the lungs;" "Tonzertina in the throat;" "Pistoles on the back." The country that produces such frantic and ingenious ignorance has a right to be proud to the verge of "apperplexity."—*N. Y. Tribune.*

THE *Tablet* quotes from old Roger Mervales' "History of ye Devils which Inhabit ye Human Anatomy" the following passage, which may be considered very reasonable reading: "The coughing devil hauntheth churches, and troubleth good folks mightily. He entereth in and taketh up his abode in the larynx; he favo'reth mostly ancient gentlewomen who visit often God's house, and on the Sunday when the priest readeth the notices for the forthcoming week, telling ye faithful that such a day is Mass, and such an one is Fast, this coughing devil is moved thereat with diabolical spleen and much envy, and leapeth mightily, and teareth at the throats of the old gentlewomen, until their pain issues in great uproar and noise, so that no one heareth what the preacher hath to say. And that week many good folk miss Mass on the Holy Day, and many more the Fast appointed. Thus God's work is prevented and the devil rejoiceth exceedingly."

WE can only hope to conquer Nature by submitting to her.—*Selected.*

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

MY STAR.

BY S. H. MORSE.

The noisy time keeps up the strife
'Tween things and other things,
And swift doth time take wings,
And death and life
Return,—the one the other brings.

I bid thee, fickle Time! go by.
I heed thy cry no more;
I shut, I bolt my door.
Into blue sky
I gaze through star-lit window o'er.

And lo! one star looks down at me,—
Yet stays it at its height.
Unerring falls the light.
I watch to see—
Will't vanish with the hours of night?

Oh! fade not till the perfect Day,
Thou Heaven-lit, holy star!
Thy beams thou send'st afar
Light the good way
Where hidden truths and treasures are.

O star of mine! I heed but thee;
Thy light alone desire.
Or friend or foe conspire,
Fate buffet me;
Thy mandate shall be higher!

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 20.

John Buntin, \$3.20; A. H. White, \$3.20; Clara Johnson, \$3.20; Samuel Roberts, \$3.20; Matthew Anderson, \$3.20; John Holmes, \$3.20; H. L. Higginson, \$4.25; Samuel R. Winkley, \$3; A. M. Haskell, \$3; C. C. Carpenter, \$3; J. M. Hawks, 20 cents; E. C. Darling, \$3.20; J. T. Warrington, \$3.20; Wm. Allen, \$3; H. L. Canfield, \$3; E. T. Wood, \$3.20; F. C. Hanson, 50 cents; B. T. Yerrington, \$3.20; M. B. Priestley, 50 cents; Mrs. W. Nye, \$1.50; C. F. Simons, \$1.20; Geo. W. Julian, \$3.60; Henry M. North, \$3.25; H. T. Jones, \$3.20; Judge Ross, \$3.25; J. M. Holmes, \$1.70; G. F. Van Vechten, \$3.20; E. A. J. Lindley, \$3.20; R. W. Jess, \$3.20; M. Samfield, \$3.20; Gus. Jacobs, \$3; Wm. J. Gill, \$3; Matilda Goddard, 20 cents; J. B. Davenport, 20 cents; L. C. Best, \$1; H. L. Hall, \$13.20; Zina Eager, \$4.90; Henry Roberts, \$3.20; Samuel F. Lee, \$1.60; H. F. Ring, 10 cents; J. P. Titcomb, \$3.20; Harry Hoover, \$1.20; W. F. Perkins, 35 cents; J. B. Burlew, \$1; F. P. Hamblett, 70 cents; G. H. Foster, \$1; W. P. Taylor, \$2; C. C. Dills, \$1; W. H. Spencer, 20 cents; T. J. Atwood, \$1.75; R. Dusenbury, \$1.75; N. O. Randolph, 25 cents; G. E. Tufts, 10 cents; R. E. Lewis, 75 cents; Joseph S. Hill, \$10; John Hendrie, 25 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

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RECEIVED.

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EATING FOR STRENGTH: A Book Comprising—1, The Science of Eating; 2, Receipts for Wholesome Cookery; 3, Receipts for Wholesome Drinks; 4, Answers to ever-recurring Questions. By M. L. Holbrook, M. D. New York: Wood & Holbrook. 1875.

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SECOND REPORT of the Directors of the Newton Home for Orphan and Destitute Girls. Boston: 1875.

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[FOR THE INDEX.]

A CONSCIENCE FOR LIBERTY.

MY DEAR ABBOT:—

Your "Appeal to Facts" has been carefully considered. I do not see that you have given me any occasion to modify the views expressed in my letter to you; but I will go over the ground a little more definitely, in order that we may, at least, the better understand each other.

1. I find it extremely difficult to separate your "facts and truths" from your "personality." You are constantly so mixing the two that, if one would heed what you say, he cannot well keep you out of mind. If you are really anxious to "secure the appeal to facts and the withdrawal of attention from all personalities that obscure them," you ought more rigidly to set the example. You "appeal" to others and tell them "where they are," and with your "intense conviction" you seem to insist that, when they are where they should be, they will be where you are. Or, you say they are already there, only they close their eyes to the "fact." Hence, when they open their eyes, they cannot escape seeing you. If, as you assure them, they are indeed anti-Christians, they will insist on discovering what you mean by the term. And how shall they do this but by learning from your own lips what your anti-Christian science or philosophy is? That is the most I have endeavored to do. I have pointed out the antagonism between some of your convictions and the gospel of liberty. You entirely mistake the scope of my remarks, if you think I sought to hold you up as morally culpable. I am not in any such sense "my brother's keeper." I do not remand you to the "private confessional of your own conscience." I do not say you are "falsifying your own principles" consciously. Certainly your sincerity is above reproach. But I take the same liberty to tell you *where you are* that you exercise when you impart similar information to others. I admit that it is somewhat "irrelevant" to the proper discussion of ideas to do so. But when my friend salutes me, I cannot exactly ignore his "personality." It is far more congenial to my feelings to dwell in the climate of ideas; but now and then one must forego his pleasure to meet an emergency. I shall be very glad, however, to hear no more about "mental delusion," "paralyzed courage," etc.; for these personalities undoubtedly do tend to obscure the truth. Show the truth, and our task will be done.

2. But I am forced to believe that you will not readily consent to this. For one of your convictions appears to be that, when others fail to see the fact as you state it, you are privileged to jump to the conclusion that they are guilty of "stubborn prejudice and total carelessness of truth." You "mean no offence," but you speak plainly; that is all. I foresee that you may deny this. Let me refer you to one of your own illustrations. You imagine yourself as coming to my studio to tell me the house is on fire. The only response you think it possible for me to make is, "Guess not." You entertain not the least suspicion that I know anything about the "fact," but think that I in my ignorance will go on to berate you for your "spirit of infallibility." You leave me to apply this illustration to those who hold that "Christianity is liberty."* Notwithstanding, as in the case of "B," they protest that they have honestly investigated the subject. It is as though I, on hearing your alarm of fire, had said, "Oh, you are mistaken. The smoke you smell is a smudge in my ash-barrel, and the flames you saw were not real flames. I painted them on the wall the other day. In the dim light of the entry, smelling the smudge, you have mistaken them for reality." But to satisfy you, I go out into the hall, search the building through, and find no fire. Now that is precisely what B said he had done. He had searched Christianity faithfully, and did not find any bondage. Yet you say that A "should not hesitate an instant" to inform B of his "delusion," telling him how it will "deadens his conscience and paralyze his courage." And this you think would be "intense conviction" and not the "assumption of infallibility."

I know your argument, and will further consider it. You tell me that B has only his own interpretation of Christianity, and denies any obligation to "submit this private interpretation to any superior tribunal." If A did the same thing, he would then stand on equal terms with B, and could not "insist on the truth of his opinion without making in reality an assumption of personal infallibility." But he does not. You do not. You appeal from all *private interpretations* to the "Universal Criterion of Science." Let us see what this means. It is a little mystifying, but perhaps it can be fathomed.

The "Criterion of Science" admonishes us to keep close to facts. And these facts are to be determined by observation and experience. The question is, What is Christianity? Or rather, first, where is Christianity to be found? "History knows nothing of a Christianity not in the Church; experiment, applied to the world of modern life, fails to discover it." Now we may ask what Christianity is, because we have discovered its whereabouts. "Christianity is the religion of Christians, and the totality of Christians constitutes the Universal Church." What, then, is Christianity? Let Mr. Abbot answer: "Bondage." Now let the Christian Church reply: "Not a bit of it." Here is disagreement where I had been led to expect perfect accord. Who is right? What is the *fact*? Mr. Abbot has said, "Bondage." He will not "retract, modify, or apologize." He has "told the truth as it is," and knows

that he has done so, because he has "submitted to the test of facts, and verified his conclusion by observation and experience." I am still in the mist. I want to know by whom was this scientific investigation conducted? I am reluctant to receive the reply, for I am aware of what follows. If the response is, as of course it must be, "Why, by Francis E. Abbot," then I am completely baffled in my attempt to discover whence he derives his right to speak with authority. I am reduced at last to the necessity of falling back upon his "private interpretation," and must value that for what I find it to be worth. If he proposes to argue the case, and to show me facts in the history of the Christian Church that prove his assertion, I must shake my head, for that is all wide of the mark. Others appeal to the same facts and obtain different results. B comes upon the scene, and they wear a different look. A new light is thrown on them, and their color changes.

There is possibly a kink in this matter I fail to see; but I have labored to the best of my abilities to discover any basis for your superior claim, and have failed. I do not mistake your claim; but I am compelled to disallow it. The "appeal to facts" is well. But permit me to say that your error lies in supposing that you alone make this appeal. The real difference between you and your Radical Christian neighbor is not that his "imagination" says one thing and your "facts" another, but that you and he do not agree in your conclusions as to *what the facts are*. I cannot in my own mind relieve you of that "spirit of infallibility" which is not "persuasive or pleasing," while you continue to intimate that his interpretation, as compared with your own, is only a "guess."

If I were to go into this matter to determine, as between A and B, for instance, which had pursued his investigation of Christianity in the most scientific manner, I should be compelled to give my verdict in favor of B. In the first place, he plants himself confessedly upon the right and the duty of private judgment. This, of course, is no guarantee that his judgment will be correct. But I admire and approve his spirit, and feel sure that I shall get from him no second-hand report, but his own judgment formed face to face with the fact he has proposed to investigate. The facts of this world are to each of us as we are able to see them. His ability may so far transcend that of all other men, living or dead, that he will bring from his research a new revelation. It by no means follows that, because the majority are agreed in one report, the minority is wrong, though that minority be represented by a single individual. All progress in science, as in religion, has come about by reason of some new private interpretation which has affirmed the *fact* to be otherwise than as previously reported and universally believed. So, instead of urging B to "get beyond private interpretations,"—a thing he cannot do unless he surrenders "mental freedom" and walks as one blind,—I abjure him to stand by them. Of course he will never plead that the "sanctity of this private interpretation protects it from criticism or challenge," as you wrongly suppose me to advise. His motto is not only "Liberty," but "all the light the universe can throw." Still he cannot drift away from his own interpretation of all that comes. He has heard of Christianity. Here is a church that professes to expound it. What does he get from this church? Interpretations varying and conflicting. He appeals to *that which the Church interprets*. Justice to the founder of Christianity, respect for his own veracity, alike demand that he should do this. Following back along the lines of history, he seeks the Christian ideal as portrayed by Christ himself. In so far as the Church has departed from this ideal,—he being for himself judge both of the ideal and of the Church's departure,—it is in his opinion, *un-Christian*. In his judgment the Church has so departed, and has made no faithful report. He thinks he finds the teachings of Christ to be proclamations of liberty. Therefore he is pleased to call himself a Christian. I may not agree with him; I may think his conclusion wrong; but I do not see that either you or I can make any "appeal to facts" that shall entitle us to pronounce his conclusion a "guess" and our own "knowledge"; or that his is a mere private interpretation, and ours the verdict of a superior tribunal.

If A shall ask B how it is that this Church has so uniformly in word and deed represented Christianity as "bondage," how he will account for so palpable a fact, I think B will find ample illustration. Historical parables must be numerous. He might refer A to our own national history. How is it that we as a people have so largely failed to interpret the high ideals of freedom? Would he suppose that a great nation dedicating itself to the "inalienable right of all to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," would for nigh a whole century unflinchingly defend an institution of human bondage? That is the *fact*. Is A prepared to say that democracy is a failure? B might state the philosophy of the case something in this way. "The old laps over upon the new. For a long time people see the new through the old glasses. They do not with a bound go from old to new. It is a growth and an outgrowth; republicanism with imperialism; civilization with barbarism; Christianity with Judaism. The higher the ideal, the longer the time ere it is reproduced in the world's life. As republicanism is not republicanism when it defends bondage; so Christianity is not Christianity while it enslaves human nature. Instead of having got beyond Christianity, we have not yet caught up with it. We are living, as it were, in the old time before Christ was born." This would be somewhat in harmony with my own idea. I think that the new departure which Jesus indicated was from Law to Life,—from the *kingdom without* to the *kingdom within*. Very likely he never quite made the transition himself. Nevertheless his life's mission was to em-

phasize it. Now the Church was the symbol of *outwardness*. It represented still that first stage of human development. All instituted religion, all institutions, in fact, embody the same thought. Of course, there are things that are outward, and only so. These naturally require machinery for their locomotion. But the things of the spirit are under no such necessity. Form and ceremony veil and hide them. The machine but cumbers the ground. Now in my judgment the Christian Church has represented this *outwardness* far more than anything else; and whatever acts thus outwardly acts in opposition to liberty. And I think that as an institution it has failed, as it necessarily must, to interpret what my friend B would call the true *Christian* departure.

But I must confess that to my mind all this much discussion about the party name, so far as our practical duty in this modern world is concerned, partakes largely of the *inconsequential*. Do we discuss liberty? Let us say what *liberty* is. Do we discuss justice? Let us say what *justice* is. Do we discuss equity? Let us say what *equity* is. Thus matters are simplified, and we have made several removes from confusion.

3. A word further in response to your query whether I am "outside of things as well as names." No, I think not, for the reason that I am not inside of names; the getting *within* the one is tolerably good evidence you are *out* of the other. Yet I do not "protest against being named." You may call me "anti-Christian" as often as you please. Nor do I take "pains" to stand outside of names. I said only that that was where I "found" myself. It costs me no great trouble. I mean that I have no disposition to hoist the party flag. It does not follow that I may not, when I see fit, cooperate with others to some specified end. That will depend on the end sought, and the method proposed. Parties may have done service, and may still do service; because there are those who believe in them, and all such persons must work in their own way, and I should hate to believe their labor wholly in vain. Perhaps the difference between you and me is, that you do your "bolting" after, while I do my bolting before, entering. Once in, if I recognized the majority principle, I think I should feel in honor bound to stay. You may call this "jealous individualism," but you will have misnamed the *thing* I mean. I simply wish to be free to serve the world in such ways as I can approve. That is all. If that is "very selfish," then to be "very selfish" is my ambition. I wish to remain outside of an endless and profitless dispute. To my mind the general party name signifies nothing. Experience teaches me that I do not know with greater certainty whether I more agree with the man who calls himself anti-Christian than with one who calls himself Christian; with Republican than with Democrat. I have seen the two, and I find their baskets filled with pretty much the same things, though these may all be labelled with extraordinary dissimilarity.

4. You say, "With regard to the 'conflict of consciences,' I have looked in your letter for light in vain, and do not know what you would do when consciences conflict." The shortest reply I can make is, "Do nothing." What saying more commended in Free Religious circles than this—"If we cannot agree, we must agree to disagree"? Indeed, is there any other course left, unless we adopt the maxim that "might makes right," and force the argument? Then we have a pitched battle, and the weakest goes to the wall. Your words have warned me that I am treading here on unpopular ground. I shall not so "satisfy many consciences"; certainly not yours. Well, I must be "brave," and in no way "deadens" my own conscience by withholding the free expression of my conviction. I repeat, then,—supposing that we have first fully accepted the idea of liberty,—when consciences conflict, *Do nothing*. Wait, though it be until doomsday, if you see not the way to harmonious action. I do not shrink from applying this idea to all institutions with "uncompromisingness." "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off." If the public school system is not founded in right and justice, drop it. You will find it is not worth the cost of pursuing. Purchased at the price of liberty, you have sold your birthright for a mess of pottage. Alas! that is what America is doing to-day in a thousand ways. Now I would that we could correct all this. I would give more for the education of the country into a CONSCIENCE FOR LIBERTY than for aught else. If to this end you sacrifice your idol of a public school, it will teach a lesson by its death it has been utterly incompetent to convey in life.

Am I then opposed to Universal Education? Some may leap to that conclusion. I reply that I would simply make the practical operation of a free society a *part* of that education. A child may be educated in *wrong* as well as in *right*. If you trample on principles that ought to be held sacred to give him an education, the example will tell quite as powerfully in the development of his character as will his knowledge of books. It will be a salutary lesson for him and for all to learn *not to do evil that good may come*.

But you still insist that I have not shown how to avoid the "conflict of consciences." To "give up the public schools in order to conciliate the Catholic's conscience" will violate your conscience. I cannot deny it. All I can say is that, if this be true, you cannot have a *Conscience for Liberty*. Ought you not therefore to take down your motto, or let it henceforth read—"Liberty and Bondage Mixed"? I would give up the enforced public school, not to conciliate the Catholic's conscience, but my own. I should hope my good example would tell on him. If not, I would at least have done my duty, and disarmed him of any valid excuse. So long as there are in America *two consciences* on this question of freedom, there *will* be conflict. The problem is, how to get but one conscience on this subject the world

* The fault was mine, but you mistook my meaning in making B say that "Christianity was bondage but now is liberty." I meant he should say that in its origin Christianity meant liberty, but the so-called Christian Church had in its name established bondage.

over. I had supposed that in this country we had set ourselves with some degree of earnestness to the task of illustrating its solution. But so long as there are people who cry out that their consciences are violated unless others will come to their terms, I suppose the conflict cannot be avoided. It is this enforced commonism that is the disturbing element. I "show you how to satisfy everybody's conscience," by showing you that it will be better for each and all to mind their own business. When the attempt is made to establish whatever institution by a system of coercive coöperation, the evil begins, and there is no end of it. Voluntary coöperation is, in my view, not only the one method consistent with liberty, it is by far the most practical and effective. I think I do not believe in the "solidarity of the race" so far as measures are concerned, but in its harmony. And this harmony I claim will best be attained, can only be attained, by free individual action. What that action would be as affecting schools and universal education, it is not for me here to anticipate. I will now only say that I have perfect faith that the genius of the American people will prove equal to the emergency, whenever the beneficent sway of freedom shall be established. "First go and be reconciled with thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." When the South asked, "What will you do for cotton when slavery is abolished?" the abolitionist replied, "Do without it, if that is the only alternative." If you still ask, "What will the country do for education when the compulsory school system is abandoned?" I can now only reply: "Do without it, if that is the only alternative. I am no convert to the maxim that 'the end justifies the means.'"

Yours sincerely, SIDNEY H. MORSE.

VENALITY.

WASHINGTON, February, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Wendell Phillips's letter on the capital and labor question (published in THE INDEX of Jan. 28) has fixed my attention. For myself, having never studied this question, I have no suggestions to offer. I see the peril as most intelligent men do, and if any one does not see it let him come to Washington. Congress is now investigating the Pacific mail subsidy of \$750,000. I can tell you nothing about it but what you see in the papers. Meanwhile the sewing machine monopolists, having made enormous profits, are driving for an extension of their patent, which, if it succeeds, will deprive many a widow and poor sewing-girl of the means of livelihood. The express companies, too, are trying hard to get a law passed forbidding the transportation of small parcels through the mails. The post-office, it seems, is a very popular institution for the transmission of small articles, and greatly interferes with the profits of these greedy monopolists, who want the whole. If Congress is beaten by their little game, there will be no limits to the extortion of these vampires, except the limits of endurance on the part of the victim, the suffering people. It is the little things that count up in the aggregate, and off which the greatest profits are made. Hence, to purchase Congress, the monopolists throw their money right and left; for they see "millions in it,"—which, by the present law, are annually saved to the people.

The lobby is now reckoned a powerful, if not the most powerful, element in legislation here. The halls and ante-rooms of Congress are thronged every day with adventurers, and among them beautiful and dangerous women, who add their smiles and fascinations. But every now and then you will see faces in the crowd that make you instinctively feel for your pocket-book, and button tighter your coat. Inside of Congress, ordinarily, not much is going on, because nearly all the work is done in committee-rooms. One must go there to see the drift of things, and be familiar with all the winds and tides of legislation. The Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, the Chairman on Appropriations, on Foreign Relations, on the Judiciary, and the Speaker, are the real rulers, the shaping and governing powers. They are the gods of the lower world (or House), while Jupiter sits in the White House, and occasionally launches his thunderbolt at a rebellious community, or obstreperous legislature. The people were more scared than hurt by his last one. It is not in that direction that danger is to be apprehended. It is in that spirit of corruption which writes "VENAL" over the doors of Congress, over every avenue to legislation, and which is creeping through all branches of the public service. It is in the use of money by those skin-flint monopolies and bloated corporations which adopt, as a sound business principle and as their first rule of action, the famous *bon mot* of Walpole, that "every man has his price." It is said—I hope it is not true, and I am far from vouching for it—that a seat in the American Senate can be bought now, as a seat in the British Parliament used to be. One thing is certain, that "money is power." And this power is corruptly used to defeat the true ends of government. Our ship of state would appear to be sailing in the inner circles of the great maelstrom of corruption which has engulfed so many republics before to-day. We are sweeping in nearer and nearer to the fatal point drawn by that gravitating power of incorporated wealth.

This is the danger, and no one sees it clearer than Wendell Phillips. But when he confesses, "I believe, I can't see," whence the cure is to come, we may well stand aghast in the presence of so gigantic and threatening an evil, so pregnant with unforseen calamity which may be sprung upon us without a moment's warning. The late rebellion took us unprepared enough. But external forces can be measured, while who can measure the spirit of corruption? Who can, who dares, to probe this foul cancer of the body politic having its roots far down in poverty, ig-

norance, and crime, and slowly but steadily ripening to mutinous revolt—the insurrection of the many against the government of the few? For that is the meaning of a plutocracy, always and everywhere the same. But the deep and immitigable evils of which such government is the source and fountain-head can never be cured by a direct attack on the "evils," or by the "heroic method." Time is an element in the problem which waits for solution.

In a poem of Shelley's entitled "The Masque of Anarchy," an attempt is made to uncover the damning evils of a plutocracy, and the task is not unsuccessfully performed. The grinding slavery of monopoly, and the horrible vices and defects which it engenders in the souls and bodies of its victims are painted in strong colors, of which the awfulness is their very truth. Equally true and beautiful, on the other hand, is the picture of the glorious and emancipating effects of freedom. That was the remedy, if freedom in England were not all a dream. We in America have a better chance to try the remedy, having time before us, and a continent for room. We must convert the dream into a reality. But we must not allow the moneyed despotism to tighten its grasp upon our necks. We must arise in "unvanquishable number," and compel attention to the magnitude of the subject.

But the poem—where Shelley seems to have exerted his entire strength in the cause of the people. He saw the poor of England, the laboring masses, trampled down and oppressed by unjust laws, while monopoly, like a cruel vampire, was draining the life-blood of the nation. He saw the sovereign and parliament of England, the court and the aristocracy, the church and the law, and the sword even, flung into the scale of the oppressor, and all aiming at one object—to coin labor into money, not for the benefit of the laborer, but to support the privileged orders in idleness and luxury. And when the last drop filled the cup to overflowing, when the patience of the people finally gave way, and the many rose in revolt against the oppressive rule of the few—when, in 1819, the news of the Manchester massacre reached Shelley, then residing in Italy near Leghorn,—the poet himself, we are told, unable longer to restrain the violent emotions of indignation and compassion which agitated him, thought the time had come for an appeal to his injured countrymen. He put the trumpet of Poesy to his lips, and uttered that clarion cry. His object was to inspire his countrymen with a belief in the great and certain truth that the "many could control the few," by standing together long enough, as Mr. Phillips says, "to be counted." And how was that to be done? Why, simply enough; by calling an immense mass-meeting of the people, by passing resolutions, and putting forth a declaration of their rights. That was the way, that is the way—is it not, Mr. Phillips?—to gain that attention which you very properly declare to be here the half of success. For that is the sort of popular thunder which our venal press and politicians heed.

"Men of England, heirs of glory,
Heroes of unwritten story,
Nurslings of one mighty mother,
Hopes of her and one another!

"Rise like lions after slumber,
In unvanquishable number!
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you!
Ye are many, they are few!"

J. S.

[The remainder of this poem can be found in Rossetti's edition of Shelley, London, 1870: vol. 2, p. 192.—ED.]

HAPPY is he who expects little book-knowledge from the masses, because he won't be disappointed. The Medical Officer to the General Post-office at London mournfully concludes his report on the candidates for minor appointments in that department during the past year with a gasp of longing for compulsory education. These candidates were obliged to make written statements as to the medical histories of themselves and their families, and these are some of their sad but interesting expressions: "Father had a sunstroke, and I caught it of him," "My little brother died of some funny name," "A great white cat drew my sister's breath, and she died of it," "Apperplexity," "Parasles," "Burrager in the head," "Rummitanic pains," "Shortness of breadth," "Indigestion of the lungs," "Toncertina in the throat," "Pistoles on the back." The country that produces such frantic and ingenious ignorance has a right to be proud to the verge of "apperplexity."—*N. Y. Tribune.*

THE *Tablet* quotes from old Roger Mervales' "History of ye Devils which Inhabit ye Human Anatomy" the following passage, which may be considered very seasonable reading: "The coughing devil haunteth churches, and troubleth good folks mightily. He entereth in and taketh up his abode in the larynx; he favoreth mostly ancient gentlewomen who visit often God's house, and on the Sunday when the priest readeth the notices for the forthcoming week, telling ye faithful that such a day is Mass, and such an one is Fast, this coughing devil is moved thereat with diabolical spleen and much envy, and leapeth mightily, and teareth at the throats of the old gentlewomen, until their pain issues in great uproar and noise, so that no one heareth what the preacher hath to say. And that week many good folk miss Mass on the Holy Day, and many more the Fast appointed. Thus God's work is prevented and the devil rejoiceth exceedingly."

WE can only hope to conquer Nature by submitting to her.—*Selected.*

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

MY STAR.

BY S. H. MORSE.

The noisy time keeps up the strife
'Tween things and other things,
And swift doth time take wings,
And death and life
Return,—the one the other brings.

I bid thee, fickle Time! go by.
I heed thy cry no more;
I shut, I bolt my door.
Into blue sky
I gaze through star-lit window o'er.

And lo! one star looks down at me,—
Yet stays it at its height.
Unerring falls the light.
I watch to see—
Will't vanish with the hours of night?

Oh! fade not till the perfect Day,
Thou Heaven-lit, holy star!
Thy beams thou send'st afar
Light the good way
Where hidden truths and treasures are.

O star of mine! I heed but thee;
Thy light alone desire.
Or friend or foe conspire,
Fate buffet me;
Thy mandate shall be higher!

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 20.

John Buntin, \$3.20; A. H. White, \$3.20; Clara Johnson, \$3.20; Samuel Roberts, \$3.20; Matthew Anderson, \$3.20; John Holmes, \$3.20; H. L. Higginson, \$4.25; Samuel R. Winkley, \$3; A. M. Haskell, \$3; C. C. Carpenter, \$3; J. M. Hawks, 20 cents; E. C. Darling, \$3.20; J. T. Warrington, \$3.20; Wm. Allen, \$3; H. L. Canfield, \$3; E. T. Wood, \$3.20; F. C. Hanson, 50 cents; B. T. Yerrington, \$3.20; M. B. Priestley, 50 cents; Mrs. W. Nye, \$1.50; C. F. Simons, \$1.20; Geo. W. Julian, \$3.60; Henry M. North, \$3.25; H. T. Jones, \$3.20; Judge Ross, \$3.25; J. M. Holmes, \$1.70; G. F. Van Vechten, \$3.20; E. A. J. Lindsay, \$3.20; R. W. Jess, \$3.20; M. Samfield, \$3.20; Gus. Jacobs, \$3; Wm. J. Gill, \$3; Matilda Goddard, 20 cents; J. B. Davenport, 20 cents; L. C. Best, \$1; H. L. Hall, \$3.20; Zina Eager, \$4.90; Henry Roberts, \$3.20; Samuel F. Lee, \$1.60; H. F. Ring, 10 cents; J. P. Titcomb, \$3.20; Harry Hoover, \$1.20; W. F. Perkins, 35 cents; J. B. Burlew, \$1; F. P. Hamblett, 70 cents; G. H. Foster, \$1; W. P. Taylor, \$2; C. C. Dills, \$1; W. H. Spencer, 20 cents; T. J. Atwood, \$1.75; R. Dusenbury, \$1.75; N. O. Randolph, 25 cents; G. E. Tufts, 10 cents; R. E. Lewis, 70 cents; Joseph S. Hill, \$10; John Hendrie, 25 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

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RECEIVED.

Books.

THE MORALITY OF PROHIBITORY LIQUOR LAWS. An Essay. By William B. Weeden. Boston: Roberts Bros. 1875. [Advance sheets: p. 223.]

EATING FOR STRENGTH: A Book Comprising—1, The Science of Eating; 2, Receipts for Wholesome Cookery; 3, Receipts for Wholesome Drinks; 4, Answers to ever-recurring Questions. By M. L. Holbrook, M. D. New York: Wood & Holbrook. 1875.

Pamphlets and Periodicals.

PUBLICATIONS of Thomas Scott, Esq., 11, The Terrace, Farquhar Road, Upper Norwood, London, S. E.—"The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua in face of the Science and Moral Sense of our Age." By a Physician. Part VI.—"On the Atonement." By Annie Besant.—"Signs of the Times: February, 1875."

THE NATURAL ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY. A Lecture in Brooklyn, N. Y. By John W. Chadwick. New York: 1875.

PROPHETS AND PROPHECY. Read before the Liberal League of Minneapolis, Minn., Sunday, Jan. 31, 1875. By Frank J. Mead.

DOUBT. A Paper read before the Philosophical Society of Chicago, Dec. 27, 1874. By J. N. Stiles. Chicago: 1875.

A NATIONAL CONSTITUTION: the only Road to National Peace. A Letter to the President of the United States. By William Giles Dix. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1875.

A MODEL STATESMAN. Translated from the Boston Pioneer.

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The Index.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
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D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRANCIS
W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), Editorial Contributors.

REV. M. J. SAVAGE promises a reply to our article of last week, in which we criticised his "Christianity Notwithstanding." It will be sent in for next week's INDEX.

THE LONDON *Free Sunday Advocate* for January republishes three columns of the beautiful essay of Mrs. S. C. Hallowell on "Nursery Ethics," originally published in THE INDEX of August 23, 1873. The *Advocate's* honorable practice of giving full credit for all its selections we commend to American journals as an example worthy of all respect.

BARON ROSEN, in his *Russian Conspirators in Siberia*, thus refers to the Commission of Inquiry which examined the prisoners accused of complicity with the insurrection of 1825: "The president of the commission, Tatischtschew, very seldom took part in the inquiry; he only once made the following remark to the accused: 'Ypu have read nothing but Tracy, and Benjamin Constant, and Bentham; look what it has brought you to. I have read nothing but the Holy Scriptures all through my life, and you see what I have gained'; with that he pointed to the two rows of stars which glittered on his breast."

IN A printed circular addressed "To the Bishop and Members of the California Conference" of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Rev. D. A. Dryden has recently confessed some very mild heresies, which have been condoned by the Conference. A correspondent who kindly furnishes a copy of the circular is struck with the liberality of the Conference in retaining him as a member, instead of dismissing him as they dismissed another heretic ten years ago. We are chiefly struck, however, with Mr. Dryden's remarkable avowal of belief in Jesus: "In the divine-human or God-man Jesus, is revealed in personal unity all the triune of Father, Son, and Spirit. Outside of him I know nothing of a personal God whatever. To me he is the very and only God. And in him is all the fulness of God that I need or wish to know." This is the baldest and most absolute confession of Christian idolatry that we have ever seen, and it is well worth remembering. Yet idolatry of Jesus in some degree characterizes all forms of Christianity, and this astounding confession only holds up the mirror to it.

IF MR. VOYSEY will be so kind as to refer once more to the editorial he gently criticises in his earnest "London Letter" of this week, he will see that we sketched in two successive paragraphs the views of "some men" and of "other men," and then went on to portray (in a very inadequate manner) "some of the higher inspirations which are the gracious accompaniments of Free Religion." The passage he quotes is from the first of these two paragraphs, both of which describe views different in important respects from our own. The very point of our criticism of the views in this first of the two paragraphs was that man is a slave, "if God's arbitrary will is the ultimate reason of all things"; that is, if there is no higher explanation of life's troubles than the mere edict of arbitrary power. There is nothing noble in submission to mere power, and religion cannot make it noble. But if the grand course of Nature is ordered by omnipresent reason and goodness, of which omnipresent energy is but the executive side,—and this is the conclusion to which the deeper tendencies of modern science seem to us to point,—then it becomes possible for the bruised and tired spirit of the sufferer to repose in Nature without degrading itself by servile submission to mere inscrutable power. Our article was a protest against servility to the God of the churches, whose only right is his might. But it was anything but a protest against the self-respecting and dignified acceptance of the solace, strength, and peace which are naturally born from belief in the God of Science.

"A CONSCIENCE FOR LIBERTY."

MY DEAR MORSE:—

Your second letter, published on a previous page, is very welcome, as all your letters are. Please accept my thanks, not only for its kindly and good-humored tone, but also for the willingness it shows to discuss the questions at issue,—a willingness which I wish might be diffused in quarters where silence now reigns supreme. It is of no consequence who is right, provided we find out what is right, and the only way to find this out is the frank comparison of different views. I will answer the chief points of your letter as faithfully as I can, though without dwelling at all on many minor matters that would only prolong this reply to a tiresome length.

1. As I intimated a fortnight ago, you may settle the question of my "spirit of infallibility" in any way that suits you: I do not care enough about that to make any defence. But may I point out (a little mischievously, perhaps) that you seem to be about as "infallible" as I am? You remark: "I do not say you are 'falsifying your own principles' consciously." That is, I am doing it *unconsciously*—you being the infallible judge! Very well; I do not in the least complain of that judgment, which it is perfectly proper for you to pass, if you please. I would merely point out that this judgment of yours is precisely like my own remarks about "mental delusion," to which you object! The measles are about, but I have caught them myself, not the Neo-Christians; and the only difference between us is that, while I think they are sick, you think I am! Upon my word, I do not see but that you are as "infallible" as I, after all. You also say: "I take the same liberty to tell you where you are that you exercise when you impart similar information to others." Then why reprove me for doing it? To me it appears entirely proper that either of us should speak in this way; why should you think it right for yourself and wrong for me? Had we not better drop this personal irrelevancy altogether, and "dwell in the climate of ideas" which is so much more congenial to us both? The question is, does the spirit of liberty place all who have it in necessary opposition to Christianity? It is no answer to this question to say that I am "infallible" in my own conceit. That may or may not be true, but it does not answer the question.

2. When two persons both claim to have gone to the facts, yet make conflicting statements about them, what will they do, if they are rational beings? Will they each keep reiterating his own account, or will they agree to go to the facts once more, and submit them to a fresh and more thorough examination? When you tell me the fire I announce to you is painted flames in the entry and a smoky smudge in your ash-barrel, I shall propose that we go together to verify your statement; and if I find it correct, I shall at once say so. But if you decline to go, while I go alone and find the fire a real one, I shall be obliged to come again and give you a second "infallible" warning. Now all I ask of your Neo-Christian B is to go with me to the facts of Christianity, and examine them afresh. Some of the most important of the facts I have seen he wholly omits in his report of what he has seen; and nothing will be easier than to find out whether these omitted facts are merely in my own imagination or not. I admit the possibility of my being mistaken in this fancied sight of mine, and agree to submit it to a fresh verification in his presence. What I object to in B is his refusal to go with me for this purpose—his refusal to do anything but affirm and re-affirm his own "private interpretation" of the facts, without submitting it to verification at all. The facts I want him to see, and to admit the force of, are briefly these: that the great dominant idea of the gospels, taught by Jesus again and again, made the basis of all their preaching by the apostles, built up into all the historic creeds by their successors, and developed into Orthodox theology and Orthodox polity by the Church Universal, was the doctrine that "Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ of God," the Savior, Lord, and King of mankind by the Divine appointment; that this great doctrine is the very core of Christianity; that it has been always affirmed, and never denied, by every branch of the Christian Church; and that it is to-day what it always has been, the very foundation and essence of the Christian religion. My complaint against your Neo-Christian B is that he shows two faces on this subject,—one to the Orthodox world, when it charges him with "denying the Lord that bought him," one to the free thinkers, when they charge him with denying the principle of absolute liberty of thought and speech. To

the Orthodox, B affirms that he believes in the Lord Jesus Christ as much as they do, accepting his teachings as a Divine revelation beyond all suspicion of error; to the free thinkers, he affirms that he admits the right of reason to sit in judgment on all things. He thus affirms and denies the supremacy of reason above revelation. What I ask is that B should face the fact that Christianity, in the whole course of its history and in its actual position to-day, binds him to submission, in mind, heart, and life, to the Lord Jesus Christ; and that this submission is bondage, and not liberty. This is the fact as I see it; I only ask B to look at this fact, and either admit it or disprove it. But this is the very thing that B will not do. Instead of doing it, he sings his little song of "Christianity is perfect liberty," and throws himself back on his dignity as the happy possessor of a "private interpretation."

But you say: "What, then, is Christianity? Let Mr. Abbot answer: 'Bondage.' Now let the Christian Church reply: 'Not a bit of it.'" With all deference, I must say that you reverse the verdict of the Church. Does not the Roman Catholic Church plant itself on the infallibility of the Pope? Does not the Protestant Evangelical Church plant itself on the infallibility of the Bible? Does not the Protestant Liberal Church plant itself on the infallibility of Jesus Christ? That is, does not the Christian Church everywhere and always plant itself on the principle of INFALLIBLE AUTHORITY, and must not every free thinker concede that this is mental and spiritual bondage? It astonishes me to find you taking opposite ground. I certainly deny differing from the Church, when I make the assertion that it rests confessedly on the principle of infallible authority; and I certainly claim that all free thinkers identify this principle with bondage. Will you, or will your B, identify it with liberty? If not, how can either of you dissent, when I say that Christianity is bondage?

I do not rest in my own judgment in this matter. I do not rely on my own "private interpretation." I do not at all assume to possess a "right to speak with authority." I do not make a "superior claim" of any sort. All these things are done by your B, when he sets aside the *consensus* of the Church as to its own foundation in the principle of infallible authority, and the *consensus* of all liberals that this principle is mental and spiritual bondage. If he denies that this is the *consensus* in either case, it is not my fault if he puts himself in the position of one who asserts that the moon is green cheese. Such an assertion may be undoubtedly an honest "private interpretation"; but it is usually heard nowadays only within the confines of lunatic asylums. There is a limit in good sense which is recognized by all the sane in disputes about facts. The universal reason counts for something, even as against the individual.

But you make this plea for B: "He has heard of Christianity. Here is a Church that professes to expound it. What does he get from this Church? Interpretations varying and conflicting. He appeals to that which the Church interprets. Justice to the founder of Christianity, respect for his own veracity, alike demand that he should do this. Following back along the lines of history, he seeks the Christian ideal as portrayed by Christ himself. In so far as the Church has departed from this ideal,—he being for himself judge both of the ideal and of the Church's departure,—it is in his opinion *un-Christian*. In his judgment the Church *has* so departed, and has made no faithful report. He thinks that he finds the teachings of Christ to be proclamations of liberty." Now to this plea I must urge two objections. First, B will "get from the Church interpretations varying and conflicting" in many respects, but only one interpretation in respect to the *infallible authority of the Lord Jesus Christ*: on that point all recognized branches of the Christian Church are unanimous. Secondly, if he goes back to the gospels for "the Christian ideal as portrayed by Christ himself," he will find the cause of this wonderful unanimity of the Church on that point to be the unanimous testimony of the gospels that Jesus claimed to be the Christ, the authoritative Lord and King of all. These are the facts. If B chooses to disregard these facts, to wipe out both from the gospels and the Church's interpretations of them the Christ-claim of Jesus and the infallible authority it asserts, and thus to metamorphose proclamations of bondage into "proclamations of liberty," nobody will dispute his right to assert these things any more than to assert that it is the habit of badgers to fly kites. But everybody will be at liberty to form and express his own opinion of such assertions.

You suggest that B, in order to explain how the Church departed from the ideal of Jesus, and came to represent bondage rather than liberty, might urge the historical parallel of a great nation's dedicating itself to the rights of man, yet defending the institution of slavery. The parallel is a good one, but it is on A's side, not B's. Every institution tends to carry out and develop its own fundamental idea. The fundamental idea of this country is that of universal liberty; and, although at the beginning chattel-slavery existed here in contradiction of this idea, the natural tendency was to get rid of it, and now it is gone. So the fundamental idea of the Christian Church was the Christship of Jesus; and, although at the beginning there was much individual liberty connected with it, the natural tendency was to suppress this more and more, and to develop the Divine authority of the Christ into the Deity of Jesus himself and the infallibility of his Vicegerent, the Pope. In both cases the same tendency asserted itself; but, instead of producing a departure of the Church from the original ideal of Jesus (the "kingdom of heaven"), it only developed this into its natural result, the establishment of a great ecclesiasticism based on the developed idea of Divine authority.

3. Omitting for brevity's sake the further discussion of parties and names, I will pass at once to the next topic of your letter, the "conflict of consciences."

4. The course you recommend, in cases of conflicting consciences, is to "do nothing." In the case of the schools, since the Catholic conscience and the republican conscience conflict, you seem to think that abolishing or "dropping" the public school system is to "do nothing," and for this reason you recommend that course. The reason you give for this advice is certainly one that I sympathize with profoundly—a wish to see a "conscience for liberty" universally cultivated in our country. But it is precisely because the American people have a "conscience for liberty" that they cleave so tenaciously to their public school system. The education given in our public schools is by no means all that it should be; nevertheless, it is the palladium of all our public and private liberties. Stop the schools, and deprive the people of the priceless advantages they now confer, and the next generation would see the last vestige of public freedom swept out of sight. Despotism can live and thrive where ignorance prevails, but freedom never. It is precisely because the people of this republic well understand that knowledge means liberty and ignorance slavery, that they have already a "conscience for liberty" that is the only safeguard of the republic. Do nothing! Is it nothing to dismiss all the teachers, send home all the children, sell or destroy all the school-houses, and leave the rising generation to grow up into helpless victims of priests and demagogues! Why, my dear friend, that is doing so much that I shrink from the very imagination of it. You do not in this way avoid trampling on the consciences of your fellow-men. You simply placate the consciences of the Catholic minority by outraging the consciences of the vast majority who love republican institutions. You simply take sides with the conscience for despotism against your own "conscience for liberty." You do not escape the necessity of violating somebody's conscience by trying to "do nothing." *You have got to do something.* You have got to continue the schools or to abolish them; and abolishing them is doing more, and worse, than defending them as the very apple of the eye. You have not guessed right this time, for you propose to trample on more consciences, and to trample with a heavier heel, than ever I have done. Whoever has indeed a "conscience for liberty," and equal rights, and impartial justice, will wish to disregard no man's conscience, if it can possibly be avoided; but when conscience is so debased by superstition as to protest in the name of religion against the education which is the condition of all free government "of the people, by the people, for the people," it cannot be any more regarded than the conscience which impels the Thug to murder travellers for the sake of appeasing his bloody goddess. "Doing nothing" is simply impossible in this matter of the schools: the only question is—what shall we do? Until I get more light, I must still say, educate every child, maintain the free schools, and oblige every citizen to pay his just proportion towards their support; for all the citizens, Catholics included, get their share of the protection thus ensured, and the Catholic has no right to make others pay the whole expense while he goes scot-free. And I take this ground precisely because I have a "conscience for liberty."

Yours ever, F. E. ABBOT.

FAIR INFERENCES.

An Orthodox paper prints with satisfaction the intelligence that "in the German Universities the Rationalistic lecture-rooms are now empty, and the Evangelical crowded; while fifty or eighty years ago the Rationalistic were crowded, and the Evangelical empty." The conclusion, not drawn because self-evident, not suggested because implied, is that Rationalism has had its day in the very region of its nativity and strength, and that Evangelicalism has reconquered its old territory and resumed its old sway. Granting for the moment the exact truth of the rather loose statement, and letting pass the facts that would seriously modify it, the reasoning from the premises might be mended without exhausting the intellectual powers. If all the Rationalistic lecture-rooms were deserted, the fact would simply prove that, in the centres of education in Germany, Rationalism had effectually done its work on the Christian Scriptures and creed, and required no further pressing. The minds it educated are employed in other fields of history, philosophy, philology, physiology, chemistry, celestial and terrestrial science; and young minds of the same order, instead of attending theological lectures of any school, abandon the Christian ministry and enter on other pursuits. There are Rationalists more than enough to fill all the theological lecture-rooms of all the universities; but other lecture-rooms suit them better. German Rationalism, having essentially modified the thought, not of Germany only, but of France and England, and through them of America,—having drawn thousands away from Evangelical Christianity,—having made tens of thousands more than indifferent to the Church,—having created a literature that is more efficacious in its service than all the lectures of all the professors,—having, in a word, established its dominion over the hardest working portion of the human mind, may as well close its halls except to the few who desire to pursue the technical study of theology.

But they who in Germany are moved to attack these studies are for the most part youths of an Evangelical turn of mind, whose taste is for the Christian ministry; and the lectures that these listen to are very unlike those that were delivered fifty or eighty years ago. Repeat those lectures, and the rooms would be emptier to-day than they were then. Evangelical Christianity has of late years become quite another thing; its dogmas have been abandoned or softened; the emphasis has been shifted; fresh interpretations have been admitted; the force of criticism has been conceded; matters once deemed of cardinal importance have been assigned subordinate and incidental places; reason is permitted its rights, subject not to authority, but to sentiment. And all this must be laid to the account of Rationalism.

If the Evangelical lecture-rooms are preparing the way for Rationalism, are in fact doing, under disguise, Rationalistic work, why should the Rationalistic lecture-rooms be kept open? All things considered, therefore, the intelligence that makes the text for these remarks is exceedingly cheerful for Rationalism.

O. B. F.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—In your editorial of the 31st December last on "Inspirations and Anodynes," you seem to have set forth with great power and eloquence the contrast between the manly spirit which is born of freedom, and the craven spirit which is the offspring of Orthodoxy.

But it strikes me that you have not done full justice to those feelings of courage and joy which are engendered by a kind of resignation not sufficiently recognized in your article. The words I wish to comment upon are the following:—

"Whoever encounters labor or pain simply because he must, and looks upon this necessity as an incomprehensible fact to be accepted with the best grace possible, submits to a cosmical government of pure force; and it makes little difference whether he considers it inexorable fatality or the 'immutable decrees' of God. One alternative is as rigorous as the other, and simple submission to superior power appears to be the only possible course to him who would not insanely dash his head against the prison walls of his destiny. But there is little in this to inspire, or cheer, or console. Man is a slave, and may as well be a slave to necessity as to God, if God's arbitrary will is the ultimate reason of all things."

Now, in the foregoing passage, I so far agree with you that, when God is regarded *only* in the light here

represented, it is all the same whether he be called "God" or "Necessity," and the only kind of submission possible to one so regarding "Him," or "It," is the submission of a slave.

I venture to submit, however, that there is a view of God much wider than this, which is perfectly compatible with the willing submission of a son to a father, and which, where it exists in its integrity, is a source of inspiration and joy and consolation. Moreover, instead of weakening those sources of manly energy which you so ably eulogize, namely, the exercise of the affections and the sense of duty, this conscious surrender to the will of God adds greatly to their force as weapons against the ills of life.

The view of God which I commend involves all that science teaches regarding necessary sequence, and brings us to the conclusion that in every man's lot there is a varying quantity of the inevitable. Some pains and evils are certain to befall him. Practically it makes no difference whether you call the cause of this "Necessity" or "God." But it does make an overwhelming difference whether "God" is regarded as an involuntary, unintelligent force, or as possessing something analogous to a designing will; whether in fact the evils befall us with or without the consent of a friendly Divine mind.

In one case, there is, as you admit, "nothing to inspire, to cheer, or to console." In the other case, there is everything to inspire, to cheer, and to console.

If I believe that my troubles and the world's troubles are designed for the cultivation of manly qualities and of the tenderest virtue, which could not, under easier conditions, be called into exercise at all; then I have the double advantage of being inspired to do battle with the evils of life and to bear with equanimity such of them as I am unable to conquer or escape from.

If I believe that no evils can be endured which have not been permitted with a benign purpose, I submit to them—not with the abject submission of a slave, but—with the intelligent and grateful submission of a child who has discovered the loving purpose of his father beneath the crosses and disappointments of parental control.

If I detect that one object of my troubles is to elevate my character, surely it will inspire me to get all the good out of them I possibly can, and to do my obvious duty in conquering them on my own behalf and that of my fellow-men.

Further, if God be regarded as the conscious ordainer of life's toil and sorrow, and at the same time he be trusted to have only in view our supreme good, then surely we have a source of joy and cheerfulness not elsewhere to be matched. Not only our own lives, but the lives of others too, are lighted up by comfort and hope. Our own troubles are not half so hard to bear as the witnessing of other men's troubles when we cannot relieve them. And yet even this far greater burden is relieved by that view of God which makes us not only willingly acquiesce in his good purpose, but to shrink from the thought of interfering with a purpose so sublime.

To this source of inspiration and joy under trials must be added the thought of God's sympathy, the conviction that he knows what the sufferings of his creatures are, and therefore does not wantonly allow any pain to fall upon them more than is necessary. If God be only an unfeeling force, with no more consciousness of human sensibilities than this pen in my hand, it is quite a waste of time to think or speak of him at all. The less we trouble ourselves about the unseen mystery, the better. It would then be the truest wisdom to huddle ourselves together as men, and defy the facts as best we may, and curse them when they are too much for us.

But if God knows and feels, or has some power of sympathy (for which we have only human and defective terms in speaking of it), something analogous to what we call "Love," then, as a source of consolation under the most keen of life's pangs and the most bitter bereavement, belief in God's appointment of our lot is the very highest consolation ever felt by human hearts. It has saved thousands of the woe-struck from suicide; it has healed millions of bleeding and broken hearts.

Whether advancement in knowledge will make this view of God untenable remains to be seen. At present it remains untouched, and is enjoyed by some who are in the vanguard of scientific research.

It is of course no proof of its truth that it makes us happy; the first moment of all disillusion is a moment of intense pain; and believers in the love of

God for themselves and for all mankind will not give up their faith without the most acute suffering. But they must and will surrender it, so soon as it becomes manifestly irreconcilable with eternal fact; but not before.

At present, every sound argument is on their side, and the balance of probabilities inclines more to it than ever. That such a faith is not more widely prevalent is simply due to its having been buried beneath the dust and rubbish of Christian dogmas; and what little of it had emerged and spread itself over part of the Christian walls has fallen with them, and is now sharing the general ruin. But we believe it is imperishable, and has before it a mighty future. Certain it is that it will strengthen and not weaken all that is noblest in man.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S. E., Jan. 30, 1875.

P. S.—Since writing the above I have read your lecture on the "Coming Religion," and trace in its magnificent conclusion an answer to much that I have herein said.

WHY AND WHEREFORE.

"The *Liberal Christian* expresses surprise at the large attendance upon Dr. Thomson's Bible-Class in Association Hall, New York, Sunday afternoons. 'Dr. Thomson's delivery,' it says, 'was anything but attractive, being halting, and frequently at a loss for a word, so that we could not help feeling very nervous lest he should break down altogether. We venture to say that, had a Unitarian minister endeavored to conduct such a service, the hall would not have been respectably filled, and there would have been little enthusiasm. Yet Dr. Thomson's Bible-Class is a popular institution, and draws crowds. Can any one tell us the secret of the success generally accompanying such movements in the "so-called evangelical denominations?" Is it because they are better drilled, and are accustomed to look upon such religious observances as matters of duty? How can we explain the extraordinary success of preaching and teaching that is of itself in no way remarkable?' Perhaps it is due to a remarkable sense of the difference between the word of God, and the mere words of man's wisdom."

Dissenting from the solution offered in the last sentence of the above paragraph, I would offer another, in the belief that it touches more nearly the core of the matter. Dr. Thomson (he is an M. D., not a D.D.) has, I understand, travelled in the East, and is able to impart a glow of reality to the text of Scripture which ordinary expositors do not understand. His audience is composed of evangelical people, who believe in the inspiration of the Bible, and feel bound in duty to attend expository lectures, but are grateful to anybody who will freshen up the old weariness with personal experience. I well remember in my callow days what a fount of living water seemed opened by Robertson's *Oriental Illustrations*, a very thin, ordinary book, written by a man who had been in the Bible lands. The reason why Unitarian Bible-classes are unattended is that Unitarians do not believe in the inspiration of the Bible, do not feel religiously bound to study it, and are not interested in knowing what it means. Dr. Bellows, too, has been in the East, and can talk about it more engagingly than Dr. Thomson; but, while Dr. Thomson lights up what are considered sacred scenes, Dr. Bellows lights up a heap of ruins. That is the difference. "Difference between the word of God and the mere words of man's wisdom," forsooth! That is begging the question. The difference is between those who think the Bible to be the word of God, and are happy to find it interesting as well as important, and those who do not think so, and who, not regarding it as important, cannot be induced to find it interesting. If the Unitarians would modernize the Bible as much for their people as Dr. Thomson does for his, that is, would talk about it as literature, not as God's word at all, perhaps their Bible-classes would fill up.

O. B. F.

INNOCENT OF THEOLOGY.—A good story is told of Rev. Mr. B—, of —, in Massachusetts:—

An old lady in his church was told by some one who did not like his theological sentiments that he was an *Arminian*. She was greatly distressed at the statement, and went at once to her pastor to ascertain from himself if the charge was well founded.

"Mr. B—," she said, "I've heard that you are an *Arminian*, and I've just come right to yourself to know if it's true."

"An *Arminian*, my good woman," said Mr. B—; "why, I was born in Danvers!"

"There, there," said the old lady, hastening back to her informant; "I knew it couldn't be so, and it isn't, for I went and asked himself, and he told me he was born in Danvers!"

The old lady evidently thought the term *Arminian* had some relation to geography, and that her minister's birth in Danvers settled the question.—*Editor's Drawer, in Harper's Magazine.*

Communications.

THE PROBLEM OF SPIRITUALISM.

OTTAWA, Canada, Feb. 9, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I do not quite understand your attitude on the Spiritualist question; there is too much indifference in it, considering the momentous nature of the subject. If the alleged facts of Spiritualism are facts, there is no subject in the whole range of human affairs of such transcendent importance; for they will be positive proofs that the thinking principle in man is capable of surviving the destruction of his body—a matter which has exercised the doubts, the hopes, and the fears of the greatest minds in all ages.

If, on the other hand, these alleged facts are no facts at all, if they are contrary to the whole course of Nature and the teachings of science, if the evidence for them has been examined by such careful and conscientious observers as Tyndall, Faraday, and Carpenter, and pronounced by them to be imposture,—then it will be but right that you should speak of them accordingly in unmistakable language. The alleged phenomena of Spiritualism are not matter of opinion, like many questions in speculative philosophy which are necessarily dependent on hypothesis; they are open to observation; they are either clear proofs of a state of existence for human beings after this life, or they are an imposition practiced by cunning minds on weak and credulous people. I cannot see any room for a half-way opinion in the matter.

That there is a great lack of the faculty for weighing evidence, as well as child-like credulity, in the great mass of believers in Spiritualism, seems to be beyond question. The bare fact that these things take place in darkness, one would suppose, would be sufficient in itself to excite suspicion. How is it that the spirits cannot make themselves known in daylight? Why is it that they have such power of movement as to answer at a moment's notice a call from either side of the Atlantic, and yet cannot communicate by any other method than the ridiculous and clumsy one of rapping out their responses alphabetically through the legs of a table? The whole matter is surrounded with suspicious circumstances sufficient to raise doubts in any minds but the most credulous. Why are the spirits so reticent in the presence of unbelievers? That is precisely the time to distinguish themselves. Why did their communications come to so abrupt a close at the instant Professor Tyndall got under the table?

One of your correspondents, with an air of triumph, falls back on the fact that tables do move, although "Faraday pronounced it to be impossible." Faraday did not say it was impossible that tables should move; but he proved to the satisfaction of all sane people that they moved because they were pushed unconsciously by the excited people sitting round them. The testimony of a man of science like Faraday, in such a matter, is of far greater value than that of the weak-minded women and men who usually assemble on such occasions.

At the risk of being charged with "dogmatic materialism," I should like to state some of the reasons for saying that Spiritualism is contrary to the course of Nature. The new views in biology known as Darwinism, which have in recent years met with such general acceptance from men of science and thinking people generally, have already had a great effect in modifying current beliefs. If it be admitted that the difference in mental faculties between man and the lower animals is a difference in degree, and not in kind, it will very materially affect our views as to the thinking principle in man. Every organism (man included) comes into existence as an almost imperceptible speck; it grows in bulk, attains to maturity, decays, dies, and finally every vestige of its form disappears. The materials of which it was composed enter into new combinations in other creatures, to run the same career; but the original form never reappears. This may be said to be the great law of organic existence, and certainly gives no countenance to Spiritualistic theories. Not less opposed to these theories is the science which treats of the conservation of energy. From this we learn that no movement takes place without an expenditure of force. Applied to the phenomena of the human mind, it teaches us that every mental act, every thought and emotion, no matter how trivial or how intense it may be, is accompanied by an equivalent expenditure of material in the blood-vessels of the brain. Now the spirits which roam about from world to world, and from continent to continent, must expend some force in their movements, as well as in the energetic concussions which they impart to tables and other furniture; and, as they have no organs of digestion and assimilation, and no materials of nutrition to digest and assimilate, it is not easy to see how they can repair their wasted forces. Illustrations of a like kind could easily be multiplied, did space permit. I cannot help thinking that it is a great pity so much energy should be wasted in this vain pursuit of Spiritualism. Were the time and means thus spent devoted to the study of natural laws, accompanied by an earnest desire to conform to them in conduct, great things might be accomplished.

Yours truly,

J. G. WHYTE.

[We have not the slightest reluctance to state tersely our "attitude on the Spiritualist question." Doubtless the brevity to which we are now compelled will expose us to misunderstanding, and probably attack; but that makes no difference, of course.

1. We have witnessed a great many Spiritualist

phenomena, but have never yet seen anything whatever to convince us that spirits had anything to do with them.

2. The larger part of the phenomena exhibited by paid mediums in our presence we believe to have been fraudulent tricks, practised for the sake of gain upon warm-hearted and affectionate people whose sorrows predisposed them to accept almost any evidence that their lost friends survived in another state of conscious existence. Some of these tricks we have seen through, and others not.

3. The smaller part of the phenomena, especially those not exhibited by paid mediums, but exhibited or narrated by uninterested parties, we have nothing but guesses to account for—sometimes not even guesses. Respecting these we have no positive opinion, but think it probable that greater psychological knowledge will explain them.

4. As to the continuance of conscious individuality after death, we believe nothing, but hope a great deal. Science to-day is a mere baby; what it will teach when mature, it is for no man to pronounce. But we reverence the dignity of intellectual and moral life so profoundly, that we would treat with the utmost tenderness man's hope of its continuance after death; and we see no reason whatever to consider this hope either irrational or superstitious. Meanwhile we hold that it concerns us all to purify and elevate the quality of our life here, to the end that, if immortal, we may be highly fitted for that untried existence, and that, if not immortal, we may quit this present life with the proud consciousness of having used it nobly, usefully, and greatly.—ED.]

SPIRITUALISM.

I was pleased with the comments of Mr. A. W. S. on this subject in a late issue of THE INDEX. Though there seems to be an inclination among many radicals to ignore the idea of a spiritual existence beyond this bodily organism, it is to me the most serious and frequent thought of my mind. I find all of my deepest reflections on life and its manifold problems tending to this idea of an after life. Freethinking has not abated, but increased, my interest in this subject. I think more earnestly about the future life as I widen my sphere of thought on other subjects. The more I study human nature, the stronger becomes the conviction that man's destiny is not completed in this life. I cannot soar to the "spirit land" on the intuitional enthusiasm on which some reach this goal of hope. In my most hopeful moods I am conscious of my darksome environment, and painfully sensible of shadowy doubts and fears. But these same fears and doubts reassure me that there is reality somewhere and somehow for the hope of a future existence; for how could the mind conceive ideas as foreign from its destiny as these would be, were man not drawing his thoughts from the fountain of his own immortal being?

I fully realize that it is very difficult to argue in favor of immortality without appearing to the rigid rationalist dogmatic. The evidence (outside of the so-called "spiritual phenomena") is not so tangible as that on which we base our ordinary beliefs, and many of those trained in the school of a philosophy whose premises are sensible facts cannot see anything more than superstitious credulity in the doctrine of a future existence. But there is quite as much dogmatism manifested by those disciples of science who presume that they have reached the limit of the "knowable," and boldly declare all efforts to satisfy the questionings of the soul concerning its future destiny vain and delusive. Do we thoroughly understand all the mysteries of mind? Must we not confess that science has not intelligently compassed this field of phenomena? Who can assert that a clearer knowledge of this department of Nature will not lead to a more rational idea of immortality? The sphere of knowledge is ever widening, and the vague dreams of yesterday become the reliable scientific data of to-day. The dark shadows that mantle the unknown are constantly retiring before the advancing light of knowledge, and new truths are daily added to the treasures of science. Should not this teach us confidence with respect to the hopes of those who look for more light on the subject of man's destiny?

I am frank to confess that immortality has not been proven to me. That many stubborn objections at times obstruct my search for a foundation for this hope I also admit; but I am not willing to say that my subjective state is the highest possible condition for investigating the subject, and that my knowledge is the final limit of man's comprehension of his being. If there is a spiritual existence outside of this life, I believe it is a natural existence, subject to and controlled by fixed laws as this life is; and hence its truths accessible through a natural process of investigation. But I do not know what conditions may be necessary to bring this world of "untried being" under the scrutinizing eye of science. Can any student of physical science affirm that he has all of the conditions necessary for the fullest discovery in any experiment he may make in the investigation of his subject? Have great discoveries in other fields of research been the fruits of the first efforts of those who explored the "unknown" for new truths? Why should we be so impatient, then, toward the tardiness of spiritual discoveries?

All the "phenomena of Spiritualism" known at

present may pass away as "subjective delusions," and Spiritualism yet be demonstrated by other methods of investigation which the scientific facilities of the future may furnish. I too am glad that this investigation is so persistently prosecuted. I am not satisfied with the present glimmering light from this source. If immortality should receive a rational demonstration from this investigation, I should hail it as the grandest discovery ever made by the truth-seeking mind of man. Let us not, then, look with intolerance on those who persist in trying to satisfy the spiritual wants of man's nature by questioning the viewless inhabitants of the "spirit world" concerning their mysterious being and its relation to our mode of existence.

H. CLAY NEVILLE.

OZARK, Mo.

CIVILIZED MONEY.

"The spirit of the age is the sphinx, giving us the labor problem as the enigma we are to read aright, on pain of being devoured."—Thos. J. Durant.

SPECIFIC PAYMENTS BETTER THAN SPECIE PAYMENTS.

Let it be borne in mind that there are two kinds of wealth in this world,—natural wealth, which is the product of Nature or the gift of God, whichever terms the reader may choose, and the wealth which is produced by the labor or exertion of mankind. The former cannot rightfully be the property of any one, while the latter belongs to each person according to the exertion made or cost (sacrifice) incurred by each in its production. If governments are ever to be anything but a curse to mankind, they must conserve and supervise all natural wealth for the equal benefit of all, and provide a medium of exchange, or money, for the equitable exchange of labor, service, or property (as herein defined).

All money hitherto in use has been, at best, only semi-civilized; and the paramount want of this age, and especially of this nation, is a *civilized money*. The following money system is proposed and offered for criticism—a system based upon labor or service, and issued only in payment for labor or service, or the products of the same.

To this end the government must become an employer to a much larger extent than at present; and yet it is not herein proposed for the government to enter upon any business not already performed by this and other governments, as will be seen. The propositions are as follows:—

I. The issuing by the national government of promissory notes (similar to "greenbacks") to the amount of the cost of the postal business of the United States (say twenty-five millions of dollars per annum), and receivable in payment for postal service and all other government dues.

II. That the national or State governments furnish railroad transit for freight and passengers at cost (precisely as it has always done the postal business), and that they issue promissory notes for railroads purchased, and for the labor and material employed in constructing others, to the amount of the cost of said roads and management, and redeemable in such railroad service and all other government dues. To this end the government must purchase all existing railroads at an equitable price, or build new ones parallel with those already existing, and build new ones whenever needed. Canal, river, and ocean transportation could be included.

III. That the national or State governments take possession, by equitable purchase, of all the mines and quarries of every description within the jurisdiction of the United States, and work them at cost; and that they issue promissory notes (similar to greenbacks) in payment for the purchase, labor, material, and management of such mines and quarries, to the amount of the costs thereof, and redeemable in the products of said mines and quarries at cost price, and also for all government dues.

IV. That the national or State governments furnish the telegraphing of the country on the foregoing principle.

V. That, wherever gas or water is introduced to supply large towns and cities, it should be done by the town and city corporations on the same principle.

VI. That the government (State or national) provide storehouses (as it now provides warehouses for the storage of imported goods) where labor products (not too perishable) may be deposited, and treasury notes, similar to greenbacks, issued to the depositor to the amount of fifty per cent., promising, not only dollars, but the commodities themselves, in definite quality and quantity, estimated and priced at the labor cost of the same. These departments of business, if managed by the national, State, or municipal government, as the postal business is now conducted, would probably furnish all the circulating medium or currency necessary, and there could never be too much, unless there be too many deeds of real estate, because not a dollar of it would be issued by the government until after the service or commodity was deposited in custody of the government, in which every dollar is to be redeemed. It would be the safest and soundest possible; it would be issued and redeemed naturally and without interest.

The following are specimens of the reading of the kind of money proposed, of the denomination of one dollar:—

The United States promise to pay one dollar to bearer on demand, in freight or passage on any United States railroad, at the rate of — cents per mile for one passenger, or — cents per cwt. for freight. This note is receivable for all debts due the United States.

The United States promise to pay one dollar to bearer on demand, in — cwt. of anthracite or other coal at the mine. This note is receivable for all debts due the United States.

The United States promise to pay one dollar to bearer on demand, in — oz. of unalloyed silver at the United States Treasury. This note is receivable for all debts due the United States.

one dollar in — grains of gold eighteen carats fine at the United States Treasury. This note is receivable for all debts due the United States.

In case of wheat deposited by a farmer, let the note read as follows:—

The United States will pay one dollar to bearer on demand, in — bushels of Illinois fall wheat at United States No. 1 Storehouse, No. 12 River Street, Chicago, Illinois. This note receivable for all debts due the United States.

A "dollar" as now used is no more the measure of either "costs" or "values" than an India-rubber yard-stick would be the measure of cloth.

The kind of notes above proposed promise something definite to measure the dollar by, and it is thought that the different kinds of labor, or service, and commodities included in the foregoing notes, may be sufficient to compare all other labor or service to, and to measure it by; and that therefore all notes issued by the government for other purposes may, perhaps, safely conform to the "greenbacks" now in circulation, with the exceptions of the "legal tender" clause, and the gold-interest and gold-payment on duties on imports clauses. The following is the reading of the notes proposed, to take the place of the "greenbacks" now in circulation:—

The United States promise to pay to bearer one dollar. This note is receivable for all debts due the United States.

Nothing should be a "legal tender" between citizens except what was agreed upon by the contracting parties.

If any of the States or municipalities within the United States undertake the ownership and management of any of the enterprises proposed above (which it is no doubt very desirable they should, if they would do it on the cost principle), the money should be furnished by the United States, at cost, on the credit of the State or municipality, in a way similar to that by which it now furnishes national bank notes to each of the two thousand banks in the country, every separate bank having different reading upon its notes; and yet it is a national currency, which every one seems to insist upon having, and circulates without question throughout the country.

The money here proposed would circulate the same, without question, and moreover it would be stable in its character, perfectly reliable, and positively redeemable.

E. D. LINTON.

"CHRIST'S SUPERNATURALISM SCIENTIFICALLY CONSIDERED."

Some time ago we took occasion to object to the title of one of Dr. Augustus Blauvelt's articles, "Christ's Miracles Scientifically Considered," in *Scribner's Monthly*; and we wish to raise the same objection to an article which appears in the February number of the same magazine under the title forming the heading of this communication.

Dr. Blauvelt, in a remarkable series of articles on "Modern Scepticism," labored to show that there was a tidal wave of unbelief and doubt sweeping onward to our shores from the transatlantic Christian countries, which the bulwarks of Orthodoxy must be strengthened to meet. He showed very conclusively that this intellectual wave of doubt and unbelief was very different from those that formerly surged around the Church, and that, being different, it required different means of defence. He showed by numerous and candid quotations from the works of modern thinkers, that modern scepticism was allied with modern science,—that is to say, that the natural is opposed to the supernatural; that to withstand the attacks of this coalition the old methods of defence were useless; and that it therefore became necessary to decide upon a change which should meet the new requirements of the case. This Dr. Blauvelt finds to be, after viewing the subject from every stand-point, the necessity of placing Christianity upon the same foundation as that of ordinary science. Nor does he use the word science in any equivocal manner, for he quotes from Huxley to show what scientific men consider necessary to be done in order to make theological views acceptable to them; and Huxley is not the man to entertain or give expression to any equivocal sentiments as to what scientific conditions are. When, therefore, Dr. Blauvelt heads his article with the quotation from the above-named distinguished thinker, "If any one is able to make good the assertion that his theology rests upon valid evidence and sound reasoning, then it appears to me that such theology will take its place as a part of science," we have a right to infer that the method of proof to be advanced to establish "Christ's supernaturalism" will be such as would be accepted not only by Huxley, but by all scientific thinkers. But in this, we are free to say, there will be disappointment, unless the absolute impossibility of putting any supernaturalism upon a strict scientific basis should have made one wholly incredulous.

The "scientific examination" of Christ's supernaturalism, according to Dr. Blauvelt, consists in a critical examination of the works of Paulus, Renan, and Strauss, making the statement of one contradict that of another. As if conscious that this process will be called in question, he says, in effect, that their works are the only scientific attempts to disprove the supernaturalism of Christ, and, he should have added, the disclosing of the failure of these attempts proves Christ's supernaturalism!

Now in our opinion it does nothing of the kind. It simply shows, assuming the correctness of his analysis, that in attempting to solve a puzzle these men have failed. The puzzle itself remains entirely unchanged by the attempts. The only thing that is proven is that, if the puzzle is solvable at all, it must be by some other method than that pursued by these writers. To call an analysis of Robert Dale Owen's *Debatable Land* a scientific examination of Spiritualism is just as reasonable as to call an analysis of the

works of Paulus, Renan, or Strauss, a scientific examination of Christ's supernaturalism!

A scientific examination, properly so called, of what is claimed to be supernaturalism, can only take place under conditions common to all scientific investigations. Chief of these conditions is freedom of observation. Hence we must have either a repetition of phenomena, or such a continuance of them as will supply the place of repetition. Moreover, observation must be enlarged and strengthened by experiment, and experiment necessitates tests. These tests, in the case of supernaturalism, must be such as, applied to natural bodies, always produce uniform effects, and which, applied to supernatural bodies, should produce opposite effects; or, at least, the natural effects should be wanting.

It is evident that, in the case of Christ's supernaturalism, true scientific inquiry is barred; for it is impossible to produce those conditions on which such inquiry depends. Hence, the futility of such inquiry being foreseen, no scientific man of the present day attempts either its proof or disproof.

The question, therefore, not being susceptible of scientific proof, must depend for its solution upon its reasonableness; that is to say, upon its harmony or want of harmony with our experiences. Now the scientific man is, of all men, the one most familiar with natural things. That every effect is the result of a cause, and that certain conditions will produce certain results, is what is continually impressed upon his mind. To this conception he gives the name of law, and so firmly does this orderly arrangement, this action and interaction of the forces of Nature, imprint itself upon his mind that to conceive of a deviation therefrom is for him well-nigh impossible. Hence, he knows that if he believes in the supernaturalism of Christ he does so in opposition to the teachings of his experience; that experience has been mainly scientific, therefore his belief in Christ's supernaturalism is in opposition to scientific deductions, and consequently must be founded upon something apart from science, and that something is called faith.

It is here, we think, the great error of Dr. Blauvelt lies. He has picked up the gauntlet thrown down by a sceptic, and, in attempting to put supernaturalism upon a natural basis, is attempting an impossibility. Christ's supernaturalism rests upon his divine nature, and his divine nature upon his miraculous conception. To put his supernaturalism upon a scientific basis necessitates the putting of a miracle upon the same foundation. A miracle ceases to be a miracle when it is explained scientifically; that is to say, when the conditions under which it occurs are made known. And moreover, if it were possible to put the fundamental principles of Christianity upon a strictly scientific basis, as Dr. Blauvelt claims, such procedure would be subversive of that faith which the Church has taught in all ages, and which has always been considered the very corner-stone of the structure.

HERBERT P. HUBBELL.

WINONA, Minnesota, Jan. 31, 1875.

PIETY VS. SANITY.

NEW YORK, Feb. 11, 1875.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I learned a curious lesson a day or two ago which I must tell you. Some forty years or more since, there was married in the State of Rhode Island a couple of young persons whose piety was very sincere and earnest. They sympathized in their opinions with the famous Charles Finney, of Oberlin, who at that time was one of the perfectionists—a class who, I believe, think that their attitude to God is such that he imputes no sin to them. During many years they tried to live close to God and do no wrong, and I have no doubt but they succeeded as well as people generally do who try to change the order of Nature. Their religious emotions at any rate were said to be very ardent, and they rejoiced in what is called "full salvation."

Now during these years a child was born, who is even more religious than her parents—for she believes that she talks with God as of old, and that God tells her his will, and she follows it in all things. She thinks she is free from sin, born again, and that she shall never die. She believes she is to found a new religion, and that her followers will be immortal. She believes that she will soon be able to cure the sick by her touch as Christ did—or as it is said he did. She is a poor woman, strong in body and sensible on other subjects, works hard at her calling, and thinks herself a martyr. She has inherited from her parents a nervous system that is insane past all cure.

There is a lesson to be learned from this; and that is that the wild emotions of many pious people breed disorders of the mind in the offspring. For that reason very pious people ought not to bear children. They are almost certain to curse them with an insane diathesis.

Truly, M. L. H.

WHILE Franklin, at Paris, was negotiating for peace between the United States and Great Britain, he was one day dining with the British Commissioners when the conversation turned upon the subject of fables. One of the British Commissioners expressed his belief that *Æsop* had exhausted the subject—that no man could make a new fable. Dr. Franklin thought otherwise. He was challenged to produce one. At the next meeting, on a similar occasion, he did so. "An eagle," he said, "hovering over a farm, saw what he supposed to be a hare. Swooping down, he carried the animal up in his talons. He had mistaken a cat for a hare. Puss made the eagle's feathers fly so lively that the bird was glad to drop his prey."

"Moral: England should have been more careful. She mistook the cat—America—for a hare."

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To increase general intelligence with respect to religion:

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

In addition to its general objects, the practical object to which THE INDEX is specially devoted is the ORGANIZATION OF THE LIBERALS OF THE COUNTRY, for the purpose of securing the more complete and consistent secularization of the political and educational institutions of the United States. The Church must give place to the Republic in the affections of the people. The last vestiges of ecclesiastical control must be wiped out of the Constitutions and Statutes of the several States in order to bring them into harmony with the National Constitution. To accomplish this object, the Liberals must make a united demand, and present an unbroken front, and the chief practical aim of THE INDEX will be henceforth to organize a great NATIONAL PARTY OF FREEDOM. Let every one who believes in this movement give it direct aid by helping to increase the circulation of THE INDEX.

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Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization," as affected by the Spirit of the Age; an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India," also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

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WHOLE No. 271.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF _____.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in:—

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

THE ITALIAN government, it is stated, has realized about \$98,000,000 within the last eight years from the auction-sale of confiscated Church property.

THE GRAND old hero, Garibaldi, has taken the oath of allegiance to the Italian government. The story of his visit to Rome, as told in the *Independent*, is of thrilling interest.

A COURSE of Sunday Evening Lectures has begun at Cotton Hall, in this city, on Labor Reform and allied topics. General H. K. Oliver lectured last Sunday on "A Brief History of Labor, with Hints towards Remedying its Ills."

THE JESUITS have got complete control of the republic of Ecuador, which has been officially, with great solemnity, put under the protection of the "Sacred Heart of Jesus." Every officer and soldier of the army is sworn to defend the "Holy Roman Catholic Church." And Rome hopes yet to annex the United States to her dominions.

THE *Christian Union* of February 24 says: "Friends of the compulsory system of education will find a powerful argument in the fact that, in New York City, where there are about as few genuine causes of absenteeism as anywhere, the registered pupils number more than a quarter of a million, while the regular attendants are not half so many."

AT THE Paine Hall Dedication, Mr. G. L. Henderson told this noble anecdote of Thomas Paine, which we do not remember ever to have heard before: "When a friend of Thomas Paine (and he was a wise man, too) said to him, when he proposed to leave this country and take part in the great struggle for liberty in France, 'You have done enough; remain quietly here and rest under the laurels you have earned; for,' said he, 'where liberty is, that is my country.' Thomas Paine replied, 'Where liberty is not, there is my country.'"

PROFESSOR DENTON writes to us to say that the letter in which he declined to take part in the services at the dedication of Paine Hall was not published entire in the *Investigator*; that it was not bad theories, but bad practices, that he gave as the objections in his own mind against one of the speakers announced, and that this part of his letter was not printed. This explanation should be made in justice to Professor Denton; and we think that either his reasons should have been given in full or else that the matter should not have been referred to at all.

THERE is something exquisitely touching in the alacrity with which Mr. E. H. Heywood, editor of the *Princeton, Mass., Word*, chants requiems over our corpse. We have been massacred by every one who rides Mr. Heywood's own favorite hobbies. Now we have not the least objection to being dead, if that will accommodate the gentleman; but if he will stop scalping our prostrate form and suspend his war-dance just long enough to answer the arguments he has not yet ventured to meddle with, the ghost of the late editor of THE INDEX will never interrupt him again.

THE BENIGHTED condition of almost the entire South, in all that pertains to religious liberty, is startlingly illustrated by the following telegraphic despatch of the Associated Press: "Raleigh, February 25. The House of Representatives considered in three night-sessions a resolution for the expulsion of J. William Gray, from William County, on account of his non-belief in the existence of a God, as set forth in a pamphlet issued by him. The vote on it at midnight last night was—yeas 46; nays, 31." And this is the year 1875! For such violations of the freedom of thought and speech there is no practical remedy but the "Religious Freedom Amendment."

THIS CLIPPING is from the Boston *Commonwealth*: "Mr. S. H. Morse is rapidly rising to a very creditable place as a modeller. He has lately finished a life-size head of Theodore Parker, which is a great improvement on his two-thirds size, and gives general satisfaction." A portrait bust of Thomas Paine shows a man of large features and cheerful face, in which benevolence, love of ease, and cynicism, are betrayed—one who might go swinging through the world, caring little for opinions or potentes. A head of Mr. Chace, of Valley Falls, R. I., is very happy in its representation of dignity combined with kindness. It is admirably draped in Quaker garb. A full-length of a child, the son of Rev. J. Vila Blake, formerly of this city, now of New York, is very sweet and expressive. The modelling seems perfect."

OUR THANKS are due to Mr. George Hess, the well-known sculptor of New York, for his superb busts of David Friedrich Strauss and Ludwig Feuerbach. They are executed with great skill in plaster, and will nobly adorn a free-thinker's library or study. Feuerbach has a head like one of the old Greek philosophers, with a long beard and an expression of great boldness, force, and subtlety of thought. But Strauss fascinates us completely. His face is smooth-shaven, with lines of character and intellect that marvellously appeal to the sympathies and the imagination. A gentle melancholy is shadowed about the firm mouth and chin, and remind one almost painfully of the relentless persecution that he was called to endure so long; while the fine eye and grand forehead tell of the integrity, pride, and valor of soul that made Strauss—

"One of the few, immortal names
That were not born to die."

It is a face to gaze at long and reverently, for it is the face of a scholar, thinker, hero. The two busts together are monuments of the best German mind of the nineteenth century, and will stimulate the highest life of him who is capable of appreciating the grandeur of the men they bring so vividly to view. Mr. Hess is to be congratulated on his remarkable success. The price is five dollars apiece; and the busts may be obtained either of the sculptor himself at 71 Amity Street, New York city, or of Schönhof & Möller, 40 Winter Street, Boston.

FROM A LETTER just received from an English gentleman writing at Biarritz, France, we venture to make the following highly interesting extracts: "We have here magnificent waves breaking all day long, bringing 'the eternal note of sadness in' from the Atlantic. It is pleasant to think, however, of the ideas which are gradually kindling on the other side of this huge water by means of the noble INDEX. We have no such organ in England: religious radicalism does not stand so high with us as with you. You overrate Tyndall; whatever he may be as a man of science, he quibbles upon the religious question—fears the world, in fact. John Morley, editor of the *Fortnightly Review*, is by far the noblest presence among us. Herbert Spencer has degenerated into a dogmatic fatalist, and has just been well handled by Professor Cairnes (a Mill political-economist) in the *Fortnightly Review*. I am sure you do not see the *Fortnightly*: it is the highest, indeed our only, intellectual radical organ in England. I will write and request the publishers to forward you the last and present number: let me call your particular attention to Morley's article on 'Diderot,' and to his article in the January number on Mill's religious essays, also to Cairnes on Spencer. Spencer has dug up an old passage of his to show that his doctrine is not one of fatalism and passivity in public affairs. But the Herbert Spencer, author of *Social Statics*, and the Herbert Spencer, author of the *Sociology*, are mentally two very different people."

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The Spirit of Truth, the Comforter.

A SERMON IN LYRIC HALL, NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 27, 1874.

BY O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

By the spirit of truth I mean the truthful spirit. That the writer of the fourth gospel would have given this definition of it is not affirmed. So far as I can discover, he regarded the spirit of truth as a conscious being, a superintending, directing mind, whose office would consist in watching over the spiritual interests of the Christian community after the Christ had left the earth and ascended to the Father. Nothing, perhaps, was further from his thought than the idea that the spirit of truth was simply a disposition of the human mind, that might be present in any age of the world and do its work for men of all opinions. To him it was one element of the new dispensation, and came into prominence as a power to sustain it and carry it on; and thus the Christian Church regards it at this day, whether Greek, Roman, English, or German. The spirit of truth, so teaches the creed, is the third person of the Trinity conveying Christian truth. We, however, take the liberty of interpreting the phrase strictly according to its literal meaning. The spirit of truth is neither more nor less nor other than the truthful spirit; the temper that loves the truth for its own dear or sacred sake—desires it for itself alone, apart from its rewards or advantages—seeks it through difficulties and obstacles, and clings to it, when discovered, in spite of the hardships and sorrows that allegiance brings with it. The spirit of truth is opposed to the spirit of prejudice, which holds the mind back; the spirit of dogmatism, which keeps it stationary; the spirit of partisanship, which uses truth for selfish ends; the spirit of conceit, which makes a flourishing display of truth; the spirit of fear, which dreads possible disclosures of truth. It is a simple, ingenuous, trusting, sincere spirit, which is akin to charity, in that it is ready to believe all things, endure all things, hope all things. Indeed, the very essence of it is the feeling of charity to all the world, a disposition to believe that, in proportion as it is understood, the universe will be found not to lie; a disposition to hope that each fresh discovery in the order of things will throw out some new promise of good.

It is a common persuasion that the love of truth is a very rare quality, that the people who boast of it mistake a very different thing for it. What they choose to call the love of truth is the love of power, or the love of their own creed; and so in any individual instance it may be. When we regard the special teacher, reformer, sage, philosopher, theologian, divine, preacher, and ask ourselves if he, the particular man, can be credited with a love of the truth pure and simple, we usually, if not invariably, discover reasons for misgiving. But as one considers mankind in mass, as one looks over the history of the human mind, it is difficult to believe that error has ever to any great extent been attractive, or that anything less mighty than a passion to know the sincere truth about matters of moment has actuated the multitudes who have constructed so many schemes, one after another, and have left them to perish. The disposition to find the truth is so widespread and so obvious that it is hardly too much to say that man has an instinct for truth, which keeps him continually in quest of it, and points him in the direction where it lies; an instinct like that which guides the animal towards the spring of water; an instinct like that of hunger and thirst, not subtle enough to detect noxious elements in food or drink, not infallible, but keen enough to save from fatal

errors. The appetite of hunger puts animals in quest of food, but does not, except in very decided cases, guard them against unwholesome ingredients or adulterations in food. So the appetite for truth puts men in quest of truth, but does not enable them to discriminate between truth and error. Truth-loving men are found passionately clinging to beliefs which have been discovered to have no ground in fact, no correspondence with the nature of things; but they do not perceive this. To them the beliefs represent things just as they are.

That the spirit of truth is as old as the human mind, and has been active from the beginning, is evident by every decisive sign. It is attested by the history of art, which is man's effort to discover truth in the form of beauty. It is attested by the history of science, which is man's effort to discover truth in the form of fact. It is attested by the history of philosophy, which is man's effort to discover truth in the form of reason. It is attested by the history of theology, which is man's effort to discover the ultimate truth of causes. By all these methods the love of truth has declared itself. The religious creeds of mankind, even the most strange, outlandish, and barbarous—nay, the latter more especially—illustrate its power. The bright beliefs in a Father of the world, a paternal providence, guardian angels, a happy immortality, might possibly be ascribed to a less noble origin. The temptation to accept them because they are pleasant will, in many cases, explain the fervor with which they are held. The love of ease and sweetness will account for their popularity. No deep earnestness is required of people who saunter through a delicious garden, plucking the fairest flowers and gathering the most luscious fruits. One need not be a devoted naturalist to do that. The devoted naturalist shows his passion for truth by hunting a thick forest in hope to find a new flower, or risking life in search of a rare specimen of bird or fish.

The ugly beliefs of men—the shocking, disgusting, revolting beliefs—the beliefs that bear the bad name of superstitions—these put to the test the power of the spirit of truth in mankind: a belief like that in the divine election, as held by the old Calvinists; the doctrine of infant damnation, as entertained by sincere Presbyterians in the earliest times, when they followed their first principles out to their logical results; the doctrine of endless punishment by fire, as professed unflinchingly by consistent Evangelical Christians even now. As I read accounts of these tenets, by many regarded as diabolical, and consider the intensity of conviction with which they have been cherished (for that is not too strong a word), I am touched with a tender respect for the minds that rested in them. For what power less imperative than the spirit of truth, seeking the truth through all difficulties, clinging to it at all hazards, entertaining it at all costs, reposing on it as if the bed of coals were a couch of flowers, could have prevented people from breaking away with horror from dogmas that must have struck like poisoned darts to their souls? Unless their nature was radically different from ours, such beliefs could not have been agreeable to them; they could not have been other than painful; yet their sincerity in avowing them is not to be questioned. They must have professed them because they held them to be true, the best truth there was—the only truth, in fact, that could be arrived at. That staggering doctrine of election represented an apparent fact in the economy of providence; the doctrine of the damnation of unbaptized infants followed inevitably from the essential depravity of human nature, which was the fundamental article in their religious system. The doctrine of eternal punishment expressed their shuddering conviction of the divine holiness. From these first principles they could not get away, however they might wish to; and so they stayed where their search landed them, comforting themselves with the assurance that if their beliefs were uncongenial with their natural feelings they were, at least, true. The doctrine of evolution in Nature supposes an effort on the part of the creative power to reach perfect through imperfect states; and the honesty of the effort is shown in the courage with which horrid forms of snake, alligator, and panther were accepted as stages of advance. So in the evolution of the mind, the spirit of truth displays its power in the fidelity with which it accepts hideous forms of belief that are necessary as steps towards knowledge.

I have said that the believers in the grimmest faiths found comfort in them. The spirit of truth was to them a comforter—that is, a strengthener, an invigorator, for that is the meaning of the word. This assertion will probably be more startling than the other, that the dogmas referred to owed their origin to the spirit of truth, and not to the spirit of error. The common impression is with us that the ages when the Calvinistic system prevailed were ages of gloomy fear, that earnest believers were very wretched in their beliefs, as we imagine that we should have been had we stood in their place. But there is no satisfactory evidence that it was so. They were indeed braced up with a tremendous tension, strung to the highest pitch; but with all this came a strange joy and an equally strange peace in the feeling that what they held was the very truth of God. They sang none but spiritual songs, but they sang. They had comfort: not exactly what people usually understand by comfort,—soothing rest, the peace of quiescent thought,—but the common fortitude which contact with strong natures imparts. It is a curious fact that the mind maintained its tranquil serenity in the earnest ages, in the very midst of the most horrible suggestions. A popular writer calls attention to the fact that the Christian art in the Roman Catacombs is sweet and trustful. "The very altar tomb around which the Christian painter scattered his ornaments with most profusion was

often associated with the memory of sufferings of the most horrible and varied character. Passions, too, were roused to the highest point. Yet nothing of this appears in the Catacombs. There was no disposition to perpetuate forms of suffering, no ebullition of bitterness or complaint, no thirsting for vengeance. The wreaths of flowers in which paganism delighted, and even some of the most joyous images of the pagan mythology, were still retained, and were mingled with all the most beautiful emblems of Christian hope, and with representations of many of the miracles of mercy."

When Thomas Aquinas said that the bliss of the saved would be enhanced by contemplation of the woes of the damned, he was not conscious of saying either a barbarous or a foolish thing. Jonathan Edwards, one of the purest, sweetest, saintliest men that ever lived, said the same thing, in the utmost sincerity. His sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," is said to have started hearers from their seats in dismay, and set them staring with white faces at the calm preacher who could, unmoved himself, proclaim such frightful message. The preacher was calm, for he was contemplating not the agony of the writhing sinners, but the vindication of the divine justice. In this contemplation he had an awful joy, that made him insensible to the more ghastly accompaniments of the victory. It was "the glory of the coming of the Lord" that enchanted him. The story has become hackneyed of the good woman who was horrified at Universalism because it deprived her of her last comfort, the belief that the wicked were all at last to be consumed. "Cannot you grant us something?" she exclaimed. "Cannot you allow us, say, five thousand years?" There is a profound peace in the persuasion that one has the truth, however unpalatable the truth may be. For the truth stands on everlasting foundations. I am anxious to vindicate man from the frightful charge of wilfully believing in error. I am anxious to recover confidence in the majesty of the human mind, to beget a faith that, on the whole, men have done their best, and in doing their best have found peace, albeit a peace that passeth understanding. If it were possible to look into the secret heart of that poor woman, one might find there, unexpressed and inexpressible, the same thought that filled the minds of Aquinas and Edwards. She too, dumb, opaque soul, was feeling, perhaps, that the belief in universal salvation and bliss was fatal to the eternal righteousness on which she rested her frail heart. If at last all are to fare alike on the other side of death, why not all alike on this side? And then what becomes of the distinction between good and evil? Where is the room left for display of justice? Is not the very quality of righteousness abolished? She was possibly thinking of some unkindly neighbor whom she thought a fit subject for the sulphur; but she may have thought of God, whose reputation for integrity was more precious, in her opinion, than any gossip's overthrow.

But the spirit of truth is never stationary, nor can be, so long as the truth remains undiscovered. The spirit of truth shall guide you into all truth, said the Evangelist, implying that the truth was very far off, though the Christ had departed, and the Scripture was closed. How far off he little suspected. We, who are two thousand years older than he, are beginning to think it will never be found. There is talk of the unknown and unknowable, and intimations are frequent that the spirit of truth means to keep us forever on the march, and never allow us again to have an abiding-place. Will it be any the less a comforter, then, if it does? It is a very noble and a very large confession that the loving search for truth is more exhilarating than its possession. They told me at Niagara last summer that Professor Tyndall, eager to explore the inmost secret of the falls, asked for the boldest guide, and wanted to press behind the great cataract. It was a fearful venture; at every step he risked his life; at one instant his destruction seemed inevitable, as the slipping of his foot precipitated him into the water; but at no moment would the enthusiastic naturalist have confessed himself dismayed. Danger was to him inducement. He never thought of the danger, only of the extension of knowledge he expected to gain. What joy he must have among the glaciers of the Alps, far away from human habitation, studying the effects of light and heat in the bleak spaces which men dare not explore! A distinguished woman, whose life was one of sorrows, wrote a book to which she gave the title, *A Year of Consolation*. It was a book of travel. The months were spent in foreign cities, among the memorials of the Old World and the people of the New, observing strange customs, trying various climates, watching many skies, cutting adrift from the monotony of home, and letting the great world crowd in and entertain her. It is the fashion to pity the wanderers who, in search of knowledge, make themselves pilgrims on the face of the earth. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews paints a sad picture of the ancient worthies of his nation going forth in search of a country and dying, only bequeathing their quest to their successors—Abraham and Moses and the rest wandering in desert places, hoping to find the country that ever vanished before them in the distance. And yet if we could have looked into their hearts we should have found them full of consolation. Abraham's experience of wonders began after he had left his home in obedience to the impulse to seek a new country. Then, according to the legends, the meanings of Providence were opened to him: cities offered him hospitality, kings gave him welcome, priests bestowed on him blessing, angels visited him in the evening. If the story of Moses' wandering in the desert could have been written truthfully, it would be found a story of incessant surprises—the sandy wastes, the blistering rocks, the fiery skies, the

oases, the palm-trees, the shadowy mountains, the mysterious resources of water and food, revealing to him the wealth of the world he lived in. Day by day his mind expanded; day by day his heart enlarged; day by day his conceptions of God and of destiny swelled out to nobler proportions. It may have been the happiest part of his long life, a portion so happy that the refusal of permission to enter the promised land was no wrong. Did Columbus have no consolation in his weary course of application from court to court, in the consciousness that the spirit of truth was in his breast? The hope of opening Africa to civilization and extinguishing forever the slave-trade kept the heart of David Livingstone young among the savage tribes of Africa. Had he returned alive, how dull and stupid London would have seemed to him, with its close cathedrals, its narrow streets, its dark skies! The exhilaration of searching for new truth is so great that the new truth always disappoints when found. Nothing less than the eternity which is entered by the gateway of death will satisfy those who have looked with single mind after truth. The awakened traveller is glad to get home, and live outside of his trunk once more; but his home does not content him. It must be refurnished. There must be art on the walls, beauty in the decorations, delicacy in the kitchen; a larger world must find accommodation there. The rooms must be architecturally proportioned in order to satisfy the wider culture of their occupants. It is incessant going forth, renewed and repeated wandering, that freshens existence; and this is quite as true in the intellectual as in the social and domestic sphere.

But the spirit of truth is exacting. We weary in following it. It gives to life something like a vagrant character. The desire for some fixed habitation gets the better of curiosity, and people settle down at way-stations and flatter themselves that they have reached the end. St. Paul did, Luther did, Calvin did, the English Reformers did, the Unitarians did and do; when the spirit of truth flags, the traveller stops and puts up his shanty, which in time becomes a cluster of shanties. But when the spirit of truth dies the comforter disappears. The spirit of unrest is born. The placid believer is devoured by *ennui*. The comforter is, I believe, to-day more active outside of Christendom than in. Every church is troubled; every sect is rent in twain by divisions; every creed is shaken and torn with disbeliefs. Controversy has intruded into every communion; and often, where the bond of fellowship seems closest, the interior discord is wildest. Running water alone is living. The standing pool becomes stagnant, breeds noxious insects, and engenders malaria. How healthful the atmosphere in which the best class of scientific men live! How free their minds are from vapors! They have no misgivings. Their hearts know no fear. Though they are always on the march, though their minds have no abiding habitation, and their hopes reach forward to none, still they have an abounding elasticity. Every day brings its joy. The religious world is deeply agitated by Professor Tyndall's address at Glasgow. But why, except that it palpitates all through with the glad spirit of discovery? Tyndall announces no creed, lays down no limit, suggests no terminus, dictates no law, throws down no challenge. He simply shows himself fascinated by a method, and builds most glorious structures of anticipation upon its actual achievements. His hand closes no door of inquiry, but merely points to vistas of beauty through the doorway that he has been instrumental in opening. The characteristic of his address is a breezy frankness, a generous confidence in the human mind, an intellectual guilelessness, such as always belong to the honest lover of truth. He has no enemies. He lays no ambush; he bears no ill-will. The theologians charge him with atheism. He is unconscious of any state of mind suggested by that word. They call him materialist; he feels in no way touched, for what matter may be he claims not to know, and what may come out of it he pretends not to declare. He only knows that thus far very glorious and surprising things have come out of it, and it is but fair to look for things more surprising and glorious still. What I like about these men is their sincere, truthful spirit. Their particular opinions may be correct or not. The point to be observed is that they themselves do not assert their correctness in any dogmatic sense, but only throw them out by the way, as floats to indicate the margins of an infinite deep. They themselves do not rest in them, but strain their eyes forward. Even if they are wrong, their buoyant temper will more than redeem their incidental error.

A distinguished preacher of the last generation delivered a powerful sermon on this theme: Which is the more innocent and noble, to hold truth in the spirit of error, or to hold error in the spirit of truth? And the conclusion he came to was that to hold error in the spirit of truth is the more noble and innocent. For the spirit of truth will soon discard or correct the error, while the spirit of error will soon change the truth into a lie. Surely all scientific men have not the spirit of truth; but, as I read and ponder, it seems to me that the spirit of truth is stronger in them than in any other class, and from that spirit everything is to be hoped.

The one thing to be dreaded in the present is the disposition to rest in finalities on any side, in any interest, whether new or old. The inconvenience of the old habit of doing so is acknowledged. The traveller through the newly-settled region of the West is ever and anon perplexed to know the reason why men built their settlements where they did, on low, marshy ground, in close valleys or on inaccessible hills, when, by going a little further or turning a little aside, they might have planted themselves in more wholesome localities. But our amazement is

greater that, in their spiritual explorations, men should have planted themselves where they are. What could have induced them to stop in the marsh of total depravity, to build on the edge of a crater called everlasting damnation, or to stake out farms in neighborhoods infested by such wild beasts as predestination, election, and vicarious atonement? In the *Arabian Nights* there is a story of shipwrecked mariners who, mistaking a whale's back for an island, landed on it, broke up their faithful old boat for fire-wood, and, having kindled a flame, were about to cook their dinner, when a sudden plunge carried them down into the deep. They thought they had escaped. And there, for all men's reading, is Robert Browning's gorgeous poem of "The men who stayed by their first fault, and perished in their pride." Their fleet, freighted with gleaming images of stone, sets out in gallant array towards the happy islands:—

Now one morn land appeared!—a speck
Dim trembling betwixt sea and sky.
Not so the isles our voyage must find
Should meet our longing eye.
But the heaving sea was black behind,
Many a night and many a day.
And land, though but a rock, was nigh.
So we broke the cedar pales away,
And let the purple flap in the wind:
And a statue bright was on every deck!
We shouted, every man of us,
And steered right into the harbor thus,
With pomp and psalm glorious.

But the land was a desolate rock, as they discovered, when the precious freight had been brought on shore, and each costly image "of lucid stone" had been placed in its rocky shrine. Scarcely was their work completed when the gentle islanders from the happy shores they started for, with merry shouts, and songs, and laughter, crowded in throngs to welcome their expected guests.

"Our isles are just at hand," they cried;
"Like cloudlets faint in even sleeping;
Our temple gates are opened wide,
Our olive groves thick shade are keeping
For these majestic forms."
Then we awoke with sudden start
From our deep dream, and knew, too late,
How bare the rock, how desolate,
Which had received our precious freight.
Yet we called out—"Depart!
Our gifts, once given, must here abide;
Our work is done; we have no heart
To mar our work," we cried.

Yet this old error is again and again repeated. The longing is for a stopping-place, a conclusion, a terminus, a rock on which to embark, which languor mistakes for the rock of ages. The rationalist falls into the same delusion for which he chides or ridicules the dogmatist. He complains of the endless road; he murmurs at being kept continually on the march, and is ready to claim that he has found the holy city. One plants himself on theism as the ultimate goal, beyond which it is unsafe to explore. A personal God, creator, guide, inspirer, providence, hearer of prayer, is his soul's dwelling-place. Give me this, he cries, and all else may go. He is unwilling to see that theism is full of provoking suggestions that start thought out in new directions, and compel a resumption of the staff and knapsack. Others, discouraged by the difficulties that beset these new paths, give over all quest after the Supreme Mind, and doggedly make their home in atheism, call theism a superstition like all the rest, less coarse, but therefore more deceptive, and insist on writing "vacancy" over the vast tract where intellect has felt that it mingled with the reason whereof it was a spark; forgetting, these atheists, that thought is by its nature infinite; that it will not be bounded by negations, but must, from the necessity of its being, people with thoughts countless and divine the spaces that oppress its imagination. Atheism cannot be a finality with any truth-loving mind; for truth is not a negation. The spirit of truth cannot lead to denial. Atheism is but a shadowy vapor of mind, through which thought presses, chilled, into the sunlight. The spirit that is content to dwell in shadow is not the spirit of truth. How impossible it is for materialism to be a finality is seen in Tyndall's ascription to matter of divine potencies which transform the old, crude substances, we have always called material, into powers charged with the fullness of creative energy.

The spirit of truth will not let its devotee stop longer than is needed to refresh his vigor. Every station is a way-station. There seem to be not a few who, having reached a satisfactory conviction in regard to a personal immortality, build on that foundation as if they were erecting the final city of habitation. The attractiveness of the stopping-place is not to be questioned. The scenery is enchanting; the atmosphere delicious; the outlook in all directions lovely. But the eager mind, thirsting for the living waters, standing on the elevation of the natural fact of continued existence, gazes out beyond, and discerns tempting prospects. Questions come up faster than they can be answered. What is implied in this new existence? Where is it to end? Is existence a succession of deaths and births? To what purpose these changes and alterations? What constitutes the substance of the being that is thus perpetually transformed? The new position taken up on the other side of the grave becomes thus a fresh starting-point; not a terminus, but a new centre of departure.

But if the ordinary, unreflecting Spiritualist is unwise in calling his tent a castle, how unwise must his antagonist be who refuses even to pitch a tent, but flouts the idea that beyond the grave there can be any life or love at all! The man who professes to be certain of annihilation, who holds it fixed beyond peradventure that the grave devours mankind utterly, surely dogmatizes prematurely. To say that conscious existence after death is, from the nature of

the case, impossible, is saying a good deal more than knowledge or experience justifies. Moments will come to reflecting minds when that foreboding presses like doom. But there are not many minds that do not instinctively recoil from the conclusion, and by a sudden revulsion fling themselves upon the other alternative. The lover of truth is always a truth-seeker, and the truth-seeker must not be a dogmatist; for dogmatism is arrest of mind.

Thus the spirit of truth leads onward. But while it leads it comforts, that is, braces, and strengthens. On the old supposition that the world is a place of exile, and life a banishment, and knowledge sorrow, and wisdom grief, and God a far-off being, holding immortal truth and felicity in reserve for the pilgrims who escape the lions and the pitfalls, by their carefulness in walking, blind-folded, a narrow beaten track,—on this supposition the disciples of truth must forego all hope of comfort as they plod their disconsolate way. But according to the new faith, established by naturalists and scientific philosophers, and now well domesticated among us, that "divine things are not put away into foreign realms of being, and future reaches of time, attainable by no path of toil, no spring of effort, only by miraculous transport, but are met with every day, shining through the substance of life and hid amid its hours,"—the spirit of truth must strew its comforts and consolations all along the way. It makes the way itself a wide and a flowery path, dotted along with resting-places, at which the traveller pauses, not so much to rest his tired frame as to enjoy the prospect. The truth-seeker cannot be heart-sick, cannot be lonely. To be without God in the world is to him impossible. The flowers of Paradise are sleeping in the sod beneath his feet. Though a stone be his pillow, his dreams are heavenly. Walking through the Valley of Baca, he is gladdened by wells of incessant surprise; new suggestions of beauty, new interpretations of phenomena, new hints of truth, new illustrations of goodness, new disclosures of wonder, new effects of light and shadow, meet and arrest him at every turn; his progress must needs be slow, for he cannot dash past the glories that fairly entangle his steps; to glean as he goes along takes time. To exhaust the hours as they pass is more than he can accomplish, and the thronging hours forbid self-complacency. If he faints, it is not from emptiness, but from excess of supply.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

IS PRAYER EFFICACIOUS?

BY BISHOP FERRETTE.

Before entering into this question, I must first state with whom I will not discuss it, and why. I will not discuss it with those who deny the efficacy of prayer on the ground that, as all things are fated to happen in a certain way, prayer, which purports to introduce a change in this necessary concatenation of events, is evidently the most foolish of acts. I will not discuss the question with these, because, according to their principles, it would be the most foolish act on their part to accept any discussion on that subject. If all things are, by a necessity of Nature, fated to happen as they do and will do, prayer which, whether reasonable or foolish, is, as experience convinces us, an event of daily recurrence, will cease or continue to happen according as the fated course of events may necessitate, but irrespective of what I or any one may say. I have no time to waste in haranguing unchangeable laws.

Secondly, I will not discuss the efficacy of prayer with those theologians whom I call the *ectheists*; that is, those who consider God as holding to the world a relation of transcendence, and having with it no common measure and no univocal predicate. It is impossible better to illustrate the views of this school than by explaining how its Christian branch understands the doctrine of Incarnation. The Incarnation, that is, the union of the eternal Logos or Intellect of God with the human nature in Jesus of Nazareth, is a fact the whole of which took place in the created nature, the divine Logos being absolutely unaffected by it, not only by way of transmutation, but even by way of the slightest impression. The reason is that it is absolutely impossible that God, who is by an eternal necessity immutable, should be affected by anything that comes to pass in time, such as the Incarnation of God in Jesus. The system of which I have given this specimen would evidently require to be carried out, rather than modified, in order to be made to deny the efficacy of prayer, so far as affecting God. Most of its adherents, however, are, logically or not, believers in prayer, and those who are not cannot understand the controversy about prayer without being first enlightened on a previous subject.

Without further enumerating those with whom I will not join issue on this subject in this article, I will now proceed to examine what those should, according to their principles, think of prayer, who believe both in the immanence of God in Nature, and in the principle of liberty as one of the agencies by which the march of events is determined. Those who admit these two principles, while casting off all burden of tradition or magisterial authority, I call free and advanced thinkers. Those who, in presence of the last discoveries of science, still refuse to admit that *entheism*, that immanence of God in the world, that spirituality and divinity of creation which is the last, and indeed was the first, word of philosophy, appear to me rather belated. On the other hand, I cannot apply the name of free-thinkers to those who begin by denying liberty, and making the world, including man, a machine. They are a branch of the Calvinistic school; Calvinists perhaps of a split ticket, but substantially Calvinists.

To speak first of liberty, its existence being once

admitted, the overwhelming amount of it which must exist in the world at once strikes us with awe. To limit the existence of liberty to our planet, or on our planet itself to the human race, is good for those who still make Jerusalem the centre of the world, or explain the enormous deposits of shells in the mountains by the hypothesis that they were inadvertently left by pilgrims, returned from the Holy Sepulchre, in the various places where they sat to take their lunch. The last word of science (if there were such a thing as the last word of science) would be to extend intellect and free will, not only to the animal and plant, but to the ultimate atom, whether in our planet or in the remotest star.

Now liberty, which thus pervades the world not less than electricity, caloric, or attraction, is conceived by us, by a necessity of our nature beyond which we cannot go, first as exempt from necessity, and secondly as accessible to entreaty. This entreatability of free agents is daily exemplified to us in those free agents which proximity of distance and proximity of nature place most immediately within the range of our observations—ourselves, our fellow-men, animals. Whether I entreat a man or an animal to do a certain thing, I have a doubt and a hope that he will do what I pray him to do—a doubt, because I know that he is free, and that my prayer cannot necessitate him to act; a hope, because I know that he is entreatable. The whole of space is full of beings, atomic or collective, which are both free and entreatable to each other, and whose moral life consists chiefly in constantly granting or refusing to one another their mutual requests, under the influences of duty, selfishness, and sympathy.

I have, therefore, I think, established the existence of prayer as one kind of efficacious agency in the determination of the course of events; but then my friend Mr. Frothingham would perhaps say that he does not deny the efficacy of prayer between beings placed within a small distance of each other, provided that the Great All-in-all, though he be not far from any one of us, be excepted from the possibility of being a term of the relation which prayer constitutes. If a great law of Nature be really subject to such an exception, we may rest assured that it is not for any arbitrary reason, such as the insertion in its text, just before its passage, through the sleepiness of the house and the vigilance of an acute lobbyist, of a clause to that effect; and the position of the Great Universal, of which, as such, there is only one, being in this respect at least without parallel, I admit the *prima facie* reasonableness of a question as to his being affected by prayer as other beings, or otherwise. Perhaps less, and perhaps more; and perhaps—who knows?—not at all. Which of these hypotheses will inquiry come to confirm?

We might be saved the trouble of this inquiry by allowing ourselves to be told that all these matters are unknowable, and that to inquire into them is mere waste of time. That they are knowable, or that they are unknowable, are two big propositions, neither of which it would be scientific to admit *a priori*. Unless inquiry brings us to their knowledge, we do not know whether they be knowable or not. If they be knowable, we shall know it when we shall know them, and not before. We must be very careful about asserting that we know a thing before we know it; for a moment ago we were sure that we knew that the very notion of prayer was an absurdity contrary to the fundamental laws of the universe; and now it comes to turn out that prayer is one of its most widespread agencies. "For the mere asking" we constantly obtain from our friends "the best things that can be had," their kindness, "mental, moral, spiritual, and social gifts, the averting of physical and moral evil"; and, far from this being "fatally disorganizing to us as individuals or to the community," we find in this gratuitous interchange our noblest means of individual culture,—what gives to social life its highest tone. For the mere asking, we gratuitously obtain analogous blessings from our domestic, and sometimes from wild, animals, from all creatures without other limits than those of our means of reaching them; so that the question now seems to be whether the Great All alone be excluded from the operation of this great law.

If he is excluded from it with regard to prayer, prayer is certainly the only thing in the world by which the Great All can be exempted from being affected. Every other thing affects everything else. There is not an atom in the world that does not exert an attraction on every other atom, in the inverted ratio of the distance, be the terms placed ever so far from each other. There is not a sound, a ray of light, a flash of electricity, a mechanical motion, an act of cerebration, that leaves the world, or any of its parts, exactly as they would have been without it. A fillip that I give in the air has been determined to become a fillip rather than one or two other things by my will; but its quantity as force has existed and shall exist in the world from eternity to eternity. The determination of my will, and of other wills before and after mine, only affects its course,—determines whether it shall become sound, or light, or latent caloric, or chemical affinity,—whether it shall travel from sun to sun and from star to star in this or that direction. This, I am sure, the adversaries of prayer admit; for they are found among advanced thinkers. I will now ask them, do they really mean to say that, for the private convenience of their antipathy to prayer, prayer is the only thing in the world which has not an influence over every part of the universe?

Surely, did I charge them with such an assertion, they would accuse me of a want of fairness. They are too good physicists and metaphysicians to say any such thing. They will readily admit that when a man prays, that prayer, as an act of cerebration or any other fact, will affect the whole universe. What

they will deny is that it could affect the universe in the sense which he who prays desires.

What cannot affect the universe in the sense which he who prays desires? His prayer, or his desire? His prayer, of course. The adversaries of prayer are too good physicists and metaphysicians to say that a desire will not influence the universe, in a manner completely or incompletely efficacious, but tending to the fulfilment of the want of which that desire is the expression, or, rather, with which it is identical. A desire, in what we call a person, is a fact analogous to electric, magnetic, or chemical attraction in what we call a thing. When a body is electrified, that is, has the balance of its two electricities destroyed, it desires the one of the two electricities which it lacks, and which is the complement of the one it has; and by lacking or desiring it, it attracts it. A thirsty tree needs, lacks, and desires moisture, and by needing, lacking, and desiring it, it attracts those particles of it which are next at hand, which particles are replaced by those next to them; or, in other words, thirsty vegetation attracts the clouds. A desire in a human soul is, physiologically, a positive or negative electrifying whereby it attracts the object of its desire, which has the opposite electricity. It attracts it, not always with victorious efficiency, because there may be opposite influences, or lack of proportion between the intensity of the attraction and the mass of its object. It is thus that, though the magnetic pole and the magnetic needle always attract and influence each other, they do not necessarily and immediately rejoin each other, because their motion toward each other is opposed by contrary forces too great to be surmounted. Still their action upon each other is not reduced to naught. If their mutual aspirations cannot be directly gratified, they are indirectly so, by acting in deduction of the efficiency of contrary forces. I have no doubt, and I feel sure none of the intelligent adversaries of prayer has any doubt, that every human desire, as a magnetic force, thus attracts its object, whether consciously or not, whether with complete or with incomplete efficiency, whether that object be a person, or a thing, or a phenomenon. If that object is an act of a free agent (I mean free in regard to the particular object of the desire, for no agent is free in all respects), that free agent is influenced so far as to be solicited to determine itself in the desired direction, though he may elect the opposite. The object of the desire being directly influenced, this influence indirectly extends to every other individual being, and thus pervades the Great All.

We have now, by successive eliminations of extraneous matter, reduced the question of prayer to its real terms. The question is not whether prayer necessarily contains elements which, by the very nature of things, must always be efficacious, and that in the sense desired by him who prays. This, as we have shown, must be granted, and the adversaries of prayer will not be so foolish as to contest it. The question is whether, the desire implied in prayer being sure to have its effect, there is any utility in giving to it that particular verbal form, oral or mental, which makes it become what Christians are supposed to understand by the word prayer.

Christians, by prayer, understand no verbiage of any sort. Their views of prayer may be embodied in these words of St. Paul, in which, indeed, they are most frequently expressed: "Be not worried about anything; but in everything, by prayer and beseeching with thanksgiving, be your requests made known unto God."

That our requests are known to God is only another expression of the truth which I have demonstrated, that our desires affect the universe, and of course the Spirit immanent in it. To make them known to God, it is sufficient to have them; but that would not be sufficient to make them a prayer. What makes them a prayer is not the fact of our being, with regard to them, in communication with God, but our consciousness of that fact, a true fact, instinctively known to a properly constituted religious mind, and demonstrable to a properly constituted intellect.

SHOULD WE COMPLAIN?

It was in Dover that Mr. Abbot may be said to have begun his anti-Christian exploits. It was here that he attempted to capture a church, to cheat the members out of all hope of eternal life, and to betray the organization into the hands of a half dozen of his disciples. It was here, also, that he did his level best in all conceivable ways to put contempt upon the idea of a God, to ridicule Christianity, and to put its professors on the level of deluded fanatics.

It makes but little difference, in a practical view of the case, that he was most signally rebuked by the church that he attempted to betray, whose present pastor is a thorough Christian gentleman, held in high esteem by all who share his acquaintance; nor that he was beaten both in the courts and before the bar of public opinion. The fact remains that he sowed seed here which is still struggling for life. Among a few people of a certain class and character he still has his followers. Several young persons, who were then brought under his influence, are growing up to repeat his words, *minus* that intellectual force, to be sure, which mainly enabled him to make his way, but with such degree of self-assurance and untaught wisdom as they may command.

We have overstated the case in Mr. Abbot's favor, if anything. We were reminded to refer to the matter at all by certain developments of the last fortnight. The churches in Dover united in union meetings during the week of prayer, which have been kept up to the present time. They had not been long in operation before certain tracts began to be distributed in the shops and stores, setting forth that Christianity is a humbug, that Christians are

deluded, and that the only respectable thing to do was to keep away from these meetings, and to labor for an anti-Christian amendment to the Constitution.

We are not sure but these methods of our anti-Christian friends ought to be commended. Certainly, if they ever overcome the force of Christ's life and teaching they can't begin their work too soon. Just see what is before them. Here is all of America to be infidelized, besides all of Europe, the isles of the seas, and the greater portions of Asia, Africa, and the other hitherto heathen countries. It is an enormous task for a handful of persons, and they nowise noted for the possession of apostolic qualities. The odds are immensely against them. Besides, there is the divine declaration, yet to be disproved, that it is only fools who deny a God, and it must be confessed that the world has not heretofore shown any encouraging readiness to follow the teaching of that class of persons.

Take, for instance, the case before us. Having failed in Dover, Mr. Abbot went to Toledo, Ohio, where he gathered a "Society," and set himself to accomplish the speedy redemption of the West. But he soon saw fit to leave Toledo, also, and certainly the fame or influence of his Society has not yet spread very far beyond the Maumee swamps. His mission in Boston seems to be not yet accomplished. At any rate, he still remains in that city, and the Orthodox churches keep up their regular services. And then there is Mr. Wasson, and Mr. Higginson, and Mr. Alger, and Mr. Frothingham, and more besides than we have room to mention, who sometime ago set themselves about this very work of snubbing Christianity, but who not only failed to carry their own churches with them, but who, outside of their literary admirers, who are justly found mainly within the churches, have no followers to speak of.

What we sat down to ask is, whether there is any occasion to be disturbed either by the methods of these mighty men of mind, or by the aspects of their cause, or by its prospects. We have heard no one complain of their tract-distribution here in Dover. There is a comfortable belief that one saint, five minutes in prayer, is mightier than a month of such work. Every century, even every period of fifty and twenty-five years during the last thousand, has only shown the world better reasons for accepting the authority of inspiration, and convinced it that its only hope is in and through the divine Christ. His enemies keep coming to defeat, and his life and teachings to renewed glory. So the churches keep quietly about their business, confident of victory through the Lord of Hosts.

This seems to be the best way of meeting these efforts to discredit the Christian faith. To ignore them would be folly. To complain of them, as though their agents took an unfair advantage, would not honor the spirit of religious liberty. To directly quarrel with and oppose them would be exalting them unduly. But to redouble Christian activity and diligence, to show forth His glory by holy living, to simply keep to one's business as a Christian, whether in the line of politics, or preaching, or teaching, or commerce, or what not that is honorable or can be made honorable by thus engaging in it,—this is the sure way to "overcome the world," and to show now much mightier are they that are for Christ than they that are against him.—*Morning Star, Dover, N. H., Feb. 24, 1875.*

DAWN VALCOUR COMMUNITY.

It has become necessary to inform the public, without further delay, of the fraud attempted to be committed by Orrin Shipman upon the reformers and progressive men and women of this country. By various deceptions Mr. Shipman has been enabled to keep the present members of Dawn Valcour Community, and the public in general, in blindness in regard to the real value of the property offered to the community as a basis for this organization. But now that the true state of affairs is known, it would be unjust or cruel not to publish it to the world, that none may be betrayed into loss of their homes, and their property sunk beyond recovery.

It will be necessary to detail but few of the facts of this affair. Mr. Shipman represented to the members, and to the world, that he was the owner of property, worth fabulous prices, that he would give to a community, providing the community would pay him \$31,000; his debts were to be paid and to be deducted from this amount, and the balance paid him in annual instalments. Mr. Shipman usually called his property worth \$250,000, but sanctioned the use of his name to a circular that its value to a community was \$100,000, and therefore gave what is called a gratuity to the community of \$76,000. On a full investigation of the property, by information from the former owners and neighbors immediately adjoining it, the home farm which he calls "Champlain Valley Nurseries," is estimated as worth not over \$5,000. For the Valcour Island property Shipman paid \$7,600 (paying a profit to the former owner of \$1,700). The whole property has decreased in value to a considerable amount, and Mr. Shipman has already offered to give up the property to the mortgagee with what little he has paid upon it, if this spring does not find him flush with community money. This shows that Mr. Shipman knows the real value of his property, and that the fraudulent representations will fall.

It is not necessary to go into the details of this affair, but the suffering endured by the members, by the breaking up of their homes and the expense of transporting themselves and their furniture long distances from various States of this Union, should, after this *exposé*, be a warning to reformers of all classes to look well to the character of those who

start projects with the ostensible purpose of recuperating failing fortunes.

At a meeting of the community the following resolution was passed, receiving the signature of the President and Secretary, and all of the members of the Dawn Valcour Community, excepting John Wilcox and five other members, some of the five believing in the fraud, but not voting for other reasons.

"Resolved, That the members of Dawn Valcour Community regard the past representations in regard to Orrin Shipman's property as a *stupendous fraud*."
—Burlington (Vt.) Free Press and Times.

"ASPECTS OF UNITARIANISM."

William J. Potter, of New Bedford, lately preached two discourses on some aspects of Unitarianism in its past and recent history, which have been published at the request of his parish. He dwells at length on the free-thinking, progressive character of the Unitarian movement in its earlier days, and down to the period of the New York Convention in 1865. Since then it has gradually relinquished its progressive and freedom-loving characteristics, and hardened into a sect. "It cries halt to progress, that it may hold to authority. And thus it offers another illustration of arrested development in religious history." Mr. Potter says that "Unitarianism, by its history and by its fundamental principles, by its emphasis of the inherent worth of human nature, and of the right of free inquiry, and of the supreme importance of character as a test of religion, stood in a position of special advantage for aiding in the elevation of Christianity to the plane of free and universal religion. To this work it was called by the voice of the age and by the voice of its own past service. What the Brahmo Somaj is doing for Hinduism in India, what the progressive Jews are doing for Judaism, what Liberal Mohammedans and Buddhists are doing for their respective faiths—lifting them out of provincial claims and theological narrowness, into the breadth and unity of a world-wide faith,—this is the task to which Unitarianism was summoned in behalf of Christianity. But it is a task which the Unitarian organizations, at least in America, have declined to take up. The work now falls to other hands."

We cannot quite share Mr. Potter's conviction, though entirely sympathizing with his impatience of the hesitating spirit and halting course of a body whose history and position elect it to a pioneer work. The *ism* must be distinguished from its organizations, and all that was ever true and vital in Unitarian principles remains intact, and has not been cancelled by the votes of conventions, nor neutralized by the timidity or narrowness of sectarian managers. But it must be remembered that, though progressive in principle and profession, the Unitarian body has always been peculiarly conservative. It opposed Mr. Parker with unyielding pertinacity for twenty years, and nearly ostracized the men who openly sympathized with his views and approved his position. For forty years the conservative element has been in the ascendancy in its councils, and kept a strong brake on its wheels. Its present opposition to the Free Religious movement, of which Mr. Potter is a leader, is historically consistent, and far more logical than its treatment of the Transcendentalists and Theodore Parker. They were neither anti-Christian nor un-Christian; but Mr. Abbot, with THE INDEX, has succeeded in giving the Free Religious Association a distinctly anti-Christian reputation which is repugnant alike to Unitarian thinking and feeling, and in direct antagonism with all its previous life. Mr. Potter, in dropping the Christian name and acting with Mr. Abbot, has seemed to put himself in the same attitude; and though it might sustain the closest relations with a man who simply drops the Christian name in the interest of what he thinks a more comprehensive and vital religion, we fail to see how a body that is Christian in any intelligible sense can retain an anti-Christian preacher in its fellowship, or go out of its way to express sympathy for an association that is understood to antagonize the Christian religion at every point.—*Golden Age*, Jan. 16, 1875.

[It is exceedingly unfair to hold the Free Religious Association, or any of its members, responsible for anything that we may say or do. The editor of the *Golden Age* knows this perfectly well. He knows that Mr. Potter has not only never taken an anti-Christian stand, but has not even felt called upon to reject the Christian name with any marked emphasis: he has simply declined to call himself by it. The only sense in which Mr. Clarke can decently call Mr. Potter an "anti-Christian preacher" is that in which we call all liberals anti-Christians, because they favor freedom; and this sense makes Mr. Clarke himself one of them. We protest against the injustice of putting the odium of our extremism on anybody's shoulders; we are nowise so connected with anybody as to render him in any degree responsible for our utterances. We deny having "succeeded in giving the Free Religious Association a distinctly anti-Christian reputation," because we have never made any such attempt. If the necessary, logical outcome of the principles asserted in the Association's Constitution is opposition to Christianity, and if we have succeeded in making that plain, well and good; that we have tried to do. But we have never tried to make the Association, collectively or individually, responsible for our own application of those principles; and we would defend the right both of the Association and of all its members *not to be held* responsible for it. We

regret that we did not see the above article in time to make an earlier protest; and we hold that the *Golden Age* owes it to Mr. Potter to correct its gross injustice towards him.—Ed.]

MATERIALIZATION.

A CLEVER IMITATION OF THE SPIRIT HAND PERFORMANCE.

The young man whose successful imitation of the performances of the dark circle was described in these columns, some weeks ago, has been at work since on materialization, and has become quite an adept. He had just given an exhibition before a large party of friends at his own home, and succeeded in thoroughly mystifying them and producing on the minds of many an impression quite as strong as that produced by the exploits of mediums. His performance was by no means a copy of Mrs. Hardy's, the arrangements and conditions being quite different, but several persons who had seen both declared his to be quite as marvellous as that of the medium, though others thought not. Some thirty people were gathered in a large parlor. At one end, a space some ten or twelve feet square was enclosed with maroon curtains, attached to frames about five feet high. The enclosure stood quite back against the end of the room, and was a considerable distance from any door leading out of it. In the middle of this enclosed space was a small, black table, triangular in form, on the top of which was a black box with a hole in front about five inches square. The room was carefully examined and the curtain frames forming the enclosure were put up in the presence of the spectators. The little table and box were simplicity itself, the former being a plain surface, supported on three legs, without drapery, partitions, or any chance for concealed mechanism, and the latter, equally plain and of half-inch board, covered with black cloth. After ample opportunity for examination had been given, the spectators were seated in lines at the other end of the room.

The young man assumed the character of a medium very cleverly, and said that, for the sake of allowing the spirits to congregate and to get up the proper influences, it would be necessary to place a curtain in front of the enclosure, shutting it from view for a few moments. While this was done, there was music and singing to harmonize the circle, and then the curtain was removed. The table and box still remained in the middle of the open space, detached from everything else, and to all appearance precisely as they were before. The light of the chandeliers was partly turned down, but two candles were lighted at the corners of the enclosure, and on the whole the room was well lighted. In answer to questions as to whether the powers were ready, distinct raps were heard in the direction of the box. The "medium" then called for a hand to appear, and a delicate hand, apparently that of a child twelve or fourteen years old, became clearly visible at the opening of the box; then two hands were seen together, and afterwards apparently several, in motion at the same time. These hands made movements in response to questions, and rapped distinctly on the box, and at one time spelt out words by the deaf and dumb alphabet. They also passed out several flowers, including pinks, heliotrope, lily of the valley, etc., all fresh and fragrant, which were handed to the spectators. Blank cards were placed in blank envelopes by several persons and sealed. These being placed in the hand in the box, were almost instantly returned directed to the persons from whom they came. The seals being broken, the cards were found to bear an exact fac-simile of the person's autograph, with some message on the reverse side. Afterwards, two faces were made to appear in succession at the opening of the box, differing entirely in appearance.

The performance closed with the production of lights in the air, the gas being entirely turned off for the purpose. The table, box, and everything pertaining to the exhibition were freely examined at the close, as well as at the beginning of the performance. We have described it simply as it appeared. Of course, the whole thing was a matter of trick and illusion, and pretended to be nothing else. However it was done, it differed altogether from the manifestations at Mrs. Hardy's, but was scarcely less puzzling to the beholders.—*Boston Globe*, Feb. 11.

A PANAMA CORRESPONDENT of the San Francisco *Chronicle* speaks thus of a Catholic army in South America: "His Holiness the Pope must read with rare pleasure the solemn acts of the free and independent republic of Ecuador. His faithful devotee, President Garcia Moreno, has, as Cabinet members, learned Jesuits, and they have prevailed upon Moreno and the republic's legislators to enact a certain class of laws, whereby religion, morality and order are to be preserved. The first and most remarkable edict is that which divides the army into four divisions, with such fanciful titles in detail as 'Division of the Son of God,' 'Division of the Good Shepherd,' 'Holy Lancers of Death,' 'Warriors of the Blessed Virgin,' etc. In thus organizing the army, the republic was first, with great pomp and solemnity, put under the protection of the 'Sacred Heart of Jesus.' President Moreno is commander-in-chief, and every officer and soldier is sworn to uphold and defend the 'Holy Roman Catholic Church.' The organization of this army has caused derision among the other republics of South America. Some journals, however, look upon it in a grave light, and consider that it is the renewed effort of clergy to get political as well as religious power in their hands. They have thoroughly accomplished this in Ecuador, and it being so, what is to hinder them from pushing their conquests into neighboring republics? As will be seen hereafter, they are making the effort."

GARIBALDI wore the traditional costume when he was sworn in the Italian Parliament—a red shirt, white mantle, and blue cap embroidered with gold. When he answered, in a clear voice, "Giuro" (I swear), there was a burst of applause, and cries of "Bravo."

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

A COMPLAINT.

The greatest sin of modern times
Is not the making of bad rhymes,
Is not the waste of printer's ink,
What women write and children think,
Not gambling debts or mortgaged land,—
'Tis the everlasting book in hand.
Continual reading day and night
Makes sodden brains and bad eye-sight.
Full many a soul, born to aspire,
Has sunk as low as it aimed higher;
The fuel has put out the fire.
Books are the ministers of thought,
But, void of thinking, they are not;
They waste your time on prose or verse,
The ministers of something worse.
In the most cultured spots you find
The most "green-sickness" of the mind,—
An affectation, if you please,
An intellectual disease.
Pure nature has died out of schools,
And reading fills the world with fools.
The youthful minds are stuffed with bran
Upon the right Blimberian plan.
This getting rid of mother-wit,
And putting "chaff" instead of it;
Not "education" you will find,
But sausage-making of the mind.
The boy is stuffed, but, once a man,
He leaves the stuffing and the bran
To teachers and trustees of schools,
To breed another race of fools.
The weight of this gigantic curse
Comes on the children worse and worse,
Who, nothing taught except to read,
Grow light and vain, not worth their feed—
The boys half-baked with brains of dough,
And girls who neither bake nor sew.
But then they know so much, they will
Know all things yet, and know them ill.
To add the total sum: result,
All children now are born adult.

Oh for some greater solitude
For mind itself to be immured!
Where, leaving books upon the shelves,
We grow acquainted with ourselves:
Some barren rock or isle o' the sea
Where modern learning may not be;
Safe from the vile Sirocco-curse
Of newspapers, which children nurse
On scandal, politics, and verse.
The strongest fertilizer kills;
So fatal knowledge quick instills
A poison in the veins of youth,
Which withers virtue, goodness, truth.
What opium does to the Chinese,
Rum to the Indian whom we fleece,
Excessive reading does for us;
Won't some reformer make a fuss?
Too much top-dressing to the mind
Is worse than nothing, you will find:
It's gin and opium combined.

JOHN SAVARY.

WASHINGTON, February, 1875.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 27.

Joseph Hayes, \$15; E. H. Aldrich, \$13.20; Adelia Gates, \$2; W. H. Spencer, \$3.20; Marshall Pierce, \$1.60; Mrs. G. C. Francis, \$3.20; P. Heidelberg, \$3; Herman Levi, \$3; J. O. Bentley, \$3.20; W. S. Deering, \$3.20; Richard Mott, \$3.20; J. J. Byrne, 50 cents; A. Erwin, \$3; Margaret French, \$3; Perrin Scarborough, \$3.20; G. W. Coburn, 75 cents; J. E. Boynton, \$5; Abbie Greeley, \$3; H. E. Home, \$3.20; H. Welch, \$1.60; J. M. Brokan, \$1.60; Chas. Napper, \$3.30; H. W. Fuller, \$3.20; E. S. Curtis, \$1.60; Mrs. J. A. Koch, \$3.60; Andrew C. Chesley, \$3.20; Howard Okie, 50 cents; A. S. Hudson, \$3.20; John Casson, \$3.20; Elizabeth Blackstock, \$3; C. A. Humphreys, \$3.20; D. W. Pond, \$3.20; J. Finlayson, \$5.50; John Lebane, \$3.20; Wm. Hillis, \$3.20; E. Patterson, \$3.20; Milan Bentley, \$3.20; C. W. Weeks, \$1.50; M. W. Stubbs, \$3.20; A. H. Wimbish, 50 cents; A. B. Gibbs, \$3; V. Varwatt, \$3.20; Wm. P. Thornton, \$3.20; John Adams, \$3.20; E. H. Minott, \$3.20; O. Klemm, \$6.25; Alanson Wood, \$3.20; H. P. Chase, \$3.20; W. F. Day, \$3.20; Marian G. Hovey, \$50; J. D. Elliot, 85 cents; L. A. Andrews, 50 cents; J. J. Vertrees, \$4; D. H. Clark, 50 cents; J. S. Lyon, \$5; Chas. Buifum, \$20; Chas. Collins, 25 cents; Philena Carkin, \$1.75; F. L. Mann, 75 cents; Jerre Brockway, \$6; D. P. Wilcox, 30 cents; E. S. Gurley, 50 cents; Geo. H. Foster, 30 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 4, 1875.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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REV. MR. SAVAGE's article, promised for this week, will appear next week, owing to a miscalculation of dates for which he is not at all responsible.

THE "Dawn Valcour Community" have voted that hey "regard the past representations of Orrin Shipman's property as a stupendous fraud." All who have any interest in this matter are referred to an article which is copied in another column from the Burlington, Vermont, *Free Press and Times*.

SOMEBODY has lately been distributing the Index Tract entitled "The Impeachment of Christianity" in Dover, New Hampshire, as we infer from an irate editorial article in the *Morning Star*. This tirade is too amusing not to serve as pepper for our weekly repast, and will be found in another column. Internal evidence satisfies us that it is not the composition of the senior editor of the *Star*, Dr. Day, who is a gentleman, and quite incapable of the vulgarity and unscrupulous misstatements of this journalistic explosion.

THAT SUCH an advertisement as this one should be profitable anywhere in the nineteenth century, is deplorable. We find it in *Common Sense*, a Spiritualist paper of San Francisco, which also publishes regular communications from this "Professor" of imposture who shamelessly puts his leeches to the pocket-books of the superstitious: "Professor W. H. Chaney, 314 Bush Street, Room No. 5. The Professor has located permanently in San Francisco, as above, for the practice of ASTROLOGY. He will also teach the science to such as may desire to obtain a knowledge of this celestial art, which includes among its pupils and admirers such minds as Galileo, Sir Isaac Newton, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and hosts of the best astronomers of the past. In the long lists of persons advertised in this city, under the head of 'Astrologers,' there is not one who knows anything of the science. Those calling themselves 'astrologers' are simply 'fortune-tellers,' who divine through a teacup or pack of cards, and by their charlatanism have done much towards bringing genuine astrology into disrepute. Office hours from 10 to 12 A.M., and from 2 to 4 P.M. Receptions for the evening may be secured by special arrangement."

THE *Union Era*, a religious paper once published in New York in the interest of Evangelical consolidation of forces, has been defunct for a year or two. An old clipping from it contains this story, under the title of "A Feline Illustration": "There is one member of our printing establishment that we have never brought to the public notice. Pussy is a white cat, whose precise function in the office we do not know, unless it is to be a thermometer, her distance from the stove marking the warmth of the room. Pussy is not yet a full convert to our union doctrines, as there is still an old prejudice which she entertains against rats. But she favored us the other day with an illustration which may be edifying to our readers nevertheless. By some oversight Pussy's morning ration had not been brought, and towards ten o'clock we heard about it. With eyes wide open, and tail aloft, she came up to Gabley, and said, 'Me-au-aw.' Gabley was busy at the proof-press and paid no attention. Kitty repeated her remark. Louder and louder did she cry until the whole room resounded with her appeals, and the public peace required that the petitioner should be attended to. 'Gabley,' said we, as he turned to get Kitty's breakfast, 'Gabley, do you know what that is? It is Prayer.' Does anybody wonder that the *Union Era* is as dead as Julius Cæsar? That cat-story alone ought to have killed it.

THE FOUR AUTHORITIES.

1. The Roman Catholic Church has always presented itself to the world as the ultimate criterion of religious and moral truth. This claim it makes not in its own name as a human institution, but in God's name as a divine institution created and sustained by him for the express purpose of communicating to mankind an infallible revelation of his will.

Previous to 1870, this infallibility was held to reside in the Church Universal, uttering its authoritative decisions through its General or Ecumenical Councils; while there was a division among faithful Catholics on the question whether the Pope himself was to be accounted infallible. But the Jesuits, who represent most boldly and consistently the inherent tendencies of the Catholic Church, perceived that there is a defect in the logic which attributes infallibility to Councils, even on the hypothesis that God perpetually inspires his Holy Church. Councils must deliver their decisions by means of suffrage; and, since unanimity cannot be secured in the case of any deliberative assembly, a perplexity arises which endangers the spiritual authority of all such decisions. In order to make the voice of the Council an infallible revelation of his own will, God must inspire the individual voters to cast their votes correctly; and the difficulty comes up with regard to the votes of the defeated minority. Did God inspire the minority to vote amiss? Then the veracity of God and the validity of the majority vote are dangerously doubtful. Did he not inspire the minority at all? Then the claim that he inspired the majority becomes exceedingly questionable. Either he inspired all the voters of the Council, or (sceptics would unanswerably urge) he inspired none of them. If he inspired all, how came any to vote wrong? The only way for the majority to vindicate the authority of its own decisions would be to chop off the heads of all the minority, on the ground that they had voted wilfully against the instructions of the Holy Spirit. If, however, it should be held that God did not inspire all, but selected just enough voters as recipients of his inspiration to ensure a correct decision, the suspicion that he inspired none at all could not be repressed. Absolute unanimity in the Council would alone avoid such difficulties; and that could never yet be attained. The plea of infallibility in Councils is thus exposed to this fatal dilemma; either all the voters were inspired to cast their suffrages as they did, in which case the minority were inspired to vote wrong, or else they were not inspired to cast their suffrages as they did, in which case the decisions of the majority were not infallible. The notion of a general inspiration, as distinct from that of the particular members, is quite too absurd to require examination.

Forced by this logical defect to carry out and develop more fully the idea of infallible revelation, the Jesuits were keen enough to see that a single man, the Pope, who could not be split up into majority and minority, must be held to be personally infallible, or else the whole claim of infallibility would give way. In bringing about this latest development of Catholic Christianity, the Jesuits were perfectly true to its fundamental logic, and to the fundamental logic of Christianity in all its forms. An infallible Pope is the necessary outcome of the Church's claim to possess an infallible revelation; and the Jesuits must be regarded, not as the corrupters, but as the radical unfolders, of Catholicism. If they are also the deadliest opponents of free thought, that is because Christianity and freedom of all kinds are fundamentally opposed. Jesuitism is Jesus-ism; and the claim of Jesus himself to be the Christ is the sole root of Catholicism, one of the two roots of Protestantism, and that which makes Christianity in all its forms an encroachment on the liberties of mankind.

2. The Protestant Christian Church (disregarding for the present its subdivision into sects and its various Neo-Christian degenerations) has always presented the Bible as the ultimate criterion of moral and religious truth. It has always rejected the claim of the Catholic Church to be the sole interpreter of the Bible, either by its Councils or its Popes; it has always asserted the "right of private judgment," however inconsistently it has also asserted the authority of creeds and synods. But this "right of private judgment" is only the right of interpreting the Bible, not the right of rejecting it as the infallible revelation of the Divine will. No form of Protestantism has ever ventured to discard the infallibility of the Bible; even the extremest collective utterances of Unitarianism assume the infallibility of at least parts of it, unless resort is had to quib-

bling esoteric interpretations, double meanings, and mental reservations.

But the difficulty that besets the pretension of Councils to be the infallible voice of God besets the same pretension made for the Bible, and in a greatly aggravated shape. Either the whole Bible is infallible, or none of it is; and history shows that, whenever the literal infallibility of any part of the book is surrendered, there is no stopping until that of all the other parts is surrendered, one by one. There are thousands of texts in the Bible; and if there is an infallible revelation in the book as a whole, then all these texts must tell a perfectly harmonious story. They must be unanimous; they must all vote in the same way. But no amount of ingenuity can make them all vote in the same way; and it is just as true to say that the members of Catholic Councils have always been unanimous as it is to say that the texts of the Bible are unanimous. Precisely the same difficulty about the majority and the minority comes up concerning the deliverances of the Bible, which we have just shown to have come up concerning the decisions of the Councils. The "private judgment" of the Protestant, trying to interpret the Bible for itself, is perplexed by majority and minority votes, cast by these multitudinous texts in reply to each and every question he puts. Some texts vote *yes*, others *no*; he is distracted by their discord; he gets no unanimous response; and his case is even more dismaying than the Catholic's, because he must himself decide, unaided, what is the majority vote of the texts, while the Catholic finds the majority vote of the Council announced by the Council itself, and formally promulgated by the now infallible Pope. In short, if one is determined to find an infallible revelation somewhere, the harder it is to find in proportion as he strays from Rome.

These—the Church and the Bible—are the two great authorities claimed and believed to be infallible. There are two other authorities for which no such claim is made.

3. The "right of private judgment," which is the root of Protestantism on its purely human side, conflicts with the "infallible authority" of Church, Bible, Christ, which is the root of Protestantism on its strictly Christian side. From these two roots proceed tendencies which create in Protestantism internal antagonism of a wholly irreconcilable nature. The general momentum of Protestantism is in the direction of Reason, and away from Rome. The first effect of discarding both of the infallible authorities, Church and Bible, is to produce an excess of emphasis on the "private judgment" which has discarded them. It is a natural reaction against Catholicism to repudiate all claims of universal authority, and to rest in the authority of the individual,—to accept the latter, not as infallible, but simply as the best at hand, the best that is possible under actual conditions. This authority of the *individual reason*, as the ultimate ground of all convictions concerning truth, is the highest authority recognized by Individualism. It is the fundamental principle of the prevalent transcendental or intuitional type of radicalism, so far as this has any philosophical basis at all. It places the supreme appeal in the mind of each individual, and makes him a judge whose decisions must be accepted, at least by himself, as final and conclusive. It emancipates him from all obligation to defer to the objective; and, while it makes no pretence of setting him above the possibility of mistake and is therefore not justly chargeable with making him infallible in his own conceit, it nevertheless precludes the possibility of correcting any mistake into which he may fall.

But, although an inevitable reaction against the oppressive rule of the infallible authorities of Catholicism and Protestantism, and therefore a beneficent one to that extent, this absolute supremacy of the individual reason, which is the ground-principle of the radicalism that is most widely prevalent to-day, fails to give an adequate criterion to those who desire to know *what is true*. When individuals differ, as they are sure to do, each can only throw himself back on his own private affirmation, which is valid for himself alone, and has no validity whatever for others. This is the fatal embarrassment of Individualism. It destroys all common ground among men, and makes each individual the Robinson Crusoe of a desert island, the solitary inhabitant of a subjective certitude which is incertitude to all the world besides. So long as merely "private judgment" is the ultimate and decisive tribunal in all questions concerning truth, each thinker is a moral Ishmael, "his hand against every man and every man's hand against him." There is no common ground; every difference

of opinion becomes a bottomless abyss, over which no bridge can be thrown. In short, Individualism is Protestantism gone to seed. Catholicism sacrifices liberty to secure unity; Protestantism sacrifices unity to secure liberty; Science alone can secure liberty and unity both.

4. Instead of the authority of *individual reason*, which is the ground-principle of Individualism and the logical ultimate of that "right of private judgment" to which Protestantism has inconsistently and hesitatingly clung, Science proclaims the authority of *universal reason*, which requires that the decisions of individual reason shall be submitted to the test of observation and experiment—in a word, to *verification*. It recognizes the partial truths embraced respectively by Catholicism and Individualism, and carries them up into the unity of a higher principle. Catholicism builds on the necessity of an objective criterion of truth, an ultimate tribunal before which conflicting individual opinions may be brought for adjudication; and this necessity is affirmed by Science also. Individualism builds on the right of the individual to resist the false claim of one or more other individuals (Christ, Pope, Church, Councils, Bible writers) to be this ultimate tribunal; and this right is affirmed by Science also. REASON alone is the authority of Science. Not the reason of a few, usurping control over the reason of the many; not the reason of one only, repudiating the obligation of conformity to law and fact; but the reason which is universal, impersonal, grounded on absolute and irreversible laws of intelligence, discoverable only by the submission of all individual thought to the test of verification and direct appeal to the facts of Nature. This authority of the *universal reason* is not set up by Science as infallible, for there is nothing infallible that is human; but it is set up as the highest appeal, notwithstanding, in all questions that seek the determination of truth. It respects absolutely all rights of the individual, for it subjects him to no arbitrary control, but only requires him to be reasonable; at the same time it gives a common ground to all truth-seekers, and furnishes a common appeal when they differ. It conserves all the elements of truth covered by Catholicism, Protestantism, Individualism, and unites them all in Science. In short, it is the authority of Nature and Truth in their universality, and can be denied by no one who understands clearly what it means.

The Protestant Reformation, repudiating the infallible authority of the Catholic Church, and substituting the infallible authority of the Bible as interpreted by "private judgment," was one of the greatest steps ever taken in the course of human progress. The Transcendentalist Reformation, repudiating the infallible authority of the Bible, and emancipating the "private judgment" from all dependence upon it, although historically less conspicuous, was logically scarcely less important. But the Scientific Reformation which is now going on, substituting UNIVERSAL REASON for Church, Bible, and merely individual reason, as the supreme authority and test of truth, eclipses in importance all previous steps of progress, and will yet be manifest historically in the disappearance of all special religions from the world of human life. It is a change fraught with consequences of incalculable moment to human welfare; and all who can rise out of the petty circle of their own individual concerns will find no subject more worthy of their profoundest thought and most faithful study.

AFTER NO, YES.

Every marked period in the history of reform and progress has two stages. The first is the stage of doubt, denial, and destruction; the second that of belief, affirmation, and construction.

The first of these stages is as natural and inevitable as the second. It has to be invited and welcomed, and assisted to run its course. Every generation has to have its turn of scepticism, which it cannot escape, any more than a child can escape teething. It is to be said perhaps that every healthy and growing mind has its time or times of being sceptical,—of doubting what, ordinarily, seems the most undoubtable. And no man is wise, who is afraid of his doubts; for that belief is of little worth, which is bottomed on either ignorance or cowardice. If we are not brave enough to deny, we are not wise enough to affirm. If we cannot have the resolution to destroy, we cannot have the skill to construct. The boy whom ambition never spurs to leave the parental roof, and quit his native surroundings, will never step into that freedom of action and that nobility of achievement to which growing manhood invites him. So, too, the age that is content to live on the traditions of the

past, and never to question them, is sure to suppress its own vital spirit, and miss the larger truth that is ever dawning. If we would breathe the air of inspiration that is constantly blowing fresh from the hills of God, we must occasionally break out of all institutions and establishments, and trust ourselves in the open weather of doubt and vigorous free inquiry.

But no individual or age can live and thrive on mere scepticism. On the average, faith is a better nutriment for the soul than doubt. When a man remains too long a sceptic, he is just as sure to become narrow, dogmatic, and juiceless, as when he remains too long a contented and habitual believer. Freedom is not an *end* to be satisfied with, but a *method*. Unless freedom lead to higher knowledge, deeper faith, and broader-mindedness, the bondage of ignorance and sloth is just as good. The spirit of denial and destruction alone brings waste and desolation; it should be followed speedily by that of affirmation and construction, which will build "more stately mansions" for mind and heart.

Those periods of history have been noblest, on the whole, which have been characterized, not by the most unbelief, but by the most belief. Scepticism is a strong, rough wind which is necessary to blow away the malaria of superstition; but the lungs of humanity, once relieved from the latter, cannot endure to have the former continue indefinitely: the milder, gentler air of faith suits them better for a steady climate. One age of faith should soon succeed another, as we like best to have two summers divided only by a short though vigorous winter. Where either extreme coldness or heat prevails all the year round, civilization is in a low and stunted state. So, likewise, when either scepticism or superstition holds unbroken sway, the intellect and soul of man are shrunken and deadened. It is the temperate zone, in both the spiritual and the material world, which produces the best humanity.

We cannot build a philosophy, much less a religion, out of mere negations; and although I am well aware that there are those who deny that man has any need of either, yet this, too, I believe, is one of the negations which we shall do well to put behind us. Socrates was not a fool, nor was Jesus a crack-brained enthusiast. These two men stand in history for something real and positive in human nature. Man is both a reasoner and a worshipper; and what he wants to do is to find out if there be a *reasonable religion* which he can understand and believe in. Anything which helps to this end is in order; anything which hinders this consummation cannot long survive.

What those who now advocate free thought need to do is to consider if they are making the most they can of those creative and constructive elements which belong to human nature; if they are dealing sufficiently in reasonable affirmations; if they are advancing fast enough into that position where they can report something substantial and satisfactory to the intellect, the conscience, and the heart. They should bear in mind that they will be most gratefully remembered, not for the error they take away from the faith of this time, but for the truth they add to it; not for what they overthrow and cast down, but for what they build up and establish on the most rational foundations. They are foolish to content themselves too long with defiant posturing before the popular religion of to-day; their ambition ought to be to astonish it by drawing a larger circle of truth around its position, and to shame it by showing a diviner spirit and a more comprehensive faith. Have we denied that there is any God outside of the universe?—then let us see if we can show the greater God who is in it; who is in the wonderful force and life that thrill through all. Have we denied the authority of old scriptures and traditions?—then let us be so eager and docile to learn the truth, that we shall attain it quite as surely as those who trust to supposed infallible guides. Have we denied that Christianity is incompatible with freedom?—then let us prove ourselves to be so free from prejudice outside of it, that we can do full justice to everything and everybody inside of it.

It requires far less courage and wisdom to achieve the superficial victories of war, than the more substantial ones of peace. Iconoclasm is a cheap and easy accomplishment, and many are they who are equal to it, and who take delight in it. Fewer those who can build a true shrine of the soul, who can erect a temple for real divinities, and establish a home for the fair humanities. But these shrines and temples and homes will be needed always; and blessed always shall be the memory of those who are equal to their construction!

A. W. S.

"BY THEIR FRUITS."

A correspondent of [THE INDEX, "L. M. T.," in the number for February 4th, makes some strictures on a discourse of mine, published January 21st, on "Worship in the Nineteenth Century." The main point of the criticism seems to be that the discourse lays too much stress on formal services as an expression of religious sentiment, and not enough on good and philanthropic works. The writer says: "Our virtue must be a virtue of good impulse, good thought, and good action," but thinks that the doctrine of the discourse "stops just short of this last."

This criticism struck me as so strange that it excited a smile at first; for the burden of my discourses to my congregation turns so constantly on this one thought,—the uselessness of all so-called services of worship, if they do not issue in practical virtue and philanthropy,—the superiority, in fact, of all good works to worshipful forms,—that it has been frequently said, and I have sometimes myself so thought, that, if my preaching were carried into practice, my church would be speedily emptied. It was, therefore, at first thought, somewhat refreshing to find myself charged with conservative teaching on this point! But, on second thought, I was led to inquire whether I might not have left the discourse somewhat defective on this question for the general reader, on account of my safely assuming that the audience for whom it was specially meant would well understand my meaning. I wish, therefore, to say, with all possible explicitness and earnestness, that I should affirm with "L. M. T." that "the feeling whose expression is limited to forms is false and worthless. To retain its force and integrity, every feeling must be expressed in earnest action toward some end." "We must do something for the betterment of humanity; not for amelioration merely, but for prevention of evils. Our impulses die for want of propagation in acts."

All this I thought, to be sure, was said in the discourse. In all that I said of morality, I certainly meant to speak not merely of a "negative" virtue, but of something very positive. Something very like the sentences above quoted was at least contained in the sentence which "L. M. T." quotes as the key of the whole question: "If religious emotion does not issue in good works, it proves itself of little worth;" and there were other kindred sentences. But if this thought was not expressed strongly enough, let me express it with all possible strength now. There is no other test to which I would bring religious feeling, or participation in formal religious services, than just this: What is the practical fruit in conduct? And I would uphold the Sunday service, not as it too generally is, but as it *might be*, solely for its help towards making individuals and society better. I regard it not as an end in itself, but only as a means towards this high end of human amelioration and progress.

Now there may be an honest difference of opinion as to whether the Sunday service, even in any form, can be made conducive to this result; though I think some of "L. M. T.'s" arguments are addressed rather against the service as it usually is than against what it might be. That Garrison and Sumner did not find the inspiration for their work in the churches may be readily admitted. Of the latter I have heard an anecdote which I do not remember to have seen in print. The faithful colored attendant at his house in Washington, on being asked where Mr. Sumner went to church, replied: "Mr. Sumner has too much to do, and doesn't fool away his time in going to church." But the Sumners and Garrisons are rare. They themselves belong to the race of prophets, and their work is a part of the church of humanity, and ought to be, in its aims, a part of the organized church. Suppose there were such men in the pulpits and on the Sunday platforms of America; would not the Sunday service become an effective power in shaping public opinion to the noblest practical ends? There were a few such men in American pulpits during the anti-slavery struggle, and more after the war broke out,—men who stood up bravely and persistently to apply to all national questions the principles of truth and justice; and their influence shows what possibilities for good lie in the customary assembling of people on one leisure day of the week to consider matters pertaining to their highest welfare.

The prevailing tone of the Sunday service may indeed be criticised; the subjects introduced are for the most part too antiquated and too theological; and there are doubtless many persons who would find little help from such a service in any event; yet for large multitudes of people it has capacities in the way

of mental and moral and philanthropic culture which do not seem to me to be yet exhausted. Nor are these multitudes, according to my observation, made up so exclusively of the two extremes of society—"the rich and the fashionable" and "the ignorant and superstitious"—as "L. M. T." appears to think. The "steady and reliable" middle class is well represented among them.

Doubtless temperament has very much to do with this matter of church-going and with the benefit to be derived from it. What one may find spiritually elevating and provocative of moral and humane effort may have no effect upon another. To one the discourse may be the main thing. Another may be most stirred by the music. Still another may find religious feeling most vitalized by silent meditation, or by communion with Nature or with a book, or in some active philanthropic work. To "aver that no true and virile religious feeling is born of pictures and music" seems to me a very sweeping statement which loses sight of this constitutional difference in human nature. Mr. Sumner may have found little inspiration in an ordinary religious service, but he does seem to have found some in pictures. And I have known persons who were moved to heroic moral effort by strains of music. With my Quaker temperament and training, I may hardly understand how it can be so, more than does "L. M. T."; yet I am constrained to admit the fact.

But it was not so much to reply to "L. M. T.'s" excellent letter that I began to write, as to accept its main thought, that religious feeling must *express itself in action*,—that it must prove its worth by appearing in pure character and good deed. If the Sunday service does not help to this, I have no word to say in its defence. I would bring church-goers and non-church-goers alike to the test, "By their fruits ye shall know them." There are noble workers for humanity in both classes. But I am not sure that, as a class, the non-church-goers, though criticising the church-goers for their inactivity in humane works, have a much better record to show for themselves—the anti-slavery reform always excepted. I have sometimes been greatly disappointed to find a valiant critic of the church-goers' short-comings in this respect prove as inefficient in practical work as they. Most of the organized benevolence of my own city is carried on by those who are attendants of some kind of church. "By their fruits" is a test, therefore, to be applied to all.

W. J. P.

FREE-THOUGHT NOTES.

BY A VETERAN ENGLISH FREE-THINKER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—The case which Mr. Joseph Treat puts before THE INDEX is one of interest, and warrants some report of the state of the law of evidence in this country. Progress is very slow in this old territory, but in some respects we are in advance of America. If Mr. Treat were in this country, he could give evidence irrespective of any speculative opinion he may entertain as to the origin of the universe. We have lately had two cases which have brought this out very plainly before the public. One is that of Mr. Jacob Waring, a manufacturer of Burnley, in Lancashire. He was called upon to serve upon a jury. When he requested to make affirmation, he was refused by the coroner. As Mr. Waring is a person of good repute and intelligence, no doubt was entertained as to the integrity of his verdict. The coroner was simply ignorant of the existence of the law, and he even denied it when brought to his notice. In London, since I last wrote, a person appeared before Mr. Woolrych, one of our stipendiary magistrates, who are supposed to be well informed, to give evidence, which Mr. Woolrych refused on the ground that the witness confessed to having no religious belief; meaning the kind of belief usually exacted by the court. When told that an Act of Parliament enabled him, notwithstanding, to give evidence, Mr. Woolrych denied that it was so; and, when the Acts were subsequently taken to him, he refused to recognize them, on the ground that there was a higher authority than the law which required a religious belief, or words to that effect. We need in England a society to present magistrates and law officers with copies of new Acts of Parliament, for their ignorance of them is often conspicuous and discreditable.

Mr. Woolrych's conduct has been resented, and a *mandamus* has been applied for, and granted by the Lord Chief Justice, to show cause for declining to recognize the validity of the man in question, and to take the evidence he rejected. Until 1869, we had made no further progress in the admission of evidence than that of allowing persons who were believers in the New Testament injunction of Christ to "swear not at all," to make affirmation. But a

person objecting to an oath, on whatever ground of conscience other than that, was not allowed to take it.

For more than thirty years I used unceasing exertions with successive Parliaments to get a bill brought in and passed, which should enable heretics to make affirmation upon their honor, and quite irrespective of their opinions. By the courage of Sir John Trelawny a bill for this purpose was brought before the English Parliament, and was several times rejected. The long history of the adventures of this bill would be curious reading, if the story was told. The delay in procuring the Act was promoted by persons of known disbelief appearing before courts and taking the oath.

Sir George Cornewall Lewis said, when appealed to to support an alteration of the law, that it was an argument against the bill, since, unbelievers being found to take the oath, it was a proof of no grievance. I was not among these persons, as I never took an oath in my life. In no question of property or peril did I consent to do so. When one of my sons was killed, I was prevented giving evidence in the coroner's court against the man who did it.

What was wanted was to get a case in which the public were interested about the evidence, and in which public justice would be scandalized by its failure through the requirement of the oath. A case of this sort at length occurred when a man named Dedanias murdered two poor girls on the sands of Dover. A Mr. Girling, who found the bodies, came to me for advice, as he was an atheist in the Orthodox sense of the term, as to what he should do. My answer was, "State to the court what your opinions are, and that you are willing to give evidence, and will take the oath, as a legal ceremony committing you to the penalty for perjury in case of tendering false evidence, providing the court will administer the oath to you, knowing it not to be binding otherwise on your conscience." "If the court refuse," answered Mr. Girling, "this murderer may get off." My reply was, "It is your duty to take care of your conscience, and the duty of the court to take care of justice." His evidence was refused, and the clerk of the court declined to pay the witness his expenses; but Judge Kenyon, who tried the case, ordered Mr. Girling's expenses to be paid, recognizing that he had acted as an honest man, and the fault lay in the law. The Hon. Mr. Denman, now himself a judge, stated afterwards in the House of Commons, of which he was then a member, that the evidence of an atheist ought to be made legal; for, could they not have found other evidence than Mr. Girling's, the villainous murderer of these poor girls might have escaped justice. Mr. Denman was counsel for the crown against the murderer.

At length it came to pass that, in 1869, a clause was inserted in a bill for the "Amendment of Evidence," to the effect that any person should be enabled to give testimony upon simple affirmation, providing the court had reason to believe he is not a person to whom an oath could be properly administered. Of course the affirmation rendered him liable to the punishment of perjury as though he had taken an oath. The first time the Act was used was in an arbitration case, when an objection was raised that the room in which the arbitration was held was not a court of justice, and the Act stated that an affirmation might be administered in any court of justice. It turned out that there was no general legal definition of a legal court of justice; and in 1870 a further Act was passed, called "the Evidence Amendment Act Amended," which defined a court of justice to be any court in which an oath may be administered, and the presiding judge to be any judge empowered to administer the same.

These are the two Acts the existence of which was denied by the coroner of Burnley and Mr. Woolrych of London. The effect of this enfranchisement of the evidence of heretics is very singular. If a witness appears to give evidence, the court, on learning that he is not a Christian, admits him to make an affirmation, and, not being a Christian, he can be believed upon his word; but if the court has reason to suspect that the witness is a believer of any kind, and holds in any form the Christian belief, he cannot be believed upon his word, but is compelled to take an oath, before the court can regard him as credible. So that in this country it is Christians who labor under disabilities, and I suppose we ought to bring in a bill to relieve them! The only way in which Christians can be raised to an equality with heretics is by the abolition of oaths altogether, and the substitution in their place of a universal law of simple affirmation. The late Lord Lyndhurst, the greatest conservative judge we have had in modern times, was strongly in favor of this, and the most reasonable Christians are beginning to see it would be far more respectful to Christianity, and diminish the profaneness of taking the name of God, as is every day done when false evidence is tendered, to abolish oath-taking entirely, and make evidence, as marriage has been made in this country, a civil instead of a religious ceremony. It was a great scandal to philosophy that men like John Stuart Mill, Francis William Newman, or Professor Huxley, or Professor Tyndall, might be turned out of court with contumely, if they were called upon to give evidence, and answered questions as to the nature of their religious belief. This is all over now, and English law courts are no longer courts of theological inquisition.

For myself I have no prejudice against the oath because it is a religious ceremony, but because, when taken by a person not holding the faith in which the oath was administered by the court, it amounted to a reservation of opinion justly deemed dishonorable. When Jews, Catholics, Quakers, and very humble Christians, constantly incurred peril and loss by refusing to pretend to opinions they did not hold, it seemed to me unfortunate that free-thinkers should appear to the public less scrupulous. Bentham had pointed

out that, if an atheist happened to be the indispensable witness of a murder, and confessed his atheism, his evidence would be refused, and he would possess the prerogative of a king, that of pardoning the murderer. Had disbelievers as a rule refused to take the oath, then the course of justice would have been arrested so frequently that their evidence must have been legalized long ago.

You will have heard, no doubt with regret, that the famous clerical visitor you had from this country, Canon Kingsley, is dead. It was only a short time ago that I went down to hear him preach in Westminster Abbey. His voice was far-reaching over all the mighty crowd gathered to hear him. He appeared then to be quite recovered from the illness he contracted on the Rocky Mountains. There is reason to think that he made too free with the east wind, whose praises he was first to sing in a noble song. But the east wind was a dangerous acquaintance for a man whose brain was so active, and whose pen was so continually in his hand, as was the case with the energetic Canon. In the last letter I received from him he said, with his usual friendliness, that, when he came into residency at the Canonry in Westminster, he hoped to see me down there. When I last met him, it was at the Social Science Congress at Bristol, when he came up to me in his frank way, saying, "It's a great many years since you and I attempted to reform the world together"; in which he had a right to think on his part that progress had been made, and that he had helped it. Many years ago, when I was editing the *Reasoner* and he was editing the *Christian Socialist*, he answered an article of mine in that paper. If I remember rightly, it related to the familiarity of terms in which he spoke of the ways of God, which I thought implied a knowledge beyond any human attainment of his, as well as want of reverence. On these and other points he had some vigorous words to say; but though I was not insensible of the pleasure and distinction of maintaining a controversy with such a combatant, I refused to do so, on the ground that there were priests enough in the world who did, so far as I could see, no good whatever to humanity, with whom I could discuss questions of theology, and I therefore would not appear as the antagonist of one whom, however I might differ from him in matters of religious conviction, vindicated so eloquently the social rights of workmen, and labored so manfully to promote their coöperative interests. Kingsley had the manners of a priest, and assumed a certain right to speak with authority to the people; but it was blended with so much heartiness and liberality of judgment towards those who took a different view from himself, that it was impossible not to respect him. Kingsley was not liberal in religion, but he had great tolerance; he made few concessions, but his heart was so much larger than his faith that his robust humanity was that which made the greatest impression upon the world.

As yet I am in the wood where the shades are thick; therefore my letter is briefer than I would otherwise make it. The Italians have a proverb that "he who goes slowly goes far." On this principle, I ought to go very far, for I go very slowly.

Yours, nevertheless, with celerity and regard,
GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

NOTES FROM WEST WISCONSIN.

"Anything for a sensation"—is the motto of the *Chicago Times*. In imitation of the New York *Herald's* menagerie-hoax scare, that paper has been perpetrating a joke on its readers for which some of them are just now highly indignant. "Burning of a Theatre last Night! Hundreds Perish in the Flames!" and similar sensational head-lines, with a long account of the appalling disaster, full details of the harrowing incidents, and names of dead and missing, was the news that lately startled the readers of the *Chicago Times*. It is true that, in smaller head-lines at the bottom, just where they would not be noticed, was this modest statement: "Description of a supposititious holocaust likely to occur any night." Even had the rural reader read it, he would perhaps have wondered a moment at what sort of thing a "supposititious holocaust" might be, and then hastened on to get the particulars of the "superstitious holocaust," as one called it. It was true the name of the theatre was not given in the head-lines, but of course it would soon appear; and eager, sorrowing readers by thousands, on Saturday night, waded through seven painful columns of minute descriptions of the origin, progress, and fatal result of the dreadful conflagration—to learn at last that they had been cruelly sold. One of the preachers of this place seized the providential occasion to draw a valuable lesson of God's judgment upon theatre-goers. As it turns out that God did not burn the theatre, nor trample to death hundreds of people by a rushing crowd, but warmed the place comfortably, and took the people home safely in hacks and horse-cars, of course it must follow, if logic is logic, that theatres are houses of God, under his special protection.

Of course the *Times* will take high moral grounds and justify its joke, as the Christian does his cry of hell-fire, on the ground that it is the only means it can employ to arouse the apathetic public to a realizing sense of their imminent danger. It is claimed that the means of exit in case of fire in the theatres is inadequate. The *Times* professes to base its judgment upon a report made by an examining architect. How much truth there is in this statement, we have

no means of knowing. Perhaps it is an appendix to the original joke.

The whole thing furnishes another occasion for comments on the ethics of the press. Before this reaches you, no doubt you will hear the judgment of the press on this reckless trifling with the honest faith of people who buy papers for the news they contain, and find themselves the victims of misplaced confidence. Some people who paid for facts and found themselves cheated by fiction will perhaps indignantly "shut down" on the *Times*; while others will laugh heartily over the joke, and take more stock in the paper that plays it. As to the grave moral, no one imagines that the door-ways of theatres will be widened an inch, or extra stair-ways be run through the buildings, to facilitate egress. It is a sensation; and sensations pay. If it runs up the subscription list, it will be repeated. If not, the zeal for reform will set fire to no more theatres.

Association of contrary ideas leads from fire to frost. On the temperature of our place, our papers are indulging in what Sydney Smith would call "brilliant flashes of silence." When the mercury sinks into the bulb, cold and stiff, it is regarded high treason to mention it in the papers. If any evil-minded person should say that through January the average temperature here was eleven degrees below zero, mornings, or that the mercury was frozen on three successive mornings in February, or that on February 7 the spirit sank to fifty-two degrees below zero, every loyal son would stoutly deny the slanderous report; for we are bound to admit nothing of this watering place that may prejudice our interests and reputation with pleasure-seekers. But it may be permitted to us to confess that no more invigorating atmosphere can be found than the clear, sharp air that we enjoy. It sends the blood tingling through torpid livers, and makes one to rejoice like "a bridegroom coming out of his chamber." It is the best of tonics, and sure cure of "blues." This is true. Whether the intense cold weather has chilled the zeal of revivalists, or operated on their livers, and banished thoughts of death and fears of the judgment after death, is a question; but the fact is, the excitement has of late subsided. Business is brightening again.

How hard it is for brethren to dwell together in unity! Those who think that the Radicals constitute the only house divided against itself, and who advocate creeds as harmonizers of opinion, would do well to look at the recent Episcopal contest over the election of a bishop of Illinois. Dr. Seymour, of New York, was first elected, but afterwards rejected by the house of deputies. The second choice has fallen on Dr. DeKoven, Rector of Racine College, the candidate of the High Church party. He is called by his friends "the St. Paul of the American church," and is unquestionably a man of piety, purity, executive ability, and theological attainments; but the Low Church party have resolved that no High Churchman shall sit in the chair of honor. They declare that he is an extreme Ritualist, holds unsound views of the Eucharist, and encourages Roman confessionals; and as to submitting to such a pope in the free State of Illinois, they will never do it. So they are circulating among the parishes a "memorial" protesting against the elevation of this second bishop-elect to the episcopate. Let brethren dwell together in unity! Here, in a State of three million inhabitants, the Episcopal Church can count only eight thousand communicants; and yet this little family are at war on some points of doctrine and ceremony which two million nine hundred and ninety-two thousand people regard as about as important as the question, "Who killed Cock Robin?"

The champions of the Doctor assert that he is a High Churchman, but that he is not a Ritualist. Says one: "The vast majority of those who rallied to the support of DeKoven are ready at this time to rise up and defend this church from any inroads of that excessive ceremonial, that romancing cultus, which we call, by misnomer, Ritualism." In refutation of the charge of his being a Ritualist, Dr. DeKoven says himself: "Ritual! I wish the whole world knew how little the Ritual question troubled me, and how little I cared about the particular ritual of any parish, as long as it strove to celebrate the Lord's Supper with pious gravity and holy edification."

In defining his position on what they call the "awful mystery" of the Eucharist, the Doctor says: "Because I said I believe in the presence in the elements, people have held that I must believe in a local, physical, carnal presence in the elements. Let me say that it is impossible for me to say in what sense I hold to a presence in the elements. Where Christ has not defined, I do not define; where the Church has not defined, I do not define. I merely say negatively, as the Church has said, that it is not by transubstantiation; that it is not by identity of substance; and, if you ask me how it is, I answer, I know of but one word to express it, and that word expresses it without defining it, and that word is the consecrated word 'sacramental.' I hold Christ is in sacramental union with the consecrated elements, and that presence is called real, to show it is not a mere figurative presence, and the presence is called spiritual, when it is not a physical, carnal, or corporeal presence. Christ has ascended into heaven, and is sitting on the right hand of the throne of God; and I also hold that he is present in the elements by this way of sacramental union; and how both are true I cannot tell. I hold that Christ is in heaven locally. I hold that he is in the elements spiritually." To us who regard sacramental bread as no more "spiritual" than steam baker's bread, which a schoolboy carries in his dinner-basket, all this metaphysical distinction is metaphysical folly; but why a Low Churchman should object to the above view, so clearly and candidly expressed, is difficult to see. The Doctor's defenders deny the charge that he believes in "Eucharistic adoration," and also that he teaches any-

thing like Roman Catholic confession and forgiveness of sins. In fact, they make him out a moderate churchman, high enough for the highest and low enough for the lowest. And all this discussion, or nearly all, is as to what part of the Jewish peasant, Jesus of Nazareth, who died eighteen centuries ago, and whose ashes are scattered to the four winds of heaven,—what part of this man is in the bread and wine of the sacrament. What a pity men cannot eat their bread in peace, when they are hungry, and let Christ's poor dead body alone! But we are making some progress. In the darker ages, men never doubted for a moment that in the Eucharist the bread was changed into the body of Christ. The only question which troubled them was how it could at the same time preserve its color and shape. Once a serious dispute arose as to what might become of Christ's body, in case the bread happened to be burned, or eaten by a mouse. We have drifted into common sense so far that we begin to doubt the "Real Presence." Another century of drifting will make us doubt whether Christ's "spirit" is in any way mixed up with the dough that makes sacramental bread. Meantime, for the peace of the Episcopal brethren in Illinois, may they bear in mind the wise saying of Henry Grattan, that "it is the error of sects to value themselves more upon their differences than upon their religion." Yours truly,

SPARTA, Wis., Feb. 16, 1875.

W. H. S.

Communications.

TEXT-BOOK THEOLOGY.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I desire to send you some extracts from a book called Hitchcock's *Anatomy and Physiology*. It is a book somewhat extensively used in public schools, and is the regular text-book in at least one of the wards of Boston. In it there is a section thus headed: "Anatomy and Physiology furnish presumptive evidence that the world is in a fallen condition." The writer goes on to say:—

"There are evils connected with our physical condition such as we cannot suppose would exist in a paradisiacal state, and the inference is that these evils are best accounted for by the supposition that the world is adapted rather for a fallen than for a holy being. . . . Exasperated and maddened nerves produce the very climax of human anguish. But some other object besides awakening a salutary caution against evil must be in view by such suffering. Now we know that, as a matter of discipline for a depraved and sinful being, it is eminently salutary. It affords, therefore, a presumptive proof that such is man's character. Man's exposure to accidents and diseases which no human foresight can avoid leads to the same conclusion. . . . Why should he be so exposed under the government of a Being of Infinite Benevolence if there were not something in his character which demanded this severity of discipline? What can that be but an alienated, rebellious heart, which no milder means will subdue? . . . We cannot conceive the incidental evils in the world to be necessary in a world of perfect purity and happiness. But they are wisely adapted to a fallen being, and therefore the presumption is that man is in such a fallen state. The existence and universality of death lead to the same conclusion. It may indeed be made probable that, in such a state of things as the present, death is a blessing even to the inferior creatures. But it would not be so in an unfallen paradisiacal state. It is, however, a fit and probably an inevitable concomitant and consequence of sin. Where it is universal, therefore, the presumption is that it is a fallen state. . . . It is said that these arguments would prove the inferior animals, even those that lived long before man, to be in a fallen condition, since they both suffer and die. But the lower animals, not having a moral nature, cannot sin; but they may suffer in consequence of their connection with sinful man. The world, from the beginning, was adapted to him as a fallen being, and of course all other animals must be subject, like him, to suffering and death. This sympathy of all Nature with man's fallen condition is clearly taught in Revelation."

This section is near the end of the book, which was evidently written with such an end in view; and I wish to protest against giving to boys and girls, as the result of anatomical science, such musty relics of an obsolete theology. That such a text-book should be tolerated in the city of Boston, and in this year 1875, seems incredible; but such is the fact. Even an express disclaimer on the part of the teacher that such talk has anything to do with anatomy or physiology could not neutralize the evil effects of a book written in accordance with the ideas of past centuries. There is no reason to fear that students of anatomy who are old enough to apprehend the significance of what they read and see will derive any feelings but those of reverence and love for Him by whom their bodies have been so fearfully and wonderfully framed. But the fruit of the study of books like the one in question will as certainly be irreverence and contempt as wheat grows from wheat, fig from fig, and thistle from thistle. For instruction in what is true and rational a man or woman in after-life feels ever-increasing gratitude; but let us beware lest the next generation pronounce us to have been cumberers of the ground, and point at our work the finger of scorn.

Truly yours,
JAMAICA PLAIN, Feb. 22, 1875.

CHARLES W. STONE.

LABOR: THE EMPLOYER'S SIDE OF THE QUESTION.

BALTIMORE, Feb. 11, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I read with interest the article last week on labor by "A. W. S." I beg to present to you a few points. Labor, I believe, must be governed by the supply and the demand. When the various productive interests of the country are not active, labor is not in demand. At this time, as a rule, there is no margin for manufacturers, nor for railroads, even; therefore there are no improvements in that direction, and many are simply keeping their factories or mills running on part time to keep their hands together, wishing that a more prosperous time may soon arrive. This whole matter is governed mainly by the law of trade. When the profit is very large to manufacturers, they improve, build, etc. Largely then comes the over-production of goods, and frequently the loss will be equally as great as their profits have been, and this loss is frequently sustained by trying to keep all of the machinery moving—in part upon the principle that it is "better to wear out than to rust out." As you know, with individuals, using the facilities assists to preserve them. As to the question, again, which party has been the most arbitrary, please remember that the Trades Union dictated a few years ago to their employers that a limited number of apprentices only should be employed; and that wages were very remunerative, while business was good. I assure you, I feel great sympathy for the workingman, but I think there are two sides. At this moment manufacturers cannot help themselves, cannot sustain their mills or factories without a reduction in the wages. It is many times a question of life with them, and in trying to save themselves they save their laborers. The writer could name a party who advanced the wages of his employees without any solicitation on their part a few years ago, an increase which amounted to several thousand dollars per year; but now he hesitates very much about asking the reduction which seems inevitable. We never before experienced a panic after a long war. We shall all be wiser when we see the end. M.

DEATH OF AN "HONEST INFIDEL."

OSARK, Mo., Feb. 13, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

There has just occurred in this vicinity a very novel event—the death of an "infidel." H. W. Myers, an old gentleman who came from Michigan here a few years ago, and whose religious views were to this community shockingly sceptical, died in this county a short time since. As his death had been expected for several weeks during his painful illness, and as "infidels always renounce their dangerous views on their death-beds," the whole community was interested in his approaching end. But he did not retract his strange views, whatever they may have been, but died without manifesting any of the unbeliever's terrors. I was not personally acquainted with him, and do not know to what type of sceptics he belonged. He was an enigma in his religious belief to the Christian people here, and it is impossible to learn from them his real views, for they do not discriminate between the most mild and the most radical shades of scepticism. But they can discern and classify traits of character more accurately than philosophical beliefs, and all of those with whom I have talked on the subject agree in saying that he was a man of invincible integrity. A good citizen who knew him intimately told me that Mr. Myers was the most scrupulously honest man in his dealings he had ever met; and a worthy Christian lady told me that she would trust him in all relations involving moral integrity with more confidence than she would have in her Christian brethren.

He was a member of the orders of Patrons of Husbandry and Odd Fellows, and was buried by these orders with their respective honors. This is exciting considerable censure from the Christians outside these societies against their brethren and sisters who participated in the funeral. The former are urging their Christian friends to "let the dead bury their dead."

Yours truly,
H. CLAY NEVILLE.

"SACRED SONGS FOR CHILDREN."

HAVERHILL, Mass., Feb. 26, 1875.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In your paper of February 18 I read a communication from "W. K. R.," of St. Paul, Minn., relating to "Sacred Songs for Children." Will you please, through THE INDEX, call his attention to a book entitled *The Morning Stars*? The authors are J. Vila Blake and lady. It is published by O. Ditson & Co., Boston, and C. H. Ditson & Co., New York. It is certainly free from "any taint of darkening creed or dogma." M. A. L.

WE ARE SORRY to learn that a German chemist has succeeded in making a first-rate brandy out of sawdust. We are a friend of the temperance movement, and we want it to succeed; but what chance will it have when a man can take a rip-saw and go out and get drunk with a fence-rail? What is the use of a prohibitory liquor law if a man is able to make brandy smashes out of the shingles on his roof, or if he can get delirium tremens by drinking the legs of his kitchen chairs? You may shut an inebriate out of a gin-shop, and keep him away from taverns, but if he can become uproarious on boiled sawdust and desiccated window-sills, any effort at reform must necessarily be a failure. It will be wise, therefore, if temperance societies will butcher the German chemist before he goes any further.—*Dunn County (Tenn.) News.*

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

ABRAM WALTER STEVENS.

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

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To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

In addition to its general objects, the practical object to which THE INDEX is specially devoted is the ORGANIZATION OF THE LIBERALS OF THE COUNTRY, for the purpose of securing the more complete and consistent secularization of the political and educational institutions of the United States. The Church must give place to the Republic in the affections of the people. The last vestiges of ecclesiastical control must be wiped out of the Constitutions and Statutes of the several States in order to bring them into harmony with the National Constitution. To accomplish this object, the Liberals must make a united demand, and present an unbroken front, and the chief practical aim of THE INDEX will be henceforth to organize a great NATIONAL PARTY OF FREEDOM. Let every one who believes in this movement give it direct aid by helping to increase the circulation of THE INDEX.

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Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. ABBOT, D. A. WASSON, T. W. HIGGINSON, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

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Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. WASSON on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. CHENEY on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. ABBOT on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. HIGGINSON on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. CHANNING on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. POTTER on "Religion Old and New in India;" also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. VICKERS, S. R. CATHROP, Rabbi Wise, and others.

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VOLUME 6.

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WHOLE No. 272.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

ABOUT \$100,000,000 of property belonging to church corporations and clergymen are exempted from taxation in the State of New York.

THE gross receipts of the "Dumb Animals Fair" in this city were over \$25,000, of which \$22,000 or \$23,000 are net. Everybody is pleased at this happy result.

A JOINT COMMITTEE of the Rhode Island Legislature is considering church exemption from taxation. Three hearings have been given, and a report favorable to the reform is expected.

IT IS REPORTED that Mr. Frothingham has been invited to preach in one of the liberal Jewish Synagogues of New York city. This is a new and pleasing indication of the decay of sectarian barriers.

A CADET in the Naval Academy at Annapolis has submitted to expulsion rather than fence with another cadet who has a dark skin. The silly fellow certainly cannot be accused of being "on the fence."

REV. MONCURE D. CONWAY is expected to revisit this country next autumn, to lecture on "London," "The Devil," and "Oriental Religion." The numerous admirers of this brilliant writer and preacher will give him a warm welcome.

THE DEATH of Sir Charles Lyell, on Washington's birthday, has called forth universally testimonials of profound respect for his moral worth as a man and his eminent scientific services as a geologist. He has been buried in Westminster Abbey, the highest honor that can be paid to a deceased Englishman.

THE young ass on which Jesus entered Jerusalem (according to a legend related by *Scribner's Monthly*), after various travels, crossed the Mediterranean dry-shod, took up his abode in Verona, died at a good old age, and was carried in annual procession at the "Festival of the Asses," which has now become a mere name. The Genoese secured his sacred tail, and kept it as a relic in the church of St. Dominic. And so this eminent donkey was "gathered to his fathers."

THE *Popular Science Monthly* for March contains a notice and a fine portrait of Dr. Henry Maudsley, whose *Physiology and Pathology of the Mind* is so widely and favorably known. Herbert Spencer has a paper on "The Genesis of Superstition," Professor Tyndall another on "The Atmosphere in Relation to Fog-Signalling," and Professor Huxley another on "Darwin and Haeckel." It is a remarkable fact that three such men should contribute to the same number of an American periodical.

MR. DEXTER A. HAWKINS, who lectured last Sunday before the Free Religious Association on "Our 'Sick Man,' and How to Cure Him: or the Educational Problem in the Cotton States," has very kindly given the use of his manuscript to THE INDEX, which will publish it in full next week. The lecture is a most valuable and instructive study of a question of surpassing public interest, and will undoubtedly command widespread attention by its wealth of statistical information and its sound practical wisdom.

THE Second Report of the Directors of the Newton Home for Orphan and Destitute Girls shows that this noble charity is gaining ground. Its receipts for the past year were \$5,202.45, and its expenditures \$4,278.50, leaving a balance of \$923.95. Mrs. Pomroy's report as Superintendent is quite touching. She says one little boy had a "Pin Fair" for the Home, and forwarded three thousand pins as the proceeds! The Directors are Mrs. Daniel L. Furber, Miss Mary C. Shannon, and Mr. Nathaniel T. Allen, the latter two being good friends of THE INDEX, and doing their best to show that free religion means good-will to man, and poor orphan girls, too.

HON. ELIZUR WRIGHT, of this city, is endeavoring to secure the establishment of the "American Family Bank," which is intended to combine the features of a savings bank and an insurance company. This is a most excellent plan, and ought to receive the heartiest support of all real philanthropists. It is well known that the ordinary rates of life insurance are far higher than they need be; and it will be a service of incalculable value to the poor to enable them to insure their lives at the same time that they lay up their little earnings. Mr. Wright is a great authority on all insurance matters, as well as a most true and staunch friend of humanity; and THE INDEX has cause to know by experience how quick and warm his sympathies are towards every effort to hasten the "good time coming."

THE LONDON *National Reformer* of February 14 quotes the following paragraph from the *Coöperative News* concerning the sickness of Mr. G. J. Holyoake: "Mr. Holyoake's illness extended over a far longer period than was at first anticipated. After apparent recovery from the first attack, the loss of the power of seeing followed, and it is two months since he was able to read his letters or write. He trusts that many correspondents whose communications he has been obliged to lay aside will ascribe his seeming neglect to his disability. His publication of his history of coöperation in England has been less delayed than was expected under these circumstances. It is proceeding through the press, the proofs being read to Mr. Holyoake, and the revision found necessary being dictated by him. The work is in the hands of the Coöperative printers, whose progress would have been greater had not the manager himself unfortunately fallen ill; but he, we are glad to say, has now recovered." Mr. Holyoake's articles in THE INDEX have won him many new friends, who will join with us in hoping for his speedy recovery.

THE North Carolina House of Representatives, as we stated last week with imperfect knowledge of the facts, expelled from his seat in that body Mr. J. W. Thorne, member from Warren County, on February 25. Mr. Thorne is a Pennsylvania Quaker, about sixty-five years of age; and he was expelled by a resolution offered by Mr. Hanson Hughes, colored representative from Granville. This resolution, adopted by a vote of 46 to 31, was as follows:—

"WHEREAS, J. W. Thorne, the member from Warren County, has advocated and promulgated a most blasphemous doctrine, subversive of the principles of the Constitution of North Carolina and of sound morality; therefore,

"Resolved, That the said J. W. Thorne be, and he is hereby, expelled from a seat on this floor."

The New York *Graphic* of March 4 makes these pertinent remarks on this outrageous action: "The survival of the belief in Mumbo-Jumbo among many of the North Carolina legislators is quite marked, since the man with whom they refuse to associate because of his belief was no Atheist but a Quaker, who expressly told them that he believed in 'one living and true God; everlasting, without body, or parts, or passions; the maker of all things visible and invisible.' As this confession of faith was unsatisfactory, it is evident that the God believed in by the North Carolina legislators is some other sort of being—some fetish whose attributes their African ancestors never formulated with much care or in very attractive words. If the example thus set should be followed in more civilized portions of the Union, legislatures could not convene, as it would be almost impossible to find in an enlightened community men who, believing in God, could state their faith in terms very different from those used by Mr. Thorne. It is a pity that any legislature could be brought to stultify itself by such action as this, which ejects from his seat a good, competent, and conscientious man not politically disqualified to hold it."

LIST OF LIBERAL LEAGUES.

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[For THE INDEX.]

Morality.

AN ESSAY READ BEFORE THE "MORAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION," BOSTON, JAN. 8, 1875.

BY A. W. STEVENS.

Amidst all our talk about morality, and of educating people to be moral, it would be well if we could get some clear and well-defined judgment as to what morality really is.

There are at least two kinds of morality,—essential and conventional; or, personal and social. That is essentially moral to me, which I can allow to myself; which my own moral sense permits and sanctions. That is conventionally moral to me, which society permits me to do, and covers me with its protection in doing. This brief preliminary statement, perhaps, may open up to us a clearer perception of, and flash a flood of light upon, the whole subject which we have to consider.

Some of the old foundations of morality are already crumbling to decay, and some of those more modern are likely to follow in the same way. In the first place, we have the theological basis of morality, which long held sway in the past, but which cannot survive the rise and growth of rationalism. "The chief duty of man," says the old theology, "is to glorify God, and keep his commandments." But what if there be no God? His existence, as formerly held to, is now quite an open question among all who think undogmatically. All the methods of finding out and believing in God have undergone great and radical change since science has been able to get a firm foothold in the world. The Deity which the most enlightened people now believe in is of a very different kind from that which the theologians pointed out. He is a God who may be said to be concerned in minding the great affairs of the universe, without self-reference. All the glorifying which he commands or desires us to do is a glorifying of ourselves, not of him. He is a Deity whose only interest in us is to give us, in the long run, the best possible chance to grow and to perfect our human nature. The highest duty which he makes us conscious of is the duty we owe to ourselves,—the duty to take our nature just as he gives it to us, and to make the most of it in every way. The only divine laws which exist are as natural as they are divine, and no more binding upon man than upon God himself. We can break one of them as easily as he can; and yet neither he nor we can so much as obstruct or impair one of them for a single instant. They are laws which knit the universe in the first instance, and now hold it together as a firm and enduring fabric; they are laws which thread the being of God and every soul of man together, and make divinity and humanity out of the same pattern, and show them to be of one substance.

Theology, then, is no true basis of morality. The God which the theologians discovered is a myth. There is no such God; he has faded out in the light of science and common sense, as the ghostly visions of a distempered night vanish in the dawning of a sane and wholesome day. No more do we hear his voice calling upon us to obey him and keep his commandments; but we take the law of duty from our own conscience and moral sense. No more do we heed his jealous exaction to consider his glory the chief end of our mission to perpetuate and enhance; but with newly-awakened and hourly-increasing self-respect we give ourselves to the work of improving and developing our own humanity, keeping our eyes on no higher end than the perfectibility of our human lives. The only God left to us is one whose greatness we can neither make nor mar, whose grandeur we can neither diminish nor augment. He is so

allied to us by nature, that his being is glorified by us only as we glorify ourselves. In just that degree to which we round out and perfect our own souls, we evolve his fairest image from our likeness; we enthroned him in our thought as the supreme ideal of our own potential attainment. The duty, therefore, which we have been said to owe to God is superseded by that which we find we owe to ourselves; and, so far, we are driven to seek some other basis for morality than that which theology can offer.

But now steps in the State, and demands our allegiance. The king comes in the place of God, and says to us, "Obey me; subject yourselves to my will; conform your lives to my law,—and you shall be accounted moral." Historically and logically, the divine right of the king to govern us is next in order to the divine right of God to command us. "The king can do no wrong," it is said; therefore those who obey him must be in the right. The king is the State; and the State, it is claimed, is the collected and embodied wisdom of the wisest. Hence from them the many should receive the law, and take the maxims of government. The unauthorized and unanointed individual, it was thought, could not know or determine his rights and duties; only those who had, or claimed to have, the appointment and sanction of Heaven could properly expound and prescribe to him what was moral.

This divine right of the king to regulate the conduct of men, and give the ethical standard, the New World at least has quite departed from. In this country, the king became a myth even before the theological Deity did. His existence was denied; and his heavenly appointment to interfere with the consciences of men was treated with derision. The idea of kingship as the foundation of government and morals was declared to be obsolete, and the whole matter of making right rules of conduct was referred to the people, where it was said properly to belong.

And yet, though the king was dethroned, the principle of authority was not. Moral allegiance to the crowned head of one man passed to the crowned heads of the majority. The king was denied to be the State, but the State was declared to be king. Men's consciences were emancipated from the mere *ipse dixit* of royalty, but they were still tightly held in the hands of the popular legislature. The statute book upheld the Ten Commandments, and gave them efficient force over the conduct of men. Indeed, the statute book was, to all intents and purposes, the moral code for the people. Did any man wish to vote for another to be Governor,—then his name must be found on the roll of some church membership. Did any man himself aspire to be Governor; or did he wish only to testify in the courts,—then he must believe in God, and take the oath in the name of Deity. Did any father of a family wish to take his wife and children to a pleasure-ride on Sunday,—then he was subject to arrest, and to pay a fine and costs. Did any free-thinker dissent from all the creeds and teachings of all the churches, and prefer to do his worshipping in the green fields or groves, instead of any dedicated Meeting House,—still, all the same, must he contribute to the support of "gospel preaching," and pay a tax to maintain the religion of other men.

Much progress has been made from the point where our Puritan fathers tried to fix the standard of morality. We have improved upon them in many respects, and made their standard less rigid and demanding. Nevertheless, while there is far more freedom in general practice, in theory we still adhere to the same old principle of authority, especially in ethical matters. Still we make the basis of morality to be external: we seek for it in law rather than in conscience. Still we judge a man to be moral more by what he *does* than by what he *is*; more by his conformity to the requirements and usages of society, than by his religious devotion to the call of his own nature. Much emancipated as we are, in these latter days, from the old Puritan theology, we are greatly less emancipated from the Puritan notions of morality. Politically, we have risen very near to the idea that every man is his own king; he may vote for whom he pleases, against whom he pleases, or vote not at all. But we have not yet brought ourselves to own that that man is the most moral man who obeys the law of his own conscience, without regard to conventional custom or the letter of the penal code. Somehow, we seem still to think that institutions are more to be trusted than men; that the voice of the legislature is more sacred than the voice of the soul. We expect society to make the individual moral, by laws and by penalties, instead of putting our first faith in the moral nature of the individual himself, and its eternal tendency to develop into rectitude. We aim at producing social morality rather than personal; being satisfied to secure outward order and peace, without inquiring if the private conscience be interiorly enlightened and essentially improved.

Now, beyond all question, social morality is an object we have to aim at and provide for. As individuals, we are not only units but integers; we are parts of one great whole. A collection of individuals makes a society. Society implies social relations; and social relations imply social duties. Individually, we owe something to every other individual; and, more than that, we owe something to the whole community of individuals. If the individual is a unit, so is society a unit; and its unitary interests cannot be imperilled without imperilling the interests of each individual. The individual, therefore, must protect society. He must protect its right to exist, and to exist harmoniously and peacefully. He must protect it against himself, against his own selfishness; and when he wrongs it he must make amends to it: he must restore to it whatever he has wrongfully taken from it.

Just this, then, the individual owes to society: he

owes it respect. He is bound to guard its rights, for its rights are the collective rights of all. If he disturbs the real order and harmony of society, he disturbs himself. If he violates its true peace, he so far parts with his own peace. The individual is so related to the whole community, that he cannot wrong it without wronging himself. The commonweal includes his weal; his destiny is wrapped up in the destiny of all. Social morality, therefore, is something which the individual has to care for and cultivate. As a social being he cannot dispense with it; he can no more ignore his social duties than he can ignore his social relations. And his social relations he no more can ignore than himself; for the individual exists as a social being. Destroy society, and you destroy him.

But, if the individual is interested in promoting social morality, far more is society interested in promoting personal morality in him. Without personal morality there can be no such thing as social morality. The only basis of the latter is the former; and the only basis of personal morality is the person himself. In nothing external to him is that basis; but in his own soul, his own nature, his own being, forever is it to be found. Really, there is nothing so great as the individual. In naught else does Deity delight so much; for in personal man God recognizes himself, as in turn man recognizes his perfected self in God. For the individual society primarily exists; it is his home, his arena, his means of progress. At best, it can only be a shelter for him while yet he is defenceless; it can only cradle him in his infancy, and nurse him while he is young, and save him from that harm which indiscretion and premature exposure might bring on him, and then teach him to depend upon himself and refer to his own resources. Let not society be so vain as to think it is worthy to be the permanent master or keeper of the individual, or to be sought else than his temporary tutor and helper. Let it not presume to create the law for him, but only to help him find it and read it in his own nature, as it is there written by the hand of the Almighty. On pain of incalculable sorrow to itself will society sacrifice man, or any true part of him, to any one of its institutions, its laws, its customs, its fashions; or hinder him from seeking in freedom whatever his mature soul craves. As no wise parent will flog his child to school, but only incite and help him to go there, so, if it be wise, society will never undertake to compel men to be moral after its own notion, but will offer them every inducement and assistance to be moral according to their own individual standard. For each man has his standard of morality, and shall he be forced to accept another's? Shall he be expected to pass by what his own soul says, and listen submissively to what another soul may say? The high importance of man's being moral rests primarily, not in the fact of his existing as a social creature, having social relations and experiencing social necessities, but in the fact that there have been given to his soul an infinite significance and scope. Not that I may live esteemed as a moral man by society, and receive its graceful benediction when I die, not that my neighbors may enjoy their cakes and ale in peace, and suffer me to do the same, am I called upon to cultivate the virtues possible to my native capacity; but rather because I have a divine life to unfold, and to clothe it with "the manners of the skies." Sounding in the depths of my soul I hear a call to come up higher, to lift my whole finite nature into the breadth of infinitude; I see a finger from afar beckoning me onward, and pointing to the goal of perfection,—and this it is which incites me to strive to the uttermost, and bedeck myself with every moral and spiritual grace, that I may sit at last unshamed among the gods, and move in heavenly society without a tell-tale blush or an awkward gesture. So far as society can help me to do this, I will be thankful; but I live my life for nobler purposes, than to secure its favor or escape its censure.

It is a matter of history as well as of daily observation, that the judgment as to what is moral and what immoral varies according to circumstances. It is impossible to make the standard of morality absolute and uniform. Society legislates and administers in vain to do this. No system of police can accomplish it, though a constable of the State should be stationed at the door of every private residence, or detailed to walk with every individual citizen. To effect it, human nature itself would have to be made over, and all men run in the same unvarying mould. As it is, moral judgments differ as inevitably as intellectual judgments. A variety of moral tastes, selections, and appropriations is as unavoidable as the same result in the realm where the physical senses operate. What one demands, another rejects; what one is capable of receiving with pleasure and profit, another passes by with indifference or disgust. This matter is wholly decided by individual organization and external environment. Not only heredity but climate and soil come in to determine it. That moral code which, in some respects, suits very well a people living in the tropics, might, in the same particulars, be entirely unsuited to another living in a temperate or a frigid zone. So a tropical nature, wherever geographically climated, must be admitted to have necessities—at least desires, aptitudes, and affiliations—which differentiate it, and submit it to be differently judged, from a nature which is phlegmatic, torpid, and cold. No scientific ethics ever can be formulated so as to endure, which does not take into account all those causes that produce the moral varieties well known to exist in the human species; which does not summon into court every witness from every actual condition and circumstance of human experience, and take its free, unembarrassed, and ungarbled testimony as to all the facts bearing upon this subject. And when we have done our best to investigate this

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CHRISTIANITY EVEN YET.

A REPLY TO MR. ABBOT.

BY REV. M. J. SAVAGE.

whole matter, and to demonstrate the universal rules of morality, we shall find that we have still to confront the various phenomena that will be sure to continue to occur, and to deal with differing cases that will arise to test our largest charity and our finest wisdom. Still we shall find that we have not obliterated the fundamental difference between conventional and essential morality,—that morality which is the offspring of social agreement and regulation, of *public opinion*, and that which comes from natural capacity and selection; from the deepest instincts and most unspotted genius of the personal soul. Not until society learns how rightly to deal with the individual, to put itself into sympathetic instead of antagonistic relations with him, to attempt no despotic but only an educative influence over him; not until it learns to read and appreciate his nature generously and fairly, ceasing by any means the effort to crush it, but helping him to protect himself against its fierceness and to unfold its sweetness; not until society itself perceives, and makes the individual see, that all his interests are identical with its own, and that they cannot be advanced separately but best together,—not until this charming period of mutual good understanding and amity comes to pass between society and the individual, shall we have a complete blending of social and personal morality; a beautiful adjustment and harmony of the inward and outward life of man.

But, in the meantime, society and the individual must go on learning, each in its own way, as best they can; hoping for as little jar between them as possible. One thing we all must learn; which is that morality is not mere prudence. It is not a negative but a positive thing. It does not consist in avoiding, but in becoming; not in safety, but in venture. Do you think to keep yourself warm and well, by crouching in the chimney-corner, and avoiding the stinging air outside and the roaring blast which rattles your windows? If you are sensible, you will dare the out-door weather; you will work or play in the frost and cold; you will come and go on your needful errands, unfearing the elements that challenge all your might and skill,—and so you shall be warm with the fire of *life* within you; you shall glow all through with the ardor of your robust will and dauntless energies. Do you think to make progress in the truth, if you are afraid of your doubts, and shrink with terror from your scepticism? Only by bravely facing every mental difficulty shall you gain strength to overcome it; only by trusting truth to lead you, and your own capacity to follow it, shall you gain any step in knowledge, or grow at all in wisdom.

The same fearless spirit of trust is necessary in the process of developing our moral nature. Do I think to make myself morally safe by a system of constant repression and prohibition, by never sallying forth with my desires to see if they are bent on good or evil? Is cowardice, then, the bottom virtue? Must I forever walk this world a slave to fear? Shall I duck and dodge, and start and tremble, expecting every road-side bush to blaze with a devil rather than a god? Of what am I afraid? Am I not in God's world; is He not here; and shall I be afraid to walk where His footsteps fall? Is it myself I fear? Then, indeed, am I defenceless; and straightway let me go and find a keeper! Do I fear others? My very fear of them tempts them to harm me, and makes me vulnerable to their least hurtful skill. No: I must live on trust, not suspicion; on courage, not on fear, if I would have the cheek of my moral nature bloom with the ruddy hue of health. I must let my life live itself out in gladness and in freedom; and, as the artless child wins all hearts with its spontaneous and boundless power of trusting, so my life must be such a simple act of faith as will disarm every circumstance of skill to hurt me, as will take me through the red-hot furnace of any experience without the smell of fire upon my garments, as will enable me to handle the scorpion evils of society without receiving a single poisonous sting. Let us launch out and trust the soul of good, and we shall find that we conquer as we go; that we enlarge the quantity of our experience without degrading, but much improving, its quality. Let us not be so foolish as to think that, if we keep out of the hands of the police, we are moral; for those shrewd guardians of social morality make sad mistakes sometimes, arresting such as sin least, and allowing the greatest sinners to escape altogether. Neither must we think that, because we conform to things as they are, we are moral; possibly by non-conforming in some instances we should prove our better morality. In all ages, there have been some souls too great and too pure to obey society's law; in order to be personally moral, they have had to break the law of social morality. In daring something for God, they had to offend man.

Let us know that morality is not a letter, but a spirit; that it is not the *form* of obedience, but the *mind* of obedience. I think we are most moral when we are thinking least about being so. Some persons give themselves the dyspepsia by worrying about what food is fit to eat; but if they would eat not too much, nor too little, and eat regularly, they might indulge themselves in almost any kind of food or drink. So it is with some who want to be moral, but are afraid they shall not be; they do, indeed, fail to be moral, because they are so conscious of their desire to be. They make themselves moral dyspeptics by their moral worry. Many a good-meaning soul has tortured itself in this way, and has made duty, not a beauty, but an ugly deformity which men have looked at sorrowfully. But the truth is, that conscience was not given us to trouble us, any more than the liver was; both will make us happy, if we will not be asking too much of them, or giving them too much attention.

Indulging ourselves in what is called remorse, or repentance, is a very poor way of improving our

moral nature. We really cannot afford such a spiritual pastime; it is a waste of precious hours and strength which we need for more glorious occupations. What can it avail us to dwell mournfully upon the sins and follies of the past? It is not the sign of a keen moral sense to do so, but rather of an exaggerated and morbid one. Everything in our past is part and parcel of that process of evolution from which neither we nor any creature can escape. It is so much garnered experience designed to enrich us in mind and heart, if only we can produce a true *rationale* of it, and not a mere representation which shall only serve to scare us out of our present senses. Does Nature lament over her roughness, her wildness, and her fierceness,—her ichthyosaurian and reptilian periods? She scans with sane vision the whole long line, from the snake that crawls upon his belly in the slime to the man that walks upright with his face to the heavens; and she sees significance and orderly procession in every stage of development, and rejoices in the glorious outcome! It only needs that we should be equally sensible (and scientific, if you please) in reviewing our past lives, to come to an equally cheerful conclusion respecting our moral evolution. We must have a thorough respect for ourselves *just as we are*, with all that we have brought off with us and in us from the field of our past experience. We must know that *we are sinning when we think we are*, and never at any other time. We must go straight on, obeying the divine impulse of each new moment; and if at any time we find we have done wrong, then let us forget it as soon as may be in doing right.

Morality is order, regularity, keeping things in their right place. Dirt is matter out of place, it is said; so immorality is something done out of season, without due regard to relations. *Everything* is moral to the *soul* that is moral. No *act* is immoral unless the *doer* is immoral. Is Nature wicked in her thunder and lightning, her storm and whirlwind, her earthquake and volcano, her parching heat and freezing cold, her stinging adder and poisonous wasp? She is really as beneficent and well-disposed in all these as in her gentle sunshine and rain, her calm nights and summer flowers. There are some souls who, like Nature, can never sin because they have not the sinful mind; because their spirits are of love, not of hate—of construction, not destruction. They moralize everything they do, and are demoralized by nothing. Their interior morality shines through their whole personality, and softens, modifies, and sublimates their outward acts,—as the sun shining from behind the storm gilds the thunder-cloud, and makes its raindrops brilliants in the bow that spans the sky.

In trying to reform a class of persons, we should not go to them and begin by telling them that they must do this or must not do that, because this is moral and that is immoral. Rather let us first seek to know what their own idea of morality is, and whether what they are doing seems right to them, however otherwise it seems to us. For be it remembered that we have no more right to impose on others our morality, than to impose on them our theology, or our philosophy. So long as they respect our rights, they have their right to do what they please as well as to *believe* what they please. Every class of persons has its own standard of orthodoxy in ethics no less than in religion; and the only liberal office which we have towards them is the same which they have towards us,—that of persuasion, not of compulsion. This is the last and perhaps the hardest lesson which radicals have to learn: to be liberal in their moral and social as well as in their religious and theological judgments. We never can be successful in reforming thoroughly any class of persons, until we learn to go among them *without the spirit of condemnation*, which is ever the spirit of narrowness and of dogmatism. In order to judge them fairly, or do them any real good, we must, if possible, get their stand-point, understand their circumstances, appreciate their motives, and do justice to their natures. And we must know that, if we would move any of our fellow-beings up in the moral scale, we must move up their ideas, their wants, their aspirations; in short, their whole mental and moral outlook. We must increase their self-respect. We must educate them out of one standard into another. Then, just as they outgrow the ill-fitting clothes of their bodies, so they will outgrow whatever ill-befits their souls.

WE DO NOT expect by secularizing the schools to avert the hostility of the Catholic hierarchy, who are determined, like some Protestants, to be satisfied with nothing short of complete control in educational affairs. But, notwithstanding their active opposition, there is still a vast multitude of Catholic children in our schools, kept there sometimes under protest. There is a vast body of the Catholic laity, who are so far Americanized that the denunciations of the priests, who are mostly of foreign birth, would have little influence over them, except for the allegation that the schools are under Protestant control, and used for the purpose of alienating Catholic children from the faith. We wish to take this argument out of the mouths of the priests, and to let American Catholics see that they can send their children to the schools without exposing them to immoral influences on the one hand or to Protestant teaching on the other. Placing the schools on this ground of equal and exact justice, we shall have a right to appeal to every class of citizens to support them.—*Christian Union*.

THE FLAG OF THE REFORM CLUB of Neufchatel, in Switzerland, bears the following inscription: "A church without priests, religion without catechism, the Divine creed without mystery, morality without theology, and God without system."

At the outset of my article, and of my first appearance in THE INDEX, I wish to thank the editor for the fairness, kindness, and candor with which he met my attack upon his position. Judging by the ordinary theological method, I may as well confess, I was a little surprised at it. If all who claim to bow to the spirit and "sweet reasonableness" of Jesus would only show as just and truth-seeking a temper, "the kingdom of God" would more speedily appear. I will try to imitate him in my reply; and I assure him that, though in this regard I become his "disciple," and take him for "master," I shall not thereby surrender one atom of my individuality or freedom.

I also wish to thank the editor for the expression of his confidence in my honesty. And I fear not to say freely, to him and to all the world, that I cannot understand the position of any man who claims to be honest, and who, at the same time, is not desirous of finding and accepting the simple truth. If this takes him out of Christianity, let him go. If it takes him into materialism, let him go. If he knows not where he is going, still let him go,—for he who is so true to his moral convictions that he follows them, though, like Abraham, "he goes out, not knowing whither," he is the man, and the only man, who is *safe*.

The position I at present occupy, then, is not the result of any foregone conclusions. So far as I can see, it seems to me not only consistent with, but supported by, both freedom and the scientific method. Let us look at it a little, and see.

I must skip the many inviting but scattered points that suggest themselves, and come at once to the main issue.

The whole question involved in this discussion I take to be this: *Are freedom and Christianity consistent?* Or, to state it in another way, Can a man be *free*, and at the same time wear the name of Christian, and in any real sense acknowledge the *authority* of Jesus? My answer is an emphatic *yes*. Mr. Abbot says *no*, in the supposed interest of freedom. Orthodoxy and some Unitarians say *no*, in the supposed interest of Christianity. I say, *Freedom*, and do not believe Christianity is in danger. I also say, *Christianity*, and do not believe freedom is in danger.

The question divides itself in two: What is freedom? and what do we mean by the authority of Jesus? Take them in their order.

1. What, then, is freedom?

Most questions could be settled by a right use of the dictionary, and by antagonists taking pains to understand each other. But perhaps more than half the controversies are carried on after the following fashion: "The house of which I am speaking is *red*." To which the other makes answer: "I am compelled to say that, when my opponent calls the house *green*, he shows himself an egregious ass, or else he deliberately tells a falsehood." Mr. Tyndall talks about matter and materialism, and means one thing. The newspapers and magazines catch it up, and deride, and taunt, and call names,—it being all the while apparent to the calm looker-on that they are talking about another and an entirely different thing. Mr. Abbot calls himself anti-Christian. And then some good Unitarian, who doesn't believe in what Mr. Abbot calls Christianity a whit more than he does, lifts up his hands in astonishment and horror. He is struck dumb,—because Mr. Abbot doesn't call things by the same name he does.

Just this misuse of the dictionary, in regard to the word *freedom*, seems to me to be one grand mistake of Mr. Abbot. I have been a careful reader of THE INDEX now for some time; and, if I can understand him, that which the editor calls freedom has no existence outside his own imagination. I deliberately and simply mean just that.

In the fervor of my discussion I used the word "*absolute freedom*"; and, in his definition of the fundamental principle of Free Religion, Mr. Abbot has followed my example, and used the same terms. But careful thought will convince him, as it has me, that there is no such thing in the universe. Mr. Abbot is bound by the laws of his own physical being. He is not free to eat poison and live. He is not free to walk on his head, or swim the sea like a fish, or fly the air like a bird. He is not free to be six inches taller than he is, nor to weigh fifty pounds more. Freedom from these restrictions would be freedom to enter the realms of nonentity—if he can tell where they are. He is also bound by the laws or conditions of his intellectual being. He is not free to be a poet like Shakspeare, or an artist like Flaxman, unless (which I do not presume to know) Nature has endowed him with the capacity. And these very capacities of which we speak, and which constitute a man's greatness and glory, are bounds and conditions of his being.

Neither is Mr. Abbot "*absolutely*" free in his moral life. He is not free to do a mean or dishonest act. When Jesus said, "God cannot be tempted of evil," or when Washington said, "I cannot tell a lie," there was a distinct denial made of "*absolute*" freedom. For God himself must be bound forever by his own perfect ideas of right,—the everlasting and unchanging constitution of his own being. On this one basis—"with him is no variableness or shadow of turning"—we build all morality, all law, all stability in civilization, all art, all science, the possibility of all knowledge; and yet, so long as God is even self-bound by the laws of right and order, he is not "*absolutely free*."

Whatever exists exists by virtue of those laws or forces which constitute and condition it; and whatever is not constituted or conditioned—either by it-

self, or by some outside power—does not fall within our conception of *existence* at all.

We may as well stop talking, then, of "absolute freedom"; or else let it be understood that we use the word interchangeably with *nonentity*.

But perfect freedom I still believe in, and still believe it to be consistent with Christianity. Let us see what it is. How will this do for a definition? *Freedom is the liberty of following what seem to one reasonable courses of thought and conduct, without external compulsion or restraint.* Of course this definition excepts insane men and criminals; and of course it is limited by a recognition of the equal liberty of others, who on all sides hedge us round and condition our life.

Now not only is "absolute" freedom negated by laws and conditions of physical and mental organization (even by life itself, for the man who lives isn't free to be dead at the same time), but a limitation is necessitated by the prevailing purpose or leading idea of a man's life. If a man wills to move, he isn't free to stand still at the same time. If he wills to go north, he isn't free to go south at the same time. If he wills to become a great lawyer, he is not free to study theology at the same time. If a man, in the exercise of his reason, decides that he must be a Republican in politics, he is not free at the same time to be a Democrat. Mr. Abbot doesn't think he limits his own freedom because he doesn't choose to defend the "White Leagues" on the same page that contains a denunciation of their policy. A man with a conviction or a purpose, then, is limited and led by that conviction or purpose.

The Free Religious Association is itself limited by its own idea. It is a "World's Fair," or "Universal Exposition," or "World's Congress" of religions. I am glad it exists. I am perfectly free to stand upon its platform with my Christianity; and if my Christianity suffers by the comparison, or is proved inferior or untrue, I will unconditionally surrender, and follow the truth. Now, so long as this Association exists, it is limited by the *necessity of being itself*. It is *not free* to become a political organization, or a pomological society, except as it is free to cease to exist; and if, beside being a member of this, a man chooses also to join the Social Science Association, he does not thereby limit his freedom. Can one not be a man, and an American, and a merchant, all at the same time, without surrendering his freedom in either capacity?

Now, after these definitions, I reassert that, as a Unitarian, I claim and intend to exercise perfect "liberty of thought and expression,"—"all the liberty that is claimed by the Free Religious platform."

Mr. Abbot asks: "When has any such freedom even been verbally affirmed by any Unitarian body?" I answer only for myself; but I say, I recognize no Unitarian body that has any right or business to assume the superfluous prerogative of telling me I am free. I am, and intend to be. To say, "You may" implies the right to say, "You may not." At least, Unitarians recognize no form of words that deny freedom.

He asks again: "Can any Unitarian organization say as much?" as that "Christians, Extra-Christians, Anti-Christians, Jews and Infidels, Theists and Atheists, Materialists and Spiritualists, Orthodox and Heterodox, may be enrolled on the list of membership without any inquiry as to their belief?" I reply, For all I know, all these shades of belief are represented on the voting list of my church. If not, they may be by buying a pew. But if the question be asked of any Unitarian conference or benevolent organization, I answer No. But saying no is only another way of saying that *there is no Unitarian body which is the Free Religious Association*. These organizations are free; and men do not *freely* associate themselves for the purpose of saying or doing what they do not believe, nor wish to do.

As to whether a man can occupy a Unitarian pulpit without tying himself to some foreign Unitarian creed that shall limit his freedom, I may be at liberty to say that I was called from an Orthodox pulpit to a Unitarian one on the basis of a distinct avowal that I must have a *perfectly free platform*, on which I should be at liberty to say *just what seemed to me true*; and my successor has gone to my Chicago pulpit on precisely the same understanding.

As to whether one may be allowed to stay in a Unitarian pulpit "who publicly denies that Jesus is the Christ in any sense," I should say this: The word "Christ" is only the Greek for "Messiah," and the word "Messiah" only means "anointed"; and students of the Old Testament are acquainted with the fact that the term was applied to any one who was anointed and set apart to a special work. In Isaiah, xlv. 1, it reads: "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed (his Messiah, his Christ)—to Cyrus." Thus in Bible usage a heathen king could be a Messiah, a Christ, when set apart to some special work. I presume all Unitarians hold that Jesus was "Christ" in this sense. He was the Messiah of the Jews, in the sense that he filled, or *better than filled*, the ideal of their hopes. I know of no proof that ever Paul held him to be Christ in any other than this latter sense; and I fail to see how either holding or denying this should touch the matter of one's religious freedom.

I find I have left little room for my other point; but I will now at least outline it, and ask—

II. What is meant by the authority of Jesus?

Speaking for myself alone, I wish to say very distinctly that I hold to it. But in what sense? and does the sense in which I hold it conflict with my freedom?

There are two kinds of authority: one is of force *without regard to reason*; the other is the authority of the force that *inheres in the reason*. The latter is the only authority that is legitimate, and this very word *legitimate* carries the whole thing in itself.

That which is legitimate is to be accepted and obeyed.

Mr. Abbot would hardly doubt or deny the authority of *apparent truth*. The *known laws* of body and mind, and social health, and political life, these are the highest kind of authority. No man is free from these. Or, rather, he is *free in and because of* these.

It is not the logic of Unitarianism to say that whatever and all that Jesus said is true, and to be accepted because he said it. Even God's saying a thing would not make it true. We only feel the strongest of all confidences that he never will and never can say anything that is not true. We recognize the authority of Jesus, then, only in so far as what he says is true, and because it is true; and he is the greatest authority of earth to us, because of our conviction that he has spoken more and higher spiritual and living truth than any other. It would have been just as true if somebody else had said it; but somebody else did not. The "life-impulse he gave the world" would have been just as much life and just as good had somebody else given it; but somebody else did not give it. Thus we bow to the authority of Jesus in so far as he seems to us the embodiment and utterance of God's eternal truth.

Will Mr. Abbot claim that he is free from such an authority as that? He may not believe in so much of life and truth in Jesus as most Unitarians hold to; but he will hardly say that he is free to disregard so much as he does recognize and believe.

To recognize and bow to the authority of truth—whether in or out of Jesus—is not only consistent with freedom, it is necessary to freedom not only, but even to *existence*. He who disregards the authority of the laws of life must die. Any liberty that ignores this is the liberty to *not be*.

Such a liberty and such an authority as I have sketched are the only ones that I can conceive of as consistent with individual existence and practical life. No more can the Free Religious Association bestow; as much do I already possess and exercise as a Liberal Christian.

With Mr. Abbot's permission, I will give at another time some reasons why I believe essential Christianity to be the eternal religion of humanity,—consistent not only with its freedom, but capable of lifting it to its highest life.

60 W. NEWTON ST., BOSTON, Feb. 24, 1875.

THE PROGRESS OF FREE-THOUGHT.

AN EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION OF PAINE MEMORIAL BUILDING, JAN. 29, 1875.

BY B. F. UNDERWOOD.

Now, I say, if free-thinkers will present their views courteously, if they will avoid mere declamation and vituperation, if they will maintain the character of gentlemen, and keep up the spirit of the age,—I say (and my experience has been as wide, perhaps, as that of any public lecturer throughout the country) they can go before an audience in any city of the United States, in any town or hamlet, and advocate their views with impunity. They may avow the most radical sentiments, I do not care if it is free-loveism itself, if it is done in a spirit and manner that shall not excite combativeness by its very rudeness; and I believe they will receive respectful attention anywhere in the United States.

I have no sympathy, therefore, with those remarks which were made this afternoon to the effect that we are living to-day in the midst of an intolerance which is comparable in its intensity with the intolerance of the days of Thomas Paine. I believe, nay, I may say I know, that we have made great advancement, not only in our views, but in the manner in which those views are treated by the great mass of Christians themselves. In the first place, the creeds have been pulverized; they have been utterly discredited. You can go into the pulpits to-day, and listen to sentiments that are so thoroughly radical that you are surprised that they come from a Christian minister. You can go into the pews, and hear there the expression of liberal and heterodox sentiments which are utterly inconsistent with the creeds and dogmas of the Church. You can examine the newspapers, from Maine to Oregon, and see evidences of liberality such as you have never seen before. The press reflects, as a rule, the general sentiments of the people; it is really an index of it. There are a few papers, among which I am proud to mention the *Investigator*, the *Index*, the *Truth Seeker*, and the *Banner of Light*, which are in advance of the religious sentiments of the age; but the great mass of the daily papers do not attempt to lead public opinion. If the editors of these papers are free-thinkers themselves, they suppress their sentiments, and simply attempt to express the views of the common people. I have a wide acquaintance with the editors of this country, and I think I may say with certainty that as a class they are sufficiently infidel. They are free-thinkers, and have no sympathy whatever with the dogmas of the popular religion; or with the general superstitions of the country; but looking upon them as the nominal faith of the country, in deference to the wishes of the people, they avoid attacking them with violence; at the same time, they give them a sufficient number of thrusts to show their general position and their general wish.

We see evidence of this advance, also, in the general literature of the country. Take up any of our magazines, and see what a change has taken place in this respect. It is not more than eighteen years since Oliver Wendell Holmes, of your city, published the *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* in the *Atlantic Monthly*. That was a serial that was exceedingly mild in its heterodoxy, judged from the stand-point of modern thought to-day; and yet for that he was severely censured, and the religious press of the country said it would be impossible for the *Atlantic Monthly* to ob-

tain a circulation when such a man as Oliver Wendell Holmes was allowed to contribute to its pages such heterodoxy as that. But the *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* would be milk-and-water to the liberals of to-day, it is so mild in its heterodoxy. Gerrit Smith, whose death has just been announced, to the grief of so many millions of people, paid Horace Greeley, himself a heterodox and liberal-hearted man, thirteen hundred dollars for the publication of one of his sermons in the *Tribune*, and Mr. Greeley took especial pains in a leaded editorial to call attention to the fact that that sermon was not published as a communication, but as an advertisement. But since then, the *Tribune* has been glad not only to print the mild heterodoxy of Gerrit Smith, but to accept the writings of such men as O. B. Frothingham, Mr. F. E. Abbot, Mr. Higginson, and others who go as far or farther than they, and to send them broadcast among the people. Glad to get them, not simply because the editors of that paper were perhaps in sympathy with our views, but because they knew that there was such a large liberal element all over the country that it would make a demand for their paper, and increase their circulation. Go to the city of Chicago, the Queen City of the West, and you will find that if a free-thinker speaks from the platform like this on Sunday, he wakes up on Monday morning, and sees his speech reported *verbatim* in the daily papers, side by side with the speeches of the clergymen of the city. And this is done, not simply because they may be in sympathy with the opinions of free-thinkers, but because they know from experience that that is requisite in order to enlarge the circulation of their papers, and make them popular among the people. The papers that have the largest circulation in the West are those that give the most space to free-thought sentiments and to the most advanced views. Is not this an indication of the progress of liberalism, and a most significant indication, too?

Then, again, look at the publishing houses of this country. The Appletons are, if I mistake not, a Methodist house, but they do not hesitate to bring out the works of such men as Tyndall, Huxley, and Darwin; and we find some of the most thoroughly heterodox works brought out by those houses that have been supposed to be Orthodox. They do it, as I have said in regard to the papers, not because they are in sympathy personally with the views of these writers, but because they know there is a demand for this kind of reading, and that is the way to enlarge and increase their business.

When we see these facts, when we see the writings of such men as Huxley, and Darwin, and Tyndall, and Spencer, and Lewes, circulated broadcast, having a larger circulation than Orthodox literature, it is a pretty good indication that free thought is advancing. And, more than that, I can state from personal observation, that there are cities and towns throughout the Western country, where free-thought is the predominant sentiment, and where, if I were a policy man, and wished to establish myself in business, and wished to get the good will of the community, I would rather announce myself as an Infidel than as a Christian, because that is the public sentiment of the place.

Then I see liberalism in the attitude of the clergy. None of the clergy teach now what they did a hundred years ago,—that God took little infants from the breasts of their mothers, and sent them spurling down into the flames of hell. A clergyman who should utter such a sentiment as that would be deprived of the pulpit, or his salary would be cut off at once. All through the country the clergy are losing their prestige and their power. They are either conforming to public sentiment, or else they are leaving the profession, turning insurance agents, and insuring against fire in this world, instead of threatening us with hell-fire in the next. The great mass of the people who are not brought in contact with the clergy hardly understand all their heterodoxy. It is part of my business to have conversations with them, and sometimes discussions, and I know whereof I speak when I say you can hardly ever get a clergyman to affirm a positive dogma. I not long since had a discussion with a gentleman who occupies the position of professor in a theological seminary in Indianapolis, and he took the ground, when the question came up, that a man might believe what part of the Bible he chose to be divine, and what part he chose to be uninspired. He took the ground that the story of the flood, of which the Bible speaks so unqualifiedly, was a little affair, perhaps confined to Asia Minor; and before he got through, he did not know that there was anything sacred except Noah and his family, his pigs and his chickens, thus affording an opportunity for one of the city papers to say of this professor, that he had brought the flood into the limits of a wash-basin, and to ask, "Are you disposed to reject the Bible on such a small amount of water as this?"

Some of you have read in *Scribner's*—rather an Orthodox journal—the articles written by Dr. Blauvelt, an Orthodox man, in which he admits that the advances in free-thought are so rapid, that unless something is done in the next decade, unless lawyers, merchants, and unprofessional men come to the assistance of the clergy, we shall be doing precisely what they are doing in Europe to-day: that men will go up and down the land, lifting their hands in despair, and exclaiming, "Our faith is gone!" Dr. Blauvelt himself has given offence to the Christian world because he has stated the truth so plainly and frankly. He tells Christians that they have no men who can meet the champions of free-thought; that such men as Strauss, Renan, Darwin, and Spencer are too strong; that their investigation has been too thorough by far to enable the Christian clergymen to meet them with success; and calls upon them to obtain a higher culture, and a

more thorough acquaintance with the subject, before they attempt to compete with those men.

Let me say, in conclusion, that the advance which this hall significantly marks has been made in every department. In geology, destroying the old cosmogony of the Hebrews; in archaeology, destroying the old notions of the primitive perfection of mankind; in Egyptology, showing that mankind were in a high state of civilization at the very time the flood is said to have occurred; in philology, showing us that the languages are in utter opposition with the notions that God composed them, and that the old Hebrew language was probably the primitive one; in natural history, and in every department in which Science has extended her researches, she has gone so far as to destroy the authority of the Bible in its historical and scientific teachings, and also to advance and strengthen the principles of free-thought.

I say, then, in conclusion, my friends, that we have every reason to feel grateful, and to feel especially joyful, on this occasion, since the erection of this hall is actually an indication of the advancement of free-thought; and when we consider what kind of halls were spoken in by free-thinkers in the days of Thomas Paine, and look at this building, we must feel something of pleasure in the progress that has been made.—*Boston Investigator*, Feb. 17.

REMARKS OF F. E. ABBOT

AT THE DEDICATION OF PAINE MEMORIAL BUILDING, JAN. 20, 1875.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—Perhaps I ought to apologize to you for consenting to say even a few words with the severe cold I labor under; but when we consider what the work in hand is to-day—to speak a word of grateful appreciation of Thomas Paine, to express our interest in the cause of free-thought, and to bring our congratulations to these old veterans in the cause, that they have reared an excellent and useful "Home"—perhaps even a husky voice will need no apology.

We have listened this evening to a most eloquent address, setting forth in detail the great merits of Thomas Paine, his services to the country, and our obligations to him. I was especially interested in listening to the analysis of Thomas Paine's services to free-thought. I think Mr. Underwood expressed a thought that is very important and very true; namely, that Thomas Paine was a great popularizer of free-thought, and did more, perhaps, than any other one man of his age to spread our common principle, the love of freedom, broadcast among the people. For those services I think he is worthy of a recognition which has been withheld.

We have been accustomed for a great many years to hear the clergy indulge in the most (I must say) insincere, certainly the most offensive, maledictions against the name and fame of Thomas Paine. We have heard slanders repeated which every well-informed person knows to be slanders. We have heard them taken up and passed from mouth to mouth, without the least indication of a desire to find out whether they were true or not. What reply has been made to those slanders against the name of Thomas Paine? There are replies in books. These stories have been met; these slanders have been refuted. Any one who wishes to know the truth about the matter can easily learn that those stories are libels, and utterly misrepresent one of the best men whom this country ever harbored.

But that reply is not enough. Have we no other reply to make to these long-continued and malevolent slanders? Friends, I think that this stately hall is to be our reply. This building shows not only that the men who believe in free-thought disbelieve those stories, but it also shows that they have sufficient reverence for Thomas Paine to put their hands deep into their pockets, and contribute the funds necessary to rear this noble monument to his memory. That is an argument to which the common mind readily responds; and, although I am sorry for it, I think this argument will be more respectfully listened to than any argument that has ever yet been offered in this country. At least, it is a testimony to the respect and reverence we feel for an earnest champion of free-thought, for a great and noble defender of American principles; and this testimony can no longer be overlooked, ignored, or despised.

The cause of free-thought to which Thomas Paine dedicated a large part of his life, and to which he rendered such inestimable services, is still our cause to-day. With his usual discrimination, Mr. Underwood has shown you the advances that have been made in this country, and it is a true picture. Nevertheless, there is another side. Bigotry and intolerance are not all dead yet. They are somewhat intimidated (that is a fashionable word now-a-days); they are not so blatant or so urgent as once, but they still survive, and events can easily be conceived which might fan these smouldering embers into a great and disastrous conflagration. The work we have to do is to strengthen and deepen and build up more stoutly than ever the fortifications of this liberty, and there is still need for the public word, uttered on the platform and in the paper. There is still need for men to give their time, their hearts, their souls, and their minds to the propagation of free opinions. In this connection, we all certainly take great satisfaction in seeing that our friends, Horace Seaver and Josiah P. Mendum, who have lived for forty years well known in our midst, and have to-day the respect of the whole community, are now to enter apparently upon a little easier period in their long warfare; that they can look with pride upon this noble building, and feel that it is partly a recognition of their own work and service. I came here to-night

more for this purpose than any other—to tell them how glad I am that they have been at work, and how faithfully I think they have done their work, and to express my hearty respect and appreciation for the nobleness of their service; and with these few words I make room for other and better speakers.—*Boston Investigator*, Feb. 17.

PRISON REFORM.

Our readers will already have noted that Congress has passed a joint resolution, authorizing the President to appoint a commission to a World's Prison Congress to be held at Rome next year. This movement of authoritative interest in the subject is doubtless due to the fact that, although the idea of international consultation with regard to prison reform originated in the United States, less sympathy with the reform has as yet been shown by our own government than by any other. We are told in the report of the Association, that the penal codes of Russia, Holland, Italy, several Swiss cantons, and Japan have been changed, or are in process of change, in accordance with the more enlightened and Christian ideas promulgated by the last International Congress. It should be borne in mind, however, that, while the idea of joint labor and sympathy between the nations in the matter of prison reform originated here, the idea of prison reform itself originated elsewhere, and that we are indebted to other nations for the humane and improved systems which are slowly supplanting those so long in use. It matters little, however, from whom the help to humanity comes, provided we avail ourselves of it. Nor will our participation in a world's congress of reformers be of essential importance unless we profit by the deliberations therein. The previous International Congress held at London in 1872 has, it is true, aroused the attention of most thinking men in this country to the condition of our criminal classes, and in a very noticeable degree altered and humanized our mode of dealing with them. But the progress toward improvement has not been so marked as in other countries which we accustom ourselves to look upon as our inferiors in civilization. The plan proposed by the Association, of a National prison, where the convicts of the United States could be placed, and which should be built and managed upon the most advanced known system of treatment, thus serving as a model for all other jails and penitentiaries, has an apparent and weighty practical value.

The United States prisoners are now boarded in different State prisons, a practice both impolitic and costly. Such a National model would at once make real matter of the humanitarian schemes which are to the majority of our citizens the vaguest theories, and it should be urged to successful completion before the Association concern themselves with less important improvements. The French people, however indifferent they may be to the subject, are necessarily made familiar with the best modes of conducting reformatory schools through the colony at Mettray. The criminal child of the poor man is sent there with an almost absolute certainty of his reform; the idle, refractory son of the rich man goes into the *Maison paternelle*, and comes home thankful for ordinary college work and discipline. In the same manner the Englishman is familiarized with the idea that the punishment of the convict should be reformatory as well as punitive through the workings of the Crofton system. It is not through International Congresses or bulky reports that the real reform is to be accomplished in this country, but by some actual work done, to whose success one can point with assurance of approval. The National prison would offer arguments in brick and mortar, and we hope in criminals regenerated into honest citizens.

The work of the Association, too, could be rendered more effective in this country if it were made known through a cheaper and more widely diffused mode of publication. The reports of International and National Congresses are volumes of carefully digested information essential to every library, but certainly too costly to reach State legislators, or jail and prison wardens. How many of either class could give an intelligent account of the system of M. Demetz for the redemption of criminal children, or of Maconochie for that of adult convicts? Yet, after all, it is the State legislator who must inaugurate these reforms in this country, and the warden and jailer who must carry them into effect.

The appointment of the commission is a step in a right direction; but we should be glad if the commission could carry with them a better report of tangible good accomplished than they are now able to present.—*New York Tribune*, Feb. 22.

PROSPER MERIMEE'S *Letters to an Inconnue*, show the French Emperor and Empress in a very pleasant light. Merimee seems to have had for both as genuine and warm an esteem as it was in his nature to have for anybody. The wonderful grace and delicacy of the letters seem to cover the emptiness of a sceptical and exceedingly sad life. A man of rare cultivation and refinement, Merimee seems to have viewed religion as a curious relic of barbarism, sexual virtue as a conventional fiction, and love as the highest form of amusement. The bitter sense of emptiness in life which now and then plainly expresses itself is as suggestive as it is mournful. It is common to speak of the hardness and barrenness which his want of spiritual faith gave to John Stuart Mill's life, and we think there is truth in the remark. But there was in Mill an earnestness and loftiness of purpose which uplifted him. The austere soberness of his life was totally different from the empty wretchedness that underlies Merimee's graceful trifling. We note the contrast, as marking the difference between the man who, losing faith, still holds firm to conscience and duty, and the one who has no

higher conviction or principle than that "sugar is sweet."—*Christian Union*.

THE TALLAHASSEE *Sentinel* tells the story of two colored men, named Handy Griffin and Ed Harris, who are employed on the Stafford place, in Gadsden County, Florida, about twelve miles from Tallahassee, on the other side of the Ocklockonee. They had a patch given them of nine acres, and this they cultivated without the aid of horse or mule, and after the regular hour for work on the plantation. One pulled the plough while the other held, and where the ground was too stubborn for one to drag the plough through their wives assisted them. Five acres are in corn and four in cotton, and both crops are as fine as any to be seen within the limits of the county.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

SPRING.

I'm sighing now for Spring-time,
For flowers sweet and fair,
For my fragrant, wild-wood temple,
And the friend that meets me there;
I'm sighing for the converse
I hold with Nature sweet;
Peace then pervades my being,
And happiness complete.

I'm sighing for the quiet
Of that little linden grove,
Where tall pines, sighing round me,
Whisper sweet words of love;
I'm sighing for the lessons
That nowhere I may learn,
Save resting on my mossy seat
Beside the waving fern.

I'm sighing for the music
From the sweet, feathered choir,
That lifts my soul above the clay,
And satisfies desire;
Whose warblings thrill like magic,
And quell the lofty mind,
And give the heart rich pleasures
That leave no gloom behind.

O, Wisdom, Love, and Goodness!
I meet you in the glen,
While superstitious Folly
Lurks in the haunts of men.
Come, blooming wild-wood flowers,
My temple to surround,
And breathe of sinless pleasure
That in its courts are found!

MARY WARD.

WEST ACTON, MASS.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE CHURCH.

Religion in conflict with Science?
Religion and Science are friends!
'Tis the Church that sets at defiance
Law and reason, to answer its ends:

The Church is the foe of progress,
As her crimson records show;
She raises the cry of "Godless!"
When Science the truth would know.

With power supreme, for ages,
Her reckless crimes behold,
And read on her blood-stained pages
Who were her martyrs of old.

Our teachers, our healers,—we claim them
The world's benefactors to-day:
With reverent lips we name them,—
They worked, leaving churchmen to pray.

Though her fires no more are kindled,
Or heretics put to the sword,
Her bitterness never has dwindled;
"Anathema" still is her word.

And Protestant churches follow
Her spirit, as far as they can,—
Her old maledictions borrow,
To keep Truth under the ban.

M. E.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 6.

M. E. Zakszenski, \$3.60; W. E. Cash, \$3; G. A. Thayer, \$3.20; Hunter & Co., \$2.20; Miss Dana, 70 cents; J. F. Ruggles, \$3.20; D. A. Lydiard, 45 cents; M. Boyer, 80 cents; F. French, \$3.20; S. W. Norris, \$3.35; Wm. E. Mott, \$3.20; Jas. G. Richardson, \$3; Claribel Gerrish, \$1.60; L. Bradley, \$2; S. J. Park, \$2; H. Hill, \$2; Geo. Wilkinson, \$2; L. M. Burlingame, \$2; H. L. Fowler, \$2; A. Bunert, \$3.10; E. B. McKinzie, \$1; George Thorn, \$3.20; W. A. Clark, \$3.20; A. M. Stayman, 40 cents; Walter F. Johnson, \$3.20; Geo. C. Young, 75 cents; M. H. Isbell, \$3.20; J. H. Allen, \$3.20; W. H. Crowell, \$2; G. W. Johnson, 25 cents; H. T. Wright, 25 cents; R. C. Wylie, 30 cents; John D. White, \$5; A. P. Hulse, 30 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

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The Index.

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N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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SUNDAY LECTURES.—The Editors of THE INDEX will lecture occasionally on Sundays, if desired, within a convenient distance of Boston.

THE GREAT ISSUE.

The article of Rev. Mr. Savage on another page, replying to a recent article of our own, will doubtless command the attention it deserves from the readers of THE INDEX. Whoever may shuffle or evade, shuffling or evasion is no part of his purpose; that is clear. And we rejoice that there is a growing disposition to meet the grave issues which it is the special work of THE INDEX to press, in a spirit befitting their gravity and importance. "The whole question involved in this discussion," says Mr. Savage, "I take to be this: *are freedom and Christianity consistent?*" True. It is time that the Christians of Christianity should address themselves to the discussion of this question with all the ability, force, and courage at their command. It is no logomachy, we assure them—no war of words, no splitting of hairs, no vexing of the air with aimless blows. No! It is the great debate on which the whole civilized world is just beginning to enter, here with shivering dread, there with glowing hope and indomitable resolve. It is that which underlies all the other prominent issues in the realms of thought and of action; and none of these lighter issues can be permanently solved so long as this profounder controversy remains unsettled. Perhaps it is the vast and overshadowing importance of this question of questions, involving as it does such transcendent interests, that has made men afraid to meet it face to face; but the time has come for all undaunted thinkers to shake off this reluctance, and throw themselves with all their energies into the now inevitable discussion. Welcome, therefore, to every earnest word!

Although Mr. Savage pleads for Christianity, he also pleads for freedom; and he therefore denies, as do all Neo-Christians, that there is any inconsistency or real conflict between the two. Stating the question afresh, he asks: "Can a man be *free*, and at the same time wear the name of Christian and in any real sense acknowledge the *authority* of Jesus? My answer is an emphatic *yes*." He then asks, first what freedom is, and afterwards what the authority of Jesus is; and his answers are such that he thinks he disproves the reality of any supposed conflict between the two. Let us see how this is.

We do not see that there is any essential difference between Mr. Savage's views and our own views as to what freedom really is. He holds that it does not imply the power of escaping from the control of the laws of Nature; neither do we. Not a word, so far as we can remember, has ever dropped from our pen in favor of any notion so absurd. Of course, every man is bound by the laws of his own organization; nobody disputes that. Neither shall we here raise the question of "free-will"; though we do say in passing that, if a man is "not free to do a mean or dishonest act," he is not free to do a noble or upright one, since the power to do the one implies the power to do the other. This is as true of God as of man, if God possesses the attributes of all moral being. All this part of Mr. Savage's article is irrelevant. By "absolute freedom" we have always meant substantially what he means by "perfect freedom"; namely, freedom to obey the laws of Nature and Reason "without external compulsion or restraint." It is the total absence of all such compulsion or restraint by human authority that we always refer to in the phrase "absolute freedom"; and Mr. Savage's word

"perfect," it seems, means the same thing. On the abstract question of the nature of freedom there is scarcely any difference between us.

But when the Free Religious Association is dwarfed into a mere "World's Congress of Religions," we begin to part company with Mr. Savage. This Association affirms "absolute liberty of thought and expression." When has any one of these historical religions ever affirmed or practised that? Has Christianity ever done it? Let its history reply. The simple fact is that, by affirming this principle of "absolute liberty of thought and expression," the Free Religious Association has taken ground which can be consistently taken by no one of all these religions. It takes ground that is the point-blank denial of the special authority which they all claim; and, whether the individual members admit the fact or not, they have collectively laid down the premises whose only logical conclusion is the anti-Christianity and scientific Free Religion of THE INDEX. Its platform is certainly free to every believer in a special religion who *thinks* he can reconcile his religion with freedom; nevertheless it is our private opinion (shared by very few, if any, of our fellow-members) that he cannot come upon that platform without surrendering totally the special claim of authority which is his religion's fundamental principle. In other words, we consider him logically inconsistent and mistaken; and that is the real reason why all Orthodox persons are proof against the sincere invitations, so often extended to them, to speak on that platform. Only the heterodox are attracted to it; and, since the first year or two, only the heterodox have come to it. Consequently, when Mr. Savage claims to exercise perfect liberty of thought and expression "as a Unitarian," we consider him as laboring under a delusion. He happens not to have desired yet to transgress the invisible yet real boundary of Unitarian liberty; but it is there, and he will find it there, if he ever changes his views as some have already done. We can safely leave him to find it out for himself.

But he takes in his present article a position he cannot successfully defend. We had asked: "When has any such freedom [as that of the Free Religious Association] even been verbally affirmed by any Unitarian body?" To this he replies: "I answer only for myself; but I say, I recognize no Unitarian body that has any right or business to assume the superfluous prerogative of telling me I am free. I am, and intend to be. To say 'you may' implies the right to say 'you may not.' At least, Unitarians recognize no form of words that deny freedom."

Now to this reply there is a rejoinder which we should like to have candidly met; and because Mr. Savage is very candid and fearless, we ask him to meet it.

What was the position he originally took? Substantially this—that "Unitarianism" should not "allow Free Religion to take from her the glorious prestige of utter freedom." This, then, is the position which, when challenged as we challenged it, he is bound to defend; unless (what we utterly disbelieve) he means adroitly to shift the issue and dodge the point. It is *Unitarianism* he has undertaken to champion and protect from the sharp thrusts of criticism; it is the *ism* itself, not his own private opinions merely, that he has proposed to prove consistent with perfect freedom. This he certainly will not deny.

When, therefore, we point out that the principle of perfect freedom has not even been verbally affirmed by any Unitarian body, he has no right to say that he "answers only for himself." He is bound to answer for Unitarianism, and not for himself. He is bound to do what we always scrupulously do with regard to the Free Religious Association. As we discriminate with conscientious care between what it says and what we say, so he is bound to discriminate between what the *Unitarian denomination* says and what *he himself* says. If he refuses thus to discriminate, and insists that he has a right to make Unitarianism utter whatever words and proclaim whatever principles he chooses to put into its mouth, then he claims what his fellow-ministers will certainly never concede to him. They will claim just as good a right as his to put forward their private opinions as the only authorized exposition of Unitarianism. Does not Mr. Savage perceive the enormous presumption he has inadvertently fallen into, in thus electing himself to the office of authoritative spokesman for his denomination? As our readers know, a good friend of ours has recently charged us in these columns with assuming a certain infallibility. Well—if we had ever done what Mr. Savage does

now, and had ever supposed ourselves qualified to define the principles of the Free Religious Association regardless of its collective utterances, we should admit that our friend had abundantly proved his charge to be true. No—we cannot accept Mr. Savage's reply, when he "answers only for himself." We did not ask him to answer for himself; we asked him to answer for *Unitarianism*; and we deny that he can do that without going to the collective utterances and acts of the Unitarian denomination. By these utterances and acts alone must Unitarianism be judged, just as the Republican party must be judged by its collective words and deeds, and not by the irresponsible speeches of any individual who may assume to speak in its name. Surely this point is too crystal-clear to need further enforcement or illustration. Whoever joins a party, wears its name, and accepts its offices, is bound in honor not to repudiate the obligation he has thereby acknowledged to abide by its collective action and utterance. If this is more than he can do, there is only one honorable course: namely, to sever his connection publicly and completely with the party itself.

Knowing Mr. Savage, therefore, to be a man of unblemished honor, we consider his reply above quoted to be a very hasty and inconsiderate one, which he will be sure to change on further reflection. He is bound by the action and platform of his new party; he has no right to disregard the voice of the Unitarian denomination as a whole, or to "answer only for himself." If he cannot show that the denomination acts and speaks for freedom, in the full sense of the word which he attributes to it, he has no right to say that Unitarianism is perfectly free. What, then, is the fact?

"At least," says Mr. Savage, "Unitarians recognize no form of words that deny freedom." In saying this, he shows that he is not well-informed as to the facts. We point him at once to the famous preamble of the "National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches"—the great representative body of the Unitarian sect whose action and platform bind all the churches that send delegates to it, as Mr. Savage's does. This preamble avows "our sense of the obligation of all disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ to prove their faith by self-denial, and by the devotion of their lives and possessions to the service of God and the building-up of the kingdom of his Son." Here it appears that the Unitarians are collectively pledged to believe in and serve Jesus Christ as "Lord and King." Is not that a "form of words that denies freedom"? Most certainly, unless they choose to confess that they palter with words in a double sense. It is vain for Mr. Savage to disavow this preamble, as if it did not concern or bind him. It does concern and bind every Unitarian minister; for it publicly and authoritatively, by collective utterance, defines the *ism* that he publicly professes to the world. Probably, judging by his present article, Mr. Savage can consistently accept this preamble as the honest expression of his own individual faith. He is not, therefore, personally aggrieved by it at all; but he ought to recognize its binding force as the only authorized definition of Unitarianism before the world, and, instead of "answering only for himself," admit that the *National Conference* has answered for him in advance.

But Mr. Savage refers to his own church as a "Unitarian organization" that practically illustrates a fellowship totally unrestricted by any creed. We know nothing about his church in this respect; but we do know that, if it sends delegates to the National Conference, thereby publicly professes to acknowledge the binding force of the Conference's preamble, and yet secretly repudiates it at home, there is nothing in such a state of things to satisfy any one who loves consistency with high principle. The same is true of any private agreement between a minister and a society that shall emancipate the former from the denominational preamble-creed, while yet this creed is sanctioned by both through membership in the National Conference. There are a great many tortuous things said and done, we dare say without consciousness of their real meaning, in consequence of the looseness and slipshod character of Neo-Christians; but the general haze that conceals tortuousness does not straighten it. The only course that can be commended, in a society that confesses the creed of the Conference by retaining membership in that body, is to obey that creed honestly in its practice: to require all its own members to believe in that creed individually, and to employ no minister who will not be bound by it.

Mr. Savage goes into various refinements as to the meaning of the word "Christ" which it is unnecessary to consider; for he admits that "all Unitarians

hold that Jesus was 'Christ' in some sense. Very well; that settles the point we raised. No minister who should make it a prominent part of his preaching that Jesus was not the Christ, in any sense that he himself regarded as proper, would be allowed long to remain in his pulpit; and that is where the necessity of keeping silence on this point "touches the matter of one's religious freedom." But we instanced three doctrines, not one only, which no Unitarian minister can question without being speedily cashiered: the Christship of Jesus, the personality of God, the immortality of the soul. Mr. Savage has nothing to say respecting the latter two. He knows as well as we do that belief of these three doctrines is expected of every Unitarian minister, and that openly professed doubt or disbelief of them will cost him his position. Now can entire liberty of thought and speech (call it "absolute" or "perfect" as you prefer) be preserved or respected, if all utterance on these great doctrines must be pledged beforehand to the affirmative side? Why not face the fact at once, that Unitarianism does not permit "perfect" liberty of thought and expression? Why do not Unitarians all frankly admit that fact, saying (if they please) that they are all contented with a degree of liberty less than "perfect"? Why keep up this false pretence of "perfect" liberty, when every close observer knows that their liberty is not "perfect"? It may be a fair subject of debate whether "perfect" liberty is desirable or not; but it certainly must include the right to deny as well as to affirm, and to do either without incurring any penalty, direct or indirect, from man. Shall the world never get rid of this mountainous load of repression, which so perverts the intelligence in the search for truth by attacking the thinker from behind, and stabbing him with threatened punishment if he fails to come out at the orthodox end of the road? Let the mask be dropped which now deceives so many excellent minds, fancying they follow freedom when they are led along by silken chains.

No space remains to consider Mr. Savage's second point concerning the "authority of Jesus." This he rationalizes into the "authority of truth"; and when this is done completely, Jesus sinks out of sight as "authority" in any special sense. When one comes to count up "authorities" in the sense of persons who have told new truths to the world, or told old truths in a new and efficient way, their name is legion; and the alleged great superiority of any one of them vanishes under analysis. The "authority of truth" is one thing—that we "bow to" with unutterable reverence; but the "authority of Jesus" is another thing—and we have long since forgotten to remember it, when truth is spoken of. Persons vanish when ideas appear; and he who has once caught a glimpse of the glory of the Universal "leaves all and follows" it.

To conclude: Mr. Savage has met our appeal to facts with general considerations mainly. We pointed out that, while the Free Religious Association affirms "absolute liberty of thought and expression," and has been strictly faithful to it in its practice, Christianity, even in its Unitarian form, neither affirms nor practises it; and the force of the facts we adduced remains wholly unbroken. Can he break it? We believe not; but, if he can, our columns are open for the demonstration of our own mistake. Meanwhile we maintain still that Freedom and Christianity are not "consistent," but that every man must choose between them.

PRAYER AGAIN.

The kindly criticism of Dr. Clarke on my little article about prayer, printed in a recent number of THE INDEX, shows that I touched a nerve, and justifies another word in regard to the subject. The scrap that came from my pen, though fragmentary and abrupt, was carefully considered and compacted; not a thought was heedlessly fashioned; not a word was hastily selected. The substance it contained might have been spread out to cover a broad space, and, if it had been, would probably have been more intelligible than it was. Still, I cannot conceal my surprise that any intelligent reader of it should have missed its point. In that article, as in all I ever wrote on the subject, the word prayer was used in the accepted sense as describing petition addressed to an invisible, extramundane being—either personal deity, angel, or departed spirit,—who, out of resources otherwise inaccessible to the suppliant, is supposed to be able to bestow temporal or spiritual gifts. By religious people and in religious usage prayer means this,—nothing less and nothing else. To the petitions that men address one to another,—the

poor to the rich, the weak to the strong, the simple to the wise, the infirm of purpose to the good,—the word prayer, in its religious sense, is never applied. That human beings should ask and receive aid of all kinds from one another is perfectly natural and simple. They are bound up in the same bundle of life; they exist under the same laws and within the same conditions; they are mutually sympathetic and dependent; they touch at many points; they have common needs; they draw from common sources; in a word, they are human beings, and make requests on one another by the impulse of their common humanity. Surely, the distinction between the fellow-creatures that surround us, and spirits good or bad, angels, demons, deities, which are, say what we will, creatures of our imagination, at all events beings of different spheres and relations, is too clear to be insisted on.

Equally plain must it be that the gifts which human beings bestow on one another in response to requests are altogether different in kind, in method, and in condition of bestowal, from the gifts which extramundane, supernatural beings dispense to their petitioners. Between the benefactions of human fellows, living, working, and suffering together, and the benefactions of another order of persons in remote and ideal worlds, there is no analogy. Because I help my brother man, it does not follow that God will help him. If God does or will, why should I? It is because I am persuaded that God does not, and will not, for any supplication, that I do; and therefore, among other reasons, I contend that prayer to God for benefits that we can earn for ourselves, or obtain from our fellows on well understood terms, is practically demoralizing. It is conceded now by philanthropists that earning is better for all concerned than begging, even from men. How much better it must be than begging from imaginary beings!

One word more on another part of the subject. Dr. Clarke seems to fall into the common error of confounding *prayer* with *aspiration*,—a confusion that is fatal to all intelligent discourse about the matter. In aspiration the disbelievers in prayer cordially believe, and warmly express their belief. It is their noble substitute for prayer. Aspiration after beauty, truth, goodness, serenity, peace, is a distinguishing quality of the rational being, natural as the plant's longing for the sun. Aspiration differs from prayer in several important respects, and in each of these respects it has the advantage in point of spiritual dignity. Prayer is mechanical; aspiration is vital. Prayer encourages the feeling of dependence on foreign and unseen powers; aspiration encourages the growth and expansion of the longing soul. Prayer makes one a pool; aspiration makes one a fountain. Prayer is never sure of answer, is a *dom* supposed to be answered directly, is hampered with so many conditions that answer to it is practically impossible, is made the subject of endless casuistry to justify the withholding of answer (nearly all the treatises on prayer being explanations and apologies for the dead silence with which it is received); while aspiration is always responded to, is satisfied by the law of supply and demand, as inevitably as color and fragrance come to the healthy plant that has found the sunbeam.

That ordinary, undiscerning, unreflecting minds should confound two processes so essentially unlike is not surprising. I certainly should not accuse Dr. Clarke of such heedlessness on the strength of any private inference of my own. But he confesses the fault himself in a single sentence, if he is correctly reported in the *Christian Register* of February 20th: "What is prayer," he asks, "but the longing of the soul toward the highest, the communion of the soul with infinite truth and infinite beauty, the opening of the heart to receive the divinest influences?" To which I for one respond heartily, *amen*. If that is what the good man means by prayer, the controversy between us is one of words. O. B. F.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—I hold views on the subject of "Church and State" which you would doubtless call very heretical in a Liberal like me. I have seen so much of the benefits of an Established Church, and so much also of the evils of voluntarism, that I unhesitatingly say there is more real liberty under the former than under the latter; more protection for individual opinions, and greater opportunities for their expression. And if I can say this, who have myself undergone prosecution and deprivation for my opinions, and might be expected to rail at the Established Church

system on account of my own grievances, I think some weight may attach to my preference for that system over an independent sectarianism. But I must confess that if anything would drive me from my present convictions, and make me a red-hot Non-conformist and supporter of Radical anti-State churchmen, it would be the action taken by the office of the Lord Chamberlain, in reference to the Sunday League, and to the closing of the theatres on Ash Wednesday.

No true friend of the people desires to relax for one instant the present restrictions on Sunday labor, seeing that their needs are all the other way, and that more and not less rest and recreation are wanted in this high-pressure age. But the Sunday League are conspicuously on this side of the question, and desire not to extend Sunday labor, but to extend Sunday recreation, and to add to the wholesome and instructive amusements of the people for whom so little in this direction has been provided.

The "Sunday Evenings for the People," on which you recently commented, are preëminently designed to afford wholesome recreation through one source of pleasure; namely, music; and this is combined with a lecture on some historical, literary, or scientific subject, which cannot fail to instruct the audience, or to set them thinking and reading for themselves.

These entertainments have already been made the subject of dispute at law; and the decision arrived at by our judges was that they were *perfectly legal*. One would suppose that such a decision, though it might not at all satisfy a Puritan minister, would be quite sufficient to guide the conduct of a Secretary of State. But it has done no such thing. The "Sunday Evenings for the People" have been literally stabbed from behind. They have been virtually prohibited from being held in those public halls where their success was a certainty, and now they have taken refuge in a chapel—South Place Chapel—in the "city," of all places the most unsuitable to attract people on Sunday nights.

But how have they been driven out from St. George's Hall, and other well-known places of resort? By the arbitrary interference of the Lord Chamberlain, who has privately intimated to the lessees of the various places that their licenses will be withdrawn, if they let the buildings to the Sunday League! Now this is "Church and State" in one of its vilest and most insulting combinations. It is the power of exercising religious bigotry and persecution through the agency of one of our civil offices.

Who would not rather see the State entirely secularized than be made the tool of fanaticism? If the functions of the Lord Chamberlain cannot be detached from the bias of personal prejudice, the sooner they are abolished or reconstructed the better.

I must tell you that I do not know personally any one concerned in this petty tyranny. For aught I know, the present Lord Chamberlain, who is nominally responsible for the mandates issued from his office, is as innocent of the mischief as I am; but somebody pulls the wires, at all events, and that somebody is doing his best to undermine the relations between Church and State, and to bring the former into very ill odor.

For, notice another shameless interference with public rights and pleasures, even worse in its encroachment on liberty than the opposition illegally offered to the Sunday League.

Last Ash Wednesday, the 10th instant, all the theatres were closed (for theatrical entertainments) by order of the Lord Chamberlain!

I suppose you poor benighted Americans do not know what Ash Wednesday is, and in your profound scorn of antiquity have never bowed down your heads as a bulrush, or sat in dust and ashes on this most sacred and solemn day. In some English homes it is a day of fasting and humiliation to little boys and girls who have eaten too many pancakes on Shrove Tuesday; but, beyond that mortification of the flesh, Ash Wednesday is but little noticed or respected, even amongst church people.

The House of Commons generally sits later than usual on that day to allow of severe members going to church to hear the "Commination Service," with its pretty litany of curses. Beyond this, it has not been usual to make any public recognition of the day as a solemn one; and unless it were made a general holiday, like Good Friday, one cannot regret it.

Now to issue State orders to close the theatres on the evening of that day is, in my eyes, an act of consummate impudence—a very dangerous tampering with the rights of the people,—a barefaced interference with wonted liberties, and all on the shallowest

and weakest of pretences, that the Church has ordered people to fast on Ash Wednesday!

It is some small-headed and effeminate ritualist that is at the bottom of the untimely measure.

If the Lord Chamberlain is in any way pressed to comply with such requirements, the sooner his office is released from such a contemptible misuse of authority, the better. We can all understand the Lord Chamberlain insisting that if A, B, or C likes to fast and to go to church instead of to the theatre, he shall be at liberty to do so without let or hindrance; but it is as comical as it is outrageous, at this time of day, to tell many thousands of our fellow-subjects that, because A, B, or C makes a fool of himself, they must all appear to do so too, and wipe their eyes with the corner of their aprons because he has taken to whimpering and whining!

If you are in danger, over there, from a similar impertinence, I do not wonder at your resisting so fiercely every attempt to blend Church and State, and to keep most watchful guard against the insinuation of so-called "religious" principles into the Constitution.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, London, S. E.,
Feb. 13, 1875.

MY DEAR ABBOT:—

I hope this is not too late for insertion immediately under my last letter to you, dated February 13th.

I find that my ignorance of the ways of this gay and wicked city has led me into an error, for which I hasten to make a most ample apology to the Lord Chamberlain's office. It appears that it is an old custom, and not a new one, to forbid theatrical performances on Ash Wednesday; and therefore it is unreasonable to denounce the act of the Lord Chamberlain as if it were an encroachment on previously existing liberties. I was led into the mistake by seeing a protest against it in the *Times*, signed by all the leading actors and actresses. My letter, fierce as it was and uncalled for, will do no harm, if this apology be inserted with it; for the principle which it attacks is a thoroughly bad one, and I have little doubt that the Marquis of Hartford, the present Lord Chamberlain, would be among the first to desire that this odious regulation should be detached from his otherwise important and valuable functions.

I am very sincerely yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

Feb. 15.

Communications.

OBJECTIONS TO THE "DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM."

PROVIDENCE, R. I., March 1, 1875.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

If I mistake not, you are one of those—shall I say few?—men who believe in friendly criticism; and I have often had it in mind to criticise your position as indicated by the "Demands of Liberalism." With some of those demands I am not disposed to find fault (if, indeed, honest criticism may be called fault-finding); but there are others that, it seems to me, hardly do justice to the platform, if I may so term it, of a majority of the so-called Liberals.

1. Let us consider first the Bible question. Though I think there are serious objections to its use in the public schools "as a book of religious worship," I can see no good reasons for prohibiting its use as a text-book. If, as you argued on the marriage question, "the abolition of marriage would be an interference with the liberty of those who prefer to marry," I cannot see why the same argument does not apply with equal force to the Bible question. Would not the prohibition of its use as a text-book be a "direct interference with the liberty of those who prefer" to use it as such? I thought you did not approve of prohibitory laws.

2. Again, as to the use of Sunday: would not the entire repeal of all Sunday laws be, in effect, an interference with the personal liberty of such as wish to use it as a day of worship? Suppose, for instance, that a building is in the process of erection in close proximity to a church. There being no laws to protect this body of worshippers, the carpenters and masons would be allowed to disturb the meetings, and of very little use would it be for them to attempt to put a stop to such disturbances. A modification of the Sunday laws would no doubt be advantageous; but an entire repeal would, in effect, be delivering up the day and its government into the hands of a care-for-nobody class, which, like one of the young men described by Mr. Emerson in his account of the Brook Farm experiment, would probably insist on working Sundays, though the whole town might not be able to make them work any other day.

3. Again: I can see no objections to the appointment of "religious festivals," by the President, or by the State Governors, provided there be no attempt to compel the observance of the same. Indeed, I think there have been such days appointed (as, for instance, during the administration of Abraham Lin-

coln), which were far from being hurtful to the nation, or to any of its individual representatives.

4. Again: To "demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of 'Christian' morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality," seems to be a demand that the American people shall forthwith be converted to our peculiar notions, accept our definitions of "Christian morality," and also believe in the "natural morality" of all mankind; which changes in the public mind no "demands" are likely to bring about.

5. One word farther in regard to the use of the Bible as a text-book. One of our speakers has suggested (and I think without injustice) that such a book as Mr. Conway's *Sacred Anthology* could not well be used in the schools, if the use of the Bible was prohibited, inasmuch as it contains selections from that book. Of course there would be the same objections to any other book which contained similar quotations.

6. And now, friend Abbot, in conclusion: With all respect for you as a man, and without a shadow of doubt of your entire sincerity in the matter, are not such demands more likely to create a feeling of antagonism than to convince any one of the truth of your position? So it seems to me, at least, and I feel sure that many others share this feeling with me.

Yours for true liberty,

MARCUS T. JANES.

[No one need fear that we shall ever take offence at or misunderstand "friendly criticism." Whatever we say publicly we submit to that "universal reason" which we theoretically accept as our just judge.

1. We have never advocated "prohibiting the use of the Bible as a text-book" in general. What we do advocate is to abolish all religious services "now sustained by the government," and the use of the Bible "in the public schools." This we do simply on the ground that Church and State ought to be separate,—that the State should not maintain public worship or give religious instruction. Marriage is a civil contract, and is therefore a proper subject for legislation; to abolish it would be to withhold protection from all who choose to make this contract. We have never argued against all "prohibition"; we certainly believe in prohibiting theft, murder, arson, and all other crimes, and (among these other crimes) the crime of taxing the whole people to propagate the religion of only a part of the people.

2. We have never advocated the "entire repeal of all Sunday laws." Our critic should read much more carefully what he criticises. We only advocate the repeal of all laws "enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath." If the people vote that Sunday shall be a legal holiday, we have no objection, but are glad of it; and we have said again and again that worshippers should be protected from interruption in their worship. But they have no right to say that non-worshippers shall not be allowed to work or play on Sunday, if they wish to. The State has no right to have a "Sabbath."

3. We do not object to any fasts or festivals observed by common consent. But we protest against the proclamation of either by the State, as an act of recognition of anybody's private religion; for this makes us all take off our hats to his family idols.

4. The State is founded on "natural morality" alone; that is, on the laws of natural justice, personal liberty, equal rights. Let it stick to those laws, which are not by any means our "peculiar notions." If it is founded on the "peculiar notions" of Christianity, it is only the Church in disguise, and may rightly burn Mr. Janes himself for heresy. Instead of "converting" people to strange gods, we only ask the State to let the people's gods alone, and confine itself to its professed function of protecting life, liberty, and property.

5. The Bible is not a "text-book" of anything except religion; and that is why we object to it. The State has no business to teach religion at all; consequently it can use no such text-book without injustice. If Mr. Conway's *Anthology* were proposed as a text-book of religion, we should oppose it as stoutly, and for the same reason.

6. It is our duty to make sure of the "truth of our position," and to let "feelings" take care of themselves. We put the question directly: is not the principle of the separation of Church and State the great bulwark of all our religious liberty? Very well: we only ask that it be more faithfully obeyed. All the "Demands of Liberalism" aim at this one object. Do not take them piecemeal, but ask yourself if this great principle does not require them all. We have no personal demands whatever. If justice, liberty, and equal rights do not make these "Demands of Liberalism," down comes the flag at the mast-head of THE INDEX; but if they do, then the flag shall not come down till THE INDEX goes to the bottom.—ED.]

THE "DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM" ON THE PACIFIC COAST.

EDITOR INDEX:—

You and your readers will be interested to hear what reception the "Demands of Liberalism" have met with in California. I have taken occasion to present them and urge their claims in San José, Santa Cruz, Stockton, Sacramento, and other places, during the last two years; and everywhere the Liberals heartily approve them. Other lecturers have done the same, and have reported the same result. As in this State we have already secured the first of these "Demands"—the equal taxation of ecclesiastical property,—and it is found to work to general satisfaction, so we are assured it will be with the others; and we mean to obtain them as soon as possible.

The chaplaincy question was pretty thoroughly ventilated at the opening of the last Legislature. Several telling speeches were made by prominent members against the practice of employing chaplains, and at one time it seemed probable that the office would be dispensed with. A resolution was offered to that effect, which was referred to a committee, who reported it back without recommendation. A resolution to proceed to elect a chaplain was lost by a vote of twenty-nine to thirty-five; and a resolution to invite the clergymen of Sacramento to take turns in officiating gratuitously was also voted down. A chaplain was finally chosen, but his pay was cut down to three dollars per day. The discussion set many to thinking on the subject who had not considered it before; and by another year we hope this office in our Legislature will be abolished.

Our thanks are due to the Rev. Alexander Calhoun, of the United Presbyterian Church, San Francisco, for reading the "Demands" in full from his pulpit, and securing their publication in the *Occident*—which is the organ of Presbyterianism on this coast,—with his comments thereon. Thus thousands have been made acquainted with them who would not have met with them elsewhere; and no doubt some of these will be led to accept them and reject the fallacies of the opposing discourse, which are very apparent.

In one thing the preacher was quite right; namely, his estimate of the importance of the interests involved, and the imperative necessity of meeting the issue promptly. He declared it to be "one of the living issues of the day," and added: "It will not be long until every citizen in our country will be compelled to take a stand upon one side or the other."

The logic of some of Mr. Calhoun's arguments was remarkable. After dwelling at length on the "innumerable blessings" we as a nation are enjoying, the preacher repeated his text, "Happy is that people whose God is the Lord," and laid down these two propositions: "A nation becomes the people of God by acknowledging him and obeying him in her organic capacity"; and "God is propitious toward nations only as they accept the mediatorship and royalty of Christ." He then called attention to what he was pleased to name "the strange and disagreeable fact" that neither God nor Christ were acknowledged in our National Constitution; and, without pausing to offer any explanation of the apparent anomaly, that the nation which had thus ignored God and Christ in its organic law for more than a century had been so signally blessed, proceeded to advocate most earnestly the "Religious Amendment," and attack the "Demands" with as vigorous denunciation as ever his namesake (John C.) used against the postulates of freedom in his day.

Some fifteen years ago, all the Sunday laws of our statute book were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Certain comparatively mild acts have since been passed; but they involve the same principle, and would not be allowed to remain upon the statute book except as a dead letter. A few feeble attempts were made to enforce them—the last, two years ago,—but utterly failed. The Sunday is devoted to social visiting and cheerful recreation quite as much as to attending church. The public libraries and pleasure gardens are open on Sunday, and many frequent them. Dances on Sunday evening are not infrequent, and picnics are indulged in on that day even by some religious societies.

Our Liberal League in San José circulated and secured a large number of signatures to the petition for the equal taxation of ecclesiastical property in the District of Columbia. More recently it has turned its attention to the matter of Bible-reading and other religious exercises in our public schools. A committee of three, including the Jewish Rabbi, Dr. Levy, and your correspondent, were appointed to interview the teachers and school trustees, and ascertain if the Bible was read, prayers made, or religious hymns sung, in any of the schools; and, if so, whether it was with the approbation of the superintendents and school boards. We found that "the Lord's Prayer" was used in two or three schools only, and in those it had been introduced by the teachers without the knowledge or consent of the authorities, who expressed, in most cases, their decided disapproval of the introduction of any religious exercises, and their intention to make the schools purely secular. The Bible was not read, so far as we could ascertain, in any of the schools; but religious hymns had been sung in several, including the State Normal School in San José, where the singing was followed by an interval for silent prayer. The State and County school superintendents both expressed their conviction that the public schools should be kept entirely free from the introduction of religious doctrines and exercises. The State school law says: "No publication of a sectarian, partisan, or denominational character must be used or distributed in any school, or be made part of any school library; nor must any sectarian or denominational doctrine be taught therein."

The penalty provided, where the officers "knowingly" allow an infringement of this rule, is the forfeiture of the State and County apportionments of school moneys. We hope, by following the thing up, to eliminate the last vestige of this corrupt practice. Of course it is contended by those who wish to retain them that the Bible and "the Lord's Prayer" are not sectarian in the sense intended in the statute.

The San Francisco Board of Education had up that question for discussion last week with respect to "the Lord's Prayer," and decided that it is sectarian. Director Donovan, in order to prevent what he called "pious indiscretions" on the part of some of the teachers, introduced a resolution to discharge any teacher who should "cause or allow to be read, chanted, or sung any religious prayer, anthem, or song." It was referred to the Committee on Rules, who reported that "all the grounds of the resolution were covered by the existing law," and the Board adopted the report.

Rev. Dr. Gibbons, President of the "University of the Pacific," a Methodist institution, in a lecture before a County Teachers' Institute in San José, insisted on the necessity of retaining the Bible in the schools, and called upon all the teachers who used it in their schools to hold up their hand. One hand only went up. The doctor said he hoped there was some mistake, and that his request was not understood. He would ask all who did not use the Bible in their schools to stand up. About seventy teachers responded. The doctor said he was sorry to see that there was no mistake; but he was greatly astonished and aggrieved at the state of things indicated. For one, he would never go into a school where he could not, as a workman, take his "best tool" with him.

At a Teachers' Institute in Los Angeles, recently, the same position was taken by a clerical lecturer, who said, among other things, that the teacher who did not keep his Bible constantly on his school desk, and use it faithfully, was "unfit for his position." "This gave rise," says the Los Angeles Herald, "to an animated discussion as to the introduction of the Bible into the common schools; when it appeared that a majority of the teachers were not in favor of such introduction, or that of the Rig Veda, Alcoran, or Zendavesta."

So you see, Mr. Editor, that the principles of the "Demands of Liberalism" meet with much approval here, and that progress is the watchword with us as well as with you.

J. L. HATCH.

SANTA CLARA, Cal., Feb. 12, 1875.

P.S.—The San Francisco papers, generally, sustain the action of the school boards in ruling "The Lord's Prayer" out of the public schools as "sectarian," and so forbidden by the State law. The *Evening Post* objects to it; but the *Post* has a comparatively small circulation, and little influence. The *Daily Chronicle*, which has a much larger circulation than any other paper this side the Rocky Mountains, says, in an editorial on "The Lord's Prayer," under date of February 8, that it accepts and endorses the decision of the Board, "in recognition of the broad and general doctrine that the public school is not the place to instruct in religious matters. The ordinary schoolmaster and schoolma'am pass an examination for teaching other things, and are not expected to be always entirely Orthodox in their religious beliefs. Besides, it must be confessed that, as our laws recognize no religion, and as our public schools are supported by all—where even the heathen must have their conscientious convictions respected,—the technical argument is against the introduction of any form of prayer into our public schools. While we admit so much, we desire it to be distinctly understood that we see no harm in the Lord's Prayer,—a prayer as old as civilization, which may be doubtless traced to an origin as early as the earliest teachings of philosophy, and every word and sentiment of which is as pure as the purest breath of the moral codes taught by Plato, Aristotle, Mohammed, Confucius, Manes, Solomon, or Christ. . . . Hence we have no prejudice against its use, if it is used reverently and in the right place."

ON SPIRITUALISM.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In your comments on the article "The Problem of Spiritualism," by J. G. Whyte, you do yourself credit in the way you state your attitude to the subject. I do not think I could possibly be a Spiritualist, if my experience had been the same as yours has been, and I think I understand yours, and I have no doubt you are an honest seeker of not only truth but that truth. I think you are justified in saying that the larger part of the phenomena called "spiritual," exhibited by paid mediums in your presence, has been fraudulent tricks, or more or less so; and those like myself who know there is the real fact also, as well as the fiction in the manifestations, wish very much for some perfect "filterer" that will strain out only the pure article. I had rather at any time have a drop of unmistakable fact than a gallon of an indefinite and uncertain solution. What you say of the phenomena through private and unpaid mediums, and narrated by uninterested parties, where you have nothing but guesses to account for them, where you have no positive opinion, but think greater psychological knowledge will explain them, there you are fair and reasonable, and I have no doubt mainly correct. In your fourth paragraph you say *multum in parvo*. You "hope a great deal" of the claim of continued consciousness; you think that science is a "mere baby," and that "what it will teach in its maturity is for no man to pronounce"; that you would treat the hope of life's continuance after death tenderly, and that you consider this hope

neither "irrational nor superstitious"; but you believe in the life to-day, and the qualifying of ourselves for the "untried existence," if there be one. I have rarely seen so fair a statement from a sceptic. So hospitable a reception to "probable fiction" from your stand-point should give you introduction to a truth unawares.

It is one of the strange things in this connection that the manifestations, mental or physical, under apparently the same conditions, will not influence one accidental circle of people as they will another. The sceptic says it is the credulity of the circle. Whatever else it may be, I know it is not that.

The article that called out your comments to which I have referred I do not propose to criticise or reply to; only refer to for the sake of making myself clear. It begins by admitting a profound truth thus: "If the alleged facts of Spiritualism are facts, there is no subject in the whole range of human affairs of such transcendent importance; for they will be positive proofs that the thinking principle in man is capable of surviving the destruction of the body."

That is the light in which the thoughtful Spiritualist looks at the subject; for so great and transcendent a boon, some are willing to "entertain" possible errors in the hope, or possibility, of entertaining truth unawares. Strange and impossible as it may seem, fully aware of all of Mr. Whyte's materialistic difficulties, some have entertained it in this direction; that is, his "alleged facts," or enough of them for the purpose, are facts. There would seem to be a truth, if not a consolation, in this connection in the words: "He has hidden this knowledge from the wise and prudent and revealed it unto babes." I suppose it should read, to be common-sense, "those who think themselves wise and prudent"; but I am not writing a sermon.

Mr. Whyte, after beginning with the profound truth quoted, considers the "alleged facts" no facts, shuts the door in the face of that transcendently important subject, "because such conscientious observers as Tyndall, Faraday, and Carpenter have pronounced them impostures." He forgets two things: first, the one you stated, "that science to-day is but a baby"; and, secondly, that Wallace, Hare, Varley, Crookes, and other observers equally conscientious, and equally eminent as scholars and scientists, have pronounced them facts. The former have given the subject no attention, one look being enough; the latter have investigated it, at great length of time and under test conditions. Any man who opens with the statement quoted, and then pronounces the facts no facts on his own inexperience, or on the flimsy testimony that he quotes, does not believe in the "transcendent importance of the subject," but uses it as only a figure of speech, a glittering generality, or a platitude. I do not mean to say that Tyndall, Faraday, or Carpenter are "flimsy" people; for their activities and their knowledge the world is their debtor. But saying by implication, *falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*, with the array of intelligent as well as multitudinous testimony on the side of facts on the point in question, their remarks were "flimsy," and a reflection on their peers, whose positive testimony was entitled to qualify or silence theirs.

Professor Lardner teaching, by statistics and figures, the impossibility of a steamship crossing the Atlantic, at the very moment that the first Cunard steamer was entering port after a safe voyage, and other mistakes in the best-regulated scientific circles, should teach modesty; and science is modest, except when it forgets that it is a "mere baby," as you truly say. I wish the famous men your correspondent quoted ("whose testimony is of so much greater value than the weak-minded women and men who usually assembled on these occasions")—which is all true, if they had dealt as fairly with the subject as the other famous men have that I have introduced as rebutting evidence) had said something like this: "In the few opportunities I have had of investigating this subject, I think the communications were very trifling, and the raps and other manifestations could have been easily accounted for, and some of them I know were fraudulent. I have nothing to say about the subject in its wholeness; it would not be becoming in me to condemn the whole thing, which has the indorsement of many cultivated and scientific minds. I do not feel drawn to the subject by the little experience I have had, and my time, I think, would be more profitably or usefully spent in matters that seem to be more within the scope of scientific observation." Some such a conclusion as this, it strikes me, would have been more in keeping with the spirit of science. I cannot help feeling that they did not so speak, and that the added slur was the tribute which even greatness will pay to fashion, where it can be done without much risk.

Now, my dear editor, let me say through you to the public that I have no intention, in my remarks, of endorsing the bulk of so-called spiritual manifestations, as being either honest or spiritual; or of saying that they are not under any circumstances, as Falstaff would say, "an ocean of sack for a little bread." I am not surprised when people leave the "diggings" on account of the poor yield. It is only the fact stated by your correspondent, "the transcendent importance of the subject," that justifies "so much wading through slaughter to a throne"; but it is the throne that the heart of man to-day longs for, and the "transcendent" truth is in this (if you choose) mountain of rubbish of spiritual manifestations. Those who have found the nugget say that it pays for all the sluicing.

Let me say in all soberness, and as seriously as I can tell the truth, that I know and have witnessed, times without number, at least many times, at home and abroad, at accidental gatherings and planned gatherings, by unpaid mediums and in social life, the

medium not belonging to spiritual circles, these manifestations. I have heard intelligent raps on a table, have seen a table and other things intelligently move without any living body or thing in contact with said tables or things. I know of no possible thing in my experience that I can state more truthfully than I can state these facts which I refer to, and which your correspondent says are "no facts." And just as surely do I know that the intelligence was disembodied, supermundane, not a mental boomerang. With my experience, it would be puerile and stultifying not to say it is what it claims to be, the living spirit of a person whose body lies under the sod. If I know anything for certain, I know that; and the belief is forced upon me by the evidence of my senses and the logic of common sense.

I think, Mr. Editor, you will give me the credit both of the desire and the ability to tell the truth; that I am no hallucinated fool. You may ask State Street: this I say to your correspondent, and the reader to whom I am a stranger. The few who know me know a statement of mine can be relied upon. That I am no man of straw, or irresponsible, I could give you the testimony of names, scientific, scholarly, and theological. If Theodore Parker were alive, he would say of me, "You can rely upon what he says." Wendell Phillips, who is alive, will say I am entitled to credit when I make a statement. I can name others; I have only a neighborhood reputation; so, unasked, I use the name I have, because it is cosmopolitan in reputation, and not that of a Spiritualist. When I say there have been raps and movements connected with ponderable bodies, unaided by human touch or device, and that said raps and movements have conveyed disembodied intelligence, I want the reader to believe I am stating the truth; not that I think I am, but that I know I am. I am not basing it on your experience, or any reports, but on my own experience; and I am no man's and no spirit's fool.

Of all the solutions offered from devil to cheat, if any one covered the ground of my experience, I would pause before adopting the spiritual one; but the one I have adopted is the only one that holds water, and I am inclined to think the only one that ever will. My article is getting rather long; I ought to say something on the reasonableness of this proof, and on the line of your correspondent's argument; but I must defer it for another article, unless you feel that you have been quite civil enough to me and to the subject in printing what I have already written.

JOHN WETHERBEE.

[Mr. Wetherbee's reputation for veracity is certainly beyond the least breath of suspicion, and no one would venture to question it for a moment. But shall we point out that, in the last paragraph but one, he testifies to mingled observations and inferences, when only observations can be testified to? Inferences are not subjects for testimony at all. That he heard the raps and saw the movements, is unquestionable; that they were produced by "disembodied intelligence," is simply his inference, and not "knowledge" that he can require others to accept as such on pain of discrediting his veracity. Mr. Wetherbee's word proves the raps and the movements; but it cannot prove the theory by which he accounts for them. We believe his word implicitly; but we do not believe his theory, and he will pardon us for suggesting that he should not seek to bind us to believe the latter, or else be guilty of the great injustice and discourtesy of doubting his truthfulness.—ED.]

FREEDOM TRAMPLED UNDER FOOT.

NEW YORK, March 1, 1875.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Dear Sir,—If anything will make Liberals realize the necessity for earnest action, the following from a late paper certainly will. I quote:—

"RALEIGH, N. C., Feb. 25.—The House of Representatives in three night-sessions considered a resolution of expulsion of J. W. Thorne, member from Warren County, on account of his non-belief in the existence of God, as set forth in a pamphlet issued by him. A vote was taken on the resolution at 12 o'clock last night, and resulted—Yeas, 46; Nays, 31. The resolution reads as follows:—

"WHEREAS, J. W. Thorne, the member from Warren County, has advocated and promulgated a most blasphemous doctrine, subversive of the principles of the Constitution of North Carolina and of sound morality; therefore,

"Resolved, That the said J. W. Thorne be, and he is hereby, expelled from a seat on this floor."

"Mr. Thorne is from Chester County, Penn., and is about sixty-five years old. The resolution was offered by Hanson Hughes, colored Representative from Granville."

If at this late day the people of a county in any State are to be deprived of the privilege and right to send a man to the Legislature because he does not believe in God, it surely is time for Liberals to wake up. No doubt the "good" people of North Carolina will say that the member from Warren County is as bad as his ideas are hurtful; but so far as the information contained above goes, his only fault is that he is an Atheist. That is one step; the next will be that none but Evangelical Christians may serve in the councils of the State or nation. Meantime all honor to the thirty-one among the seventy-seven members who voted against this religious test. And now the question to Liberals is: *Are we alive to the plain issue here presented between the Church and freedom?* "A."

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

ABRAHAM WALTER STEVENS.

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To increase general intelligence with respect to religion:

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

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Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

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FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

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The Committee of the Free Religious Association, in charge of the Horticultural Hall Lectures on Sunday afternoons, again invite the friends interested in maintaining these lectures, either for their own or for others' sake, to contribute the money necessary for the purpose. It is believed that, from winter to winter, such friends will be glad to join in offering the course, as their gift, free to the public. Their speakers—whose names and subjects will be found below,—in receiving but thirty dollars for a carefully prepared essay, are themselves the largest contributors. The whole expenses for this winter, including the hall, &c., will be about seven hundred dollars. Money sent to any one of the undersigned committee will be gratefully acknowledged.

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Jan. 24.—SAMUEL JOHNSON, "Laws of Personal Function Unrecognized in American Life."
Jan. 31.—CHARLES G. AMES.
Feb. 7.—WENDELL PHILLIPS, "Some Aspects of the Labor Question."
Feb. 14.—WILLIAM J. POTTER, "Names and Things in Religion."
Feb. 21. } Hall occupied by Fair for Protec-
Feb. 28. } tion of Dumb Animals.
March 7.—DEXTER A. HAWKINS, Chairman of Committee on Education of the New York City Council of Political Reform, "Our 'Sick Man,' and How to Cure Him; or, The Educational Problem in the Cotton States."
March 14.—JOHN WEISS, "Tragedy in Nature."
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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1875.

WHOLE No. 273.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, undimly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in:—

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

THE UNITED STATES are to have a Cardinal. Archbishop McCloskey is to have the red hat.

THE CATHOLICS claim between seven and eight millions of members for the Church in this country.

IT IS SAID that Cardinal Hohenlohe is Bismarck's candidate for the next Pope, in order to annul the Vatican Decrees of 1870 and get his own politico-religious legislation recognized.

THE announcement of a "Presbyterian Cook-Book" brought to the *Independent* an inquiry whether it contained a picture of "Calvin cooking Servetus," as it would be quite incomplete without this "historic roast."

MR. J. W. PIKE writes us to say that it was for other reasons than objections to any theoretical views that he declined, like Prof. Denton, to speak on the same platform with one of the speakers announced at the Paine Hall dedication. As we have before referred to the action of Mr. Pike and Prof. Denton in this matter under a misapprehension of facts, it is a simple matter of justice to state this explanation.

A CONVENTION of the Christianizers of the Constitution was held at Columbus, Ohio, on March 11. Similar conventions are held very frequently. The pertinacity of these devotees is marvellous; and their enthusiasm may prove contagious by and by, when events happen to favor their purpose. Their prayers are addressed to the American people, and they expect to be heard for their "much speaking."

WE ARE NOT often guilty of a mixed metaphor; but we ought to be well laughed at for the sentence—"shall the world never get rid," etc.—at the close of the last paragraph but two in our leader of last week. Our only excuse is that the sentence was written in the "small hours" of the morning, when even *dormitat* *Homerus*, and it unaccountably escaped correction in the proof. It would have been wiser in this case, if we had obeyed the Scripture injunction to "prove all things."

A RHODE ISLAND correspondent writes: "Besides the Free Religious Society there is another free-thought organization in Providence,—the Berean Society. It has existed for eighteen years, holding meetings for free discussion at 10.30 A.M., and 2.30 P.M., every Sunday. A considerable number of its members are also in union with the Free Religious Society. The fact that it is comparatively unknown is due, not to its insignificance, but to the 'mighty power in leaving out' all mention of it by the local press, on account of its unsavory radicalism. There are numerous other unheard-of radical societies, no doubt, in various parts of the country. Of all of these how important to have statistics! The showing would doubtless stimulate to a realization of Mr. Voysey's idea, some months ago expressed, of such a union as would afford encouragement and support, first, to each other, next, to the persons in the church intellectually in sympathy with rationalism, but who hesitate to risk their support by open alliance with it."

THE *Christian Union* thus refers to a most valuable document which was republished in THE INDEX of May 7, 1874: "The report of Mr. Dexter A. Hawkins, Chairman of the Committee on Education of the New York City Council of Political Reform, showing what has been accomplished by the Committee during the past year, deserves the attention of all good citizens. Mr. Hawkins has labored indefatigably, and, we are glad to say, successfully, to secure in this and some other States the enactment of laws to compel the education of every child. In Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Michigan, Kansas, California, and Nevada, such laws now exist, and the

example of those States we hope will be generally and speedily followed by the rest. The importance of the subject will be seen when it is remembered that a careful analysis of the census of the United States discloses the fact that on the average in this country illiterate persons produce thirty times as many paupers, and commit ten times as many crimes, according to their numbers, as those not illiterate. This fact speaks trumpet-tongued for the system of compulsory education."

MR. DAMON Y. KILGORE, writing under date of March 10, says: "Three weeks ago we formed a Liberal League in Philadelphia, and now have over sixty members. The officers are as follows: Isaac Rhen, President; Mary Pratt, Vice-President; Carrie S. Burnham, Secretary; Caroline H. Spear, Treasurer; Damon Y. Kilgore, Franklin Skinner, John M. Spear, Executive Committee. We hold meetings every Sunday at 2.30 P.M., and have a large attendance. The first speaker opens and closes the debate, and is allowed thirty minutes. All other speakers are restricted to ten minutes each. Would it not be wise to call a National Convention of Leagues, to make provision for a grand Congress of emancipated souls here during the Centennial from all parts of the world? Authority is marshalling his forces; why not Freedom begin to organize hers? Freedom, like truth, is feminine; and you will note a large proportion of our officers are women." In response to this suggestion, we would say that, if a sufficient number of Liberal Leagues should vote explicitly to authorize us to issue a call for such a Convention, and also pledge themselves to take part in it by sending delegates, we should be very glad to obey their instructions, without which we could not with propriety take the initiative. No doubt the announcement of such a Convention would give a great and immediate stimulus to the formation of new Leagues all over the country. Is there enough courage and zeal to carry out this plan?

THE "Report of the New York City Council of Political Reform for the Years 1872, 1873, and 1874," has just been published. It appears that this Council was organized in the Spring of 1870, in order to break down the Tammany Ring. It is a permanent organization devoted to the suppression of corruption in all its hydra-headed forms. In 1870, it exposed the great abuse of the appropriation of public money to sectarian institutions in New York, amounting to over \$1,000,000 annually, and has put an effectual stopper upon it by Constitutional amendment. It started and carried through the reform movement which destroyed the infamous Ring. It has materially reduced taxation and saved the city and county from the payment of over \$10,000,000 of fraudulent claims. It has lessened to a great degree the corruptions of legislative jobbery, fraudulent elections, police court maladministration, official malfeasance, and has accomplished many other vital reforms. In all this work, Mr. Dexter A. Hawkins (whose lecture in this number of THE INDEX is commended to the closest attention of our readers) is credited in this Report by the President and Secretary of the Council with having taken a chief part in the suppression of sectarian appropriations, the prevention of gratuities to railroads (amounting in New York City alone to over \$10,000,000), and the passage of the Compulsory Education law not only in New York, but also in New Jersey, Kansas, Nevada, and California. His report on the latter subject, republished in THE INDEX of May 7, 1874, had a circulation of over 2,000,000 copies, and an influence almost unparalleled. Surely such a record entitles him to the gratitude of the whole country. He has most nobly discharged the duties of a patriotic citizen, at a time when patriotism must show itself in the arduous toils of the reformer in civic affairs.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

Our Sick Man, and How to Cure Him;

OR, THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM IN THE COTTON STATES.

EIGHTH LECTURE IN THE SEVENTH COURSE OF SUNDAY AFTERNOON LECTURES, DELIVERED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION IN HORTICULTURAL HALL, BOSTON, MARCH 7, 1875.

BY DEXTER A. HAWKINS,

CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION OF THE NEW YORK CITY COUNCIL OF POLITICAL REFORM.

The fortunate geographical position of the United States, with no powerful neighbors to encroach upon our borders or disturb the public peace, happily frees us from the malign influences of pressure from without that weigh down and distract other nations. We are freed from the study of many complicated external questions that engage a great share of their public talent and treasure, and are enabled to give our whole attention and means to our own internal affairs. But we are still mortal. In every nation, at frequent periods, some province is disturbed, or State disaffected; the government and the people, or some portion of them, are not in accord.

The institutions are not suited to the genius, the inborn character, of the inhabitants, or they require a higher or a lower degree of cultivation and enlightenment than actually exists. If this discord and unfitness is general—pervades the whole community,—the government is a failure, and a change inevitable; for every nation in the long run obtains, and must obtain, that form of government, and method of administration, best suited to its necessities; as certainly as in the world of matter, water finds its level.

One race is submissive, obedient, ignorant, and inert; they enjoy and thrive under a paternal but intelligent despotism. The Egyptians are an example of long standing of this class.

Another is self-willed, reliant, enlightened, and active; they can endure only a republic. The New Englanders (Yankees) may be taken as a type of this class.

When the lack of harmony between people and government is not general but local, the discordant locality may be likened to a diseased member of the human body, or a sick man in the community.

Every nation and country has its sick man, and will continue to have so long as humanity is imperfect; hence his presence is no cause of national discouragement, but rather a perpetual and ever-present stimulus to improvement and development. The study, care, and cure of the disease benefits alike doctor, nurse, and patient.

The Garden of Eden was favored with one of these blessings in disguise, and he is not fully restored to moral health yet; though he has doubtless improved intellectually since he ate of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, and some say morally also; for, according to the statistics of crime, the percentage of fratricides has greatly decreased since the time of Cain.

In the days of Noah the sick man formed the majority of the human race, and seemed to be in so bad a way that the only method of cure finally adopted was to drown him out. This was perhaps the origin of hydropathy.

The Hebrews were often afflicted with a national invalid; and, according to the Old Testament and Josephus, they were cured of him by being sent into captivity till the disorders that troubled the body politic were purged out by adversity.

In the days of Rehoboam, the sick man, though a minority of the population, consisted of ten tribes. He seceded; and, after maintaining a vicious and disturbed existence for two hundred and sixty years, was cured by being swallowed up by his more healthful and vigorous Pagan neighbors, and disappeared utterly and forever from the pages of history.

The remaining two tribes preserved their national existence for eight centuries longer, when the disease of ignorance, corruption, prejudice, and moral blindness seems to have so thoroughly permeated their whole system that their extinction as a nation was inevitable.

Every nation in Europe has had its sick man, and the medicine for two thousand years regularly administered was force. This may repress the disease for the time, but does not cure it. It is sure to break out again in some other and more violent form.

The Christian Church used it with great vigor for centuries, against what it called error or heresy; and the result was, *first*, the division of the Church into two bodies, the Eastern and the Western Church; *second*, the subdivision of the latter into the Romish and the Protestant Churches; and, *third*, the entire separation in our government of Church and State, so as to make further use of force here by the great moral power of the world impossible.

The Mohammedans applied it with rigor against what they considered moral and political disease, until they themselves at the beginning of this century became the sick man of Europe. They now are resorting to moral remedies, such as schools, toleration, internal improvements, and modern inventions; and the happy result of this change of medicine is seen in the fact that their hold on the Bosphorus, half a century ago nearly relaxed, now bids fair to be permanent.

At the close of the Revolutionary war we had an invalid in the guise of "Articles of Confederation," devised in 1778, not adopted by all the States till 1781, and in 1787, only six years thereafter, found to be so weak and unsuited to our condition, that on February 21st of that year Congress officially proclaimed

its inability to conduct the government as then constituted.

According to the long-established system of political hygiene, the medicines for our patient then were, *first*, anarchy, confusion, and bloodshed; *second*, a temporary dictator; and, *finally*, a permanent king or emperor backed by a large army. But our people, contrary to precedent and authority, resorted only to moral remedies. They turned a calm and scrutinizing eye upon themselves, when apprized by Congress that the wheels of government had stopped, they carefully examined the extent and cause of the evil, and patiently waited two whole years till a remedy was discovered: to wit, a strong National Constitution; which they voluntarily adopted without having wrung a tear or drop of blood from mankind.

The Republics of Rome, Italy, France, and Spain never pursued this course; it was not possible for them, from the social, intellectual, and moral condition of the mass of their people; hence their ruin.

Our country in its colonial days, through the avarice of one race, and the helplessness and barbarism of another, inherited a disease almost as bad as the scrofula, for its seat was supposed at first to be in the blood: to wit, negro slavery. But the gradual whitening out of the slaves reduced it to colored slavery, and suggested at last to its warmest advocates that even color was not essential; that slaves might be of any hue; and white slaves came to be more highly prized than black.

This disease fifteen years ago threw the patient into a delirium of the most violent and dangerous character. Hydropathy had no effect upon him; sedatives and preventives, in the shape of compromise plasters, had been applied in 1820, 1832, and 1850, and finally in 1856 the Supreme Court plaster known as the Dred Scott Decision, till all such nostrums ceased to pacify him, and at last he made a violent and fratricidal attack upon the rest of the family.

The only cure left was an extensive and long-continued operation of phlebotomy. This old-fashioned remedy brought the patient out of delirium, quieted his nerves, and restored his reason; but it left him in a condition of great prostration, physical and moral, and exposed to attacks of other maladies.

Let us now diagnose his condition, and see if we cannot, like our fathers in 1787, discover a tonic that may be voluntarily taken, and will restore the patient to the fullest measure and use of all the powers of his being; and one, too, that will not wring a tear or a drop of blood from humanity.

The nine cotton States, namely, North and South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas, contain a population, *over ten years of age*, of a little more than 5,000,000; of whom 51 per cent., or 2,555,751, cannot read and write. The inhabitants of these nine States, *over twenty-one years of age*, number 3,070,000, of whom 51 per cent., or 1,572,101 cannot read and write. It is a striking but encouraging fact that the percentage of illiteracy over twenty-one is greater than the percentage over ten years of age.

It shows that the tide of ignorance was highest ten years ago, and has been slowly ebbing ever since: the children now living between the ages of ten and twenty-one are far more intelligent than those of the previous decade. Their whole population is 6,887,475; of whom 56 per cent., or 3,896,320, are white, and 43 per cent., or 2,991,155, are colored, and came out of bondage.

All, both white and colored, were brought up in a state of society that considered labor degrading,—the occupation of slaves. The 56 per cent. of whites grew up under a system of caste that had of necessity to make might right, and to hold a white skin to be a sort of patent of nobility, a proof of hereditary and indefeasible right to rule.

Their whole industrial system was one of force; and their political management and regard for the political rights of opponents were, to a great extent, controlled by the same brute principle.

Their governments had been nominally republican, but really most tyrannical and despotic oligarchies. Each had been of necessity intolerant and truculent in its administration, for the reason that it was obliged, at whatever cost of feeling or humanity, to sustain and protect human slavery. The education and habits of the citizens were dominated and distorted by the exigencies of their system of forced labor.

This system and any government based upon human rights were in perpetual and irreconcilable antagonism. They could not permanently exist together. One or the other must go under. The mass of our people did not think so; but our wise men, Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Garrison, Phillips, Sumner, Seward, and Lincoln did, as well as many intelligent foreigners. While travelling in Italy, in 1853, I had for a companion for some weeks a gentleman from Moscow, who was a member of the Diplomatic Service of Russia. He spoke seven languages, and, though he had never been in America, he was as familiar as De Tocqueville with our history and institutions. One day he surprised me by saying, somewhat abruptly: "How long do you think your free government will stand?" I replied: "As long as any government stands; we think it the best, and the best of every species survives."

He replied: "I give you ten years. Half of your country is fit for a republic. In that half the intelligent citizen, the school district, the town, the county, the State, the free church, are all homogeneous, qualified and harmonious elements of free government. But the other half of your country has an institution and a social organism, which *unfit* every citizen for a republic, and *train him up for a military despotism*. At the rate things progress and develop in America, the crisis must come within ten years; and then the result will depend upon whether there

is in the free States intelligence and decision enough to crush out slavery; if not, free government will end. The Union will be preserved, but either as a military despotism protecting slavery, or a democratic republic abolishing slavery, and protecting the free common schools and a free church."

The crisis did come in eight years. After a century of experiment, the cotton States decided to sacrifice free government for the sake of retaining forced labor. They expended half a million of lives and billions of money in the endeavor to establish a political power in harmony with human slavery, and with it as a corner-stone.

Their acts, method of thought, and aspirations during the five years of bloody struggle had rendered them more unfit than before to carry on successfully and wisely the free and tolerant government they had failed to destroy; namely, a democratic republic based upon universal suffrage.

When peace was restored, it was thought to be clear that it was not wise or safe to intrust this 56 per cent. of born and bred petty tyrants and oligarchists with the whole political power of the cotton States. They would naturally try to restore in substance, if not in form, the old order of things, and would do it inevitably if not restrained by some superior power.

But the 43 per cent. of colored inhabitants just out of bondage were equally unfit to rule a republican State, though from an opposite standpoint. They were grossly ignorant, and had been brought up to consider themselves human cattle—mere chattels,—with no rights except to labor and to obey. The gates of knowledge, especially of political knowledge, had been kept guarded and shut against them.

It had been a crime to teach them even the alphabet. They lacked self-reliance; and had small capacity for organization and systematic, thoughtful, independent action. They were like vines that had been remorselessly cropped, and pruned, and twisted, and trained to their supports. These supports were suddenly removed, and each vine was required to be a tree.

Their moral sense was not developed, except what naturally, and in spite of wrong discipline, flows from a kind heart; rather it was, so far as possible, distorted or extinguished.

Petty thieving, lying, dishonesty, and deception had been a necessity of their daily lives. Now they are placed in position of responsibility and danger, requiring virtue, and intelligence, and long experience.

Is it strange, then, brought up as they were, that a colored member of the Louisiana Legislature this winter who sold his vote for fifty dollars should think that he had done both wisely and well; and should exclaim, with evident satisfaction, while exhibiting the money, "This child has often been sold before, but this is the first time that he ever got the pay himself?"

But little assistance, evidently, could at first be derived or expected from the wisdom or experience of this 43 per cent. They were wards of the nation; grown-up children that must be protected and educated into real manhood.

In crushing out the rebellion, we put an end to the former civil and social State; destroyed the oligarchy, abolished human cattle, and made all human beings equal before the law.

But we did not and could not eradicate at once the evil effects, upon all classes, of two hundred years of slavery. These remain till new generations are born and trained under the ægis of liberty.

Through a political necessity we ushered them all at once, late oligarchists and late human cattle, into the temple of democratic-republican freedom, and gave each of them the same powers and rights that we possess.

The Constitution of the United States requires us to guarantee to each State a republican form of government. But for individual happiness and national prosperity the substance is of more value than the form; and the substance depends upon the character and capacity of the citizen.

A majority of the adults, both white and colored—51 per cent.—were wholly unfit to possess the right of suffrage. They could not read the ballots they were called upon to cast.

Rome was a republic in form, while a military despotism in substance. Spain has of late had a republic in form; but an ignorant Spanish population, though called citizens, are wholly unequal to the duties of citizenship, and are only fit to be what they have become,—subjects of Alfonso, or slaves of Don Carlos.

What now is the actual condition of our patient as a member of our democratic-republican family? He has full civil and political rights; but 51 per cent. of him above the age of ten cannot read and write, and is as ignorant of the use of these rights as a child is of the use of a case of surgical instruments. If we give the instruments to him, and leave him without a guardian, he is as likely to cut, and probe, and saw in the wrong place as in the right, and thus destroy himself. So it is with one-half of our patient. What we intended for his salvation may, through his ignorance and inexperience, prove his destruction.

The remaining 49 per cent. of him has been accustomed to use these rights (these surgical instruments, so to speak) under an oligarchy for the aggrandizement of his own caste, and oppression of the other caste. Naturally and logically he will continue to use his powers for the same ends, if permitted.

The current of human action flows on like that of a river in the old and familiar channel, however tortuous and full of rocks, until a new one is made for it. One-half of the volume of this great stream of humanity prefer the old channel. The other half, conscious that it leads to a cataract, resist; but are not sufficiently instructed or powerful to direct the

stream to the new channel. What is the inevitable, immediate outcome from this state of affairs?

Some of our people think the cotton States have done badly, and point to the fact that their finances are swamped, industry depressed, public improvements stopped, their elections a farce or a tragedy.

A more just opinion is that, on the whole, they have done a great deal better than we have had a right, or any reasonable grounds, to expect.

Would you expect the crew of a sailing packet to make no mistakes on the first voyage in managing a steamer? especially if half the crew were mere dock laborers, and had never been to sea at all in any craft? The sea most afflicted with ever-changing shoals and quicksands, sunken rocks and breakers, is the politics and legislation of a great and growing State; especially so if society is in a condition of transition and formation.

The most difficult ship to manage is the ship of State; the most intricate and troublesome piece of machinery to keep in perfect running order is the machinery of human government.

Statesmen in all ages have endeavored to keep this machinery in skilled hands. Philosophers have taught the necessity of intelligence, wisdom, and experience, in rulers.

Lycurgus compelled the education of every citizen of Sparta. Solon made the education of all citizens of Athens obligatory. Charlemagne established schools, and required the children of all courtiers to attend, so that political power might be in cultivated and skilled hands.

In the simplest form of government—military despotism—the officers before obtaining commands submit to a careful training and discipline.

The Chinese system of government, so far as we know, is based wholly on intelligence. Confucius and Mencius so taught, and it seems to have been the practice there long before their period. The ignorant in China have no voice whatever in the government, and have not had for several thousand years. As a consequence, the Chinese have endured longer as an independent nation than any other people recorded in history. They govern a larger population, and sustain more human beings to the square mile, and are held up as models of perseverance, industry, and economy. This demonstrates the intelligence and wisdom of those who have ruled.

France, in 1795, established the republic and universal suffrage. But the majority were illiterate, and the republic soon became a military despotism. She did the same thing again in 1848; but even then more than half of her citizens could not read the ballots they put in the urns. In fourteen years this illiterate mass voted for a military despot. I attended the election at Paris and at Rouen, in 1852, for two days, and by conversing with the voters learned that they had no clear conception of what they were doing.

Spain has just gone through a similar farcical and tragical experience. The Spanish republics in America fifty years ago committed a like mistake, and have enjoyed neither domestic peace nor prosperity since. Their normal condition is one of revolution; and will be, till power gets into intelligent hands, and the form of government is in harmony with the conditions and necessities of the governed.

Conservative and staid England extends the ballot, but extends education with it. A distinguished liberal said in the last Parliament to the more advanced wing of his party: "You demand universal suffrage; I demand universal education to go with it."

It is an axiom in political science that intelligence in the rulers is essential to good government. And the larger the country, and the more varied and complicated the interests, the higher is the degree of intelligence required of the citizen. In our system every voter is a ruler, a sovereign. In any city or State, where a body of voters sufficiently large to hold the balance of power is ignorant or corrupt; this bad or dangerous element at frequent periods will control the whole government, and reduce the elections, the laws, and the administration to its own level. We have passed through this experience in New York city, at a cost of fifty millions of dollars, and riotous and fraudulent elections, and much bad legislation; and are now guarding against its recurrence by compulsory education.

In the cotton States more than one-half of the adults are ignorant or corrupt, and, being the majority, they not only hold the balance of power, but they hold the power itself. An unscrupulous and intelligent leader is never wanting to control such a mass, and to wield it for purposes anything but patriotic or honest. The history of every country shows this. This law of human action is universal. Our States and our age, as well as other countries and other ages, are subject to it.

A political necessity induced us to put the cotton States into the power of ignorance and degradation by proclaiming universal suffrage; and a political necessity of a very grave character will compel us to help them out.

At the end of the Rebellion, when the reorganization of the South came up, one of our most patriotic and sagacious statesmen, the late Governor Andrew, remarked to a committee in New York in consultation on this very subject, that it was useless to reorganize the South by its fall; it must, to be successful, be reorganized by its head. This, rightly understood, is the key to the solution of the difficulty. It is the thread of Ariadne that, if followed, will guide us out of the otherwise fatal labyrinth.

At the time the late Emperor Napoleon was President of France, he published a little book called *Napoleonic Ideas*. The gist of it was that a democracy with universal suffrage, to secure public order and prosperity, necessarily and logically culminated in electing an emperor for life. From the standpoint of ignorant suffrage, like that of France in 1802 or 1852, he was doubtless correct; and some of

the cotton States would to-day probably prefer an enlightened dictator for life to the confusion, corruption, imbecility, and uncertainty that pervade every department of their governments. The worst possible condition of society is anarchy, and democracy based upon ignorant suffrage might justly be called, if such a thing were possible, *organized anarchy*. It was necessary for his self-protection to give the ballot to the freedman, however ignorant. It is a weapon more effective for defence in a free State than the bayonet. His impulses are right, and he will make no worse use of it than the equally unlettered poor white.

But the South must be saved from the unlettered of both classes. In short, it must be redeemed from the rule of ignorance. This cannot be done at once by restricting suffrage to the intelligent; for, as a matter of fact, a right like that of suffrage, once conferred upon millions of men, cannot be peaceably taken away. Nor would it be wise at present to do so, even if it were practicable; for the 49 per cent. of the present generation in the cotton States, who are not illiterate, are, as already shown, not themselves qualified to govern with justice and equity a republican State, peopled to the extent of nearly one-half by their former slaves. The three thousand unpunished murders, stated by a Southern member of Congress to have been committed by them since civil government was restored, are proof of this. The political slaughters of New Orleans, Coushatta, and Colfax demonstrate it.

The redemption and restoration of the cotton States can be accomplished only by and through universal education. Dictators, military governors, martial law, cure nothing, remedy nothing; they are mere temporary restraints, like the hangman's rope or the headman's axe; often necessary evils, but never reformatory elements. Compromises to keep the Kelloggs or the McEnerys in power are equally futile.

The free common school must be planted, nurtured, and sustained within reach of every man's children, white or colored, from Albemarle Sound to the Rio Grande; and a law must be enacted, and public sentiment to enforce it created, that will require the children to attend these schools. In the language of Milton, statesman as well as poet: "To make the people fittest to choose, and the chosen fittest to govern, we must teach the people." The patience and perseverance of long years are essential to success in this undertaking.

We must labor and wait, till the present generation, at least, has passed away, and a new one has been born and educated in freedom, common schools, and equal civil rights. It is a great work, a gigantic labor, to create the schools and educate in them seven millions of people.

The very inertia of the ignorance to be overcome is enormous; to say nothing of prejudice, which now is so great in some localities as to compel the teacher, like the early apostles of Christianity, to carry his life in his hands, even while going about on his errand of mercy and enlightenment, doing only good.

But it is a work that must be accomplished; there is no escape from it. We shall suffer till we do it. It is, as it were, a decree of Divine Providence.

The existence of our free institutions depends upon it; and we believe that Providence has decreed that they shall not go down; the future of humanity requires their preservation. The army had no success in putting down the rebellion till the President ordered emancipation. This removed the cause of war, and made, under the immutable laws of God, success both possible and right; before that, it was both impossible and wrong.

If the cotton States remain in the present condition of ignorance, and prejudice, and chronic discontent, they menace and corrupt the whole fabric of republican government, here as well as there. The necessity of the constant interference of the military to preserve the peace is introducing a new and destructive element into our civil polity,—an element that leads inevitably to only one end, a military government for the whole country. It matters little which party holds the power in the cotton States; the sword must be invoked to perform what the olive branch and the scales of justice ought to accomplish, but fail; and this will continue till the school-master works out the slow but sure regeneration of the people.

The panacea—perhaps we should say the specific,—for the political ills of the reconstructed States is just that which made Massachusetts colony the cradle and nursery of American liberty and democracy,—the district school; and through that the instruction and development of the understanding and conscience of each citizen.

Every man then becomes a republic within himself, having a clear conception of his own rights and his duty to others and to the State. He revolves around his proper orbit, and performs all his functions in a free state as naturally and harmoniously as the planets in the solar system. He manages wisely and justly his own affairs, and exercises an intelligent and wholesome supervision over those of the public.

The cure of our sick man is certain, if he will only take the medicine. How, then, shall we persuade him to do it? This ought not to be difficult. He is fully possessed of his reason, and the facts and arguments are all upon one side. It is only necessary to present them simply and clearly, and in an earnest and friendly spirit, and keep doing it, and he will in the end be convinced, and join us with a hearty goodwill to bring about this regeneration.

Property-owners are unanimously in favor of reducing the rate of taxation. This is best accomplished by both increasing the property and reducing the public burdens at the same time. Nature has poured out her gifts with a bounteous hand upon the cotton States; she has given them a mild cli-

mate, rich soil, abundant timber, and inexhaustible mines of coal and iron. They need for the development of their now idle resources only a large population of intelligent, industrious, and peaceable inhabitants.

They ask for immigration; but immigrants will not flock to States that do not provide for the education of children. They prefer the treeless plains and bleak winters of Nebraska, with her free common schools, to the tropical abundance of Louisiana with her 92,105 ragged, idle, and illiterate youth.

The laborer in this country, as a mere producing machine, is found, by actual examination in the great centres of industry of all kinds, to be worth 50 per cent. more with a common school education than if illiterate.

The common school, then, established throughout the cotton States as a mere industrial producing machine, would be equivalent to an addition of one million to her population; and, besides, would bring in its train other millions of intelligent, industrious, and hardy immigrants. In 1859, one of the largest landholders in the South, after having tried in vain for years to induce immigration from Germany and Switzerland, offered half his land to the State, if they would abolish slavery and establish free schools. He gave as a reason that then he could people the other half with intelligent settlers, and it would bring him more money than otherwise he could get for the whole. The land in a State filled with cultivated citizens is in demand at a high price; while in an illiterate community it can hardly be sold for the amount of the taxes.

Pauperism and crime are two chief causes of taxation. The illiterate persons throughout the United States commit, on the average, ten times their numerical proportion of crime; and in New England fifty-three times their proportion.

In the State of New York a single illiterate pauper girl has, in seventy-five years, been proved to have become the ancestor of two hundred criminals and paupers.

In the three States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, the illiterates furnish thirty times their proportionate share of the paupers, and ten times their proportionate share of criminals. It is possible, by education, to reduce crime in this country 90 per cent., and pauperism 96 per cent.

What a load of taxation this would take off from property, and how popular, when rightly understood, will it be with property owners.

In the Grand Duchy of Baden, with a population of a million and a half, by universal education, they reduced the number of crimes 51 per cent., and the number of paupers 25 per cent., in a period of only seven years.

At this day, in a Christian country, it is a crime against the citizens for the State to fail to provide for them the means of elementary education; and Providence punishes the State for this crime.

When the State in this respect has performed its duty, then ignorance in the citizen becomes a crime against society and the State, and should be punished as such.

This doctrine is recognized and acted upon in the most enlightened countries of the world, under all forms of government; but it is especially true and sound in a democratic republic like ours.

A well-educated commonwealth, however narrow its borders or poor its soil, becomes orderly, industrious, rich, and powerful; while an ignorant one, under the happiest circumstances of land and sky, falls a prey to anarchy, idleness, poverty, and despotism.

These facts, and volumes of others of like character, if brought to the knowledge of the intelligent voters, and of the property-owners of the cotton States, will in the end make them earnest advocates of laws to secure to every child within their borders the benefits of an elementary education.

The colored people, though possessing at present little intelligence or property, yet from the fact that for generations under the exigencies of slavery, they have been rigorously forced away from the school-house doors, are now hungering and thirsting for knowledge.

It will not be difficult to enlist in favor of the free common school, in the cotton States, the property-owners, the intelligent classes, and the colored people. There only remain the illiterate poor whites; but they number above the age of ten 671,274, and, as a rule, are opposed to schools for themselves, or for any one else, and especially for colored people.

This body of illiterate whites are the citadel of the enemy; but they are a minority, being only about 14 per cent. of the whole population of that age, and hence by the aid of this universal suffrage are easily overcome, as soon as the intelligent whites, the property-owners, and the colored people, are enlisted in favor of education.

What is required now for the complete restoration to health—political, financial, intellectual, and moral—of our patient is vigorous and persuasive missionary work through the daily, weekly, and monthly press, the pulpit, the lecture-room, and the rostrum, in favor of the free common school.

Tracts and pamphlets upon this subject should be showered down upon the cotton States, until every voter who can read is thoroughly alive to the necessity of providing by law for the education of every child in the State.

If they prefer separate schools for the different races, and are willing to pay the cost, let it so be; for that is a social question for them to decide; not for us. What the country has a right to require is that schools for all, sufficient and equally good, shall be established and maintained at public expense in every neighborhood. This is a more inviting field for missionary labor than any that has been occupied for the last century. The Sandwich Islands, Africa, the East Indies, are no comparison to it. It is close

at home. Public opinion of all sects and parties will sustain it. The cost is small, the converts easy to make, and not likely to backslide.

The founders of the republic foresaw the necessity of universal education, and expressed themselves in its favor with great earnestness.

Congress, in the Ordinance of 1787, enacted that "schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged."

Washington, in his first message to Congress, said: "Knowledge in every country is the surest basis of public happiness. To the security of a free constitution it contributes by teaching the people themselves to know and value their own rights, to discern and provide against invasions of them." In his farewell address, he says: "Promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge."

Jefferson said: "A system of general instruction which shall reach every description of our citizens, from the richest to the poorest, as it was the earliest, so it shall be the latest, of all public concerns in which I shall permit myself to take an interest. Give it to us in any shape, and receive for the inestimable boon the thanks of the young and the blessings of the old."

Jay said: "The importance of common schools is best estimated by the good effects of them where they most abound and are best regulated."

Rush said: "Establish and support public schools in every part of the State."

Clinton said: "A general diffusion of knowledge is the precursor and protector of republican institutions; and in it we must confide as the conservative power that will watch our liberties, and guard them against fraud, intrigue, corruption, and violence. I consider the system of our common schools as the palladium of our freedom."

At a later day your own Horace Mann said: "Education in a republic must be universal; the whole land must be watered with the streams of knowledge."

The State owes an education to all its children, and each child has a right to demand of the State a generous, unsectarian education, such as shall fit him to be a citizen of a free and tolerant republic. This debt has long been repudiated by the cotton States, until not only their peace and prosperity, but that of the whole country, is endangered. These States must be no longer permitted to commit this injustice, this crime, against the citizens.

The National Constitution requires that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." (Art. IV., 4.)

It is not the name that makes a republic, but rather the substance. Venice under the Doge and Council of Ten, though in fact a most rigorous and bloody despotism, was a republic in name.

If now an element is found to exist in any State which in its very essence and character is destructive of republican government, the United States in the spirit of the Constitution ought to have the power to eradicate it.

Ignorance, according to all history and experience, is just such an element. One of the objects for which the Constitution was formed, stated in the preamble, is "to promote the general welfare."

How can the general welfare be better promoted than by giving the national government the power to require each State to establish and sustain a system of free common schools, in which every child may acquire an elementary education sufficient to qualify him for the duties of citizenship?

Such a power might never be exercised, for its simple existence would be a stimulus, a spur to every State, to perform this clear, plain duty.

But with nine States in which a majority of all the people above the age of twenty-one cannot read and write, and whose governments manifest a reluctance to provide for education, there is an immediate necessity for this power.

In addition, then, to the patriotic and humane missionary work of creating a public sentiment in the cotton States for a system of free common schools, we should push forward an amendment to the National Constitution already proposed by Senator Stewart, of Nevada.

It is as follows: "If any State shall fail to maintain a common school system under which all persons between the ages of five and eighteen years, not incapacitated for the same, shall receive free of charge such elementary education as Congress may prescribe, the Congress shall have power to establish therein such a system, and cause the same to be maintained at the expense of such State."

The great work before us, then, as American citizens, and one that was carefully pointed out and well begun by the founders of our free government, may be stated in few words:—

First. To create and develop an enlightened and patriotic public sentiment in the Southern States, that will cause them to establish and support by law the free common school within reach of the children of every family, and to require by law every child of sound mind coming to adult age to obtain an elementary education sufficient to fit him for the duties of citizenship in a democratic republic.

Second. To amend the National Constitution so as to empower the Federal Government, in case a State fails to perform this duty, to see that it is done in each State.

This can easily be accomplished in a few years, and every true son of the fathers of '76 will gladly lend a hand to so beneficent a work. If this is brought about, our government, founded upon human rights and the equality of all men before the law, will then endure longer than has the Chinese Empire; and the North American continent will, in

the course of centuries, sustain hundreds of millions of people, peaceable, prosperous, happy, contented, free; and all living under one flag, and speaking one language.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

"PRIVATE INTERPRETATION" AND "LIBERTY."

MY DEAR ABBOT:—

I am emboldened by your courtesy to claim your attention once more.

1. Your "appeal to those who think and those who dare" was addressed to "Radicals." Hence I introduced B to your notice as a *Radical* Christian. This fact you seem to have overlooked. I beg that you will bear it in mind, as it is quite important. I think it will cause you to abate somewhat your charges against B, and also make it less difficult for you to understand his position. You will at least have no further excuse for complaining that he "shows two faces,—one to the Orthodox world when it charges him with 'denying the Lord that bought him,' one to the free-thinkers when they charge him with denying the principle of absolute liberty of thought and speech." If I know his mind and his spirit at all, and I think I do, for I have conversed with him often, he is as far from any sort of double-facedness as is my esteemed editor of THE INDEX himself. He "affirms the right of reason to sit in judgment on all things" to all comers, and never even harbors the thought of accepting the teachings of Jesus Christ, or of any one else, as a "Divine revelation beyond all suspicion of error." He may have acquired considerable confidence in Jesus as a teacher, and of that he is not ashamed. But he does not regard him as infallible, and, more than that, he has some doubts as to whether Jesus ever claimed any such superiority for himself. He will admit, however, I doubt not, that he was a person of "intense convictions." He denies Christianity to be what you affirm it to be. It does not bind him nor any one else "to submission, in mind, heart, and life, to the Lord Jesus Christ." That is his opinion, which opinion is the result of as careful investigation of all the facts in the case as he has been able to make. You demand that he shall either admit what you say, or "disprove" it. He has disproved it to his own satisfaction. He is not bound to satisfy you, or abdicate his own reason.

But you continue your complaint. He will not go with you "to the facts of Christianity and examine them afresh." He insists that you are mistaken. He has been with you there, again and again. What evidence have you that he has not? None whatever. But you are so fully persuaded in your own mind that you only are right, you can not possibly believe that he has been there—else he had not failed to see with your eyes! Nothing will convince you, unless he fall on his marrow-bones and confess that the fact is as you state it. Because he does not do this, you charge him with a "refusal to do anything but affirm and re-affirm his own 'private interpretation' of the facts, without submitting it to verification at all." He "sings his little song" all the same, and won't say, "Mr. Abbot, you are sound to a dot." Pray, tell me; if he conducts himself in this shocking manner, how differently do you carry yourself through it all? Has your "little song" ceased? Do you not "affirm and re-affirm"? Have you, then, failed to "verify"? No, certainly not. You "admit the possibility of being mistaken," but your "fresh verification" always shows you that you were not. Well, now, my dear friend, I think that that is precisely the way it is with B. He is not convicted of error, and he cannot take your word for it.

2. It is no part of my purpose to enter into a very elaborate defence of B, or to balance nicely the differences between him and you; for I tell you I do not care enough for your unprofitable discussion to do it. I have a simple and practical way of testing you both, and that without settling your dispute about names. If I find his Christianity and your anti-Christianity alike mean pro-Liberty, well and good. Enter ye both into the joy of my Lord!

But since I was betrayed, by my sudden surprise at what seemed to me to be your undeniable "Christian" treatment of him, into making some slight defence of his position, I cannot now well pass unnoticed one or two of your criticisms.

In the first place, B denies utterly that "the great dominant idea of Jesus was the fact of his Messiahship." He holds that that idea was both incidental and subordinate to his teachings. It was not a new thing invented by him, growing out of his ambition. It was a Jewish expectation into which he was born with all his countrymen. He did not even take it up as he found it. He modified and changed it, enlarged its boundaries until it became in point of fact little more than *spiritual leadership*. If he claimed to be king, adopting the current phrase, he founded no visible kingdom, no organized church with authority to force dogmatic prescriptions upon people for their welfare. He bade his followers, when the people in any place would not listen to them, to shake the dust of that place from their shoes, and depart. B thus believes that the institution called the Christian Church went back of the life and spirit of Jesus, and planted itself on the original Jewish faith that proclaimed an outward and visible kingdom. I cannot elaborate this statement, and adduce proofs to sustain it. I can only thus suggest that B is not without a basis of rational interpretation. In his judgment, the term Christianity refers more to a *movement* than to a *person*. With that movement he has strong, if not entire, sympathy. For the person he has great regard, but does not hold him to be infallible, nor in any sense Lord over the reason of mankind. He has his reasons for

this conviction, strange as it may appear to you; and it is just possible that he will some day give them to the readers of THE INDEX. Of course you will continue your "green cheese" argument. You will say, "These are the facts," and think that "B chooses to disregard them." That, I suppose, cannot be helped.

3. You strive to turn the historical parallel I suggested to your own profit. I am bound to say that your success is more apparent than real. You tell me: "Every institution tends to carry out and develop its own fundamental idea." I agree with you, B agrees with you, so far. It is true of the American Union, it is true of the Church. And it is true that the Church has made its fundamental idea the Lordship of Christ. But it is not true that this country, as represented in its republican institutions, has ever made universal liberty its fundamental idea. Our American institution has invariably stood for the *Lordship of the Union*. Liberty has always been chained in the background, and only now and then let in to pick up the crumbs. The Union has been afraid of Liberty, and never of its own free-will has done aught but compromise it. Its concessions have all been made in fear and trembling, and the pressure has always come from without. Garrison began his crusade by burning the Constitution. John Brown provoked the Rebellion that forced the Union to abolish chattel-slavery or perish, by himself first defying the government institution. It hung him on the gallows, but his soul, "marching on," won the day. The institution did not "develop" freedom, but gave way before a rebel hero's conquering soul. It developed "Union." It centralized and consolidated its power, and is to-day quite as determined to strike down liberty to preserve its own life as ever it was. A century ago the Union was *voluntary*. To-day it rests on the bayonet. The *harmony* of the country is sacrificed to its *unity*. What is it you say about the early liberties of the Church culminating in the infallible Pope?

Now B will tell you that, notwithstanding this bad record of the two institutions, the inspiring ideas of both these great movements,—that of two thousand years ago and this of our century,—have spread far, and taken deep and abiding root. But both institutions have misrepresented and denied them. Both institutions, the Christian Church and the Republican State, grew not out of those fundamental and permanent ideas, but out of an incidental and transient phase of their movement in departing from old and outgrown institutions. The Church seized the authority of the Messiah; the State the authority of Law. Divinity, Legality: liberty of every description has been crucified between them! The parallel is complete, and is on B's side.

4. But enough. I will here leave B to his own resources (humbly confessing that I have most inadequately represented him), and speak for myself. As I have intimated, I have disliked the tone of your "appeal" to him, because it seemed to me that you both met on equal terms, so that your right to address him as one under "mental delusion that paralyzes courage and darkens the eye of reason," was an assumption not easily defended. I was unable to see how, even if he were to adopt your interpretation, he would, by so doing, become one whit more courageous than he now is. I am, as you have seen by my free criticism of your claim above, still blind to your logic. You say of yourself: "I do not rely on my own private interpretation." I wish I could know exactly what you mean. You say again: "The universal reason counts for something, even as against the individual." Am I to understand that you, as an individual, "surrender at discretion" to this "universal reason"? You have certainly given very little evidence of that sort of surrender. Are you beginning to think that you have no longer any right to possess your own judgment? Or is it your judgment that you ought to surrender your judgment? That is the way my Catholic neighbor defends to me his "free reason," in submitting to papal authority. I am very much in a quandary as regards you both. Perhaps you have some novel idea of what constitutes a private interpretation. You seem to think the private reason casts aside all allegiance to any sort of evidence that would naturally go into the forming of a conclusion, and spits out to the world just what whim it "chooses." If this be true, your idea is indeed a novel one, and I don't wonder you are desperate to beat out its brains. Let me suggest that the common understanding, the "universal reason" concerning the term, is somewhat different. The assertion of the private judgment, I take it, is simply this: It is a judgment formed by the individual, based on all the evidence (facts) the world can offer him. He must see for himself, and with his own eyes. This judgment can only be displaced by some other judgment formed in precisely the same manner. It is not a matter of choice; he cannot help himself, if he reasons and judges at all. If he does not, who does? There can be no collective judgment, no universal reason, that is not first individual judgment and reason. It does not follow that, because a man relies upon his private reason, he necessarily falls out with all the rest of the world. He may simply confirm for himself what all the rest have reasoned. You seem to think that the more of this private reasoning there is done, the more everybody will have everybody else by the ears. To my mind precisely the reverse must be true. For there is but one man, and but one reason: and the more that reason is cultivated in all persons, the more will the one universal reason abound. But! *Meantime* what are we going to do? Stop each his own machine, and let all the other machines work for him? That would be an impossible consummation devoutly to be dreaded! So I say once more, I do not see how either you, or B, or any one, can escape from private interpretations.

5. I ventured to say, by way of illustration of this

fact, that your declaration that Christianity is "bondage" is in reality your own private interpretation, and not the confession of the Christian Church at all. You tell me in reply that I "reverse the verdict of the Church." You ask: "Does not the Church everywhere and always plant itself on the principle of Infallible Authority, and must not every free-thinker (the italics are mine) concede that this is mental and spiritual bondage?" But do you not see that your whole concern at this part is with the Church, and not at all with the "free-thinker"? What does it concede? that is the question. "Infallibility" and "bondage" may be convertible terms in your mind; but they are not so in the logic of the Church. The Church, if it concedes the one, will utterly deny the other. You are at sword's points with the Church; for never has that Church announced Christianity to be the ministry of bondage. You and I can get bondage enough out of its infallibility; but not with the Church's benediction. What then? Shall I say you have not offered me once more your private interpretation? I cannot conscientiously do so. That you are backed by the "consensus of all liberals," is doubtless a most cheerful reflection; but I venture you would hold your opinion if it were otherwise; yea, even as against the world. "Science," says Draper, "considers the vote of the majority in the ascertainment of truth with supreme indifference."

6. I certainly applaud your disposition to brevity, and wish that I were as gifted in that direction. But with all respect let me say that your "brevity" in treating what I have said on the "conflict of consciences" does yourself, I am sure, great injustice, and embarrasses me not a little. I do not wish to "sing my little song" once more, for I have no surety that you will "catch the tune" if I do. I think I had better do little more than refer you to my last letter. And I want you as a special favor to try to consider what I have said on this point with a more attentive ear. I know it isn't much, but it is all I have; and, being little, I have the more anxiety to have it measure its full length. But, to tell the truth, I thought I was furnishing you with a "text," when I wrote the words—"Do Nothing." I can imagine some stickler for the Established Church in England catching a like phrase from some advocate of "Disestablishment," and preaching therefrom as doleful a discourse as that in which you have indulged. "Do nothing!" he would say. "Why, is it doing nothing to dismiss all the clergymen, send home all the people, sell or destroy all the churches, and leave the rising generation to grow up without religion into helpless victims of scientists and demagogues! Why, I shrink from the very imagination of it! You do not in this way avoid trampling on the consciences of your fellow-men. You simply placate the consciences of the scientific minority by outraging the consciences of the vast majority who love religious institutions. You simply take sides with the conscience for science against your own conscience for religion. You cannot 'do nothing.' You have got to do something. You"—but brevity admonishes. The argument flows so easily, it were a luxury to keep on. Enough, however, for practical ends.

You will see that I consider the disestablishment of the State school quite as much in order as the disestablishment of the State Church. The declaration of John Bright in regard to the Church may be, with its proper modifications, equally well applied to the school. "The Established Church," he says, "whether as a political or religious institution, is out of harmony with the spirit of the time." And why? Because unwilling tribute is levied for its support. People are not "going to the dogs" for want of religion; but they will get their religion in their own way, and get, as they believe, a far better kind. So, too, people will not grow up in ignorance because State interference is withheld. They will get their education in their own way. Education they will have. The same impulse manifest in the creation of the State school will crop out, if left unchecked, in individual and cooperative enterprise. And such enterprise is alone in harmony with free society. It is not "free government"—there is no such thing on earth nor in heaven—we wish to perpetuate. That is the serious blunder from which we must recover. Society—free society—is the goal we seek. We seek it, for that alone is society. It does not exist where we are forcing this or that institution "for the good of all" down each other's throats. If democratic America offers this spectacle to the admiring gaze of the Old World at its Centennial show, I fear the wit of our visitors will easily detect the plagiarism. They have seen all that done at home, and far less bunglingly done, at that. I repeat what I have said, our problem is not whether a "free government" of the people, by the people, for the people can be established here; it is whether the people can get a universal conscience for liberty, and so constitute themselves a free, harmonious, and peaceful society.

Now I appeal to you, as a lover of and believer in liberty, as the only true means to all noble ends, to drop your fears, espouse heartily the great cause of America's complete emancipation; and so "let your light shine" that all men, your Catholic brethren included, shall come up to the help of all that is true, noble, and good. We want schools, and we shall get them; we want universal education, and we shall get it. But, I pray you, slay the "old Adam" that counsels you to violence. Disarm! Every boy knows the advantage of that, when he would get on peacefully with his fellows. William Penn knew the secret even of peaceful dealing with savages. Cannot we conquer Catholicism so? Disarmament, as most people argue, would heal the national woes of Europe. It will heal our woes of every description. Somebody must be brave enough to lead off. Who in America should it be, if not the religious radical? He surely will not slay Liberty for liberty's sake.

But, espousing her "for weal or woe," he will believe all things that make for the common good here possible under her banner!

Cordially yours,

SIDNEY H. MORSE.

CHURCH AND STATE IN AMERICA.

A LETTER FROM THE REV. DR. ARMITAGE UPON THEIR RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRIBUNE:

Sir,—Your able article on "Religion in European Politics" must, I am sure, have given great satisfaction to your readers, and more especially the congratulatory statement which it contained, that in this country we have "an absolute independence of Church and State." Yet I see that your correspondent, John J. Phillips, of New Haven, pronounces these "fine words," while he doubts their correctness, on the ground that among us "the property of a church" is exempt from taxation. Now, is it a matter of fact that no form of property held by religious corporations is exempted from taxation? In the State of New York, all property held by such corporations is taxable, excepting that which is used strictly for religious, educational, and humanitarian purposes; and for good reasons it ought to be. But all other property held by such bodies, "the house of the priest" included, is subject to tax, and should be, because it may be used for speculation and money-making ends.

But how do these facts conflict with your statement, that under our government there is an "absolute independence of Church and State?" What is the connection of Church and State in the sense of which you speak of it in "European Politics," and as the subject has generally been understood in history? Clearly this: the establishment of a certain form of religion, by legal enactments, to the exclusion of all other forms of religion, so that men of another religion, or of none, as the case may be, are compelled to support the religion imposed upon them by law, however obnoxious it may be to them. And more than this; the law in such cases makes provisions for the education of the legalized teachers or that legalized sect, out of the State exchequer, for the salaries of those teachers, and for the erection of church edifices out of the public treasury. Nor is this all. The State defines the doctrines of the established sect, prescribes the practices to be inculcated, and the discipline to be enforced therein; and, of course, those who choose to dissent from the established sect, on any of these points, are classed by law among heretics, and are compelled to pay for what they repudiate; while their own form of religion, if they have one, may or may not be even tolerated by the law, and commonly they are put under the social law, and often suffer the loss of certain political rights in addition.

Now, I take it, that it is because nothing of this sort exists among us that you consider the State as such is absolutely independent of the Church in our country, which is truly a subject of devout congratulation, but not a whit more so than that the Church as such is just as independent of the State. Church and State know nothing of each other before the law in the United States. But I do not understand you to say that religion holds no relation to the State here, or that the State holds no relation to religion; for, in fact, they hold the most vital relation to each other. As I understand the question, the right to religious liberty entered largely into the considerations which led to the founding both of the colonies and the republic. If I am right, the whole theory of our political and civil jurisprudence, so far as it bears upon this point at all, rests upon the natural and inalienable right of man to be religious, and to enjoy all the necessary means for worship, without paying the State for its protection while exercising that right. While the State is separated from the Church as such, under any given name or form whatever, it is not and cannot be separated from religion. But, on the contrary, the framers of our government intended that it should stand squarely upon the principles, and especially the ethics, of religion; and they so intertwined these into the entire system of our liberties that if they should be removed for a day the government would fall to pieces. Protection of religion by the government is its self-preservation. All forms of worship are protected in this country, whether Jewish, Christian, Confucian, Mohammedan, or whatever; provided that our citizens worship in peace, and obey the laws of the land. In every nation, its religious standard is the standard of its morality and the ground of its law, simply because all immorality tends to subvert law, and, therefore, to overthrow government. At present, no free government exists where Christianity is not the religion of the people; and in the United States the highest authorities have decided again and again, with Judge Parker, and Daniel Webster, and many others of our interpreters of the Constitution and laws, that "religion is part of the common law." It follows, then, that in protecting religion our government protects the common law, and, according to George Washington, it does no more than its duty here.

When Washington resigned power in 1796 he said, in his valedictory address to the public of the United States: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firm props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume would not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which

are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle." The whole question, Mr. Editor, of the proposed taxation of property held and used for purely religious, educational, and benevolent purposes needs and demands a fair, dispassionate, and thorough examination; and the more carefully it is investigated the less will religion suffer, and the more will the Commonwealth be benefited.

Yours, &c.,

THOS. ARMITAGE.

{ No. 2 WEST FORTY-SIXTH STREET,
NEW YORK, Feb. 4, 1875.

A NEW EMPLOYMENT for womanly energy has recently been initiated in England that seems to be admirably adapted to feminine ingenuity, activity and tastes. Four ladies of good social position in London have adopted the profession of home decorative artists. They undertake the whole interior embellishment of a dwelling, including the selection of furniture, attention to the upholstery, and the tasteful selection and arrangement of all the ornamental appendages of a well-ordered home. They are said to be excellent artists in their profession, and have already met with marked success. But they have reached this result by serving a regular apprenticeship.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 13.

H. W. Wellington, \$4; Chas. C. Merry, \$2; George Dimmock, \$3.70; D. C. Hawhurst, \$2; R. B. Merrett, \$2; John H. Pennerman, \$2; C. L. Tomlin, \$2; George Newcomer, \$2; L. E. Bailey, \$2; D. Sharpstein, \$2; Mary Syles, \$2; John Harper, \$2; C. C. Beach, \$2; E. C. Graves, \$2; Wm. Milligan, \$6.20; Alex. Grant, \$3.20; Joseph A. Stevens, \$1.20; Wiley Britton, \$3; D. C. White, \$1; J. E. Larimer, \$3.20; Peter Newcomer, \$3.20; A. Clegg, \$2.50; J. S. Shailer, \$3.20; Chas. H. Welch, \$3.20; W. A. Downes, \$23.20; Chas. M. Cuyler, \$4; C. W. Peirce, \$13.20; H. F. Badger, \$2; George Winslow, \$2; Alfred Kiser, \$2; Isaac Cox, \$2; John Hogeboom, \$2; George E. Hollister, \$2; R. F. Judson, \$2; D. Waterbury, \$2; Charles May, \$2; S. Hubbard, \$2; George Smiley, \$2; Frank H. Duncan, \$2; Wm. N. Warmington, \$1.60; George W. Watson, \$2; E. C. Styles, 50 cents; A. W. Thompson, \$3; M. M. Gardner, 80 cents; C. H. Doolittle, \$2; Perry & Morton, \$2.20; E. P. Wright, \$1.20; E. H. Bearse, \$1.60; O. A. Taft, \$1.20; Milan Bentley, \$1.20; J. R. Burt, 25 cents; John Branham, \$4; James Barton, \$3; N. Littlefield, \$3.20; John R. Lewis, 10 cents; J. T. Dickens, \$1.20; George Capron, \$3; Asa Fairbanks, \$3; W. R. Pearson, \$6.20; Isaac Wertheimer, 10 cents; Reuben Frisbie, \$3.20; E. O. Avery, \$10; Wm. B. Clarke, \$2; James Blood, \$1.60; G. H. Shaw, 80 cents; E. Blackman, 80 cents; B. C. Buck, 80 cents; E. Harrit, \$3.20; Sarah F. Earle, \$3.20; S. L. Curtis, \$1.50; E. E. Deniston, \$3; G. P. Delaplaine, \$1.20; Jerome Bass, \$1.20; Joseph Post, \$3.20; B. B. Griswold, \$3.20; Warren Griswold, \$1.20; Geo. L. Paine, \$1; J. W. Pike, \$3.20; M. G. Whitmore, 75 cents; D. Y. Kilgore, \$5; M. V. Longley, 25 cents; A. A. Bell, \$10; A. A. Knight, \$1.20; J. W. Winder, 50 cents; D. F. Henderson, \$8; Mary Wright, 25 cents; G. H. Foster, \$1.50; M. Altman, \$15; E. M. Davis, \$10; H. McNair, 25 cents; D. W. Ebersole, 30 cents; M. F. Horine, 75 cents; Wm. Allen, \$1.75; J. M. Aldrich, \$20; Mary E. Veele, 25 cents.

RECEIVED.

Books.

THE MORALITY OF PROHIBITORY LIQUOR LAWS. An Essay. By William B. Weeden. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1875. THE DOCTRINE OF DESCENT AND DARWINISM. By Oscar Schmidt, Professor in the University of Strassburg. With 26 woodcuts. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1875. [International Scientific Series.] HEALTH: A Handbook for Households and Schools. By Edward Smith, M.D., F.R.S. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1875. PERSONAL REMINISCENCES BY MOORE AND JERDAN. Edited by Richard Henry Stoddard. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1875. [Brac-Brac Series.] ALICE BRAND. A Romance of the Capital. By A. G. Riddle. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1875.

Pamphlets and Periodicals.

SERMONS BY O. B. Frothingham, in Lyric Hall, New York. —The Divorce between Creed and Conduct: Jan. 24, 1875. —The Struggle for Supremacy over Conscience: Jan. 31, 1875.—New York: D. G. Francis, 1875. THE WISDOM FROM ABOVE. A Sermon. By Rev. H. W. Foote, at King's Chapel, Boston, Jan. 3, 1875. Boston: 1875. THE GLORY OF NEW YORK. A Discourse on Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 26, 1874. By Rev. E. P. Rogers, D.D. New York: 1874. SERMONS BY THE REV. CHARLES VOYSEY, at St. George's Hall, London.—Mrs. Girdling and the Bible Christians: Jan. 3, 1875.—On Rational and Irrational Prayer: Jan. 10.—The Controversy between Monsignor Capel and Canon Liddon: Jan. 17.—The Fallacy of Pretended Revelation: Jan. 24.—The Basis of Theism: Jan. 31. PUBLICATIONS OF THOMAS SCOTT, Esq., 11, The Terrace, Farquhar Road, Upper Norwood, London, S. E.—Nine Years a Curate.—Spiritual Gambling.—Enthanasia.—The Free-Will Controversy. By T. D. Hutchinson.—Signs of the Times. March, 1875. CAUSERIES AVEC MES ELEVES. By Lambert Sauveur. TRAVELLING SALESMAN. An Address. By W. H. Baldwin. Boston: Boston Young Men's Christian Union. HISTORY OF THE WRONGS OF AMERICA. An Appeal to the People and Press of America. San Francisco: 1875. A REPLY TO THE RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE'S "Political Expulsion." By the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Capel, D.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1875. HEARTS AND HANDS. A Story in Sixteen Chapters. By Christian Reid. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1875. IN THE CAMARGUE. By Emily Bowles. Boston: Loring, Publisher. REPORT OF THE NEW YORK CITY COUNCIL OF POLITICAL REFORM, for the Years 1872-73-74. New York: 1875. SECOND REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS OF THE NEWTON HOME FOR ORPHAN AND DESTITUTE GIRLS. Boston: 1875. THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW for January, February, and March, 1875. London: Chapman & Hall. THE POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY. March, 1875. New York: D. Appleton & Co. THE UNITARIAN REVIEW. March, 1875. Boston: L. C. Bowles. THE PENN MONTHLY. March, 1875. Philadelphia: 506 Walnut St. THE SANITARIAN. March, 1875. New York: 234 Broadway. THE HERALD OF HEALTH. March, 1875. New York: Wood & Holbrook.

The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 18, 1875.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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LIBERTY IN CHURCH AND STATE.

MY DEAR MORSE:—

You will find your third letter printed on a previous page; and I will only say that, instead of your being beholden to any "courtesy" of mine, I am in your debt for urging your own differing views so candidly, yet so vigorously, in these columns. If either of us felt inclined to quibble over trifles or waste time and space in mere verbal retorts, I should think this a very profitless discussion, and expect our readers to complain of it; but since we both want to find, if possible, that common ground on which the great questions raised may be reasonably settled, and since neither of us seeks or wishes to "get the victory" but to arrive at truth, I hope that our readers are not yet tired of the subject.

1 and 2. Perhaps I did not sufficiently consider that "B" was a "Radical Christian," because I experience the same difficulty in reconciling Christianity with "Radicalism" that confronts me in reconciling it with "freedom." On the whole, I will drop B out of my part of the discussion. A "Christian" who, as you say of him, "never even harbors the thought of accepting the teachings of Jesus Christ, or of any one else, as a 'Divine revelation beyond all suspicion of error,'" is such a white blackbird that I cannot tell his color at all. His "Radicalism" and his "Christianity" eat each other up, like the Killenny cats, and I cannot find so much as the tail of either. The only scrap of fur that is visible of his "Christianity" is his admission that Jesus did at least claim "spiritual leadership," when he claimed to be the Messiah. Very well: from that admission, as from a bit of fossil bone, any one who has sufficient leisure can reconstruct the entire animal. But the animal is unmistakably deceased. Quite as dead, too, is the "Radicalism" that still cleaves to personal "leadership" in any sense; it does not interest a free-thinker; it has nothing that is alive about it. No, I give up in despair; I cannot guess B's conundrum—how to reconcile Christianity and freedom.

3. In order to make comprehensible the thesis that freedom and Christianity are compatible, at the same time that freedom and the Church are confessed to be incompatible, you have instituted a parallel between the Church and our own Republic; holding that the Church has been false to Christianity in the same way that the Republic has been false to freedom. You said in your second letter that this nation "dedicated itself to the 'inalienable right of all to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,'" yet "for nigh a whole century unblushingly defended an institution of human bondage"; and you urged that, "as republicanism is not republicanism when it defends bondage, so Christianity is not Christianity when it enslaves human nature." This argument I met by saying that every institution must be true to its own fundamental idea; that the fundamental idea of the Republic was freedom, to which it was true when it abolished slavery; that the fundamental idea of the Church was the Lordship of Jesus, to which it was true when it suppressed individual liberty; that neither the Republic nor the Church has been false to its fundamental idea in its history as a whole; and that your illustration was wholly in my favor. Now, in your third letter, you shift your ground completely, and deny (what you before affirmed) that the "inalienable right of all to life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness" is the fundamental idea of the Republic. You say now: "It is not true that this country, as represented in its republican institutions, has ever made universal liberty its fundamental idea. Our American institution has invariably stood for the Lordship of the Union. Liberty has always been

chained in the background, and only now and then let in to pick up the crumbs." Very well, then; if the Republic was *not* dedicated to liberty at the start, and has *not* been true to liberty since, it does not at all serve your original purpose as an illustration of an institution which has been false to the ideas on which it was founded.

In the same way you have completely shifted your ground about the Church. In your first letter, it was founded upon the "teachings of Jesus," which were considered to be "proclamations of liberty," but from which the Church "departed." In your present letter, the Church, like the Republic, "grew not out of those fundamental and permanent ideas, but out of an incidental and transient phase of their movement in departing from old and outgrown institutions." It now appears that the Church never "departed" from the ideal of Jesus because it never was based upon it.

The whole ground of your parallel, therefore, has been changed. At first, the Church and the Republic were alike in this, that both of them betrayed and "departed from" the fundamental ideas on which they were originally based. But now it turns out that they are alike in this, that [they were not originally based on those fundamental ideas at all, but were both based on merely incidental features of a "movement" which they have most perversely and unreasonably persisted in misrepresenting! Neither of these supposed parallels will stand close examination. I have accepted the fact of parallelism, but considered it to consist in the fact that both the Church and the Republic have logically carried out the fundamental ideas on which they were based, and that they have thus represented fairly, not misrepresented, the movements that respectively gave them birth. This parallelism I am willing to defend further, if necessary. But previously I should like to know which of your own two parallels you really intend to stand by; for you have drawn two parallels, instead of one, which are mutually contradictory and irreconcilable.

4. The question you raise in this section of your letter, between "private interpretation" and "universal reason," is so important and vital that I must reserve consideration of it for a separate and independent article; and meanwhile I will pass to the next section.

5. You affirmed that my "declaration that Christianity is 'bondage' was in reality [my] own private interpretation, and not the confession of the Church." I replied: "Does not the Church everywhere and always plant itself on the principle of *Infallible Authority*, and must not every free thinker concede that this is mental and spiritual bondage?" You challenge this reply, and tell me that my concern is with the Church, and not at all with the free thinker; that the Church does not concede that *Infallible Authority* is bondage. I admit that I cannot find the *precise words* of the abstract proposition—"Christianity is bondage"—in the authoritative declarations of the Church. But the Catholic Church tells you and me that we are "bound" to believe and obey the Pope; and the vast majority of the Protestant churches tell you and me that we are "bound" to believe and obey the Bible. That "bound" is exactly what *Infallible Authority* means; and it forbids us to doubt, to disbelieve, to disobey. Why should we quibble over words? The Church *does* affirm, as plainly as language can put it, in innumerable ways and forms, that we are *not free* to reject what it proclaims as "Divine truth." The Athanasian Creed, in the famous so-called damnatory clause, affirms that "he who does not thus think concerning the Trinity shall without doubt everlastingly perish." (I quote from memory.) Is not that proclaiming mental and spiritual bondage with a vengeance? Yet the Athanasian Creed has been for a thousand years and more a formula recognized by almost all Christian churches as one of the great standards of their faith. It does not say in terms that "Christianity is bondage"; yet does it not bind thought to certain dogmatic conclusions on peril of damnation? The liberty of thought which you and I claim is repudiated by the Church; it tells us that it is sin, and brings perdition; when it says that the service of Christ is "perfect freedom," it does not mean the freedom of thought which we mean, but freedom from sin and its consequences; and, if we explain what the freedom is that we want, it tells us it does not want any such freedom as that, and is ready enough to confess that its own "infallible authority" is the exact opposite of it. Ask Rome if she considers her faith liberal and free; Father Hecker may say yes, but the Pope, Father Hecker's acknowledged

infallible master, says no in words as unmistakable and strong as possible. Pope Gregory XVI., in his Encyclical Letter *Mirari*, denounced the doctrine that "liberty of conscience and worship is the personal right of every man," as "insane nonsense" and the "liberty of perdition"; and Pope Pius IX., in his still more famous Encyclical *Quanta Cura*, asserts "that salutary power which the Catholic Church, according to the institution and commission of her divine Author, should freely exercise to the end of time—not only over individual men, but over nations, peoples, and their sovereign rulers." What stronger confessions do you want from the Church that Christianity is bondage, if there is to be no artful falsification of the word freedom? Most certainly I claim that the Church does confess her "infallible authority" to be "bondage," when she fully comprehends the kind of freedom which you and I demand. The terms are "convertible in the logic of the Church"; and you are "at sword's points" with her, not I, when you maintain the contrary. Has not "free thought" been a term convertible with "sin" in her vocabulary from time immemorial, even in the half dechristianized Protestant churches? It is not on the "consensus of all liberals," but on the *consensus* of all recognized Christian churches (excepting always the Neo-Christian hybrids), that I rest the proposition—"Christianity is bondage." They all bind the intellect to their own dogmas, and denounce and repudiate all freedom which questions them. Can you deny it?

6. I have carefully re-perused what you say in your second letter on the subject of the "conflict of consciences." I certainly tried to meet your main points fairly, without essaying to answer you sentence-by sentence—always a tedious business both to writer and to reader. In that letter you said [THE INDEX, Feb. 25]: "If the public school system is not founded in right and justice, drop it. You will find it is not worth the cost of pursuing. Purchased at the price of liberty, you have sold your birthright for a mess of pottage." Why, certainly; that is true. But I think that, if anything was ever "founded in right and justice," the public school system is. Whose "liberty" is the price of it? "The Catholic's," you will say. That is, the Catholic parent thinks it his sacred duty to make his child a Catholic too; he claims the right to deprive him of a common school education, unless the priest is allowed to teach him Catholicism in that common school; he thus asserts the right to rob his child of the knowledge essential to his future welfare, unless he is allowed to control the management of the public school in the interest of his private dogmas. That is what I call a CONSCIENCE FOR DESPOTISM. Has the child no rights of his own? Has he not a right to the knowledge which is absolutely necessary to give him a fair chance in life? Has the State, which only exists to protect rights, no duty to protect the rights of the child as well as of the parent—no duty to respect the consciences of the other parents too? I answer, yes; and the State cannot discharge this duty at all, without maintaining schools by universal taxation and keeping them secular all the while. If that is not justice, I don't know what justice is. I admit that the Catholic's conscience for despotism is violated by this obedience to the conscience for liberty and justice; I am very sorry it is so, but see that the only choice lies in violating one or the other. You will say: "So long as there are in America two consciences on this question of freedom, there will be conflict." There are indeed two; the conflict exists; and the only way to "mind our own business" (which is your recipe) is to discharge the public duty which the situation imposes, namely, to protect the conscience for liberty against the conscience for despotism. In this conflict you will have to take sides. You do take sides—against the conscience for liberty.

"Doing nothing" is simply impossible. Your "stickler for the Established Church in England" is quite right, when he thinks that Disestablishment is a very emphatic something. The only trouble is that, while this particular something is just and right, he nevertheless objects to it. Now you happen to be in favor of this particular something yourself, although it hurts the Churchman's conscience! You would abolish the State Church,—in fact, the State and Church. But in doing so you pierce your "stickler's" conscience! Well, I too would disestablish the Church; but I should know I was doing a very large something, and should never imagine I was "doing nothing."

The fact is that the conscience which prompts any man to violate his neighbor's equal rights (and unenlightened conscience often prompts this, as in the

Catholic's case) cannot be otherwise than offended and restrained by any community which is organized for the protection of equal rights. You think you can escape this necessity by "doing nothing," which, if it means anything that I can comprehend, means the total dissolution of the State, the total cessation of the protection now given by the community to the rights of the individual. But this is anarchy, and anarchy means everywhere and always the subjugation of the weak by the strong. However imperfectly individual rights may be now protected, this imperfect protection is a great deal better than none; and it is the PUBLIC DUTY of every citizen to join in giving it. Instead of regretting the existence of the State as a necessary evil, I value it as the necessary condition of all that is good. To maintain it under the form of popular self-government, with constitutional guarantees of individual liberties, seems to me the highest duty of every man as a member of civilized society; and yet to maintain it without a thoroughly developed system of universal education is a sheer impossibility. The Catholic's demand either to control this system or else to be released from his share in the expense of maintaining it cannot be complied with, except by inflicting the grossest wrongs upon all the rest of the community. Whoever appreciates the inestimable value of free government (that is, the people's self-government in all that concerns the people collectively) knows that there can be no "free society" without it. I think your supposition that there can be "free society" without "free government" is a woefully unpractical one, so long as a single man, woman, or child is ever tempted to commit a crime of any sort against the equal rights of any other. And universal education is the prime condition of all free government.

Nor, in the light of facts, can I believe that education will be made even general, much less universal, if our public school system is abolished. You say that the people "will get their education in their own way." Of course they will in a republic; and the public school system is "their own way" of getting it. Destroy this system, and a vast proportion of the people will be *totally unable* to get any education at all. This system is simply a device for bringing education within the reach of every one. Whom does it hurt or oppress? What more beneficent institution was ever imagined? There is no "violence" about it. If by urging "disarmament" you mean to urge the abolition of all the restraints imposed by the State upon the turbulent and the unjust, I see that it would inaugurate a perfect reign of "violence." Of all tyrannies, what so tyrannical as mob-law? In my turn, I appeal to you, "as a lover of and believer in liberty as the only true means to all noble ends," to drop your own fears of the State, and perceive that the State is simply the realization of the highest individual liberty which is compatible with the protection of the liberty of all individuals; to recognize the plain facts of humanity as it exists to-day, and not go on the quiet assumption that, if the State and its schools were abolished, nobody would ever wish to infringe upon his neighbor's rights. I wish that were true; but it is not true, and dreams will not make it true. The State is imperfect, of course; but it is chiefly because knowledge is also imperfect. Then help to perfect the State by increasing knowledge in the people; and help to strengthen and improve that public school system which is the only means of increasing knowledge in the people. For the sake of all individual and public liberties, which you prize as highly as I, but no more highly, do not in your devotion to the *end* destroy the one indispensable *means*.

Yours in all sincerity,
F. E. ABBOT.

CHURCH AND STATE.

Attention is called to the letter on "Church and State," by Thomas Armitage, of New York, printed in another column. Dr. Armitage is a Baptist clergyman of high rank and respectability, as the publication of his letter in the *Tribune* avouches. He is supposed, too, to be a man of ability, though no one will judge so from this performance, which is about the most remarkable for mental opacity that the literature of this discussion has produced. It is interesting chiefly as showing the mass of obfuscation that must be cleared away before the radical position can be apprehended. A sweeter simplicity was never exhibited than that displayed in the first paragraph, in which the Doctor states that "all property held by religious corporations is taxable, in the State of New York, *excepting* that which is used strictly for religious, educational, and humanitarian purposes"! The Doctor contends for a larger exemption than

many of his brethren do, while aiming at a reduction of it to the indispensable pieces of property. The "house of the priest," he boasts, is taxed. But why it should be so long as "the priest" resides there is not, on his reasoning, apparent. If the church edifice, which is the priest's official and public house, is exempted from taxation, why not the parsonage which is his unofficial and private house? As soon as the priest's official and public house—the church—ceases to be such, and becomes a carpet-warehouse, a dry-goods store, a carriage-factory, a livery-stable, or a theatre, it is taxed. Why should not the unofficial and private house be untaxed, until it too is put to secular uses? In the State of New York it is to a degree exempted. Ten years ago, when I went to the City Hall to pay my first house tax, I was told that settled clergymen were entitled to a deduction of fifteen hundred dollars on the valuation of their dwellings. The information was volunteered, but has not been taken advantage of, and I have not had the curiosity to inquire since whether "the priest's house" still enjoys its privilege. I presume, however, that it does; and, if it does, the magnanimous concession of Dr. Armitage is not accepted by the city in which he resides.

But the most desperate intellectual confusion occurs in the third paragraph, which betrays the secret trouble that afflicts the whole mind of Christendom, the incurable color-blindness which is unable to distinguish between *religion* and *some form of religion*, between *religion* and *religious institutions*. "If I am right," he says, "the whole theory of our political and civil jurisprudence, so far as it bears on this point at all, rests upon the natural and inalienable right of man to be religious, and to enjoy all the necessary means of worship without paying the State for its protection while exercising that right." We call particular attention to this sentence, for it is a rare and delicious morsel of evangelical reasoning. Such tidbits are not furnished every day, and wise people will make the most of them when they are provided. Here is history, philosophy, ecclesiastical and civil law, ethics, logic, and wit, all in a single sentence, which the reader shall have the pleasure of analyzing for himself.

And when that has been thoroughly done, let him go on to the remainder of the paragraph and the conclusion of the letter, and mark the other ancient assumption, that morality rests on "religion" (that is, on religious institutions), and the ingenious suggestion that, when Washington urged the claims of ordinary morality on the statesmen, politicians, and people of his generation, he was recommending religious institutions to the patronage of the State, and pressing their claims to peculiar privileges. Yet all this is meant seriously; Dr. Armitage is not jesting; he is not playing the casuist; he is not, in his own judgment, defending a desperate cause. He is expressing his clearest views; he is candidly giving voice to the fixed convictions of an immense number of Christian believers; and the sole effect of his letter is to make us feel how far we are from having reached the preliminaries of discussion on a question of vital public concern. Well, all the deeper is the need of perseverance and patience. O. B. F.

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE NEGRO.

I make it a general rule not to answer any criticisms upon myself or my words which appear in a newspaper; but your correspondent "P. H. C.," in THE INDEX December 10, seems to be under such an entire delusion in regard to my thoughts, that I feel bound to say one word in explanation. I do this because I judge him to be one of those educated colored men with whose extreme sensitiveness as regards any slight on their race I have great sympathy. As to my "taking stock in the negro," I assure him that I have entire faith in that race and their future destiny; believing that, while the difference between them and the Caucasian race in intellectual characteristics are very slight and not easily defined, they have ethnological peculiarities of great value in morals and aesthetics, which will add new power and grace to our civilization, when they are fairly represented in it. In consequence of this belief, my principal work for the last ten years has been aiding the education of the freedmen, as the most immediate duty to themselves and to us.

The form of religion now prevalent among the freedmen I consider a great obstacle to their education; and, as "P. H. C." truly says, it has been taught them by the whites who did not care to develop the moral and intellectual power of the slaves, which would have made them less servile and sub-

missive, but were very willing to let them vent their emotions in religious exercises, and encouraged them to console themselves with the thought of heaven in another world, instead of seeking to better their condition in this.

Out of the influences of slavery and what is called Evangelical piety has grown that sensational, superstitious, ignorant form of religion which is more prevalent at the South, both among whites and blacks, than where education prevails to a greater degree; and I repeat, not that there is no morality among the freedmen, but that, as a general rule, they do not consider it to have any special connection with religion. That a man is honest, kind, temperate, industrious, and so forth, does not prove that he has "got religion," or the reverse. But that he shouts, and sings, and falls down in trances, and so forth, does indicate piety, although he may lie and steal the next day.

But I believe that the negro has a special genius for religion, and that if, avoiding all controverted dogmas, we go to him with the simple, grand truths of religion, and show their relation to life and morals, he is very readily receptive of them. In travelling through the South on a special mission to freedmen's schools, the friend who was with me and myself spoke every Sunday, either in churches, prayer-meetings, or Sunday-schools. Both counting ourselves as Free Religionists, we spoke our own thoughts of religion without any reference to the current opinions of the people, and we never failed to meet a warm response from the people, who sometimes came to us wondering how we could understand and sympathize so well with them.

In one case, a revival preacher, who had been urging the young people not to go to school lest it should hinder their "getting religion," came forward and indorsed our views, when we had been showing the necessity of education as developing the heart and mind, so that we could serve God with them truly. This was on a week-day, however.

I believe that, if we would approach these and all other uneducated, simple people, not with an idea that they need different religious food from what we do, but with the very thoughts which help us, put into clear and simple speech, we should always find a substratum of good sense and natural religion which would respond to us.

Such are my views of the religious condition of the negro and of his needs, and I hope you will pardon the seeming egotism of the explanation. I can bear the misunderstanding of a white person, but I am not willing that any negro should think me unfriendly to his race.

E. D. C.

[We owe an apology to Mrs. Cheney for the delay in publishing the above article. It got slipped by accident into the wrong envelope, from which accident alone rescued it; and we regret exceedingly that such a mischance should have hindered its appearance so long.—ED.]

REFORMS AND REFORMERS.

From my boyhood, I always have had a great respect for reformers. Well do I remember how my boy-heart was stirred with admiration and enthusiasm, when first I saw Lucy Stone upon the Anti-Slavery platform. It was some twenty-five years ago that she came to my native village, and, alone, and almost uncountenanced by anybody in the town, lifted up her sweet and persuasive voice (which, even now, has lost none of its fine qualities) in behalf of the oppressed black man. All the "piety" and the "respectability" of the place were arrayed against her; the sarcasm and irony of the local press flayed her reputation in advance; and the result was that she had to speak in the face of bitter prejudice and ridicule, and at the imminent peril of her person. But, notwithstanding she represented on that occasion two most unpopular reforms—dress reform and anti-slavery (she was clad in the "Bloomer" costume)—and although, moreover, I was a stout Whig boy, she utterly won my heart. From that hour, I was thoroughly converted to the cause she so nobly championed; and never thereafter did I fail to stand up, through thick and thin, for all those men and women who so faithfully labored, amidst reproach and scorn and danger, for a wronged, a suffering, and a down-trodden people.

And, to-day, I have still a genuine and deep respect for reformers as a class. I entirely comprehend how their souls are aflame with the desire to correct what seem to them the abuses, and to right what seem to them the wrongs, which afflict society at the present time. I understand how they cannot be content to let alone the woes and the ills that harass the

body politic, nor hold themselves aloof from the causes that seem to cry out to them for help. I appreciate the impatience which they sometimes appear to feel, that every humane person does not immediately fly to their side, and work with them in that particular reform which they think is of the first and gravest importance. In my own case, I often find it harder to resist such an appeal than to give myself utterly to it; for every arduous and unpopular movement, which has for its honest purpose the betterment of the race, seems to reproach me if I do not labor night and day to help those who are trying to carry it onward. Every despised "Nazareth" has for me a powerful charm, because I am constantly thinking, notwithstanding frequent disappointment, that perhaps some great good, or some splendid soul, is likely to come out of it. I liberally share with all mankind the popular superstition, that a messiah and a millennium are sure to come, whereby and wherein every evil will be changed to good, and the whole race experience a grand redemption.

But I have lived to learn that a glittering illusion and a momentous danger are connected with every reform. The illusion is, that no reform is half so complete or so pressing as it seems; and the danger is, that, in pursuing one idea, one theory, one principle, we lose sight of many others that are equally as important and vital,—and so end in becoming, as reformers, narrow, dogmatic, illiberal, conceited, and vain.

It seems to me that the great gospel of the nineteenth century is the discovery of the law of Evolution; that there is in Nature an irresistible and eternal tendency from the imperfect to the perfect, from the finite to the infinite, from chaos to cosmos. This discovery takes the place of the old notion of the division of the universe between God and the Devil, both of whom were constantly striving with each other, and rallying their respective followers in a mutual and never-ending warfare. Now we see, in the light of this truth of Evolution, that the struggle which is going on in the universe is not at all a *fight* in the old sense, but a constant and steady unfolding of the germ, and a corresponding adaptation of it to its environment.

And what thought follows from this gospel-discovery of Science, as bearing on the subject of reforms? If there be not at the heart of the universe this sound and healthy germ of all possible good, and if there be not throughout all Nature this eternal and irresistible tendency of the finite to unfold into the infinite,—then all our efforts at reform, all our struggle and striving, are for naught, because there is no help in us or for us. But if it be true that Evolution is the law of the world, and that there is this sure and quickening step of progress to be heard through all the ages,—then it is apparent that the reform which underlies all reforms is our becoming individually conscious of the divine meaning of Nature, and falling in and keeping step with the sublime, unhalting march of Evolution. Then we see that everything does not depend upon us alone, to make society what it should be,—that Nature works even while we are asleep and at rest; while we are doubtful, perhaps, not knowing what to do. Then we lose our spirit of hurry and worry, our spirit of scolding and condemnation, our spirit of controversy and of battle. Then we become, not content with evil, but patient with it,—cheerful, hopeful, believing. Then we cease to be mere benevolent busy-bodies, manipulators, and tinkers, and become philosophic coöperators with each other and with Deity,—looking not to partial and immediate results, but to a comprehensive and gradual fulfilment.

Any reform that is hastened or brought about by violent means is, so far as true progress is concerned, a *stumble*, not a step. It may be questioned if even the anti-slavery reform were not at last consummated too precipitately; if a more gradual emancipation, including a preparatory education for freedom, might not have been better for both the enslaved and the enslavers. Be that as it may, I think we all look forward to the time when the method of war and violence shall not be resorted to, to reform anything. Moreover, as reformers, we should beware of cherishing any pet theory, and of suffering ourselves to get in the habit of thinking that, if this could be universally adopted, the glory-hallelujah period would arrive at once. A hobby-rider is well nigh an intolerable nuisance to society; he narrows and belittles his own mind, and over-bears the minds of others. The danger that lurks in the path of the special reformer is a subtle one. He is likely to become a bigot and a scold. If once he gets in the habit of denouncing,

he is more unfortunate than Othello; for his occupation is almost sure never to forsake him. Both ancient and modern history furnish some striking illustrations of this fact. Besides, in looking persistently in one direction, and suffering our minds to dwell exclusively upon one subject, we become warped and crooked in our judgment, our mind arrives at a stand-still, we see things out of their right relations, and we make ourselves incompetent to judge anything fairly.

It is a question if any really profound and broad mind can long be committed to, or absorbed by, any special reform. Such a mind outgrows one theory or idea; it expands on all sides of it, and takes in many others which are related to and qualify it. Not that such a mind can be said ever to outgrow a principle—say the principle of justice, or equity—but it does outgrow a particular method of applying that principle. It ceases to insist on any one method or theory of reform; it ceases to magnify out of all due proportion any one idea or subject, and passes to a more comprehensive view of the whole situation.

Without wishing to discourage any well-meaning soul, or to dampen the ardor of any enthusiastic reformer, I yet can but wish that we all might be less committed to our own pet notions and plans of reforming the world, less superstitious about the coming of any particular messiah, less bent on taking the kingdom of heaven by violence. We fret ourselves to death with an awful sense of our individual responsibility for everything, and forget that God himself is still alive, and able to do a little something on his own account. We are never certainly to grow lazy or indifferent, never to lapse into selfishness; but we can be, and ought to be, willing to share the responsibility for all things with God, and not try to take his work out of his hands. O ye dear and good reformers, have a little pity on us; and don't hurry us up so on the sharp point of your everlasting zeal to fix things!

A. W. S.

MISS PEABODY'S "KINDERGARTEN MESSENGER."

Many friends of Miss Peabody, as well as of the improvement of educational methods, will be glad to learn that she has been enabled to resume her *Kindergarten Messenger*, and has just issued a triple number for January, February, and March, and will continue a monthly issue throughout the year. Even those who do not fully agree with Miss Peabody in all she claims for the Kindergarten movement will cheerfully confess that it is doing a great deal to call attention to the real demands of young human nature, and to improve our methods of teaching in primary schools; and no intelligent teacher can fail to learn a great deal from the thoughtful and suggestive papers in this number. At the present time, when drawing is getting introduced as a necessary part of public education, Mr. Spring's lecture on "Modelling" will be read with interest, and his "Practical Hints for Modelling Work" give us the results of many years of experience in a very condensed form. We hope the *Messenger* will do its work in many schools and homes.

E. D. C.

A WRITER in the *Schoolday Magazine* has gathered together the following dictionary words as defined by certain small people here and there:—

Back-biter—A flea.
Fan—A thing to brush the warm off with.
Fins—A fish's wings.
Ice—Water that stayed out in the cold and went to sleep.
Nest-egg—The egg the old hen measures by to make new ones.
Pig—A hog's little boy.
Snoring—Letting off sleep.
Snow—Rain all popped out white.
Stars—The moon's eggs.
Trunk (of an elephant)—His front tail.
Wakefulness—Eyes all the time coming unbuttoned.

MR. EMERSON has just delivered in his native town a lecture entitled "True Eloquence," in which he concentrates into a very few words a very graphic and common-sense explanation of the nature of eloquence itself. He says: "He who can convince the excellent Mr. Dunderhead of any truth which Dunderhead does not see must be a man of high art of eloquence. Declamation is common, but such possession as is here required, such transformation of the principles of the truth written in God's language into the truth written in Dunderhead's language, is one of the most powerful weapons forged in the forge of the Almighty."—*Christian Union*.

IN A LATE severe gale a lady asked a neighbor if he was not afraid his house would blow away. "Oh, no," was the answer, "the mortgage on it is so heavy as to make that impossible."

Communications.

"WIND AND SUN."

The Free Religious Society of Providence, and its friends, had yesterday the good fortune of listening to the clear-cut sentences of Higginson. The topic announced, both in advertisement and by the speaker himself, is indicated above. This title is, however, a misnomer. "Wind or Sun; which?" is more nearly descriptive of the address, and its apparent purport, as actually given.

Quoting Æsop's fable of the contest between north and south wind, the one to compel a traveller to keep his cloak on, the other, by dispersing the clouds, and exposing him to the heat of the sun, to put it off, the speaker made application of it as illustrating two different methods for advancing the interests of free-thought as against Christianity; namely, that of direct antagonism, and that of doing better work, and living better lives, than Christians. He announced himself in favor of the method of the south wind, and deprecated direct antagonism. We should deal with the Church, he said, as it is; not as it has been. The age of persecution is past; the methods which were proper in an age of persecution are inappropriate now. Indeed, so changed is the spirit of the Church from what it was, that he had felt a logical injury was done him by its neglect to act up to its principles, and burn him as a heretic. Persecution there is none, now. Some loss of social consideration, some little inconvenience occasioned by divergent views, there may be. But, Persecution! That is a large word. Etc., etc.

I believe the influence of the discourse, on the whole, a misfortune. It will be reassuring and tranquillizing in quarters even now too apathetic. A clarion-summons to effort would seem more consonant with the needs of the times. Breadth is good, but depth is equally commendable.

While carefully noting what the Church is, it should never be forgotten what it has been, and what it may become again. The creature does not tear and devour at present, it may be; but it is caged now. It is to the strength of its inclosure, and the vigilance of its keepers, not to changed instincts in the beast itself, that we owe present immunity from its ravages.

Sympathize with the Church, coöperate with it, enlist in it every good work, if you can; trust in it, indeed, as far as you may safely; but "keep your powder dry" by duly circumscribing the opportunities and power to do mischief of its infallible popes and constitution-tinkering zealots.

The spirit of persecution does not belong to any age, and therefore does not pass away with any; it is the spirit of bigots in all ages. It comes logically from the premises of Christianity. The Christian's God accounts free-thinking worthy of hell-torments; is it, then, reasonable to expect Christians themselves to judge it deserving of protection and toleration?

Wind and Sun; direct antagonism and competitive goodness and usefulness; each method has its uses.
JOHN FRANCIS SMITH.

PROVIDENCE, R.I., March 1, 1875.

DRESS REFORM MOVEMENT.

In West Amesbury, Massachusetts, at the suggestion of a few friends of the dress reform in this town, Mrs. H. K. Crane, the lady Superintendent of the Dress Reform Rooms, 25 Winter Street, Boston, was prevailed upon to pay us a visit, and to deliver one of the lectures which she gave before the ladies of the Physiological Society, Boston, on the new style of dress reform.

Wednesday last was the eventful evening, and the large, enthusiastic assemblage of ladies who welcomed her, in the Town Hall, gave ample evidence of the deep interest felt by the ladies of Amesbury in this important and benevolent movement. At the rear of the platform diagrams were suspended to illustrate the subject, and in the front of the desk a lay-figure was used, to show the relative advantages of the different under-garments that have been approved by the "Dress Reform Committee," with sundry additions and improvements designed by Mrs. Crane herself. The lecture, which occupied an hour and a half, was listened to with intense interest, and was delivered with an ease and eloquence we have seldom seen surpassed.

Although the lecture was advertised "To Ladies Only," the highly respected physicians of the town were invited, out of courtesy. Dr. Corken introduced the lecturer, and gave a short epitome of the movement from the time of Amelia Bloomer until the suggestion of Dr. Mary Safford Blake, which led to the publishing of *What to Wear*, by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, and the more detailed work of Abba Gould Woolson on *Dress Reform*. The doctor highly complimented the lecturer upon her dignified independence and self-consecration to this noble work, and assured her that she had the sympathy of all true reformers in woman's costume, and in woman's elevation to her just and heaven-ordained position in the relationships of life.

At the close of the lecture, Dr. H. I. Cushing spoke in the highest terms of the lecture of Mrs. Crane, and said that, with Dr. Corken, he had no hesitation in giving his unqualified approval to the wise and judicious movement that had been so ably advocated by the distinguished lady lecturer.

Dr. Corken announced an apology from Dr. Sevey, who had been unavoidably prevented from attending.

Free conversation followed, and a group of some hundred ladies surrounded the lecturer to offer

their personal thanks and congratulations on the complete success which had attended their first effort in the direction of dress reform.

The seed has not only been sown, but fruit even amid snow appears. More than one lady has said to her tormentors (corsets), "Avaunt! be gone forever!" and considerable diligence appears in trying to make old styles into new. If Mrs. Crane will pay us a second visit, she will gather "ripe fruit" to enjoy in 25 Winter Street.

W. D. C.
WEST AMESBURY, Mass., Feb. 19, 1875.

KIND WORDS.

SALEM, O., Feb. 21, 1875.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I feel like congratulating you, and all lovers of freedom, liberality, and charity, upon the wise and magnanimous course pursued by THE INDEX in giving all sides a hearing. And, by the way, this congratulation is hereby extended to the glorious old Boston *Investigator*, also.

It seems to me that this glorious spirit of toleration and fairness has marked the course of these two papers in an eminent degree, especially for the past year or more; and we may well be proud and thankful that the men who conduct them have thus the moral courage and heroism actually to go in practice where the logic of their thought carries them.

Your remarks, and those of the *Investigator*, relative to the course chosen by Professor Denton and Mr. J. W. Pike, at the dedication of the Paine Memorial Hall, it seems to me, were eminently proper and just; and all true reformers must surely respond, "Amen!" and thank you from the bottom of their hearts.

It has been the pride of those who have worked so hard to build this "Home for the *Investigator*," to declare that its platform should be free, and the hall dedicated to humanity! What a spectacle would be presented to the enlightened world, had the course of Messrs. Denton and Pike been adopted or approved! God pity such a spirit of intolerance and uncharitableness, whether manifested by Christian, Materialist, or Spiritualist!

I have read with great interest the discussion in THE INDEX of the question—"What is the logical attitude of Free Religion (or freedom) toward Christianity?" especially the discourse of Rev. M. J. Savage, and your reply. You seem to have a host of able minds, of various shades of thought, storming your position on this question; and if one should read all their arguments without noticing your replies and cross-questionings, he would doubtless imagine that you had been silenced, and that "Christianity" and "freedom" were in an eternal, peaceful, and loving embrace. But permit me to say that, after reading your arguments, I have from the first been forced to the conviction that your position was impregnable, unless it is agreed that the pure ethical teachings of Jesus alone constitute Christianity, and not the great organized institution of to-day which claims the name.

If this is agreed to, then I submit that the churches themselves are the most "anti-Christian" of all.

To conclude: may I express my delight and gratification at beholding the intense earnestness with which the men and women of thought and culture are discussing the great problems which now agitate the public mind? The friction of deep and earnest thought ever flashes upon the world new and brighter truth; and so long as there is more truth beyond, so long must we have the clashing of intellects to discover it.

To me there is a germ of truth—greater or less—in each school of thought; while none is infallible, all are necessary to complete the whole. While we are developing a more marked and perfect individuality and greater love of personal freedom, we are at the same time tending toward a more perfect unity of the whole human race.

Respectfully,
CHARLES BONSALE.

[In justice to Professor Denton, we refer to the paragraph in a late INDEX which states his own explanation of the matter alluded to. Mr. Bonsale's epithet of "glorious old *Investigator*," is fairly earned by the reply made by it recently to a radical bigot, who would have made a capital Inquisitor, if he had been born a few hundred years earlier. As both the article and reply are short, we append them in further illustration of the above; and we think every reader of THE INDEX will call the reply of Mr. Seaver truly "glorious."—ED.]

A PROTEST.

EDITOR INVESTIGATOR:—
I for one protest against the request of G. H. Humphrey, to grant him a half column of the *Investigator* to stick religion at us. Why don't he ask you to let him stack his oats in one end of your parlor, or introduce a little of his "hell fire" into your barn? I have no patience with their superstitious trash. Let him take his merchandise to where it will be appreciated. The columns of the *Investigator* are too valuable to be lumbered up with such stuff.

Yours,
LANCASTER, O., Feb. 20, 1875.

It is related of Jesus, that he told his disciples if they were not better than the Scribes and Pharisees, then they (the disciples) could not justly claim any superiority. If that was a fair test—and we think it was—let us apply it to the case in hand. Christian papers will not admit into their columns infidel articles. Now if in our infidel paper we reject Christian articles, are we any better than a Christian? Nay, are we not worse? We think we are, because we claim to "hear all sides," and he does not. He is consistent, therefore, in rejecting us, but not so with us in rejecting him.

We need not multiply words. Our friend, J. A. R., sees the point, no doubt; and if so, he will agree with us that we cannot in good faith refuse the Christian Mr. Humphrey a hearing. Why should we fear? If he has any truth to impart, we want it. If we have any, he wants it; so we will both speak, and perhaps both will be benefited.—ED. INV.

FREEDOM AND AUTHORITY.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In offering my thought for your columns I ought to say, first of all, I am in intimate sympathy with the leading dogmas of the visible Church; but I most decidedly take exception to that Church's attempts at a rational construction of its own theses. Simple affirmations of my theologic attitude would doubtless be mostly accepted, with very decided relish, by the votaries of that Church; but let me carry those affirmations into rational explication, and I would most likely be deemed hopelessly heretical. On the other hand, while feeling compelled to take decided exceptions to the general theses of "Free Religion," I am led to believe that in my conceptions of human life and destiny, and the practical endeavors relating thereto, I should be found in intimate relation with its votaries, and find them largely ready to fellowship my views, though perhaps repudiating the root whence I find those views vitalized.

That freedom and authority are both variously essential to human development—both of the individual and the race—will be seen upon due reflection. Freedom sufficient to preserve and duly actuate individuality is indispensable. Authority sufficient to hold the individual or special factor to a true purpose (which should ever be to develop and fix the individual in the dignity and repose of ripest character in full social order, wherein alone the pressure of authority may be dismissed) is equally a necessity.

Thus, clearly, both freedom and authority are essential during the developing processes of the human mind; but, as both are, by right, solely in the interests of man, with a view to fix him in amplest manhood and the unrestricted freedom thereto belonging, neither can be in order upon any other conditions. Accordingly, the right of conventional authority over the human mind is solely pertinent to man's state of minority, wherein educational needs demand educational authority. Then the object of such authority should only be to serve and never to oppress. Such is surely the law of authority, whether relating to man individually or collectively.

A serious mistake is made when conventional authority is held to be objective and final; whereas, truly, it is always temporary and a mean to an end,—is wholly subjective in human use. If it were so regarded and operated it would be changed in its forms, in strict accordance with the changes in advancing human conditions. But, held and used on its own account, it tends to fetter the human mind rather than to rightly empower and enfranchise it. Even in its misconception and abuse we can form some just estimate of its value in civilization to-day, by reflecting as to what would be the social effect of having withdrawn, for a generation, the diction of the Romish Church from its hordes of servile worshippers. Other like forms of authority are in their measure similarly useful, as they relate to different degrees of culture.

We must discriminate between absolute and relative authority,—the former being constant in its form, and the latter changeable, according to the changeable conditions of the human mind in development. Absolute authority is the rule of immutable law, while temporal authority is a rule in the present adjustment of power to immediate human needs, to be kept and operated only till new forms are needed in the same educational interests. The eternal laws of mathematics make a code of unchanging authority, which the human mind hath neither power to annul nor escape. Mental development, in order to command and use those laws as a perfect science of mathematics, necessitates various forms and degrees of authority, all of which come to an end when the mind is fully educated in this particular form of knowledge or science. But the laws which are basic to this knowledge, and constitute it a science, stand immovably as authority forever; and in this constant authority, acquired as science by man, does the mind become duly fortified and free to play thenceforth in all the majestic realms of mathematic power.

I adduce this simple figure to illustrate the true attitude of the human mind with reference to the absolute laws of Life and Being. It is both the right and destiny of the human mind to become perfected in the knowledge of universal law, as a science of universal order; by which all mysteries are readily solved, and all truth is unsealed. And I further affirm that such full mental fruition, or perfection in knowledge as unitary science, implies no stagnation or cessation of mental activities, as is often mistakenly conceived,—no more than the perfect education of the mind in mathematics implies an end of its activities in that realm of special science. It only assures its powers in new and most delightful activities; carrying the thought, in the solution of all problems seized, upon immutable grounds, yielding various charms by the way, and the highest delights in results.

It is here that we find the liberty of perfect law and the law of perfect liberty; for, when our freedom works in the fulness of absolute law, and that law finds its completest expression in our freedom, what remains to add to our joy? Here, too, we come to a valid comprehension of the old dogma of the divine fulness in the unity of liberty and law, relative and absolute, God and man, by which both factors are glorified together.

I have thus briefly tried to hint concerning the methods by which the intellect is educated into highest truths, and how it is empowered and disenthralled in absolute science as the supreme law of liberty. I might add concerning the affections as to how they are vitalized concurrently with the intellect, and play therewith in perfect unison, in the

fullest behests of life; but will merely summarize further.

Personal freedom is a necessity of the human form, being subject to temporary conventional qualifications and restraints, in behalf of the ultimate realization of absolute freedom in a duly educated manhood.

Conventional authority is requisite as a ministry in the development and organization of human powers; always in order when thus used as a servant, and out of order when held and used in its own behalf to partial and inhuman ends.

Absolute authority—the immovable law of Life and Being—is constant and supreme; and becomes the full consummation of man's highest freedom and delight when he becomes educated into full unity therewith, just as the laws which make any special science a human power are delightful authority when incorporated in the intellect as positive knowledge.

The principles thus verbally outlined were clearly set forth long centuries ago as a system of Divine Authority and human freedom made one; yet the professed votaries of that system to-day seem to be stone-blind as to its transcendent divine pith and human significance; seem mostly wanderers amongst the tombs,—groping over the proper abodes of all that is dead and dying in human affairs.

Theron Gray.

SANITARY REFORMS.

Our lives are mainly physical ones, and any principle or belief affecting our physical actions is quite as important as moral principles or belief. The theories of curing diseases by the use of poisons that will cause either similar or opposite diseases are as pernicious as a parallel political or moral belief. It is the one great error that stands in the path of sanitary reforms, and directly encourages physical vice.

Disease is caused by violations of organic laws. To teach that the penalty can be avoided in any way is to make sinning cheap; but to teach that it is done by the means of another violation is to sweep away all foundation for physical right and wrong. Reason and science give place to mystery and chance. Disease attacks us; the cause is obscured; and the clergy talk of a "mysterious Providence." It is impossible to have physical morality on such a basis. Intemperance can defy prohibitory laws and crusades, so long as stimulants are so indispensable.

These theories are sustained or proved by exceptional rather than uniform results, while diverse, opposite, and ever-changing methods of practice show that the results are far from satisfactory. But it is not the direct practice that I would now criticize, but the results that come from this unreasonable and pagan principle. It is not denied that poisons and other destructive agents may be used to effect desired, and even beneficial, ends. Thus assassination may be the means of ridding a country of a bad ruler; or a child who is about to grasp a hot iron may be harshly kicked away and saved from a burn. But this does not justify the use of these methods, or make them less destructive in their nature.

Just so far as the people rely on remedies will they be blind as to the cause, and indifferent about preventing diseases. They will be no better or wiser after suffering the severest penalties. The world to-day is groaning under severe physical penalties, but seeking for relief in remedies, and growing wiser very slowly. When the people have a clear perception of the fact that physical disobedience brings a sure penalty, and that obedience to the laws of health is the only sure and reliable road to health, we shall have an outpouring of sanitary reforms that will be the dawn of a new era in the "Coming Religion."

W. V. HARDY.

IMMORTALITY.

NEW YORK, March 3, 1875.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—It is pleasant to read the frank words which in issue of February 25 you use concerning immortality, in answering a communication. So many liberal-minded people seem fearful of expressing a doubt about any subject which Christians say they are united upon, that it is refreshing to read your plain words.

Why should we question so much about another life? A higher power of whose being we know not placed us in this world; by no influence of our own did we come. The same power will take us away, through the result of Nature's laws. The only vital question is the present,—how to live most nobly, that we may be worthy the blessings showered upon us.

The future is not ours; and I often think, if we could borrow some of the earnestness of the old philosophers, and live more in the present, live in the full sense of the word nobly, we were more likely to "see God" than by borrowing trouble or fear regarding the future.

The past is ours to profit by; the present is ours to fill full of earnest purposes and works worthy of our truest manhood and womanhood; the future is God's. Am I not right? Yours truly, "A."

ENGLAND spends five times as much for charity as for education; while Switzerland spends five times as much for education as for charity.—J. Scott Russell, in the London Times.

GREAT evils are apt to excite great powers of endurance; but small annoyances fall upon us in our undefended moods, and have us at advantage.—Henry Ward Beecher.

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1 8 7 5. PUBLICATIONS

OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

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Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1873. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. S. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains verbatim reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Sonnenschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Calthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity,—as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"—together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Keshub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. Wasson.

Religions of China, by Wm. H. Channing. 25 cents.

Reason and Revelation, by William J. Potter. 10 cents.

Taxation of Church Property, by Jas. Parton. 10 cents, singly; package of ten, 60 cents; of one hundred, \$3.

These publications are for sale at the office of the Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston. The Annual Reports for 1868 and 1871 cannot be supplied, and the supply of others previous to that of 1872 is quite limited. Orders by mail may be addressed either "Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston," or to the Secretary, New Bedford, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER, Sec. F. R. A.

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EDITOR:
FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

ASSOCIATE EDITOR:
ABRAM WALTER STEVENS.

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:
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Jan. 24.—SAMUEL JOHNSON, "Laws of Per-
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Life."

Jan. 31.—CHARLES G. AMES.

Feb. 7.—WENDELL PHILLIPS, "Some Aspects
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Feb. 21.—Hall occupied by Fair for Protec-
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The Index.

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MARCH 25, 1875.

WHOLE No. 274.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

WHAT is the difference (if any) between the "Pater-familias" and the "Pat, or family ass"?

THE REPORT of the Massachusetts Commission on "Equal and Just Taxation" is out. So great has been the demand that another edition is to be printed by the State. Next week we shall issue a "Church Taxation" number of THE INDEX.

AN ENGLISH Ritualist writes a public protest to the *Church Times* because the priest in Hamlet was "vested in a chasuble with a cope over it," at a recent theatrical performance, and not in "a cassock and surplice." What a pother about nothing!

THE CATHOLICS of Acapulco, on the evening of January 26, were guilty of a terrible massacre of Protestants in the church occupied by Rev. Mr. Hutchinson and his Presbyterian congregation. Several men and women were murdered outright, and many more were wounded. The tiger is a tiger still; the cage is a necessity.

THE *Banner of Light*, following Judge Edmonds, who followed the Roman Catholic clergy, who followed nobody knows whom or what, estimates the number of Spiritualists in this country as 11,000,000. The *Spiritual Scientist*, however, believes that there are "not 800,000 Spiritualists in the United States." The latter estimate is apparently much nearer the truth than the former.

THE ST. LOUIS *Central Law Review* of February 5 says, in opposition to the Christianizers of the Constitutions: "It is not true, as these persons claim, that we are a Christian nation. We are a Christian nation only in the sense that a majority of our people are nominally Christians. We are in fact a nation of any and all religions; and our people, instead of being all Christians, are Christians, Infidels, Jews, and Pagans." This is true.

THE LATEST lottery scheme is that of Beadle & Adams, 98 William Street, New York, who advertise that they will send \$5.00 cash premium to every fifth subscriber for a certain journal of theirs, all names to be entered as received. That is, they run a lottery in which every fifth ticket wins \$5.00. And this advertisement is admitted into a "religious journal" which is published by the "great and good" Henry C. Bowen solely for the purpose of "saving souls"—and making money!

THERE is a verse in the book of Proverbs which reads thus: "And thou shalt have goat's milk enough for thy food, for the food of thy household, and for the maintenance of thy maidens." An old-time minister interpreted this verse as follows: "Milk denotes nourishment, goats signify sinners; hence the passage teaches that it is the will of God that the Church should milk the goats—in other words, get all the money it needs from sinners." On the strength of no better reasoning than this, the Church milks the goats still, and makes the "infidels" and other sinners foot her own tax-bills.

THE DANGER of dabbling in radicalism, if one wants to maintain a good "Christian" reputation, is well illustrated by the following from the *Independent*: "The *Liberal Christian* has been reading the newspaper reports of sermons of Dr. Hall, Dr. Armitage, and other evangelical clergymen whose houses are filled with hungry hearers who suppose themselves to be fed, and finds in them nothing but the old story about 'the faith of the apostles, the divine scheme of salvation, and the mediatorial restoration of man,' and is inclined to think that, instead of going to church, the 'coming man,' if he is a sensible fellow, will stay at home. If he is like the present man, it is just such churches that will throng to overflowing. We thought we must be reading THE INDEX when our eyes fell on the passage."

IN THESE days when the public treasury is the common grab-bag of thieves and speculators, the noble pride of George Washington ought to be remembered with admiration. The *Christian Union* thus testifies to it: "It would be wrong for the American people to forget that, if ever there was a public servant who maintained toward his employers an absolute and almost Quixotic delicacy in money matters, it was Washington. He carried his scruples so far that he never took a salary. When he was appointed General, he said to Congress: 'As no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge; and that is all I desire.' Such an account he kept. It is now to be seen in his own handwriting. Washington, as General, cost the country a few cents over \$8,044 per year, during the war, besides the supplies furnished his military household by commissaries and others. He preserved the same spirit during his presidency. In his first inaugural speech he says: 'When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary consideration. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself any share in the personal emoluments which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.' Such was Washington's spirit as a holder of public office."

SUPERFICIAL OBSERVERS of the signs of the times are in the habit of ridiculing the Christianizers of the Constitution, as if their fanaticism had no hold on any large part of the people. But they forget that superstition lets rationalism do the talking, while it stands ready to act on short notice in case of emergency. The recent expulsion of Mr. J. W. Thorne from the North Carolina Legislature, on the score of (falsely) alleged atheism, is an instance in point. The *Raleigh News* of February 23, admitting that Mr. Thorne had declared his "belief in the existence of a Supreme Being," pronounced this declaration insufficient; said that "this is the question the House has to decide to-day, whether the accused believes in the God of the Bible or the philosopher's God of Nature"; and appealed to the "Preamble to the Bill of Rights," which "acknowledges a dependence upon Almighty God for the blessings we enjoy." "This," adds the *News*, "must mean a God who directs human wants, who loves, and who chastises. This is the Christian's God, and this is the God meant in the Constitutional disqualification." It is thus the recognition of God in the *North Carolina Constitution* which is at the bottom of this great blow at religious liberty; and for this there is no existing remedy. When the *Detroit Post* says: "If Mr. Thorne can by any process get his case before the courts, the action of the North Carolina House in expelling him because of his religious belief cannot stand for a moment," it ought surely to be understood that there is no process whatever by which Mr. Thorne can get redress from the courts. The Legislature is the supreme judge of the qualifications of its own members by the Constitution of every State; no State court can get behind that. Neither is there anything in the United States Constitution to-day to give him any redress. Read our proposed "Religious Freedom Amendment" on this very page, and you will see the only measure which can ever rectify such wrongs as this.

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[For THE INDEX.]

Pre-Natal Influence.

AN ESSAY READ TO THE SECOND RADICAL CLUB, BOSTON, MARCH 8, 1875.

BY DR. MARY J. SAFFORD BLAKE.

If I could place before you at this moment one of the finest binocular microscopes, and thereby increase your power of vision two thousand times, what a world of hidden life, of beauty, and of wonder would be revealed to you. After you had taken a glance at the before unseen throng surrounding you, how eager you would be to concentrate your gaze, if I told you that under your object-glass was a protoplasmic atom, a germ of life.

In the moment of eager expectation you might find yourself querying, as did the philosophers of old, Will there not be revealed to us in this germ the seat of life, the habitat of the soul?

How you would concentrate your visual power, wipe your eyes, carefully adjust the eye-glass, brush it that it be not dimmed, and then, as if I could help you out of the dilemma, you might turn to me and acknowledge that you see only a pellucid atom, void of shape and form. Chagrined though I am to confess it, I should be powerless to show you more. No human skill can decide if this molecule contain within it the inherent something that shall enable it to develop into the highest or lowest form of life,—into man, bird, protozoæ, or plant. It would seem, so Maudsley says, that this cell is possessed of a memory that makes it loyal to its ancestry. Suppose the conditions of this atom which we are examining are favorable to the development of the human species, we shall then find a germ capable of receiving the anatomical, physiological, pathological, and psychological traits and tendencies peculiar to its parents; or, what is more singular, according to the law of atavism, those of its ancestors dating back three or four generations.

This being the case, well might Emerson exclaim, "Who shall save us from our ancestors?" or Montaigne, "What a monster is this germinal atom from which we spring, carrying with it not only the corporeal form, but the thoughts and inclinations of our forefathers!" Let me state some of the peculiarities pertaining to this law of heredity.

This law holds true in all life, both animal and vegetable. In man it has a dual manifestation. In the physical structure, in his anatomy, it is shown in a marked degree in the peculiar cranial and physiological development of the several races of the human family. On the other hand, mental peculiarities are no less marked. Let us first note the effects of inheritance on physical life.

This law has been closely studied in its relation to animals. Stock-breeding has received much attention both in Europe and America. The massive English draught-horse, the fleet racer, and the Shetland pony are illustrations of the varieties that may be brought about in the horse. Darwin has shown, by careful selections of peculiarities to be observed, that almost any degree of difference can be produced in domestic animals. Plant-life furnishes numerous illustrations of this law. Our finest apples were all produced from the gnarly crab. All of our tomato-plants under cultivation, the large and the small, originally came from one plant, now known as *Sycopersicum esculentum*. A celebrated Frenchman has shown, by experimenting with the *Daucus carota*, that six generations were sufficient to produce from the wild carrot our favorite edible one. The varied

beauty of the wild aster has charmed your eye; its city cousin, magnified ten-fold, with all its varied lines and frilled to perfection, is the handiwork of the skilled florist. The step from the little single aster, growing by the wayside, to the larger showy quilled one of your lawns is a long one; but the variation from one generation to another, of which the gardener has taken advantage in the production of the latter, has been exceedingly slow. A slight increase in size, a deepening of a tint, a delicate turning of a petal, have been watched for, and, added together, generation after generation, the result is the present showy aster.

The instances are rare in which any special attention has been bestowed upon a perfect development of the human species. We all remember the account of that historic body, the guard of Frederic the Great, famous for their immense physique; and that this commanding stature should be perpetuated in the offspring, they were allowed to marry none but women of corresponding size.

The practice of the ancient Greeks of putting away their maimed, dwarfed, and diseased children, that they might not perpetuate their physical defects, shows how early this law of inheritance was recognized. Strength and perfection of body was the ideal of the Greeks. At the present time this has been lost sight of in a more thorough study of the development of the intellect. The most rapid progress must unite the two.

Galton, who has very thoroughly studied the laws of heredity, says that the dexterous oarsmen and athletes of England have followed the same occupations for generations in the same family. The same is true of rope-walkers or skilful dancers. The individual characteristics of each parent are sometimes strikingly reproduced in their children. This is shown in the intermarriage of races of opposite color. A child having one African and one Anglo-Saxon parent may partake wholly of the characteristics of either father or mother.

Another forcible illustration is that of Lislet Geoffrey. He was the son of an ignorant negress, from whom he took her color and form; from his father, an intellectual white, his talent, which was so marked that he overcame all obstacles thrown in his way in the acquirement of knowledge, and died crowned with the highest honor that literary fame knows in France,—that of being a member of the French Academy of Science.

Idiosyncrasies of physical development often run a marked course through several generations; they may be transmitted by either parent, they may be shared equally in the children, by both sexes. This is frequently seen in polydactylia, a superabundance of fingers and toes, or in some peculiarity of form of the same. An organic arrest of development of a part of the body, as in hair-lip, is not infrequently seen in the same family in successive generations. Of hereditary anomalies, that peculiar one of Edward Lambert is the most remarkable. His whole body, except the face, the palms of his hands and of his feet, was covered by a horny excrescence. His entire family, six sons, each, when six weeks old, presented the same strange appearance. They, in turn, transmitted it to their sons, and this ran through five generations.

I recall the following cases: First, that of a girl whose hair at twelve years of age was silvered with gray; her father's had become gray at the same early age. The second, a boy who, at seventeen, retained not a trace of his original black hair; his mother and grandmother had this same marked peculiarity. If the theory respecting the change of color in the hair is correct, that it is a nervous influence, then again is illustrated the subtle force that nerves contribute to the law of heredity. These illustrations are in accord with a very generally-accepted theory that peculiarities of the father impress themselves more frequently upon the daughters, and those of the mother upon the sons.

Questions, such as have been cited, become familiar to us, and we cease to think of their deep significance; but when we come to note the heredity of acquired modifications, each individual cell of the body becomes magnified in importance. Virchow says that this anatomic element plays the same rôle in the organism that the individual does in the State; that it has a certain measure of independence, and at the same time makes an integral part in the social body. The following well-authenticated cases admirably illustrate Virchow's theory.

A boy was bitten by a dog; a peculiar scar upon the cheek and a drooping of one of the eyelids was the result. The child grew to manhood, married, and became the father of a son; and the scars were reproduced on this son in the same place and to the same degree as exhibited in the father. This law is still further illustrated by fractured bones which have been badly set, and causing deformity in the parent, which deformity is reproduced in the offspring. The eyes of a certain woman were made by disease defective in sight and revolting in appearance. Her children, five in number, born after this calamity befell her, were similarly affected. The fear that such a thing might occur was continually in her mind, and no doubt the impressions of the mother, communicated by the nervous system to the part affected, produced this abnormal condition in her children.

Prof. Laycock and others say that the mind may exert an influence through the circulation, that mental states may cause the dilatation and the contraction of the small vessels that convey nutriment to the cells of the glands and tissues.

Tuke says: "The result of impressions made upon the senses from without cause sensation and motion, and important changes in the organic functions of the body." Carpenter maintains that influences are transmitted, not only through the vaso-motor nerves,

by virtue of mere action on the calibre of the vessels, but by the direct action upon nutrition and secretion.

Having dwelt somewhat at length upon the physical man, influenced by heredity, we will now consider his mental condition; for, as George Eliot says:—

"What! shall the trick of nostrils and of lips
 Descend through generations, and the soul
 That moves within our frame like God in worlds
 Imprint no record, leave no documents
 Of her great history?"

In his intellectual status, we find man "heir of the ages," and, as Maudsley suggests, inheriting as a natural endowment the laborious acquisitions of his forefathers. To illustrate this, we have but to mention the names of Vernet, Bonheur, Teniers, Caracchi, and Titian, to find that art, as a talent, manifested itself as an inheritance. In the family of Titians there were nine distinguished artists.

The opportunities granted women from the early ages down to quite recent periods for the exercise of the talents they possessed have been so few, that it is impossible to tell how much of latent power has slumbered in them. A daughter of one of the noted masters of Sienna inherited a fair share of her father's talent; for fear of incurring his displeasure, or of calling down upon her the ridicule of friends, she painted in secret. By chance her father came upon one of her pictures which possessed so much merit that he was proud to show her work, and to encourage her to continue in it. And now in the gallery of her native city hang, side by side, the works of father and daughter. We do not know how many Rosa Bonheurs have been lost to the world. With so little to aid, and with so much to oppose, in her earlier years, only a brave spirit, in whom the love of science was ingrained, would have ever developed into a Mary Somerville.

We cannot, I think, overrate the influence that mothers have exerted upon their offspring. The very desires and yearnings that they may have had for more knowledge, and for the privilege of exercising, in congenial ways, that which they did possess, may have impressed itself upon the minds of their offspring as germ-talents.

In music, there is the remarkable instance of heredity in the Bach family, which stamped itself as genius through eight generations. Beethoven's musical talent was the climax of a gift that had distinguished his father and grandfather. There were æsthetic tastes in Mendelssohn's family preluding his musical genius. His father was a connoisseur in music, and his sister was endowed by Nature with a musical talent which, in her youth, gave equal promise with that of her brother. We have every reason to believe, with like opportunities for a development of it, and with corresponding stimuli, she might have become as famous as her brother as a musician and as a composer.

Literary talent, as a direct transmission, has been less frequently observed. Mental gifts in other directions have been noted among the children of writers. Ada, sole daughter of Byron's house, had a remarkable mathematical talent. Goethe recognizes a share of his talent as an inheritance from his mother, who possessed a clear brain and markedly individual traits of character. Much of Schiller's fine spirituality has been traced for its origin to the beautiful nature of his mother. Lord Bacon's mother was a noted Greek and Latin scholar. Cuvier's mother is said to have been chiefly instrumental in directing the steps of her son in the paths of science. Among the Herschels, there is the father, his brother, his son and daughter, all distinguished scientists. Of the Darwins whose fame is well known, there are grandfather, son, and grandson. Marshal Saxe was the great-grandfather of George Sand. Many more instances might be shown, that he who is favorably begotten receives an impetus toward well-doing, that cannot be wholly supplied to the less fortunate by the most favorable conditions of education.

As the sculptor models the plastic clay into an ideal form, giving his best thought to its conception and creation, so may the parent, directed by love divine, in harmony of spirit and holiness of purpose, influence largely the embryotic germ as his will directs. We may have then the clean offspring of a holy marriage, or the child of lust. Let the intelligence of man, which places him above the animal, decide which it shall be.

Parental impressions are only beginning to be observed by scientists with care and intelligence. Each has been left to interpret them according to the dictates of his fancy; but now the crucible of scientific investigation is testing them, and we may hope soon to know more of their subtle workings. Let me state a few cases that have been communicated to me through trustworthy sources. An American gentleman living in Spain buried his wife there. She was a lovely blonde; her complexion, hair, and eyes were all expressive of a delicate, sensitive nature. She died childless. Her husband married again, and this time a thoroughly Spanish brunette. Their first child, a girl, resembled his first wife so markedly, not only in complexion, but in features, that when they returned to America it was difficult to persuade the friends that this was not the child of the first wife.

The illicit children of married men have often been known to resemble their wives. An Englishman living in China many years ago, and who was known not to have been over-scrupulous in morals, returned to England and married a fair young lady, and their first child, a daughter, bore the peculiar Chinese features in as marked a degree as if she had been born of Chinese parents.

Tuke says: "Probably every sensory impression once produced is registered in the cerebral hemisphere, and may be reproduced at some subsequent time, and yet there be no consciousness of its existence." These important and interesting phenomena may be accounted for by supposing them analogous

to the photographer's impression left upon the negative, which awaits only the proper conditions for development. So likewise these subtle influences which have unconsciously but indelibly stamped themselves upon the human organism await development. They then become a transmitted inheritance.

Nervous impressions made upon the mother during the period of gestation may interfere decidedly with the nutrition of the child's mind and body. I can but believe that the so called mother-marks are the result of impressions which take form, it may be, in the shape of an undue supply of blood, or a lack of a proper amount of the same, to the part affected. Several instances during the Franco-Prussian war were observed of children born with amputated limbs; it was ascertained that the mothers had been shocked by learning that a corresponding limb of some dear one had been lost in battle.

Peculiarities of disposition as an inheritance can be had in every individual. The captain of a vessel was lost at sea, some of the crew were saved, and his wife believed her husband to be among the number. Day by day she watched with intense anxiety his coming. Every footfall by day or night aroused the hope in her that he had come. A child, to whom she gave birth several months after her husband's death, from infancy onward to maturity was never known to sleep if a footfall were heard, and her whole life was characterized by an anxious expectancy. Children born of mothers who have endured great grief during pregnancy often cry incessantly for months after their birth, and may even carry this gloomy tendency through life. Draper says that the primitive cell helplessly submits to whatever impression is put upon it, and the descendant becomes like the ancestor.

In no direction of development are we more impressed with this than in the heredity of tastes, and this again is nowhere more strikingly exemplified than in the taste for intoxicating liquors. There are those who dare not look even upon the wine-cup when it is red, and how much less taste its contents. A mother who had an abnormally craving desire for brandy gave birth to a child that was not pacified by its food. Remembering her unsatisfied longings, the mother suggested, as an experiment, giving the child a few drops of brandy and water; and from that time it was quiet and satisfied with the nourishment given it. Two children found a flask of spirits that was kept in the house for medicinal purposes, and drank therefrom till they were helplessly intoxicated. When the parents returned and learned the cause of the illness of their children, thinking to stop any desire in them for liquor in the future, offered them more. At the sight of it one turned his head in disgust, but the other one seized the cup, and would gladly have drained its contents. The father bowed his head in silence, in sorrow, and remorse, knowing too well the origin of the taste. The after-life of this child was a struggle with the tempter; occasionally it mastered him, and I have heard him say that sobriety had cost him a great effort. Dr. Morrill examined the condition of one hundred and fifty children between the ages of ten and seventeen from the poorer classes of England, the majority the offspring of criminals, and of those addicted to the use of liquor; he says, not only were these children endowed with a depraved physiognomy, but there was stamped upon them the triple curse of physical, intellectual, and moral degeneracy. When we realize the large numbers of children not only among the poor and ignorant, but also among the educated and wealthy, that are conceived when the demon alcohol is coursing through the blood of one or both parents, we are not surprised that drunkards and criminals are the result.

Last winter I made constant visits to the poorest and most degraded occupants of dilapidated tenement houses in Boston. Among many other similar experiences, I recall a bare attic room, within it husband and wife, both lying upon a pile of rags in one corner, stupefied by liquor. The wife and mother, half clad and deformed, clasped in her arms a six-months old babe which was drawing its nourishment from her poisoned milk. If the imp of darkness had conspired to imbue the child's nature with the worst possible influence, nothing more could have been done to bring about this demoralizing result.

In another den of wretchedness I saw a little child whose head scarcely reached above the table drink empty a cup before I could seize it, that contained whiskey that had been prescribed by the city physician attending the dying mother of the child. We must take into consideration that inherited alcoholism shows itself, not alone in drunkenness, but in the form of mania, and of hypochondria. As Carpenter says, it weakens the will, excites the lower propensities, and blunts the moral sense. Dr. Howe, of Boston, reports that, of four hundred idiots in Massachusetts, one hundred and forty-five were the children of intemperate parents. He says further that the transmission of any infirmity is not always direct, it is not always in the same form. It may be modified by the influence of one sound parent; it may skip one generation, it may affect one in one form, and one in another; so in a thousand ways it may elude observation, because it may affect a child by diminishing, and not by destroying, the vigor of its mind and body, almost paralyzing the mental faculty or giving fearful activity to the animal propensity, and so reappearing in the child in a different dress from that worn by the parents.

Dr. Thompson, of England, who had an extended and intimate experience of years with criminals, cites many instances in which several members of a family, running through three generations with alcoholic taints, were imprisoned for various offenses and executed for murders they had committed. We have had in Boston the past year, in the person of a tender youth, a fearful example of mania for the torturing

and murdering of children with whom he came in contact. If the mental condition of the mother could be known when she was carrying her child, there would be a possibility of striking at the root of this propensity. He may have been an unwelcome child, and she may have pondered in her heart his destruction; may even have made the effort to destroy him. When asked for his motives in committing such cruel deeds, his reply was, "I could not help it."

In China, when a capital crime is committed, the physical and mental condition of the offender is scrupulously considered; but the investigation does not cease here. The person's antecedents are inquired into from the more distant branch to his immediate family, and sometimes the parents, or even those more distantly related, share his punishment.

I was told recently of a man who declared that the taste for tobacco was a natural one, and proved his assertion in his own case; for he and all of his brothers had chewed it with a relish from their childhood. Upon further inquiry it was found that his father had used it, both his grandfather and grandmother, and so on for generations before. It is not surprising, following the law of development, that this habit had become a natural one.

The use of all the lesser stimuli—tea, coffee, and spices—indulged in by the parent, is not lost sight of in their influence on the child. They prepare the way for the desire for stronger irritants. Aided in our observation by the microscope, we have learned that an especial food is set apart for the development of the queen bee. A careful selection of diet during gestation may add to the finer qualities of cell-growth in the human embryo.

Aversion in taste is also hereditary. I knew a child whose father had an especial dislike for animal food. This boy has never been induced to take it, and avoids going near a market where it is for sale. A distaste for certain foods is so deeply rooted that some are made very uncomfortable by sitting near them at table.

Inherited diseases are so universal that we need not cite far-fetched cases, but rather call to mind many instances in our own circle of friends and acquaintances.

The skillful, careful physician never fails to inform himself, if possible, in forming his diagnosis, regarding the inherited mental and physical predisposition, not only of his patient, but of his forefathers. Since life-insurance has become a legitimate business, this subject has been so carefully considered that, given the health-status and longevity of the ancestors, a very close estimate can be made of one's own life chances. Sudden deaths at a certain age have been known to run through a generation of families. Suicidal tendencies often are inherited. In the beautiful valley of Aosta every third child born develops into cretinism, or is affected by gôitre. The climate, the air, and the water have in turn been considered by scientists responsible for it. I have never seen reference made to the surroundings of the mother during gestation as influencing it, which seems to me exceedingly probable, when we consider the burdens she bears. She gleams from the valleys and mountain-sides, far distant it may be, heavy loads of wood which are carried home on her head. The hay that she cuts with a sickle high up the mountain she takes home in the same way. The water used by the household is poised in heavy buckets in like manner upon the head. To see the bloodvessels in the necks of these women, distended under such long-continued pressure; to go into the ill-ventilated rooms in which they are crowded with their domestic animals; to know that hundreds of years of close intermarriage have been carried on among these diseased and imbecile people,—and one cannot but be impressed with the belief that science need not seek alone among the elements for the source of their degraded condition.

Holmes says of family idiosyncrasies: "It is frightful to see all the hereditary uncomeliness of infirmity of body, all defects of speech, all the failings of temper, intensified by concentration, so that every fault of our own finds itself multiplied by reflections like our images in a saloon lined by mirrors. The lines are very finely shaded that blend into one, idiosyncrasy and insanity. The former, being a less marked deviation from the normal, does not stamp itself in so forcible a degree as an inheritance."

Transmission of the grosser appetites often causes the recipient a lifetime struggle to keep them in abeyance. Sexual abuse in the parents is not infrequently transmitted to the children in the form of idiosyncrasy, or of paralysis. Maudsley, in his *Pathology of Mind*, says that the descendants of men whose minds have dwelt solely on the acquiring of wealth so degenerate mentally and physically that it leads in a few generations to the extinction of the family. Habit is an acquired disposition. This shows itself in the facility by which languages are learned, in the skilled movements of the fingers of musicians, and in the writing of different nations. An English child, educated in France, very rarely loses the peculiar English chirography. The influence of intermarriage upon heredity cannot, perhaps, be more pertinently illustrated than by citing the close relationship that has existed for so many years among the Jews. Their religion has restrained them from intermingling with other nations, and the love of retaining their worldly possessions in the family line has caused the close intermarrying among those nearly related by ties of consanguinity; and in no other nation do we find mental and physical traits so marked and so definitely transmitted as among them. The late venerable Prof. Opholer, of Vienna, used to say, when a patient came under his observation,—a youth, perhaps, of seventeen, who was married to his niece of fifteen: "These Jews must become a nation of imbeciles." And yet, with it all, they have held their own remarkably well,—in part

attributable, I think, to wise observances in the marriage relation, and to their industry and frugality. Nothing else but marrying exclusively among themselves has kept the gypsies a distinct class, a race of vagabonds for generations. Note the civilization of races that have remained isolated, China and Japan, for instance, and we see how much slower has been their growth than among those nations that have intermixed with others. M. D'Aubigny, who has carefully studied the mixing of nations by marriage, says that the products are always superior from a mingling of types. The *mélange* of degraded races gives a very low order of beings, and here is seen the necessity of educating and elevating the ignorant masses in our own land. By their continuous intermarrying, the evil traits they possess become intensified in their children. The influence they exert cannot be limited, but it permeates as a miasma the whole body politic. Leibnitz said: "Give me the educating of Europe, and I will change the face of it in a century." Only the education that makes honest and pure men and women can be relied upon to perpetuate our liberal institutions and our nation as a republic. Now that we have seen the momentous importance that heredity exerts upon man, what remains to be said of the influence of education as a counteracting force?

Descartes, Helvetius, and others, argued that men were born equal, with equal aptitudes, and that education alone made them what they are. Papillon considers the power of heredity first, and education secondary, in its influence upon the character. In families in which education does everything to make children alike, we see the most marked deviations in character and deportment. Education, no doubt, does much to transform and modify, but it is doubtful if it ever creates. It may make a good musician, but never a musical genius.

If we settle down upon the fact that heredity is all potent, that there is no modification through education, then are we likely to remain in a hopeless condition. There will be no strife with the tendencies of the spirit and of the flesh, and we shall go on from bad to worse, as individuals and as a nation. We all know how the maternal hen has been heart-racked with anguish to see the horde of ducklings that come from under her protecting wing rush into the water, true to the duck instincts that are not to be eradicated by any foster-mother influences.

The experiment has often been tried, and failed, of making the Indian child develop into a civilized individual. The idiot still remains imbecile after years of effort to educate him, but with a condition often greatly ameliorated.

Because there are hereditary obstacles in the way, and we are hindered in the achievement of all we desire, there is no reason why we should relax the effort to approach our ideal. It may be, as we grow wise and more judicious in our educational methods, that, when we learn a system by which the best in every nature can be drawn out, and the worst be thus out-distanced, we shall then be able to free ourselves more speedily and surely from the bondage of inheritance. Emerson says: "Speak to the heart, and the man becomes suddenly virtuous." Science has done so much for us already that we can, to a great degree, escape from the Damoclean sword of disease-inheritance that hangs over us. We know that change of climate, change of occupation and habits, taken before the tendencies germinate to disease, are quite sufficient to hold them in abeyance, and even to eradicate them.

Are the influences of both parents equally potent upon their offspring?

Discrepancy in age between the parents modifies the influence that either may exert. Fortunate for the offspring is it, that a young and vigorous mother usually gives her physique to the child, instead of its taking that of the father, if he be old or infirm. The most of our experience upon this subject must be taken from the observations of careful stock-breeders. The Arab, who after all cannot be cited as an exception, when compared in this respect with other nations, is far more absorbed in the genealogical perfection of his horses than of his own kind, and he greatly prefers nobility of extraction on the part of the mother than on that of the father. When considered in all their varied relations, the scales of influence are evenly balanced between the parents and their children. Neither can shirk the responsibilities resting upon him or her, and be found guiltless. In my opinion, a large share of influence coming to the child from the father is communicated through the mother, by impressions that she receives of him during gestation.

If there is unison of spirit, a harmonious blending of their natures, there is more likely to be an equal mingling of the traits of both parents; while, on the other hand, if the husband is brutal, if her soul loathes his presence, then the child is likely to be stamped for life with his most undesirable characteristics. Likes and dislikes frequently stamp themselves forcibly at this period upon the mind of the mother. Sometimes an inmate of the house becomes odious to her. She carries on a continued warfare with herself to overcome the feeling, and the result upon the child is the inherited peculiarities of the individual.

These instances which have often been observed teach us a very important lesson—the necessity of making the surroundings of the mother as congenial and pleasing as possible, if we will have the child all it may be—bright, happy, and beautiful in spirit.

We have seen that the life and surroundings of both parents before, at the time of, and after conception are conditions that directly affect the child. The importance of physical perfection both in the individual and in the race cannot be overstated, for upon a sound physical basis rests strength of mind and of soul, and all of its multiple outgrowths.

Again, strength of mind, that power which comes from thought, is becoming more and more the great controller of mankind. It is a pressing duty upon those upon whom rest the responsibility of perpetuating the race, to study well the conservation of this force. The sickly in body, the depressed in mind, in becoming fathers and mothers run the fearful risk of multiplying and of intensifying the misfortunes that they, perhaps, have wrestled with through the neglect or ignorance of their parents. It is incumbent upon the parent, then, to make constant effort after purity of body, after culture and strength of mind, that these most desirable qualities may become the birthright of his offspring. Healthful, congenial employment for the mother, whether intellectual or physical, best fits her to transmit a love for the same to her child. Not only this, but it has been proven in more than a few instances that she may bequeath to the little one, lying close to her heart, a love for special pursuits. Let her devote herself to music with zest, and, if it be but a poor weak melody she herself can create, her soul may some day be thrilled with the song of her child. But of all the legacies to which a child has the right, and of which the world has most need to-day in her children, purity is the chief. Look to it, fathers and mothers. How is your child to obtain this? Cleanse ye the fountain, and the stream shall be pure. Yet when they with washed hands would lead the impure from their manner of life, lo! all fingers are laid on the lips, and silence is compelled. But the time has come when, if we should hold our peace, the very hills would cry out. While every other animal of earth is raised with care and foresight, that each separate race may inherit firmer and finer qualities, man alone is not to be reared by chance. The time must come when the God-given and God-like power of creating shall not be prostituted to lust and passion.

Human beings must learn that sexual appetite was originally given but for the perpetuation of mankind. Is the thought startling? Why so? Is man more animal than the animals themselves? Alas, yes; and for the very reason that he has abused his royal powers. Scattered here and there are pure souls, men and women, who have gathered themselves up from the mire of the world, and who are leading lives of continence, and rearing children who can but inherit snow-white souls. And thousands there are who gladly would do this,—patient mothers, long suffering wives, who would rejoice to accept such a doctrine as a glad evangel. But till men, as well as women, the world over, study well these laws of inheritance, and become pure and right in their own lives, we must still grieve over the little ones that come into life deprived of the moral, physical, and intellectual bequests to which they are rightful heirs.

PORTRAIT OF O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

Lyric Hall, on Sixth Avenue, opposite Reservoir Park, is chiefly known as the meeting-place of an independent religious congregation of which Octavius Brooks Frothingham is the minister. Its entrance suggests concerts and entertainments of various kinds. Ascending the broad stairway, you enter a long, narrow audience room, tastefully painted and frescoed, with seats set close together facing a raised platform, with a small desk upon it, which is usually covered on Sundays with expensive flowers. The room fills very rapidly. Most of the people seem to know each other. They have cheerful, earnest, intelligent faces, with a certain alertness and expectancy in countenance and air, as though they came to hear something, and not to show their clothes. There is an organ voluntary, and still the people come in, some five or six hundred of them. Presently a man, spare but elegant in figure, of medium height, with thin, earnest, finely-chiselled face, small gray eyes, full brow, and iron-gray hair, apparently fifty years old, appears on the platform and takes his seat. The people look at each other with a significantly pleased expression, which seems to say, "He has come." The choir has sung, and he rises with a gravity and dignity you hardly expect; with a face which seems as though it were just brought from the studio of a sculptor who has done his utmost to express intelligence, refinement, and moral elevation; a Boston face you would say, were you to meet it in San Francisco, or Rome, or St. Petersburg. He reads; the tones suggest Beacon Hill and Harvard College; clear, deep, earnest, but not musical; the vehicle of thoughts, but not the carriage which the affections usually ride in. He prays; it is a prolonged thanksgiving and aspiration that uplifts whoever yields to it, and almost transfigures him.

After the singing comes an address. It begins simply enough, without text or parade of any sort, with the announcement of some fact or principle. Soon it grows like a river fed by invisible tributaries. It taxes the mind. It enchains the attention. It elucidates a theme, instead of driving platitudes like nails into the individual conscience and heart; and it takes history, literature, philosophy, science, and art to do it with. Grand things drop from the speaker's lips, as he stands there without book or paper, speaking out of a fullness that seems to increase faster than it overflows in the choicest words. You forget yourself in admiration, and only fear that he will stop before your mind is full; and when the silver stream ceases, and you catch your breath and come to yourself, it seems as though it had borne you to the gates of the Holy City, and left you just on the outside, with the earth behind you, but with infinity before. You no longer wonder that Lyric Hall is famous, and you ask, Who is this Mr. Frothingham?

He was born in Boston in 1822. His father was a distinguished Unitarian clergyman, a translator of German hymns, and also a poet in his own right. He graduated from Harvard in 1843, and took to the

ministry as a matter both of nature and choice. He was to that manor born. After three studious years in the Divinity School, he settled over a rich Unitarian church in Salem, the quietest and most conservative city in Massachusetts. There he studied much and grew more; became absorbingly interested in German critical literature, and the great American humanities; shocked conservative Boston by saying all manner of things counted heresies in those days, and offended Salem merchants by standing up for the slave and defending abolitionists. He went to Europe, and brought the best part of it home with him in broader views, and sounder judgments, and correcter tastes, but was more radical than ever. The Boston exotic was no dainty wall-flower, but an oak that wanted earth for its roots, and heaven for its branches, and more light and air than there were in Salem to grow in. In 1855 he accepted a call to Jersey City, where he preached to a small but devoted congregation till 1859, when he was induced to organize a society in this city. Here he soon made his mark by his pronounced rationalism, his intellectual and highly-finished discourses, his originality of thought and method, and his moral earnestness. Not a popular orator; with none of the rhetorical toys to catch the crowds who are "pleased with a rattle and tickled with a straw"; with little of that personal magnetism which is often physical rather than moral in its origin and composition; scornful to use the arts and descend to the clap-trap with which audiences are often enticed to hear and moved to applaud men of common and even vulgar mould; the teacher of an unpopular gospel,—he addressed himself steadily to the understanding and conscience of his people, and left his teaching to bear its natural fruit in its own time. He had no ecclesiastical accessories and apparatus to work with, disparaged machinery and despised millinery and make-belief; it was sheer personal force, backed by the truth and the ability to state and illustrate it, on which he built. It was a novel experiment, and hard to try. Looked at from the outside, the success has been meagre enough. There is no great church to stand as the monument of fifteen years of splendid endeavor. His congregations are smaller than many others in the city. But thousands have heard his voice, and read his words, and been persuaded of their truth. The air is full of the ideas he has thrown out upon the wide-scattering wind. He is recognized as one of the intellectual and moral forces of the city, and his influence is a confessed element of metropolitan life. While other men have stood for sects and churches, he has stood steadily forward as the representative of humanity and of truth. It is one thing to build a hot-house, but a very different thing to create a summer.

And the scholar has kept pace with the preacher. He is a student by nature and habit, reading wide and deep, hiving honey from every flower and herb he lights upon. His contributions to the best reviews and magazines would fill two or three volumes. His admirable translation of Renan's *Critical Essays* had a large reading. His *Child's Book of Religion*, for the use of Sunday-schools, is unique. His two volumes of Bible stories show remarkable skill in reproducing the thought and sentiment wrapped up in the old Scripture legends and parables. His *Religion of Humanity* is a thought-book which no student of religion or humanity can pass by unread. His *Life of Theodore Parker* is one of the most attractive and brilliant American biographies, if not the very best. Some hundred and fifty of his discourses have been printed for gratuitous circulation. It is not the quantity but the flavor of the fruit that shows what the sap is made of. The scholar appears in the writings, but they scarcely hint the extent and variety of his studies.

But it is as a reformer rather than a scholar that Mr. Frothingham is most widely known and will be longest remembered. The death of Theodore Parker left him the leader of radical religious thought, and he has sacrificed his daintier tastes and more enticing studies to head the new crusade. At the formation of the Free Religious Association he was unanimously recognized as its president, and has held the office ever since. That Association stands for absolute liberty in religion. It represents *Out of Doors*. It is the organized exponent of inquiry, criticism, science, speculation, civilization in their religious applications. It is a self-constituted sentinel flinging down its challenge to every party and person for the pass-word of reason.

Perhaps his official position at the head of a Society of Interrogation-points indicates the preponderance of the critical element in his nature. He is a born inquisitor—an Investigating Committee of one. His keen eye and analytic habit of mind appear conspicuously in whatever he does. There is no lack of appreciation; but what is there to appreciate? Is the terrible question he keeps on asking, till it almost seems that there is nothing but blotch and badness. His reviews are terribly searching, and his art criticisms were too true to be quite good. This critical element detracts something from the positiveness and force of his affirmations, and makes enthusiasm impossible. If he would only unsay less and say more, only look sunward and not shadowward, only throw himself out on some magnificent hope in absolute trust, making faith take the place of demonstration till it made the demonstration! But he is too honest for that. The integrity of his intellect is crystalline. His conscience is in every faculty of his brain and every fancy of his rhetoric. Sincerity is the inmost essence of the man who is so impatient of everything that looks like pretence and policy that he finds it hard to make allowance for more flexible and elastic natures, which have a wider swing and easier bend than his own, and think of means as well as ends. This moral element overshadows his sympathies. His idea of justice smothers the effusive sen-

timents, which expand themselves so often in mere gush, and gifts that do more harm than good. He is often characterized as cold, and doubtless is deficient in the sympathetic qualities which radiate "sweetness and light." Some men are like the big, open fire-places of the old homesteads, which glowed and crackled with their blaze, throwing a stream of cheer across a room, and half roasting one side of a man while the other shivered unless he turned himself about like a turkey on a spit; others are like a furnace, dark, noiseless, unattractive, but sending its heat up through various registers to make every apartment comfortable. It is well that there are men who put their vital forces into great thoughts instead of spending them in mere gush, and glow, and gabble. But he has strong personal attachments, and his friendships, though select, are for life. His kindness amounts almost to a weakness. It carries him into the lowest hovels, into attics, and dens, and jails. A single instance we venture to mention. Last winter a young woman, who had supported herself and mother by her pen, was taken ill, with no one in particular to care for her. The miscellaneous charities of mere acquaintances were soon exhausted, and she was reduced to the last extremity. Her story came to his knowledge, and, though a total stranger to her, he supplied her necessities for months, providing comfortable quarters for her out of the city, and finally paying the costs of her burial. A score or two of such acts dropped along the by-ways of want would be enough to make a marble statue loved. Nobody has ever taken an inventory of the heresies of the Good Samaritan.

Mr. Frothingham's mind is logical in its method of thought, but not in its form of expression, which is discursive, and sometimes florid, occasionally bold, and often beautiful. He excels in vigorous and felicitous statement, and writes better than he reasons. He is sensitive to a fault, as though the nerves were on the outside of his body; and his fastidious and refined tastes isolate him to some extent from the great common life of the world, and invest him with a character of aloofness which somewhat interferes with his popular influences. An aristocrat by birth, constitution, and culture, he is a democrat by conviction; though he associates with reformers, and appears on their platforms, it is from his unflinching moral devotion to ideas, and not from any liking to the persons who represent them, or the methods they adopt. His philanthropy is a principle rather than a passion, and does not satisfy the enthusiasts, who are more moved by temperament than philosophy, and whose quick instincts tell them who are their kith and kin. They may be grateful for his thoughts, and admire his glittering sentences; but they look at him with admiration from afar, as the valleys regard the mountain that breaks the blast, and draws rain from the clouds to make their clover grow and their orchards fruitful, wondering that corn and vines do not cover its sides, and roses do not crown its brow.—*Golden Age*.

A SUNDAY IN BOSTON.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER IN THE HARTFORD "DAILY EVENING POST."

BY REV. WM. L. GAGE.

In my childhood, Boston might have been called a Unitarian city. The Orthodox churches were very few, and were decidedly looked down upon, and treated with the greatest odium. Park street was called Bristomoe Corner, and the Old South fared not much better. The Unitarian congregations were large and popular. Almost everybody who was known in the social world was connected with them. But all that has changed; and although Unitarianism has a hold there, and some of the Unitarian ministers, like Edward Everett Hale and James Freeman Clarke, are known and honored far and wide, the churches of the Pilgrims' faith have been steadily advancing; they are now numerous and strong, and Boston is now as distinctly an "Evangelical" city as it was Unitarian a third of a century ago. The little Sunday-school at King's Chapel is of course a rather exaggerated index of the change; for with many of our own largest and oldest churches the schools are small, that of the Centre Church, New Haven, for example, having but about a hundred members. Yet nothing is clearer than that Unitarianism had in it the seeds of weakness and decay, and that the sceptre which it once wielded it was powerless to retain. In other words it is just as might have been seen clearly ten or twenty years ago; the Unitarian movement ripened, and then cast what there was in it that had life and fruitfulness into the churches against which it protested, and then, like all organizations which have done their work, vanished away. Those congregations which I remember in my boyhood to do indeed remain, and bear the Unitarian name; and some of them, Dr. Gannett's and Dr. Lothrop's, for example, have built new and elegant edifices; but the denomination has followed the natural law of ripeness, and has broken into two parts, which are steadily receding from one another. The one which has been faithful to the Bible is of course not far from where a great many so-called Orthodox Christians stand, and you might hear such men as Robbins, and Peabody, and the Ellises preach for a long time without discovering anything peculiar in their sermons, unless it were a solemnity and reverence which, since Dr. Lyman Beecher's day, have grown more and more rare with us. On the other hand, there is that great movement which we see little of here in Connecticut, which we call in a word rationalism, meaning in general the putting of human reason above the Bible, and considering the Bible but as a record of one stage of religious thought. And that, under the names of Pantheism,

and Positive Religion, and Absolute Religion, and Free Religion, is the prevalent form of belief among the large number of the Unitarians and those who affiliated more or less with them. And of one of the men who represent this school I wish now to speak.

For in the afternoon, after looking in upon the little Sunday-school at King's Chapel, the question arose where should I attend afternoon service. It is a rare thing for a minister to be able to catch a free Sunday afternoon in Boston; and there was my old schoolmate, Phillips Brooks, at his church, and Professor Barbour, of Bangor, at Park Street, and Mr. Herrick at Dr. Kirk's, and Professor Everett at South Boston, and still others, each one of whom I wanted to hear. But still more did I desire to see and hear Rev. Wm. J. Potter, who was in college with me, and roomed hard by, whose face used to seem to me so singularly pure, and whose repute as a man and a scholar answered well to his face. He has for many years been the pastor of the Unitarian church at New Bedford, yet the same time he has been regarded as one of the leaders of the Free Religionists of Boston. The headquarters are and have for years been at Horticultural Hall, a beautiful room on Tremont Street, accommodating some six hundred listeners. The place has become notorious for the sentiments which give Boston what some think its rather unenviable character, yet which in other eyes give the city its noblest pre-eminence. Here Pantheism, Free Religion, Positivism, Darwinism, Evolutionism, all the fancies of Emerson, and Theodore Parker, and Francis Abbot, and Weiss, have had full sweep. I had read extracts from the Horticultural Hall utterances in all the papers, but I wanted to see the audience, and hear the speaker, and learn just what hold these ideas seem to have, and in what spirit they are presented. The hall was filled, not with that long-haired, half-crazy, and motley crowd which ordinarily make up spiritualistic congregations, but with middle-aged, keen-eyed, and earnest people whom you would not know by any external marks from any other thoroughly-intelligent congregation. At just three Mr. Potter came in, looking not much changed from the college days, the same look of meekness, purity, and high thought which he used to wear. Without a hymn, or a prayer, or a word, save a brief announcement, he plunged into his subject, which was "Names and Things." Beginning with an able dissertation on the origin of speech, he passed on to a study of names as the inevitable condition of language, and then to the degeneracy of names in religion. In the early part of his address, he might have given what he said before the American Philological Society with acceptance, but in the latter part he could only be heard with pleasure by those who share at once his ideas and prejudices. That the old names and creeds have had part in the changes of language, and no longer mean what they did; that words such as "Christian" have quite lost all that was once in them; that now we have a dialect without any meaning but a false one, and that all current religious talk is therefore false or unintentionally deceptive,—all this was put forth in a piquant, plausible style, with abundant illustrations, without sarcasm or bitterness, and in a tone perfectly polite and absolutely unexceptionable. It is true it was the language of a lofty scorn, and of great contentment with itself; but when I recalled Theodore Parker at Music Hall, his bitter denunciations, his sneers, his biting contempt, I could but feel that this was far better, even if it were more insinuating. Mr. Potter spoke in a quiet, subdued earnestness, with little gesture, but with profound effect. It was evident that he believed what he said, even to the very ends of his fingers. And although in his address he indirectly conveyed his assent to Darwinism and Evolution, yet he did not fail to acknowledge God in language so full of reverence, that on the whole I felt that the indirect influence of the address was good. To see a man stand up, arrayed in the garments of purity, having a face full of peace, and earnest desire to do good to his fellows, and lead them out into that reverent frame where he left them, I could not but think was a better thing than some smart, flippant divines, who claim to be sounder in the doctrines, but who lead their congregations along the edge of jocose and unseemly merriment, and dismiss them into an atmosphere hardly more worldly than they have already been breathing in the church. Mr. Potter's allusions to Jesus were all full of a tender homage; yet I half suspected that he did not know how much he owes to our churches for this. These Free Religionists speak of Jesus and of God in tones and in terms which seem to me a great deal higher than their own position. They do not appear to know that they stand on a borrowed pedestal. They use our thought of God and of Christ; and though they profess pure naturalism, they yet unconsciously wear some of the garments of Christianity. And therefore in all this long lecture of an hour and a half I could not think that I was listening to a "heathen" address, but rather seemed to be looking at an altar inscribed "to the unknown God."

PRAYING FOR FRESHETS.

The Right Reverend William Crosswell Doane, Episcopal Bishop of Albany, in this State, recently ordered prayers for rain to be put up in the churches under his jurisdiction. Albany and its neighborhood were suffering from a protracted drought, and the Bishop fancied that the proper thing to do in the emergency was to appeal to God to intervene and cause the clouds to form and rain to pour down. As we all know, it did rain abundantly about a fortnight ago, and the Bishop thereupon, in a letter to an Albany newspaper, delivered himself in this wise:—

"It seems a little short of irreverent trifling with a great

mystery, and irreverent ingratitude for a great mercy, to question that the abundant fall of snow, followed by the past gentle and gradual thaw, is truly God's answer to the many prayers—some worded one way, and some another—which have been offered to the Throne of Grace."

The letter is dated Feb. 24. A significant commentary upon it is found in some telegraphic despatches of the same day and the next but one. Here they are:—

"TERRE HAUTE, Ind., Feb. 24.—The Wabash River has risen fourteen feet in twenty-four hours. The steamers Young America and Elk, lying here, were swept down by the pressure of floating ice. The former was caught six miles below in a badly damaged condition. The Elk is supposed to be lost. The steamer Dolly Varden was sunk at the landing by ice. A barge belonging to Prairie City was also sunk."

"PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 26.—The ice in the Schuylkill River at Manayunk broke up yesterday afternoon, and last night the water rose twenty feet above the usual height, and within four feet of the highest freshet. All the houses in the lower part of the town were submerged, forcing the occupants to leave without saving their goods. The gas works were also submerged, leaving the streets in darkness. All the mills except one have suspended work, throwing at least two thousand persons out of employment. The Fountain Hotel was flooded, and the street, which forms a hollow at this point, was submerged, causing the suspension of travel by street-cars this morning."

"RICHMOND, Feb. 26.—The recent heavy rains have swollen the Virginia rivers considerably; in some cases causing much damage. The James River at this point is ten or twelve feet above the ordinary level, and still rising slowly. The wharves and streets of the lower part of the city are overflowed. At Lynchburg the river is up nearly fifteen feet above its usual level. Much damage is reported there, and along the line of the Atlantic, Mississippi, and Ohio Railroad. The Jackson River, at Covington, is higher than at any time since 1861."

"KNOXVILLE, Feb. 26.—The most destructive freshet for years has visited East Tennessee. The bridge over the Hiwassee River, on the East Tennessee, Virginia, and Georgia Railroad, is gone, and no mails were received yesterday. It will probably be a week before the trains are running on that road. The Tennessee River has thirty-eight feet of water, and is still rising. Bridges, mills, barns, and houses have been swept away by the flood. The Knoxville Gas Works are submerged, and the city was in darkness last night. The losses in the city and country are large."

"CHATTANOOGA, Feb. 26.—The Tennessee River is higher than at any time since 1867, and covers the low land around the city. One planing mill on the river's bank was washed away, and a few negro shanties submerged. The Atlanta and Alabama and Chattanooga routes will be a long time in getting repaired. There are five breaks in the latter."

"CINCINNATI, Feb. 26.—The steamer Argosy, laden with twelve hundred barrels of salt, was sunk at Middleport, Ohio, this morning. The river was full of ice from the broken gorges above, and a heavy cake struck the Argosy on the larboard side, just forward of the cylinder. She was backed into shore, and sunk in six feet of water, but as the river is rising rapidly, the water at last accounts was over the boiler deck."

"HARTFORD, Feb. 26.—During a freshet last night in the Naugatuck River, part of the Home Woollen Company's dam at Beacon Falls was carried away, and a man named Flaherty, who was assisting in moving the break, fell into the river and was drowned."

"NEW HAVEN, Feb. 26.—A very serious flood caused by a freshet in the Housatonic River has devastated the country in the vicinity of Zoar bridge, about nine miles above Birmingham. A huge ice gorge has been formed at Otter Rock, and the roads are impassable. Zoar bridge was carried a mile down the stream. The water rose to the second story windows of dwellings in some cases, and a number of buildings and barns were moved from their foundations. A quantity of live stock was destroyed, and many persons had narrow escapes from death."

No doubt it was highly gratifying to the Bishop's flock in Albany to have their wells and cisterns filled as they were, and it is right in them to be duly thankful for it. But what of the people in the parts of the country where "the abundant fall of snow followed by the past gentle and gradual thaw" produced the devastation recorded in the telegraphic despatches we have above quoted? The Bishop did not reflect that the same causes which produced the one result also produced the other; and that if God gave rain to the Albanians, in answer to their prayers, he also, in answer to the same prayers, destroyed steamers, bridges, dams, gas works, and buildings and property to an enormous amount, besides throwing thousands of people out of employment. That is to say, that, in order to bless the inhabitants of the diocese of Albany, he cursed the people of half a dozen States! A more striking illustration of the heathenism involved in this practice of praying for rain could not be presented.—*New York Sun.*

THE "Dead Sea apple," or "apple of Sodom," is bright and pulpy, but of so horrible a taste that the Bedouins say it is given by Allah to the tormented in hell to suck when they call upon him.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 20.

Phineas Watrous, \$3; D. Wright, \$3; L. F. Womacks, \$3; F. A. Angell, \$3; J. A. Creighton, \$3.20; Joseph E. Peck, \$3.70; F. L. Pope, \$3.20; E. L. Saxon, \$1; R. Wagner, \$1; Louis Knorr, \$4; M. E. Munroe, \$5; Peter Phillips, \$3; C. W. Fillmore, \$1.20; Hopson & Sherman, \$3.20; W. H. Crowell, \$1.20; G. H. White, \$3.20; Susan A. Tirrell, \$3; Cash, 65 cents; G. H. Foster, \$2.05; S. F. Dexter, 50 cents; J. S. Worthman, \$1.50; R. F. Weithree, \$2; D. B. Dunning, 60 cents; Lewis Whitcover, 50 cents; R. R. Suffield, \$6; Wm. Humphrey, \$3; H. Bliss, \$3.20; O. Martin, \$3; G. E. Corbin, \$4.50; Julia M. White, \$3; Wm. McKenzie, \$3.50; C. G. Clark, \$4.40; Joseph Haskins, \$1.50; Jon. Heistand, \$1.50; S. R. Kochler, 20 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

ABOUT A COAT.

WHAT C. SAYS TO A. AND B.

Why raise an everlasting pother
About this thing and 'bout that other?
Who talks about "infallibility"?
It sounds like an incivility.

Says Mr. A. to Mr. B.:
"Your house's on fire! Come out and see."
Quoth Mr. B. to Mr. A.:
"Your fire's a painted flame, I say."

"You prick forth like an armed knight,
And you insist on being right.
Your challenge rings out full and free:
'Release that maiden, Liberty!'"

"When 'Liberty' you name, my brother,
You mean one thing, and I another;
Our stand-point is not quite the same,
You stand outside and your blows rain,

"Forgetting that external force
But rivets chains and makes them worse:
Unless indeed the chain you break,
And so your 'Sleeping Beauty' wake.

"But will you marry her, my friend,
When from the churches' power you rend?
The Church espoused her with a dot;
Gave Christianity for her coat.

"The Church, disclosed in deed and act,
A tyrant husband was in fact.
It owned her conscience, heart, and brains,
And loaded her with heavy chains."

In vain is your appeal to facts,—
The Church's history in its acts;
Be not seduced by history's light,
Interpretations differ quite.

Chameleon that feeds on air
Is type of some things not so rare;
The thing I saw was black last night,
Next morn I looked, and lo! 'twas white!

Your animal turned out to feed
Is just as changeable,—a creed.
Religion is a fashion-plate:
It changes with the place and date.

Now Christianity, please note,
Is but the turning of a coat;
In Paganism you will find
Its doctrines stated to your mind.

The heathen gods were devils well
Made over in the Christian hell;
And Venus, heavenly Venus fair,
Became the Holy Virgin there.

All State religions, you agree,
Must trample on soul liberty.
They dictate how a man shall vote,
Prescribe the fashion of his coat.

The Radical gets mad and tears
His coat, or pitches it down-stairs;
Calls it a badge of slavery worn
By fools whom he will laugh to scorn.

He does insist on being right:
The coatless stumps the coat to fight.
He puts the whole world in the wrong,
Because the world sings not his song.

But B. is otherwise inclined:
"This coat is comfortable, I find;
It has kept warm the human heart;
It's worn by literature and art."

All men of sense, 'tis said, agree
In one religion which none see;
But what it is, not one will tell,—
Said Shaftesbury, and he said well.

Is Christianity a myth?
Or is it Proteus in a with
Bound, and escaping still ere long
Organization fast and strong?

When Christians trampled on Greek art,
They took the old barbarian's part;
Till men were glad to welcome home
The "kind old gods" of Greece and Rome.

Now Christianity is made
Ancillary to art and trade;
And churches, like a whitewashed saint,
Flourished by skilful use of paint.

Assault the Church, then, if you will,—
Assault the faith, and you do ill;
Your weapon keen the air not wounds,
There's freedom also within bounds.

The great substantial of our faith
Continue, and no man gain-saith;
While Christian creed 's that duke in song,—
"All things by turns and nothing long."

When jobbery has shocked the nation,
The people shout "Investigation!"
But still the point is left unstated,
The "thing" is not "investigated."

I hear you, friends; but what's the row?
What "liberty" does each avow?
Can I resolve you in a fable,
Though scarce at story-telling able?

A London Jew kept in the Strand,
Who dealt in clothes at second-hand.
He stood the passers-by to note,
His business was to sell a coat.

Two countrymen, both raw and thin,
Father and son, he roped them in;
And, spite of frequent loud denials,
He tried on coats; but all his trials

Were useless, vain,—not one would suit;
They turned to go—but like a brute,
The Jew caught hold the younger one,
And then a coat—he forced it on.

"The coat, I tell you, does not suit."
"You tell me so? then you're a brute,
And he shall wear it to begin:
The coat ish goot—your poys too thin!"

MORAL.

A man's religion, you will find,
Is born to him and suits his mind.
Beware the vendors of "old cios,"
Christians and Jews, and such as those.

J. T.

WASHINGTON, March, 1875.

The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 25, 1875.

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N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

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SUNDAY LECTURES.—The Editors of THE INDEX will lecture occasionally on Sundays, if desired, within a convenient distance of Boston.

THE Rochester Democrat and Chronicle of February 23 published an admirable and manly plea for the non-exemption of ministers and churches from taxation, in the shape of a sermon by Rev. H. L. Morehouse, a Baptist clergyman of that city. To their praise be it said, the great majority of the Pastors' Union, to whom it was read, emphatically indorsed it.

It is a simple matter of justice to say that the New York Liberal Christian, though standing staunchly by its Unitarianism, is very fair and good-natured in its notices of our strictures upon its favorite religion. It appears to credit us with entire lack of personal bitterness; and we believe this kind judgment is no more than just. Certainly, it would be gratuitous and causeless in the last degree to feel bitter towards Unitarians as individuals; for there is not one among them with whom our personal relations are other than pleasant. So THE INDEX shakes hands cordially with the Liberal Christian, and still "stands to its guns."

THE poet Longfellow recently wrote the following reply to a letter requesting him to become an honorary member of the British National Association of Spiritualists:—

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Jan. 15, 1875.

DEAR MISS KISLINGBURY:—Not being a Spiritualist in the usual and popular sense of the word—that is to say, never having seen any manifestations that convinced me of the presence of spirits,—I should deem it almost an act of dishonesty on my part to accept the compliment you offer.

I must, therefore, with many thanks for this mark of your consideration, beg leave to decline it. With great regard, yours truly,

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

NOTHING is more common than the confusion of thoughts with feelings, and it tends greatly to mislead the mind in very important matters. A witness in court, referring to an approaching judicial inquiry, recently said, "I felt that the proceeding would go on;" and he insisted on the word *felt* as correctly used. Yet the phenomenon in his mind at the time was a definite thought, not a feeling; namely, "the proceeding will go on." This was a proposition, with a subject and predicate conjoined (as they always are conjoined) by an act of the intellect or understanding; it was an inference, and nothing else, drawn from circumstances then perceived or believed to be facts; but because the witness could not analyze all these circumstances, or explain to himself exactly how the inference had been drawn, he jumped to the conclusion that it was a feeling, and not a thought. Now it is precisely in this way that people say, "I feel that the soul is immortal;" and, being unable to analyze or explain all the logical antecedents of this manifest inference, they jump to the conclusion that it is not an inference at all, but a "feeling" or "intuition." The inference may be drawn correctly from real facts, though this is not certain till these facts have been verified, analyzed, and logically connected; but the confounding in this manner of thought with feeling, intellect with "intuition," lies at the bottom of all "intuitionism," as a form of religious belief. It is precisely this confusion, this ignorance of psychological processes, which the scientific school object to; and the reform it proposes is to clear away the haziness which now veils the actual operations of the mind from itself, in order that the real truth, whatever it may be, may be discovered and certified beyond reasonable doubt.

PRIVATE JUDGMENT AND UNIVERSAL REASON.

"Justification by faith" and the "right of private judgment" were the two great principles of the Protestant Reformation. "Justification by faith" was derived from Christianity, and (in the famous formula of Chillingworth) made "the Bible, and the Bible only, the religion of Protestants"; while the "right of private judgment" was derived from the self-assertion of human intellect, but was restricted in its exercise to the mere interpretation of the Bible. These two principles were in reality incongruous, and capable only of an historical, not a logical, combination, since the restriction of private judgment to Bible-interpretation was arbitrary and irrational. Protestantism, therefore, being a mere transition from Christianity in its completeness to Free Religion in its completeness, and uniting as it did the conflicting characteristics of each, has been necessarily at war with itself from the start; it was only a half-protest, which must either be suppressed or extended. As might have been expected, with this internal inconsistency it has developed two opposing tendencies, one forward towards Rationalism pure and simple, the other backward through Ritualism and kindred reactions towards Rome. The endless schisms and sub-schisms which have marked its history from the time of Luther to the present day were only the natural and necessary expression of this inherent logical weakness. The spirit of protest burst the arbitrary bonds of bibliolatry, while the spirit of Christianity shrank back aghast at the havoc that was made. But the general current of the great Protestant movement has been sweeping the modern mind farther and farther from its old Christian moorings; the powerful influences of science and commerce, of industry and democracy, have not only reinforced the predominant tendencies of Protestantism, but also operated upon Catholic Christianity to sap the very foundations of its dominion even over its own adherents. In spite of the most desperate resistance, Free Religion is winning the battle, and its victory is only a question of time. We are living in a period which is pregnant with infinitely profounder changes than the age of Constantine. Christianity is dying to-day as Paganism was dying then; and the world will inherit a blessing far more precious than that which it has lauded so long.

Now the prepotent rationalistic tendency of Protestantism which grew out of its "right of private judgment" has its logical ultimate in absolute Individualism, though nothing absolute ever gets expressed historically in any absolute form. It is perfectly fair to judge a principle by its remote consequences, though this course does not seem fair to those who would limit its proper extent by the actual extent to which they themselves carry it. To what does the "right of private judgment" conduct us, when emancipated from the confinement to mere Bible-interpretation by which it was originally restricted? Simply to this conclusion: that the individual thinker has no criterion of truth outside the action of his own individual mind—that he has no objective standard by which to correct the errors arising out of his own mental idiosyncrasies, his deficiencies of knowledge, his biases of prejudice, his inequalities of general development, his peculiarities in point of circumstance, situation, or education. From such disturbing causes as these no man is wholly free. They enter more or less into all his mental action, and more or less deflect his thought from absolute fidelity to truth. They require that a "personal equation" should be made in the case of every individual, in order to eliminate the inevitable mistakes of his "private judgment." So long as he is satisfied with mere subjective certainty, and, when he has formed his beliefs as conscientiously as he can by the exercise of his own individual faculties alone, conceives himself to have reached the certainty of objective truth, just so long will he be exposed to the peril of great and grievous error. Only the conceit of a practical personal infallibility would explain undoubting confidence in general conclusions thus reached, to the neglect of all objective tests.

Herein consists the unsatisfactory character of Protestantism, when developed on its rationalistic side into pure Individualism. The "right of private judgment," exercised without regard to the necessity of correcting it by universal experience, makes a barren "yea, yea," "nay, nay," the last word of all dialogue or discussion, the baffling issue of all earnest mutual search for truth. The "right of private judgment" has its good side, undoubtedly, as well as its bad side. It thoroughly emancipates the individual from the domineering, overbearing authority

which has been usurped by ecclesiastical conclaves or pontiffs or attributed to infallible scriptures. This emancipation is the negative but immense benefit conferred by the Protestant Reformation upon Christendom; at the present day, it constitutes the net result of this Reformation; it marks the limit of the progress actually attained by the fashionable religious radicalism, which is still in the stage of Individualism. But the other side of the "right of private judgment" is not good. The pendulum-swing from the Catholic extreme to the Individualist extreme has caused forgetfulness of the fact that general advancement in the knowledge of truth is the result of general activities, not of individual achievements, that it is due to the combined experiments, observations, and reasonings of the whole race, not to the accumulated insights of any single individual. The cooperating intellects of innumerable discoverers, working in innumerable fields of investigation, have given to the world a vast body of ESTABLISHED TRUTHS, which the individual is not free to accept or reject at pleasure, but is bound to accept on peril of impeaching his own sanity. No truth, of course, can ever be established in the sense that it must not be called in question; if any one can overthrow it, he is at perfect liberty to do so. But very many truths are established in the sense that whoever questions them simply proclaims himself an ignoramus. Established truths of this order may be found in the propositions that the square root of two is a surd,—that the blood circulates in the human body,—that the earth is more than six thousand years old,—that contradictory propositions cannot both be true at the same time,—that cruelty, injustice, and untruthfulness are morally wrong. These are established truths of mathematics, physiology, geology, logic, ethics; and every science will furnish multitudes of similar instances. They are so completely established that to doubt them is simply to remove oneself from the category of intelligent and educated human beings. No "private judgment" in the world can venture to dispute them without branding itself as idiocy.

Now who or what has established these truths on a basis so impregnable? The "private judgment" of anybody? Not at all. No individual has established them, though some individual first discovered each of them. It is a matter of absolute indifference, now that they have been discovered, whether the individual assents or dissents; they stand just as securely as before in either case. He may knock his head against the rock; but he will not hurt the rock, at least. Nay, more than this. Not only has the individual not established these truths of science for others,—he has not even established any large part of them for himself. How many of our readers are able even to state, much less to prove, the grounds on which these scientific truths really rest? Is it not evident that most of us accept them on some other authority than that of our own "private judgment"? A very small portion of the established truths of science, if we have become proficient in the special branch to which they belong, we may be competent to establish for ourselves by obeying the ascertained laws of scientific proof. But the residue we simply "learn"—that is, accept as truths established for us by some other authority than our "private judgment"; and not to do this, instead of arguing in us superior discernment or independence, would simply convict us of the grossest folly. Now what is this other authority? UNIVERSAL REASON. And what do we mean by that?

In the first place, we do not mean a mere "vote of the majority." The consensus of very many minds is always entitled to respect, on any matter which has really called them into vigorous and earnest activity; but not, of course, if it is merely their indolent or indifferent assent to the usurpation of some self-constituted leader. As a general rule, most minds reason well enough, if their passions or interests are not unduly excited. They usually draw correct conclusions from such facts or premises as are fairly before their notice; they chiefly err when their premises are insufficient. Nevertheless, votes should be weighed, not counted, when the question is what to believe. The well-instructed individual possesses a more legitimate influence upon belief than an ill-instructed multitude, as an exponent of the universal reason; in him it has a far better chance to act than it has through them. Again and again, in the history of science and philosophy and religion, the individual has been right as against the world; and by-and-by the world has acknowledged it. Not for a moment should we be supposed to counsel intellectual submission to ignoramuses simply because they happen to be in force, when we maintain the supreme au-

thority of universal reason. Its behests may be transmitted through the unanimity of all minds, the agreement of a few minds, or the solitary insight of one mind; they are not to be learned by the easy process of counting noses. On this point we wish to be well understood. The authority of universal reason is not that of universal suffrage—much less that of mob-law. The “vote of the majority” may be entitled to the profoundest respect, or to none whatever; this depends on their intelligence, their means of knowledge, their freedom from all bias of passion, prejudice, or interest. To determine the amount of weight that should attach to public opinion, public opinion must be itself tested by universal reason, which is by no means a necessary synonyme of it. While public opinion tends more and more to become a fit representative of universal reason through the gradual diffusion of the light of knowledge, it is yet true that there is no infallible oracle of universal reason, whether individual thought or public opinion; and it is only by the assumption that truth wins its own way with the world, that the opinion of a million individuals has any more weight than that of one.

This may be taken as a brief definition: *Universal Reason is Reason in harmony with the Universe.* It is universal, not necessarily in the sense of being actually expressed at any particular time by public opinion, but in the sense of being conformed to the universal laws of thought and the universal facts of existence. The first test of it is *logic*; the second is *verification*. If thought is inconsistent with itself, there is no use in trying to verify it; it is proved false by its own contradictoriness. But it may be perfectly self-consistent, and yet fail to be in harmony with facts; hence the necessity of verifying it before it is accepted as truth.

Here is a simple illustration. What is the product of eight by nine? “Seventy-six,” says X. “Seventy-four,” says Y. They disagree. Each insists that his own “private interpretation” is correct, and stands on the right of “private judgment.” So they carry on an interminable and profitless discussion, until Z steps up with the Multiplication Table in his hand, and proves them to be both in the wrong. This illustrates precisely what we mean by the “appeal to facts.” The Multiplication Table is not the mere “vote of the majority,” though the majority certainly believe in it. Neither is it the decree of any infallible Pope or Sir Oracle. But it is an authority which the individual must acknowledge, or, like Dogberry, “write himself down an ass.” An authoritative tribunal by which the arithmetical disputes of individuals can be finally settled.

Now there is a great body of Established Truths which are just as authoritative over “private judgment” as the Multiplication Table. They represent the net results of human experience down to the present day. This experience has been built up by the contributions of individuals, of course; yet it speaks in the name of no one individual and in the name of no number of individuals, but simply in the name of the universal reason of the race. It leaves free scope for the exercise of individual liberty, which it never restricts; any individual may set himself up in opposition to it, and, if he can prove by logic and verification that he is right and the supposed universal reason wrong, he simply establishes a correction of the general experience, and vindicates himself thereby. But he can only do this by logic and verification; he cannot plead his “private judgment,” or “private interpretation,” or “private intuition.” All these things go for nothing as respects mankind at large; they will do for the individual, but not for the race; they are useless in discussion, unless they can be backed up by logic and verification. The laws of thought and of knowledge which have been discovered and confirmed by the experience of millions and millions of truth-seekers, and proved to be valid by the existence of that vast body of accumulated truths known as Science, cannot be set aside by any one without making himself ridiculous. They are binding upon the individual; he may dispute them if he pleases, but he does this at his own peril; and if he fails to prove that he knows more than all who have gone before him, he loses his case and must suffer the natural penalty.

There is nothing whatever in all this to discourage independence or originality of thought; for whoever knows that he has got hold of hitherto unsuspected truth will also know that in due time he will be upheld and vindicated by the universal reason itself. All he has to do is to stand by his thought, and make the necessary sacrifices in order to secure recognition for it. But in this case he is simply appealing from

the universal reason as represented by his contemporaries to the universal reason as represented by posterity; he still recognizes the tribunal by which all individual thought must be ultimately, as it will be justly, judged. So long as man is finite, the universal reason of the human race can only approximate more and more to the universal reason of Nature; and, although this increasing approximation is always secured by the exercise of individual thought which penetrates deeper than the average thought of the age, nevertheless individual thought must in all cases hold its ground by means of logic and verification alone. Personal affirmation goes for nothing in the long run; it is the universal laws of intelligence that govern in the end. And the universal reason we defend, as against the confused claims of merely “private judgment,” has attained its highest expression not in Christianity, Catholic or Protestant, but in Science.

THE HORTICULTURAL HALL LECTURES.

The annual course of lectures in Horticultural Hall, Boston, under the auspices of the Free Religious Association, has just closed. Ten lectures have been given on a wide variety of topics connected with religion, education, and social reform. The plan of the committee, opening the course to a broader scope of subjects than heretofore, so as to include more of social science and philanthropy, seems to have been generally acceptable to the constituency of the Association and to the public. The average attendance at the lectures appears to have been larger than in previous years; and the aggregate number of persons who have attended one or more of the lectures has probably been very much greater than at any previous course; for the variety of subjects has drawn to different lectures quite different audiences, and the wider range of representative names among the lecturers has tended to the same results.

Some disappointment, however, has been expressed by a few persons because the course has had so little of special religious interest,—a fact which only shows, perhaps, how difficult it is to suit all tastes by any course. And, quite amusingly, in another quarter, where the Association has been previously criticised for not giving sufficient attention to social questions, it has this year, because of this admission of so large a number of social topics, been satirized as the “Free Political Association,”—a little straw which only shows that to some moods, let the wind blow in whatever direction it will, it will not blow right.

A more important criticism has been made by a few persons, and one which ought to be noticed for the sake of clearing up a question of responsibility. A few excellent friends of the Association have felt aggrieved because on one question, that of prohibitory legislation in regard to the evil of intemperance, there has been a lecture in opposition to the prohibitory method, while there has been no statement on the other side; and therefore to these persons the Association appears to have taken ground against prohibitory liquor laws, or at least to have given that impression to the public. In reply to this it should be stated that it is an established principle of the Association, incorporated in its constitution and in all its methods of activity, that the Association as such does not endorse the utterances of any speakers it invites to its platform, and that no speaker or member anywhere commits the Association to his views. It offers an opportunity, in its conventions and in its lectures, for free individual utterance only. At the same time it must be admitted that, if on a question where good and true men are so nearly evenly divided as on that of prohibitory liquor laws, the Association’s committees should show a disposition to give only one side an opportunity to be heard, complaint might justly be made that the principles of the Association, however strongly stated in theory, had been violated in practice. Therefore it ought to be known that the plan of the lecture committee as first formed was not carried out entirely. It was intended to have braces of lectures on three or four of the more important social questions, giving on each the two sides of the argument; but this feature of the course failed because of the impracticability of securing suitable lecturers. In accordance with this plan Mr. Weeden’s lecture on “The Evils of Prohibitory Liquor Laws” was to be balanced with a lecture by some equally able and pronounced advocate of such laws. Dr. Miner at first partially promised to give such a lecture, but finally declined on account of his health. Other well-known friends of the prohibitory principle were then applied to, as

Judge Pitman and Mr. Garrison, but without success. More labor, indeed, was spent in the effort to secure a statement of this view of the temperance problem than on any other lecture. Yet finally the course had to be made up without it.

In spite, however, of these partial failures in the endeavors of the committee, their plan of enlarging the scope of the lecture course may be regarded as successful. In some people, doubtless, the confinement of the lectures to problems of special religious interest would be more acceptable. But to the community in general, to whom these lectures are now free, the mixed course seems the most useful. But perhaps by another year it may be thought that the time has arrived for reviving and adopting the suggestion made several years ago, by which the scope and usefulness of these lectures shall be still further enlarged, and the wants and tastes of all classes be met. Several successive courses of lectures might be arranged, extending through five or six months of the year, and presenting a variety of topics, religious, social, scientific, and presenting them more systematically. Such a plan, of course, would require more money. But could not money be obtained for the inauguration of such an institute for free Sunday lectures? W. J. P.

A RUMOR CORRECTED.

NEW YORK, March 15, 1875.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Before the interesting item of unintelligence contained in last week’s INDEX obtains a more extended circulation, and ripens into the rumor that I have received and accepted a call to the temple Emanuel, having advanced as far as to Moses and the prophets, let me say that there is not one shred of truth in the statement. I never received an invitation to preach in synagogue or temple; never was waited on by a Hebrew committee; never was “interviewed” on the subject by a Jewish reporter (by the way, I wonder if there are any; for, if there are none, I shall reconsider the matter and apply for a situation among my Israelite friends); never felt in my bosom a yearning after the implied distinction.

About two years ago it did happen that, the temple Emanuel being in need of an English-tongued preacher, and having exhausted ingenuity in the search after one, a facetious member of the—Sanhedrim, shall we say?—in sarcasm probably on the ineffectual efforts of the voters, suggested my name. Possibly he thought I was a bad enough Christian to teach Jews. The moderator of the meeting, after saying a few words disclaiming all personal disrespect, replied very properly that, as Mr. Frothingham was not a Jew, he could not with propriety officiate as rabbi in a Jewish house of worship. There the matter ended. Shortly after the congregation obtained a preacher who could speak both in German and English, and with whom, I believe, they have every reason to be satisfied. There were, however, some, it seems, who took Mr. —’s little joke seriously; for when, on the following October, a wish was expressed that the opening meeting of the Free Religious convention might be held in a Hebrew temple, it met with an unfavorable response, and it was intimated to me that the unlucky joke aforementioned had alarmed the conservative part of the congregation, and put them on their guard against “rationalism.”

The congregations of Jews in New York are, I think, mainly Orthodox. The great temple Emanuel, on Fifth Avenue, represents the liberal tendency, and has among its influential men several who would have no objection to seeing it converted into a grand theistic temple. That would be a noble sight, and would show in the ancient faith a vitality that might justify its venerable promise and hope. But these gentlemen are in the minority as yet, and will be for many years to come. The Israelites are recovering confidence and pride in the chief city of the New World. Their faith is coming to be recognized as a distinction, and no longer as a reproach. They hold up their heads as people who are not ashamed of their lineage, their history, or their sacred tradition. They have the aspect of men who need ask no favor, and need make no apology. Superstitious they are not; their interpretation of their ancestral faith is free and reasonable; they drop observances once deemed indispensable, and explain away dogmas that once were literally held. But they retain enough of the old leaven to distinguish them from the Christians about them, and apparently have no strong desire to be merged in Christian society. Their bond of fellowship among themselves is close; in innumerable ways they make it evident that they preserve

and intend to preserve the social customs of their race; and, while they would rejoice in the transfiguration of their religion through an increased fidelity to its rational element and its theistic idea, they would regret a disavowal of its venerable stock. That the next step in the development of Judaism will be a step towards pure, enlightened, undogmatic theism, can hardly be doubted. In fact, that step has already been taken by eminent rabbis, and eventually the religious faith of rationalism will be found intimately associated with the religion of Moses, and "Christianity" will fall behind among the creeds of superstition. But that consummation is far distant. This generation will hardly witness an exchange of pulpits between a Hebrew rabbi and the most attenuated example of a quondam "Christian." A good many barriers will have to be broken down first.

Faithfully yours,

O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

HIGGINSON'S "HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES."

Perhaps some notice of this new work in THE INDEX may have escaped our eyes; but it is certainly safer to run the risk of saying good things of it over again than to lose any chance of commending it to the attention of the reading public. It is a most rare and admirable achievement; for the finest literary skill, matured thought, and wide experience of life and men, have been brought to bear upon the history of our own country, to give a true and simple account of it, and yet with all the charm and delight of a real work of art. From the early, mysterious, dim records of the Northmen, or even earlier visitants to our shores, to the prosaic records of the administrations between Jefferson and Lincoln, every epoch is touched with such consummate skill that it takes its place in the drama, and seems to help in the unfolding of the nation. Mr. Higginson has given the development and life of the nation by means of the narration of events rather than a chronicle of events.

Another remarkable quality is the union of enthusiasm with impartiality. There is no paltering with wrong, no want of clear conviction and pronounced conviction; yet we think there is not a passage tending to embitter sectarian or sectional prejudice. By the power of imagination he has always endeavored to paint the acts of each party as they looked to themselves, as well as to try them in the scales of moral justice. The perfect simplicity of style and the moral earnestness of the book save it from the fault, which so mars Dickens' *Child's History of England*, of flippancy and trifling on historic themes. Children like plainness and sincerity much better, and we rejoice to hear that they take this book and read it from beginning to end with unbroken enjoyment. The references to literature are very good, and will stimulate many a young reader to better acquaintance with our poets and romancers; and the catalogue of books for consultation is very valuable. We trust the book will become a universal text-book for reading and study in our schools, and that its happy appearance at this centennial season will help to deepen the influences which always come from thoughtful remembrances of the great men and great deeds of the past. Its broad, liberal, sympathetic spirit must commend it to all of like tendencies.

As Mr. Higginson must have gathered a great deal of material which he cannot have used in this condensed narrative, we hope he will give us some fuller sketches of leading characters or events in history, which will serve the children who have become men and women. It is a great duty to rescue our history from contempt and commonplace, and illuminate it with the light of imagination and enthusiasm.

E. D. C.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—On Saturday last the body of Sir Charles Lyell was buried in Westminster Abbey.

There were assembled, to pay honor to the illustrious dead, nearly all the leaders of the scientific world. Perhaps never before had been gathered under that august roof such a multitude of men eminent for their services to the enlightenment of mankind.

To give anything like a list of their names would absorb all the space allotted to me, and be a needless waste of time. Suffice it to say that the pall-bearers were the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Justice Grove, Mr. John Evans, Professor Huxley, Sir Edward Ryan, Dr. Hooker, Rev. W. Symmonds, and Mr. I. C. Morse. Professor Tyndall followed close behind the mourners, with representatives from the Queen and

the Prince of Wales. Besides the hundreds who were admitted by the orders of the Dean, there was a vast crowd in the nave and aisles of the Abbey.

Two wreaths of white flowers lay upon the bier, to which were added at the grave one from the Queen, and another from Mrs. Cranshaw, whom I had the honor of attending. While waiting for the ceremony to commence, and watching the numerous arrivals of scientific and other celebrities, I could not restrain my thoughts from travelling back to the time when the science of geology was in its infancy, and "Charles Lyell" was manfully shielding it from the bitter storms of theological bigotry which beat about its head. At that time it cost something more than sacrifice of time and toil to be a geologist. Persecution in its varied and subtle forms was ready on every hand to stifle inquiry, to lay under a social ban every one who dared to unfold discoveries incompatible with the cosmogony of *Genesis*. Of the details of the late Sir Charles Lyell's early difficulties from this source little is now said. Better so; better to drown all such painful memories in the waters of Lethe. The *amende* has been made. For many, many years "the greatest geologist of his day" has enjoyed the confidence, the admiration, and, best of all, the gratitude of the world. And then, when all his great work was done and he entered into his rest, the nation paid to his mortal remains the highest honor reserved for her noblest sons. What a mighty change is this, and how encouraging a token of the rapid exodus out of spiritual bondage!

Yet more: the very Church whose bishops and ministers were so ready to denounce his early heresies on biblical subjects deems it an honor to lay him to rest in her most venerable sanctuary, and to read over his tomb the service of Christian Burial, although his geological heresies were as naught compared with the fact that he lived and died a Unitarian, and was well known to be a member of our congregation at St. George's Hall. Such a concession would have been impossible fifty years ago! But the late baronet may chiefly thank himself and his beloved wife for this conquest over early opposition. Their social influence was scarcely less than his great renown. Honored, trusted, and beloved were they by every one who had the privilege of knowing them. Still, though this was the chief cause of his triumph, it would be ungrateful to forget two at least out of the honored band whose influence helped to smooth his path to a just recognition.

To the late Prince Consort, we owe untold help in the encouragement of science and in the discouragement of theological prejudice. And after him in time, though not in value, we must place Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Dean of Westminster, who from his eminent position in the Church has done all he possibly could to stamp out bigotry and to nourish universal charity. Never was man better placed than as the custodian and official dispenser of the nation's highest mortuary honors.

The influence of these musings on the scene around me prepared me for the service, which I expected would be painful and incongruous. On the contrary, the words swept over my ears, leaving unruffled the sweet serenity and peace into which my thoughts had led me. I saw hundreds, like myself, who could not enter into the "form," but who could heartily enjoy the spirit, of the august and solemn ceremony. Beside me stood the Rev. Dr. Martineau, to whose friendship and ministrations Sir Charles Lyell had owed so much. And again I thought—here was another to whom the world will never know how much it is indebted. No wonder that Sir Charles, among other eminent thinkers, attended Dr. Martineau's services while he could. For my part, if I were a layman and had no work of the kind to do, I never should have gone anywhere else, while I could hear him.

As a spectacle, a funeral in Westminster Abbey is most solemn and grand; the greater portion of the service is musical, and of a sort richly in harmony with the occasion and the associations of the place. At times it was a little too weird for me, but then I cannot bear gloom of any kind—in sight or sound; especially over the grave, where one needs everything to inspire resignation and hope.

I trust it will never be forgotten that he whom we mourn to-day, the greatest geologist that ever lived, believed that "the ineradicable basis of religion" was to be found "in the nature and necessities of man"; and contended that "the perpetual adaptation of the organic world to new conditions leaves the argument in favor of design, and therefore of a Designer, as valid as ever."

As one of those who had the honor of Sir Charles

Lyell's friendship, sympathy, and support from the very beginning of my public troubles almost to his last hour, I feel deeply grateful to Dean Stanley for the eloquent tribute to Sir Charles and Lady Lyell, with which he closed his funeral sermon at the Abbey yesterday afternoon:—

"With him science and religion were one and indivisible. From his mind the great religious problems of our time were never absent, and the infinite possibilities of Nature gave him fresh ground for this unshapen hope in the unknown immortal future. With that one faithful, beloved, and beautiful soul who, till within the last two years of his life, shared all his joys, his sorrows, his labors, and his fame, he walked that lofty path which the vulture's eye hath not seen, nor the lion's whelp hath trodden—the pathway of the just, brightening ever more and more towards the perfect day, in which he trusted they were now at last reunited in the presence of that light which they both so sincerely sought."

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, March 1, 1875.

Communications.

SPENCER AND TYNDALL.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In your issue of March 4th, you print and indorse a portion of a private letter assailing Tyndall and Spencer; Tyndall for quibbling and cowardice, and Spencer as "having degenerated into a dogmatic fatalist who has just been well handled by Prof. Cairnes."

Prof. Tyndall, it may be, quibbles "and fears the world," as your correspondent has it, or even "juggles," as THE INDEX some time ago told us; but the writer has not been entirely alone in honoring him as an able, candid, and courageous man who has done noble service in the cause of free thought.

And it may be that Spencer, who is handled so much, has just been "well handled" by Prof. Cairnes; but it has seemed to the writer that the handling was a little foul. Because Spencer maintains the domination of law in social affairs, the reviewer mildly charges him with fatalism. Although Spencer has made special studies in history, as a basis for working out the principles of sociology, and has done more than any man who has lived, and is doing more than any other man who lives, to bring history into the service of sociology, the reviewer charges him with ignoring history! Although Spencer has been the first and the only thinker who has written on the sociological history of dying or dead civilizations, as the Egyptian, Hebrew, Mexican, and Peruvian, the reviewer charges him with "completely ignoring the phenomena of social retrogression." "Well handled," indeed! But handled about as fairly by Prof. Cairnes as by most of the critics.

W. D. GUNNING.

[Prof. Gunning has no cause to complain, if he enjoys as much liberty to defend Spencer and Tyndall as others do to criticise them: the word "assail" is unjust. Is there to be free speech only for one opinion? That is not the principle on which THE INDEX is conducted. It is enough to say here that we never are guilty of the impertinence of "indorsing" anything that our correspondents write; that we have repeatedly expressed our own estimate of Spencer and Tyndall with sufficient explicitness in our own language; and that it is identical neither with Prof. Gunning's nor with that of our English correspondent, who indeed stated that we "overrate" Tyndall. But we have no idol too tender to be touched.—ED.]

ABOUT "NEW DEFINITIONS."

LOWELL, Mass., March 4, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

While reading your editorial on "Christianity Notwithstanding," published February 18th, I felt moved to ask a question. I said:—

"Mr. Abbot writes himself outside of Christianity, and opposed to it. Mr. Savage thinks that Mr. Abbot is only outside of 'a new definition' of Christianity. But Mr. Abbot disclaims the framing, or the right in reason to frame, a new definition thereof. The definition is already framed, he says, by 'the collective utterances of the Christian Church,' and by her 'venerable formularies and creeds'; to this he adds only the perceptions of the net influence of these on the course of human progress. But we find that 'THE INDEX aims to increase intelligence with respect to religion.' Mr. Abbot, in a certain essay denominated 'A Study of Religion,' intimates the necessity of a new conception thereof, while yet he seems to admit that religion, with a proper understanding of the word, is desirable. It is the effort of man to perfect himself (I write from memory). I feel moved, therefore, to ask if religion has not been as thoroughly defined as Christianity has been; what is Mr. Abbot's right in reason to frame a new definition of it; why not rather take the collective utterances of religious bodies, the venerable creeds and formularies which have associated themselves with the popular conceptions of religion, attach to these his perceptions that the net influence of them upon the course of human progress has been crippling, retarding, and hostile, and so conclude that his proper attitude towards it is the same as his attitude to Christ-

ianity—antagonistic? With leave to define either Christianity or religion as one pleases, one may be very friendly or very hostile to either. Perhaps Mr. Abbot will make one more attempt to be understood in this matter; for just now some of his positions seem inconsistent with other positions."

W. G. HASKELL.

[If Mr. Haskell will consider that all "religious" bodies hitherto have been organized on the basis of some particular religion, and that (so far as we know) the Free Religious Association is the first ever organized on religion in its universality, he will see that there are no creeds and formularies to appeal to in this case. We regard the Constitution of the Free Religious Association as the only collective utterance analogous to the creeds of the sectarian religions; and it yields the very definition we defend, by a fair construction. But the essay Mr. Haskell refers to appeals from the "provincial" definition of religion prevalent in merely Christian countries to the "cosmopolitan" definition deducible from universal human experience; and that is precisely the way in which we define Christianity, appealing from all the special sects to the Church Universal. Neither of our definitions have we taken because it is old or new, but because we think each scientific—framed to express the generic unity, here of all organized religions, and there of all organized Christian bodies. Further thought will show Mr. Haskell that we have followed one principle in the case of both definitions. —Ed.]

THE COMPULSORY SYSTEM OF EDUCATION.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In a late editorial entitled "A Social Nest of Snakes," giving some very just reflections on the social organism, in connection with the statistics of Dr. Harris relative to the evils entailed on society through its neglect of that prolific mother of criminals and paupers, "Margaret," you say "that a part of their treatment, at least, will be the requisition that every child shall be educated, whether the parents do or do not neglect their natural duties; and that no child shall be suffered to be brought up in a hot-bed of crime and pauperism." In other words, you would inaugurate compulsory education mentally and morally, not only of pauper children, but of all others, whenever parents fail to exercise the proper control in this matter.

Such opinions are widely prevalent, and yet the subject deserves careful consideration on the part of all, even in its most earnest advocates. Among the strongest arguments put forth in its favor are the following, to wit: the natural right of every child born into the world to be educated, and the right of property to protect itself by the aid of schoolhouses instead of almshouses and jails. It is assumed that society will be improved, whatever the motive by which the result is achieved, and that no deleterious effects will arise therefrom. Let us see.

To reach the disorder effectually, something more than a mere attendance on our public schools, as at present constituted, will be necessary. Society must assume the entire control of them for years, removing them out of the sphere of vicious influences, in order that they may not "be brought up in a hot-bed of crime and pauperism." To do this it must violate the natural relation of parent and child, must invade the domain of the family. In certain cases this would not be so serious an evil, perhaps, were it not for the principle involved, and the tendency to destroy the most enduring basis on which society rests.

By common consent the family relation is the most important factor in our civilization, and without its underlying principles and elevating influences no high moral standard can be reached. Around it every safeguard should be thrown, because on it the safety and happiness of all depend. In the ferment of ideas consequent on our rapid progress and somewhat transitional condition, theories have been advanced looking to its final overthrow, and in its place the substitution of some sort of police authority which shall supersede its use, and take its place in the care and training of the young. Any invasion of the family will directly promote that individualism which ignores the mutual obligations of the part to the whole—the many to the one. It is to the family, as at present constituted, that society is indebted for that harmony of parts, each answering to the other like the strings of a vast instrument, which, brought into right relations, make a harmonious whole. Weaken it, with whatever good intentions, and the very evils complained of will speedily increase.

Certain it is, if we continue to travel the road of easy divorce, making the marriage tie of less and less binding force, and, for light and trivial causes, suffer its disruption, some provision must be made by the State for the care of children. When that situation of affairs shall have arrived, it will doubtless be necessary to enforce education by means of police regulations upon those worse than orphans. Let us meet such exigencies when they arrive; but, in trying to cure minor evils, we must have a care that we do not hasten approach of greater ones. It is frequently asserted that this is the law of progress, and that, even though it does destroy the family, a better state of society will be evolved. In other words, that this is a natural and therefore proper result of the law of evolution. But we must remember that movement is not always progress, and that a circle, however large, always involves the idea of return.

It will not for a moment be maintained, I presume, that the Oneida Community has solved the problem of the highest social organism; and yet compulsory education proposes to do in a general way substantially what the Community does, when its collective authority takes the place of parental care. The right to control the child of one man and woman is the right to control the children of all men and women. Once entered upon this road, no man can forecast the limit of the State's encroachments on the rights of the family. The Roman Catholic will insist on its being carried to its logical conclusion, by including religious training as a part of the State's duties, and the Christian Amendment party will join in that demand.

It may be insisted that the right of compulsion shall only be exercised by the State when the parent's duty is neglected. But human nature is so prone to rebel against what is deemed arbitrary and tyrannical, that the effect of the law will be to increase this neglect. Again, natural affection may be held as a sufficient preventive of the relaxation of parental solicitude; but it allows the Community to deprive the children born there of the wholesome influences of the family relation without a protest. They are educated and restrained, it is said by those familiar with its results, quite as wisely, and compare favorably with children brought up in the sphere of home. But the legacy of a mother's love and a father's care is seldom theirs. In its place stands the Community, the common father and mother of all. Paupers and criminals there are none. In that respect your requirements are met. Is the highest ideal of society then reached? If so, let us manfully acknowledge the fact, and forthwith resolve ourselves into one great Oneida Community; or, if that be unpracticable, labor for the formation of smaller ones.

We have no right to call in force to effect even a good end, if thereby we weaken the foundation of society itself. Better trust the slow but sure influences of the voluntary system under the old order of things, subject to some evils which appear inseparable from the social organism, than resort to any doubtful experiments. Such fears may be groundless; but when I reflect on the insidious nature of the causes which have overthrown older civilizations than ours, the necessity of caution is apparent, when about to lay our hands rudely on fundamental principles. The law of force is as old as history; but wherever most thoroughly brought into play it has proved most inefficient in the production of good results. The influence of the opposite principle has ever proved most beneficent. Time is an element of progress of more value than many of us are willing to admit. In some things we can afford to wait. Can we not in this?

But, granting our right and duty to use compulsion in this matter of reforming and improving the lower strata of society, the question arises how such a result shall most surely be reached. The end sought is a state of society entirely free from such admixtures. Given a "Margaret," and a brood of criminals will be the result. Education may modify, it cannot wholly change, their natures. But observation teaches that the "Margarets" are not alone the producers of these venomous reptiles. They are liable to appear in all walks of life, and no amount of compulsion can eliminate the poisonous blood that runs in their veins. Education may mitigate, but the only radical cure for society is to stop their production. Can this be done? I do not undertake its affirmation, but I insist that compulsory processes were better applied at this point than any other. If society attempts to interfere at all, let it study intelligently and thoroughly the laws of inheritance and reproduction, and, when ascertained, if indeed they can be, apply the remedy. What it should be, and how applied, is not pertinent to the present discussion; but, however complex the problem may be, it would have the merit of striking at the seat of the disease, instead of following that absurd old plan of dealing with effects instead of causes.

M. L. HAWLEY.

MARATHON, N. Y., Feb. 15, 1875.

[The lecture of Mr. Hawkins, published last week, is the best reply to some of the points contained in the above letter. No form of "communism" is logically implied in the principle of *guaranteed universal education*, which is the phrase we much prefer to the misleading one of "compulsory education." Once recognize the truth that to starve a child's mind is as great a crime as to starve its body, and most of the above objections disappear. The State should simply fulfil its proper function of repressing crime in this matter. It should only require, by stated public examinations of all children, that every child should receive a certain elementary education; but it need not require that it should receive this at school. When it is remembered that *over half* of the registered children in New York city are growing up in complete ignorance, the failure of the voluntary system in great cities is self-evident. No parents but those who are too ignorant themselves to know the value of the schooling of which they deprive their offspring, or too vicious to care about it, would be affected by the proposed system. Where there is really a "family" deserving of the name, you will find a decent appreciation of the worth of knowledge. The State should simply protect the child's rights in this respect; and it is a great mistake to consider this protection as an infringement on pa-

rental rights. A father has no more right to make his child an ignoramus for the sake of what the child may contribute to the family expenses, than he has to starve it for the sake of economy. Let the State only protect the *personal rights of children*, and all that is sought will be gained. There is no wish or danger of running into Oneida communism. Keep the question clear, if possible, from all such logical extravagances.—Ed.]

DO WOMEN WANT TO VOTE?

MY FRIEND ABBOT:—

In THE INDEX of Feb. 11, I find an article with the above caption, which I wish to notice, and place the subject it moots in what I deem a correct point of view.

In starting, the writer tells us that of his "female friends," "intelligent," "cultured," "not one in ten wants to vote." "It may be possible," he says, "to make a clear case in their favor as to their right; but if they will not have it, what then? Women have never asked anywhere to share with men their political privileges and duties; they do not ask it now, and it is his belief they never will." Now, he is vastly mistaken. Not a few women of superior character have earnestly asked it, and are urging it now.

He tells us, forsooth, that politics is not their sphere. It is against Nature. The "peculiar womanliness of the sex" is against it. "Some noble women," he admits, "ask for the ballot." "They speak for their sex, but they are self-appointed, and their acts are repudiated." "If nine-tenths of the women demanded suffrage," he believes, "they would get it." But he tells us "if women voted as men, he cannot see one good reason to believe that results as to parties and measures would be materially changed. Such full vote," he thinks, "it is obvious could never be obtained. It would take years before women would overcome their innate repugnance to voting, if they ever would. They would meet at the polls a much larger number of women their opposites in character, while the great mass would remain quietly at home." He thinks "it requires no acute discernment to see what vital interests would suffer from the preponderance of this element at the polls." He tells us that men "are almost to a man qualified to vote understandingly, and would speak, if at all, for good government and good morals. If women were voters, this class would ever be very much larger among them than among men. Thus the aggregate effect would be very bad." How is this? The only construction appears to be, that women are not capable of exercising the wisdom and discretion he awards to men! His low estimate of the sex is therefore apparent. This is confirmed by what follows: "Why shall we take this risk? Why not 'let well enough alone'? Women suffer no peculiar hardships. They are subject to the same laws as men, and their property is taxed neither more nor less than men's." One fact, however, which appears to have escaped him, stands out in prominent relief. They are made the victims of the infraction of a most vital clause of the Constitution of our country—TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

He continues: "The proposed change is far-reaching and fundamental, and I am firm in the conviction would not be justified by a wish to give the ballot to the comparatively few women who desire it. The possible good would not nearly equal the probable evil." Again: "It seems hard that an intelligent, educated young man twenty years old is forbidden to vote. But it is the best we can do," etc. This little problem is easily solved. An intelligent, educated young woman of the same age would be equally qualified, and it would be no less hard in her case. The rule to be adopted is plain and simple—whatever age is prescribed for one sex, should be prescribed for the other.

The important point remains. "F. H. G." seems to think that women should not have the right to vote till the whole of the sex are agreed. The argument would be just as fair in regard to the men. It is, of course, just as proper and reasonable that every woman who desires should use the elective franchise as men do under similar circumstances. Must she lay aside her most sacred conscientious convictions of personal duty, and wait till all other women are ready to join her in the work? The proposition is no less absurd than if applied to every other religious, social, and civil duty.

T. M. C.

PHILADELPHIA, 2d mo. 27, 1875.

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(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India;" also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1875.

WHOLE No. 275.

CHURCH TAXATION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, Appointed under the Resolve of 1874, C. 70, "to enquire into the expediency of revising and amending the laws of the State, relating to taxation and the exemptions therefrom."

COMMISSIONERS.

THOMAS HILLS, Esq., of Boston,
Prof. JULIUS H. SEELYE, Amherst College, }
JAMES M. BARKER, Esq., Pittsfield. }

AMHERST, MASS., Oct. 14, 1874.

My dear Sir,—Will you do the Taxation Commission the favor to lay before them in a written form, such as you would be willing to have them embody in their report to the Legislature, your views respecting the present exemption from taxation, of property used for religious, educational, and charitable purposes? If you will do this at as early a date as possible, e.g., before the first of November, the Commissioners will gratefully receive it.

Very truly yours,

J. H. SEELYE.

MR. FRANCIS E. ABBOT, BOSTON.

BOSTON, MASS., Oct. 26, 1874.

PROF. JULIUS H. SEELYE, Amherst College:

My dear Sir,—Enclosed please find the statement of views you were so good as to ask for the Taxation Commission. As it is unlikely that the views of the petitioners to the Legislature will be fairly brought before it except through the Commission, I thank you for the justice and impartial spirit which prompted your suggestion that this paper might be embodied in the Commission's report. Though not so short as I hoped it might be, I think you will perceive how condensed it is; and many will be grateful if it can be laid in full before the Legislature.

Very respectfully yours,

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

BOSTON, Oct. 25, 1874.

THOMAS HILLS, Esq., Boston,
Prof. JULIUS H. SEELYE, Amherst, } Taxation
JAMES M. BARKER, Esq., Pittsfield, } Commission:

Gentlemen,—In compliance with your request, contained in the letter of Professor Seelye of the 14th instant, to lay before you in written form, such as I should be willing to have you embody in your report to the Legislature, my views respecting the present exemption from taxation of property used for religious, educational, and charitable purposes, I respectfully submit the following condensed statement, which you are at liberty to employ in such manner as you may deem most useful in the discharge of your highly important and honorable function. I make it, of course, purely as an individual citizen, and do not desire for it any other consideration than such as its intrinsic truth may warrant; but I believe that I express substantially the views of the Boston Liberal League, of which I have the honor to be President, and the petition of which to the last Legislature occasioned the appointment of the Joint Special Committee whose report led to your own appointment as State Commissioners on this subject.

1. The tenth article of the first part of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts explicitly declares the only principle on which just taxation can rest: "Each individual of the society has a right to be protected by it in the enjoyment of his life, liberty, and property, according to standing laws. He is obliged, consequently, to contribute his share to the expense of this protection." The great fundamental principle that protection is the only just ground of taxation is thus recognized unqualifiedly in our State Constitution, and I need not say a word to sustain it.

2. All just taxes being assessed and collected for protection alone, all expenditure of State funds should be for the same purpose. Otherwise the public money is raised under false pretences.

3. There are two modes of expending State funds at present: direct expenditure by appropriation, indirect expenditure by omission to collect actual dues, i.e., exemption from taxation, which is indirect appropriation. The right to exempt presupposes the right to tax; and exemption in every case is omission to collect money actually due to the State. All property is protected (theoretically), and all property is therefore justly liable

to pay the cost of this protection. If the State exempts any property from taxation, it does but excuse it from bearing its proportion of the burden of taxation, which burden must be borne in full by non-exempted property. The State, like a private citizen in business, must average its loss by bad debts upon its solvent or honest debtors, on pain of bankruptcy. Hence the effect of all exemption is to collect from each tax-payer more than the actual cost of his protection, for the purpose of paying back in full the taxes on all exempted property. Exemption, that is, is indirect appropriation; and, unless the money thus appropriated is spent for the public protection, exemption is a fraud by the State committed against every tax-payer. I mean that the State has no right to appropriate money which it has raised avowedly for protective purposes alone, whether the mode of appropriation be direct or indirect, unless protection be the exclusive object of appropriation.

4. All public funds appropriated to private parties should be solely for services rendered by them in securing the general protection. Appropriations or exemptions on grounds of favor, partiality, or privilege, are not only unjust but (as I have shown) fraudulent. Nothing can be honestly paid out of the public treasury, whether directly or indirectly, except for the purpose of defraying the expenses of that protection for which, by the State Constitution, all money is paid into it; and this self-evident principle requires that the parties to whom it is paid shall have earned it by services rendered.

5. If exemption from taxation, therefore, is granted to any species of property, it should be such property alone as might with equal justice receive a direct appropriation. I would lay the greatest possible emphasis upon this principle. Exemption from taxation is a violation of public faith in all cases where a direct appropriation would not be equally proper and just.

6. For many and weighty reasons I believe that direct appropriation would be a wiser policy than exemption from taxation in all cases. The public ought to know exactly for what and to whom the public money is paid, and also to what amount; whereas the effect of exemption is to conceal these facts. Abuses and corruption always attend such concealment; which is another strong argument against exemption. The recipients of public money will be stimulated to render the required services more faithfully, if they know that no such concealment is possible. Various other reasons might be enumerated.

7. At the same time, however, I admit the right of the State to exempt rather than to appropriate, when exemption is in return for services rendered, and when direct appropriation would be equally justifiable. If public economy can be increased by exemption under these provisos, or if any other advantage can be secured by it to the State, then I should approve the exemption. But I greatly doubt whether direct appropriation is not always preferable. Even if exemption is retained, all exempted property ought to be regularly assessed, to the end that the amount of exemption may be precisely known.

8. A special Board, so constituted as to ensure the maximum of character and ability in its members, might be permanently organized to take cognizance of all claims for appropriation or exemption on behalf of applicant institutions, and to report them to the Legislature annually, with favorable or unfavorable recommendations, and the reasons therefor in full. If all applications were first submitted to such a Board, and rigorously scrutinized, there would be little danger of the evils apprehended from "special legislation." At any rate, it should not be forgotten that exemption from taxation is special legislation as things are, and is accompanied with very great and grave abuses. A change as here intimated would probably be a change for the better, at least.

9. Passing now to consider the claims of certain classes of property to exemption, I would make a broad distinction between property used for charitable or educational purposes on the one hand, and property used for religious purposes on the other.

With reference to the former class, the State must to some extent support charities and schools in order to give the protection which it is organized to secure, and to save still greater expense from neglecting them. This

is universally admitted, and I need not argue the point. Charitable and educational institutions which are in part or in whole owned or controlled by the State have, therefore, a just claim upon the public treasury. But those in which the State has neither ownership nor control ought not, in my judgment, to receive either direct appropriation or exemption from taxation. Such aid makes unjust discrimination in favor of corporate as against private property which is used for the very same objects; exemption, in particular, appropriates the largest amount of public money to the wealthiest and least needy of such institutions, many of which are only partially or nominally charitable or educational in their objects. Certainly no public aid, whether by direct or indirect appropriation, ought to be given to any private institution except on the ground of services rendered to the public; and wherever profession of public service is made the ground of a claim for public aid, the State should share in the control of the claimant institution, so far at least as to make sure that the profession shall be carried out in good faith. If any institution prefers to be under purely private management, it ought not to ask or receive either appropriation or exemption.

10. With reference to property used for religious purposes, there are conclusive reasons, in my judgment, why it should neither receive direct appropriation from the State nor be exempted from taxation to any extent.

In the first place, twenty-three of the States of the Union provide expressly in their Constitutions that no one shall be taxed for the support of any religious society of which he is not a member; and this State makes the same provision in the sixtieth chapter of the General Statutes. Referring to the time of the Revolution, it is said in Tyler's *American Ecclesiastical Law*, page 177: "All land-holders, resident and non-resident, Christian and unchristian, were taxed [to sustain public worship], though they never saw the minister or entered the meeting-house; and all corporations holding lands within the parish were also taxed, upon the principle that, so far as the community were concerned, public religious and moral instruction was intended for the prevention of crimes, and not for the salvation of souls." I would call especial attention to the fact that the principle upon which direct taxation for the support of public worship was then justified was the good moral influence of the churches in repressing crime; the identical argument now urged to justify the exemption of church property from taxation. Now what was the sequel? In 1833, the people of this Commonwealth amended their Constitution so as to abolish this practice of direct taxation for the support of religious worship; and they thereby condemned the principle upon which the practice rested. If, then, the rule is a correct one that tax-exemption is unjustifiable wherever direct taxation and appropriation would be unjustifiable, it is clear as noonday that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is pledged to a principle which forbids all exemption of church property from taxation. It is to-day illegal to tax any man for the support of any religious society in which he is not a member; to exempt church property from taxation is to tax everybody for its support, whether members or non-members; and it follows that the exemption of church property violates the General Statutes as they now are, at the same time that it rests on a general principle already emphatically condemned by the amendment of the Constitution in 1833. I therefore claim that the exemption of church property from taxation, even to the smallest extent, is an illegal practice, judged by the Constitution and General Statutes as they exist to-day; and that the statutory exemption of such property is in flagrant contradiction of both. It is a practice which, if justifiable at all, justifies direct taxation for the support of the churches; but, this being declared unjustifiable in 1833, consistency and justice alike require the total cessation of church-exemption.

In the second place, the exemption of church property from taxation is equivalent to a direct subsidy from the State to the Church; which is a violation of the principle, well recognized in this country, that Church and State should be totally separate. It is a subsidy which can in no way be justified under our republican institutions, until the National and State Constitutions are so amended as to recognize Christianity as the National religion. The advocates of that measure are the only

ones who can consistently uphold the present exemption of the churches from taxation.

In the third place, the practice under consideration is fraught with the gravest dangers to free institutions, by fostering the accumulation of wealth in ecclesiastical hands, especially in the Roman Catholic Church. The designs of this body upon the public school system are so hostile and perilous to its very existence,—they are so open and undisguised in many localities, and have already done so much to precipitate religious dissensions of the worst character,—that the simple instinct of self-preservation ought to determine the people of Massachusetts, as of all the States, to put an end to the growth of this cancerous organism in the body politic, so far as granting it any special privilege is concerned.

In the fourth place, the exemption of the churches from taxation presses heavily on some consciences, and ought to press heavily on all. By exempting all churches from taxation, the entire community is taxed for the support of each: that is, each tax-payer is made to contribute to the support, not only of the beliefs he himself cherishes, but also of the beliefs which contradict them. The Protestant is obliged to pay for the support of Catholicism, the Catholic for the support of Protestantism; the Christian must help support Judaism, the Jew Christianity, the free-thinker both. Whoever has a conscience against being compelled to support beliefs which he considers false and pernicious, ought to see that he is thus compelled by the exemption of the churches from taxation. The State, which he is taxed to support, today practically supports a host of conflicting faiths by indirect taxation of the whole people; and the consciousness of this wrong is becoming deep and widespread. In a country where conscience and thought are supposed to be free, it is a public iniquity to continue such a wrong in the light of increasing knowledge of its character; and, regardless of private opinions, all honest citizens ought to favor reform in this direction. Contrary to the General Statutes, every citizen is now forced to pay tribute to religious societies in which he is not a member; and the only way to avoid this is to tax the churches equitably at their actual market value, exempting none to any extent.

In the fifth place, the churches themselves would gain in self-respect to be no longer pensioners on the public treasury, supported by contributions levied upon thousands who would not pay except on compulsion. What they might lose in some directions they would certainly gain in moral dignity and self-respect; nor is it likely they would lose financially in the long run, so long as their supporters retained a sincere faith in their usefulness. Many eminent divines among the various denominations, many religious journals, and an increasing number of the laity, are coming to see the justice of taxing the churches, and to favor this step. The movement to secure it is a thoroughly honest one, by no means confined to so-called "infidels," and by no means having its root in mercenary or sordid motives, as has been very inconsiderately charged by heated opponents. The motives of the Liberal League, so far as I am qualified to bear testimony on that point, are a strong love of religious liberty, a desire for justice, a wish to be relieved from a grievance which galls conscience and wounds self-respect, and a hearty devotion to the fundamental principles of republican institutions. It is not the amount, but the fact, of the tax now indirectly imposed for the support of religious societies in which they are not members, which constitutes the evil that is opposed by the Liberal League. The spirit of their petition is well expressed by Rev. Alvah Hovey, D. D., speaking with reference to "Baptist usage" in his little book entitled *Religion and the State*, pages 138-139: "It has protested, even to imprisonment, against direct taxation for the support of religion, but has winked at indirect taxation for the same purpose. It is charitable to believe that this inconsistency has not commonly been perceived; but it is now manifest to all, and the only proper course is to bring our practice as soon as possible into agreement with our theory."

11. In conclusion, may I express the hope that your honorable Commission, if unprepared to report in favor of the principle we contend for,—namely, the right of American citizens to be wholly untaxed, either directly or indirectly, for the support of religious worship,—will at least not report in favor of a compromise, by exempting only a minimum of church property from taxation and taxing the rest? Such a course could not possibly meet the point of conscience involved; and a point of conscience is most certainly involved in the exemption of a fixed minimum of church property as much as in the present state of things. The exemption of property used for charitable and educational purposes does not wound conscience; but the exemption of church property does, and no solution of the question can possibly be final, which still leaves the community taxed to never so small an amount for the support of religious worship. It is not a question of dollars, but of rights; and I earnestly hope that the Commission and the Legislature will so regard it.

With high respect, I am

Very truly yours,

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

President of the Boston Liberal League.

The Claims of the Church on the State for Partial Support.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS ON "TAXATION AND EXEMPTION THEREFROM," SUBMITTED TO THE LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS IN FEBRUARY, 1875.

By existing statutes the following persons and polls are exempt from taxation by this Commonwealth.

First. The property of the United States.

Second. The property of the Commonwealth, except real estate of which the Commonwealth is in possession under a mortgage for condition broken.

Third. The personal property of literary, benevolent, charitable, and scientific institutions incorporated within this Commonwealth, and the real estate belonging to such institutions, occupied by them or their officers for the purposes for which they were incorporated.

Fourth. All property belonging to common-school districts, the income of which is appropriated to the purposes of education.

Fifth. The Bunker Hill Monument.

Sixth. The household furniture of every person, not exceeding one thousand dollars in value, his wearing apparel, farming utensils, and mechanics' tools necessary for carrying on his business.

Seventh. Houses of religious worship and the pews and furniture (except for parochial purposes), but portions of such houses appropriated for purposes other than religious worship shall be taxed at the value thereof to the owners of the houses.

Eighth. Cemeteries, tombs, and rights of burial, so long as the same shall be dedicated for the burial of the dead.

Ninth. The estate, both real and personal, of incorporated agricultural societies.

Tenth. The property to the amount of five hundred dollars of a widow or unmarried female, and of any female minor whose father is deceased, if her whole estate, real and personal, not otherwise exempted from taxation, does not exceed in value the sum of one thousand dollars.

Eleventh. Mules, horses, and neat-cattle less than one year old, and swine and sheep less than six months old.

Twelfth. The polls and any portion of the estates of persons who, by reason of age, infirmity, and poverty, are, in the judgment of the assessors, unable to contribute fully towards the public charges.

Thirteenth. Beet-sugar manufactories, for ten years from 1872.

Fourteenth. So much of the income from a profession, trade, or employment as exceeds the sum of two thousand dollars. . . .

But, as many persons claim that the third class ought no longer to be exempted, we have given to this question very careful attention, and, as the result, we recommend that the existing laws of the Commonwealth relating thereto remain unchanged.

Briefly stated, the following positions upon this point seem to us to be sound:—

Taxation is a certain requirement which the State makes upon its subjects for the public welfare. Though nominally and technically levied upon property, it is really laid upon persons, and is a lawful demand that they use their property not solely for their own good, but also for the good of others. It is not, indeed, a demand for property as such, but only for a particular species of property, viz., money. As already remarked, taxation is not a payment to society for certain social privileges and immunities, but it is the enforcement of the right, and the fulfillment of the obligation, revealed in the very existence of the State and its subjects. Like all the service which the State requires, this involves the righteous surrender or subjection of the individual will to the will of the community. When this self-surrender is free and complete, there is nothing more to be desired, either on the part of the individual or the State. The perfect individual and the perfect State would both be found in the free and full surrender of every individual to the welfare of every other. Whatever favors this most desirable attainment, should receive every encouragement. All gifts, whereby an individual shows any true self-forgetfulness for the public good, will not only be welcomed, but the disposition to make them will be encouraged and fostered by every wise State. As a general rule, all such gifts are in the exact line of what the State seeks to secure by its taxation, and there is really just as great an absurdity in taxing them as there would be in re-taxing the taxes themselves. Instead of taxing such gifts, the State might more profitably encourage them by bounties. She should encourage all acts of every sort whereby a man is disposed to render an unselfish service to his fellow-men, always indeed superintending such acts and repressing whatever would be injurious, but always fostering that self-forgetfulness, in the free and full exercise of which, by every individual, consists the highest well-being, both of himself and the State. Property, which passes out of private hands a free-will offering for public uses, and which loses thereby its entire power of reproducing itself for private gain or emolument, deserves very different treatment; for it must ever stand in a very different relation to the State from that which private parties can still control for private ends.

The only proper question in such a matter is, whether the gifts are really for the public good. An individual may be truly unselfish, and yet not wholly wise, and might generously, but ignorantly, direct his gifts in a way for the public injury. But in such

a case the proper course for the State would be, not to tax such gifts, but to refuse or prohibit them.

It is very possible that the property given to our charitable, educational, or religious institutions, may, at any time, find itself directed, either by the will of its donors or its managers, into channels not favorable to the public welfare; and it is very clear that over all such matters the State should exercise her wise supervision and just authority. We believe that the machinery for such an exercise is already provided by our courts; but if not, we recommend the enactment of statutes by which, even if individuals or corporations devote property, ostensibly for charitable, educational, or religious purposes, but in a way not favorable or even prejudicial to charity, education, or religion, such mistakes may be lawfully corrected.

It would be a singular contradiction, not only to the treatment of education, which has given this Commonwealth such glory in the past, but also to the entire educational system for which Massachusetts has such eminence at the present time, if we should put the slightest bar upon, or fail to give every encouragement to, any efforts for the promotion among our people of knowledge in every department of literature, science, or art. The original constitution of the State still remains unaltered in its declaration that,—

"Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and science, and all seminaries of them; especially the university at Cambridge, public schools and grammar schools in the towns; to encourage private societies and public institutions, rewards, and immunities, for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and a natural history of the country; to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry and frugality, honesty and punctuality in their dealings, sincerity, good humor, and all social affections and generous sentiments among the people."

This is, to-day, the fundamental rule for the guidance and control of the Legislature in its dealings with the subject. Before and since its formal announcement, in 1780, the practice of the State has been uniform and unbroken to obey its commands and encourage religion, science, and charity, by giving the property donated to those objects immunity from the burdens of taxation. Were not the donors of such funds justified in believing that our legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of the Commonwealth, would observe their duty in cherishing and preserving these immunities? Would not their repeal, so far as it would bring under taxation funds heretofore donated in the belief that the immunity would be permanent, savor of a breach of the public faith? . . .

The same line of argument which applies to the third and fourth classes in the list, would also continue the present exemption to the seventh.

We have received from Messrs. Francis E. Abbot and Charles W. Eliot valuable contributions to the discussion of the general question relating to the exemption of property devoted to literary, charitable, and religious uses, and solicit the attention of the Legislature to their papers, given in the Appendix.

Houses of religious worship are public works for the public service. If they ever become used for any other purpose than that of religious worship, while the property thus used becomes taxable under our present laws, it never can be converted to any private emolument. No religious society can sell its house of worship and put its proceeds into the pockets of its members. Having once been consecrated to the public advancement of religion, it can never be alienated from this use. The advantages of having these houses thus employed are, in the eye of the State, somewhat different from the advantages sought by the individuals who thus employ them. To the individual, religion is an end which he seeks for its own sake; but to the State, it is a means to be used for the promotion of its highest interests. The State uses religion and favors its advancement, because it is a means of civilization,—because it helps the State forward in its own line of highest progress. Our own State Constitution aptly expresses this when it declares that "the public worship of God, and instruction in piety, religion, and morality, promote the happiness and prosperity of a people and the security of a republican government."

Institutions of religion are therefore just as properly objects of State favor and patronage as institutions of learning, or any other institutions wherein private property has been alienated from private ends, and has become devoted exclusively to the public welfare. In fact, State favor may more properly be granted to institutions of religion than to any other, since all the prosperity of any State—its culture, its freedom from crime, its social order—will rest ultimately upon the religion of its subjects, and will be perfect in exactly the degree that this religion is perfect and completely prevalent. What religion will do for the next life, or whether there is any future life, or whether religion is anything other than a superstition or delusion,—these are questions which the State properly leaves to the individual judgment and conscience. The State has to do with the present life, and finding here so potent an auxiliary in religion, every State in the history of the world has thus far not only availed itself of religious influences, but has contributed more or less prominently to their support and extension. Our own

history offers no exception to this universal rule. The absolute dependence of the State upon Christian influences for the perfect peace, purity, and freedom of its subjects, was not only affirmed by our fathers, in the earliest history of Massachusetts, but has been repeated by their children in every generation to our time. The declaration above quoted from the Massachusetts Bill of Rights illustrates this conviction; and the exemption from taxation, which from the beginning has been accorded in this State to houses of religious worship, is one of its practical consequences.

[Several pages of historical matter are here omitted.]

The foundation which religion furnishes for national prosperity may be seen from the relation which it has always borne to education and public virtue. The course of education among any people will have its direction and character ultimately determined by that people's religious life. The university, which is the mother of the common school, is herself the daughter of the church. The motto upon the seal of Harvard College, "*Christo et Ecclesie*" (for Christ and the Church), not only indicates the lofty and sacred purpose of its founders, but points us also to the source whence have issued all the streams of modern education. A religious quickening always precedes and gives birth to the intellectual quickening of any people; and where the religious impulse grows weak the intellectual impulse also begins to decline. Judging from the whole history of modern education, we should expect both our common schools and our colleges to decay, if the same religious impulse by which they were undoubtedly produced should not remain to preserve them. "I have always despaired," said the superintendent of schools in Ohio, "of establishing even a good common school, where there was not a working church to sustain it." Not only will the education of any people always be shaped in the long run by their religion, but their practical morality also will never rise higher than their religious faith requires. It is very easy to overlook the actual facts which demonstrate this. Many think that because there is a natural light of reason which reveals virtue, men need only open their eyes to this light in order to shape their conduct accordingly. That this ought to be the case, no one will deny; but the lamentable fact remains otherwise. Men do not do their duty simply because they know what it is. It is only by the love of virtue that men become virtuous; but the sad fact shows itself to every open eye, that the knowledge of virtue does not awaken a love for it in the actual human nature. No matter how pure or lofty it may be, no instruction in morality, if it went no farther than this, has ever sunk deeply into society, nor been able to change widely the action of men. It has never had any power to mould society internally and from the centre. The great forces which move men, by which, when we go to the bottom of it, all changes in individual character, and all revolutions in society are ultimately controlled, are religious forces; and to suppose that these are to be any less potent in the future than they have been, or any less necessary to the State, is not only to close the eye to all the lessons of history, but to be blind to the most obvious truths of human nature itself. Any treatment of Christian churches by a Christian State which would curb their influence, would be just as disastrous to the State as to the Church. "If these churches," said Dr. South, "were not used as preaching places, we should soon need them as prisons."

The only question, therefore, which accords with the spirit prevailing through our whole history, and, we do not doubt, equally so with the temper of our times, is whether the exemption from taxation now granted to houses of religious worship is really favorable to the churches and to the healthiest Christian influence. This question, we think, may be safely left to the churches themselves.

That the system of exemption should be exchanged for a system of bounties, will not long be argued; for why be at the expense and the loss of levying and assessing a tax, only to pay it out again to the same parties from whom it is taken? The advantage of having every appropriation made by the legislature annually scanned by the public, which it is thought this method would secure, does not seem to us very noteworthy, when we consider the small proportion of these exemptions as compared with the taxable property of the State, and the fact that their actual amount is at any time easily ascertainable. From the returns which we have carefully collected, and which will be found in the Appendix, it appears that the property thus exempted is only about one and a half per cent. of the total taxable valuation of the Commonwealth.

That the system of entire, should be exchanged for one of partial, exemptions, by which a religious society should be allowed to hold (in its house of worship) a certain valuation and be taxed for the remainder, is not, in the opinion of the Commission, advisable. From this view one of our number dissents, for reasons given at the close of the report. In the opinion of the Commission this method would be attended with too many practical difficulties to permit its success, even if its success were desirable. Houses and lands have such different values at different places, that to exempt the same sum in all would be neither reasonable nor proportional; while to exempt different sums, on whatever principle these differences should be determined, would lead, in our judgment, to disputes difficult to adjust and impossible to terminate.

The objection that costly churches are not favorable to religion, and that the property which their construction has consumed is thus permitted to escape taxation without any compensating benefit, easily admits of two answers. Without discussing the question of their religious bearing, costly and beauti-

ful temples, as works of art, may have ends of education to subserve sufficiently important and desirable to warrant the expenditure of all that they have cost. It would be a strange utility, even in this age, which should grudge the place which a structure like the Milan Cathedral holds in the midst of a busy city, or which should undertake to estimate in money the worth of the sentiments which its presence is calculated to inspire. In the second place, it is quite unwarranted assumption to claim that the property put into these costly churches escapes the tax-gatherer without furnishing him any return in kind. The taxable property of the neighborhood is augmented thereby to a degree often much greater than the amount which the churches have cost, and if it be a question of exact equivalent, the builders of these churches, instead of being called upon to relieve tax-payers of a part of their burden, might much more justly claim from them a compensation beyond the exemption.

It is not easy to see the force of the difficulty which some persons feel respecting these exemptions on grounds pertaining to conscience. I am conscientiously opposed, one says, to an exemption which goes to the support of any religion; while another objects on the same ground to the exemption which favors some views of religion foreign to his own. But till those who urge these objections are directly and solely responsible for this procedure of the State, we are unable to see how their conscience should be troubled about it. If they disapprove of this procedure, their conscience may constrain them to all proper steps to change it; but here their responsibility ends. If their efforts fail, they will, of course, regret the fact, but the action of the State, still continuing in this direction, will hardly give them any remorse. A man pays his taxes because the State compels him to do so. If the State is wrong in its exactions, she will assuredly, in the long run, suffer for them; but right or wrong, the man pays them without hesitation, unless he chooses to try titles of strength with her. He may feel that he is unjustly oppressed, but as long as this is not his fault, and as long as he has not come to the solemn point where "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God," his conscience ought not to ruffle him because he pays his taxes. For the use to which the State appropriates his taxes he is not responsible. The State uses the taxes it collects in many expenditures which one may think unwise and wrong; but the conscience of a man which allows itself to be put, on this account, as a screen against the payment of taxes, is as different, to say the least, from ordinary consciences, as is the intellect which puts it there different from that of ordinary men. We, at least, fail to understand it.

It should be clearly understood that the only church property now exempted from taxation by our State is "only such houses of religious worship as are owned by a religious society, or held in trust for the use of religious organizations."

If there are any houses of religious worship in the Commonwealth not owned by a religious society, and not held in trust for the use of religious organizations, but owned in a way which would permit them to be legally alienated, so that neither they nor their proceeds could be used for places of religious worship, these houses are clearly taxable by the laws of the Commonwealth existing to-day, and clearly ought to be. There is a broad and clear distinction, quite independent of any question of religious freedom or toleration, between the claims for exemption of the property which is consecrated forever, by our own statutes and courts, to religious uses within our own borders, and that property which might at any time be sold, and the proceeds either be devoted here to other uses than those of worship, or even transported entirely beyond the dominion of the State.

We recommend no change in the present treatment of the eighth of the classes named in the list.

THE QUESTION OF TAX EXEMPTION.

One of the appendices to the report of the Taxation Commission contains two interesting papers on the question of the exemption of churches and literary and charitable organizations, by President Eliot, of Harvard, and Mr. Francis E. Abbot, editor of THE INDEX. These papers give, in a very clear and felicitous way, the strongest arguments which have been urged on both sides of this much-vexed question; and, taken together, they constitute the ablest and most intelligent presentation of the matter we have had. Mr. Abbot's paper has the advantage of brevity, but no one, we are sure, who may read President Eliot's argument, will regret its length. It is impossible for us to present an adequate analysis of either of these papers, within reasonable limits; and we shall attempt nothing more than to outline some of their leading positions.

Mr. Abbot's argument proceeds on the principle that protection is the only just ground of taxation; and, as all just taxes are assessed and collected for protection alone, all expenditures of State funds should be for the same purpose. Exemption is indirect expenditure, and unless it be for the public protection, it is a fraud committed by the State against every tax-payer. The State must to some extent support charities and schools, in order to give the protection which it is organized to secure, and the institutions controlled by the State have a just claim upon the public treasury. As to property used for religious purposes, Mr. Abbot finds no reason why it should receive direct appropriation from the State, or be exempted from taxation. Such exemption he regards as equivalent to a direct subsidy from the State to the Church; and it imposes a heavy burden on some consciences, as it compels citizens to pay tribute to religious societies to which they may be

radically opposed. The point at which Mr. Abbot's argument, as it appears to us, is most open to criticism, is in regard to the question as to what measures may justly be classed under the head of protection. This matter he takes no pains to define. If, for instance, schools are necessary to the protection of society, why not colleges, from which the schools are supplied with instructors, and without which they would be greatly deficient in means of culture? If certain charities, such as almshouses and reformatories, are necessary, why not hospitals? And if colleges and hospitals render such substantial benefits to society as to entitle them to exemption from taxation, why may we not exempt the churches, to whose influences we are indebted in a large majority of cases for the establishment of colleges and hospitals, and the propagation of those principles of enlightenment and humanity which underlie such institutions? That is to say, if the influence of a religious faith, of whatever sort, tends, as a rule, to make men better, to supply new motives for virtue, and to contribute to the amelioration of misery and vice, ought not the churches, which thus relieve the State of a large share of its protective work, to be encouraged and assisted by exemption from taxation, especially as no discrimination is made between conflicting sects, and all fare alike? By the "protection of society" something more must be meant than the establishment of police, fire, and sanitary regulations; why may we not include among the effective agencies in that direction the establishment of colleges, hospitals, and churches?

President Eliot's argument is, briefly, that the State needs churches, colleges, and hospitals, and that the cheapest and best way to get them is to encourage benevolent people to provide them by promising not to divert to inferior public uses any part of the income of the money which these benefactors devote to this noblest public use. The function of these institutions is a public one; the capital sunk in them is irrecoverable and unproductive; and if they did not do the work which they do, the State would have to do it, at its own charge. They add to the prosperity of the towns or cities in which they are located, and so increase the amount of taxable property. So far from its being true that their exemption is a burden to the people, there is almost always exhibited an eagerness to secure their location, different communities vying with each other for this purpose. If these institutions undertake to hold property for income or investment, it is taxed on the same terms as any other property. The argument that the presence of exempted institutions, in a town or city, diminishes the amount of taxable property therein is not only incapable of proof, but in the vast majority of cases is manifestly untrue. The enhanced value of contiguous territory, and the benefits, direct and indirect, which spring from these institutions, much more than compensate for their exemption from taxation. These points, and several kindred ones which we have not space to enumerate, President Eliot supports with an array of argument and illustration which, if not conclusive, are so nearly so that it must be difficult to meet them.

These two papers are such interesting contributions to the discussion of the question of tax exemption that we wish they might have a general reading. The matter needs to be examined in all its aspects, and is not to be settled by any easy assumptions. If our consciences are being violated in the way Mr. Abbot suggests, we certainly ought to be awake to the fact. If President Eliot's positions are correct, the exemption of these institutions from taxation is a public benefit rather than a burden. One thing is noticeable; viz., that both the parties to this discussion oppose the theory of limited exemption; Mr. Abbot on the ground that it does not meet the point of conscience involved; and President Eliot for the reason that it would be impossible for a legislature to determine just how much money it was expedient for a church or hospital or college to have, or that if it could acquire this knowledge to-day it would be outgrown to-morrow. There is therefore no compromise possible between the views which Mr. Abbot and President Eliot represent.—*Boston Journal*, March 4, 1875.

TAX EXEMPTIONS.

The question of the justice and propriety of the usual exemption of the property of churches and literary and charitable organizations from taxation is one that, although not of recent origin, has been more seriously and intelligently discussed in late years than ever before. The practice is common to all, or nearly all, of the States, and has continued for so long that only a very earnest and persistent opposition could now abolish it. Nevertheless, there is undoubtedly a feeling of increasing strength that it is not founded on equitable principles, and that in fairness to the tax-paying masses no property should be released from bearing its proportionate share of the burdens of taxation. In the large cities especially the possessions of the churches and the benevolent institutions have grown to be of very great value, while in the rural districts such property bears an almost equal ratio to the basis of taxation. So long as lands and buildings so owned are not subjected to assessment, it is argued that the property which is taxed has to bear a proportionately increased rate, and it is this apparent injustice which the opponents of the present custom desire to redress. In Massachusetts the problem presented has been exhaustively considered by the Tax Commission of the State, to whose report is appended two interesting papers on opposite sides of the controversy. One is from Mr. Francis E. Abbot, a ready writer and deep thinker on such topics. He is altogether opposed to exemption, except in certain cases hereafter mentioned. His argument is that protec-

tion is the only just ground for taxation, and as all just taxes are assessed and collected for the protection and benefit of the public, all expenditures of State funds should be for the same purpose. From this premise Mr. Abbot draws the conclusion that exemption from taxation is indirect expenditure, and, unless it be for the public protection, is a fraud upon the tax-payer. He recognizes that the State must to a certain extent support charities and schools in order to give the protection to society which it is organized to secure, and the institutions controlled by the State have a claim upon the public treasury. But this, as the writer points out, may be admitted without rendering it wise or necessary to exempt the property of charitable organizations composed of private individuals, or that of the Church. As to property used for religious purposes directly, Mr. Abbot not only finds no reason why it should be exempted from taxation, but he also argues against the right of its receiving any appropriation from the State. In either case he regards it as a violation of the great American principle of the separation of Church and State, because it is equivalent to a direct subsidy from the State to the Church. Moreover—and here Mr. Abbot touches on a point which is one of the strongest his side of the question presents—it imposes a heavy burden on some consciences, as it compels citizens to pay tribute to religious societies and denominations of which they are not members, and to whose doctrines they may be radically opposed. This argument is peculiarly attractive to people who live under a republican government; but with the need of colleges, churches, hospitals, and asylums, and considering the benefits which they confer generally, it is one of those apparently incontrovertible theories which are impossible of application in the existing condition of affairs.

The opposite view from Mr. Abbot is ably urged by President Eliot, of Harvard College. The argument of his paper is that, as the State requires churches, colleges, and hospitals, the cheapest and best way to get them is to encourage benevolent people to provide them by promising not to divert to inferior public uses any part of the income of the money which these benefactors devote to this noblest public use. The function of these institutions is a public one; the capital sunk in them is irrecoverable and unproductive, and, if they did not do the work which they do, the State would have to provide for it at its own charge. They add to the prosperity of the towns and cities in which they are located, and so increase the amount of taxable property. So far from its being true that their exemption is a burden to the people, there is almost invariably an eagerness exhibited to secure their location, different communities competing with each other in offering inducements for their location. In Massachusetts, if these institutions undertake to hold property for income or investment, it is taxed on the same terms as any other property. The argument that the presence of exempted institutions in a town or city diminishes the amount of taxable property therein, Prof. Eliot says, is manifestly untrue. The enhanced value of contiguous territory, and the benefits, direct or indirect, which spring from these institutions, much more than compensate for their exemption from taxation. The paper is lengthy, and each of the heads which we have briefly indicated is argued out very fully, and supported with a mass of practical illustration. Prof. Eliot has made an excellent defence of the common usage; but he does not touch upon that really strong point of Mr. Abbot's article to which we have alluded.

It has doubtless occurred to many persons who have revolved the question in their minds that a scale of limited taxation might be applied instead of the present sweeping exemption. Many churches and charitable institutions are perfectly able to pay the assessment which would be made on their property if it were subject to taxation, while others would be swamped by such a load. This solution was suggested in the Massachusetts Commission, and both Prof. Eliot and Mr. Abbot refer to it, but only to repudiate it—Mr. Abbot on the ground that it does not meet the point of conscience involved, and President Eliot because it would be impossible to determine just how much money a church, hospital, or college might have or need, and that, if such knowledge were acquired, it would be speedily outgrown. There is, therefore, no compromise possible between such radically diverse views, but in a public question of this kind the course most frequently taken is the middle one, and for that reason, if a change is ever made from the present custom of general exemption, it will in all probability be through a scaling plan of taxation.—*Baltimore American*, March 8, 1875.

GOD IN POLITICS.

The recent action of the North Carolina Legislature, published in another column, in expelling one of its members, Mr. J. W. Thorne, a sort of Quaker, on account of his alleged disbelief in the existence of God, along with other historical incidents in the same State, should commend North Carolina as a place of residence to the people who advocate the doctrine generally known as "God in the Constitution," but which might be more accurately defined as "God in Politics." Up to the year 1848 the God in the North Carolina Constitution was not only a Christian God, but also a Protestant God. Under the organic law of the State up to that period, all persons who denied "the truth of the Protestant religion" were excluded from holding office. This provision debarred Catholics and Jews, as well as Deists, Atheists, and Infidels. In the Constitution of 1848 the political notion of Deity was modified, and the new restriction was limited to a general belief in God; this idea was retained in the new Constitution of

1868, which has a clause disqualifying from holding office, "First, all persons who shall deny the being of Almighty God." This general disqualification, however, seems to be subject to the special interpretation of the Legislature; for Mr. Thorne was expelled on the ground of disbelief in the being of Almighty God, though he made the following explicit declaration of faith in his speech before the Legislature: "There is but one living and true God; everlasting, without body, or parts, or passions; of unlimited power, wisdom, and goodness; the maker of all things, visible and invisible." To a layman and non-believer in the doctrine of "God in Politics," this would seem to be a sufficiently strong declaration of belief in Almighty God to warrant a man, otherwise unobjectionable, in holding a seat in the Legislature to which he had been chosen by the suffrages of the people. In addition to this declaration, Mr. Thorne also presented a number of letters showing that he was a member in good standing in the Progressive Order of Friends, a sect of Quakers; that he had been a trustee in the church of that society in Pennsylvania, his former home; and that he was a man of good moral character. But he had written a pamphlet in which he had spoken of the Trinity and Resurrection as mythical or superstitious, and said that he did not regard God as a Being whose chief purpose is to torture mankind after death. He also stated in the presence of the Legislature that, while he believed in God, he did not believe "in all the characterizations attributed to him." Thereupon a member declared that it was clear Thorne did not believe in the "God of our Constitution," and it was on this ground that Mr. Thorne was expelled by a majority vote of the House sitting as an Ecclesiastical Court.

From this instance it is plain that when God is introduced into politics it is necessary to define exactly what kind of a being is intended. It is doubtful whether a Jew, or Unitarian, or even a Universalist, could pass muster in the North Carolina Legislature.

But, suppose some future Legislature shall interpret the attributes of God to be like those believed in by the Quaker Thorne, and expel members who have faith in the Trinity, and who look forward to bodily resurrection. The succeeding majority may be Protestant and Orthodox, and expel Catholics upon alleged idolatry, because they believe in Transubstantiation and the Real Presence in the sacramental bread and wine. The complications likely to grow out of "God in Politics" are countless, and the action of the North Carolina Legislature shows that, whenever the Deity is made a part of a party platform or constitutional project, it is necessary to define his attributes; and it is probable that such a definition would involve a discussion stretching from the Council of Trent to the latest Spiritualistic Convention.—*Chicago Tribune*.

THE INIQUITY OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The congregation of St. Lawrence's Roman Catholic Church in Eighty-fourth Street, which has been accustomed to the refined preaching of men like Glackmeyer, Beaudevin, Thebaud, Gocklen, Moylan, and Archambaud, was somewhat startled yesterday by a strikingly original sermon on the public schools by the Rev. Father Walker, a very zealous Irish Jesuit priest, recently transferred from the South. Father Walker has a very vigorous, direct way of speaking. There is no mincing matters with him. He talks right out in the very plainest and frankest style; but it is very doubtful whether his style will prove either popular or effective in his present field of labors.

In announcing yesterday that next Sunday's collection would be for the benefit of the parochial schools, he took occasion to denounce the public school system of New York in the most bitter and injudicious manner. "Woe be to the parents," shouted he, in the manner of one hurling anathemas, "woe be to the parents who send their children to these public schools! Woe be to those who secretly favor them in their hearts! I would not like to be in their places on the day of judgment. The public schools are the nurseries of vice. They are Godless schools, and they who send their children to them cannot expect the mercy of God. They ought not to expect the sacraments of the Church in their dying moments. I hope you and I will live to see the day when it will be understood that parents who commit this great sin will be refused the sacraments of the Church. 'What! let them die without the rites of the Church?' you will ask. Yes, I say so. I would as soon administer the sacraments to a dog as to such Catholics. Did not Jesus Christ suffer one of his apostles to die without the rites of the Church in despair? So would I let these wretched Catholics perish. Catholics! They are no Catholics. They are Catholics of the pothouse politician stripe—men who deceive and betray the poor, ignorant, innocent Irish emigrants when they arrive in this country; men who make their poor countrymen, when they are only a few months in this country, perjure themselves to become citizens; men who have no faith or charity in their hearts. You may say, 'Ah, but I know good men and women, good priests and bishops, good fathers and mothers, who were brought up in the public schools.' True, but they are the rare exceptions, one in a thousand or ten thousand. You will say also, 'But some of the teachers are Catholics.' What of it? What do they know about the vice all around them, the contamination and villany? They don't know it; they never see it. But we priests know it. Go look at the water-closets in some of your public schools, and see the vile scribbles and markings on the wall, and you will realize the vice and infamy that prevail at these nurseries of crime. I tell you, Catholics, you do not realize the dangers to your children. The great effort of the

enemy of God's Holy Church in these days is to get control of the education of the youth in the hope of thus counteracting the blessed influence of the priests of God. The enemy has abandoned every other effort. Look to it, then, that you fall not a victim to his insidious arts."

The preacher then alluded to the wonderful growth of the Church, and the iniquity of taxing Catholics for the support of schools they did not want and could not send their children to. He said there were six hundred thousand Catholics in this diocese alone. Four hundred thousand more in Brooklyn diocese, and hundreds of thousands more in Albany, Buffalo, and Ogdensburg. If all these banded themselves together valiantly to demand their rights, think you they could fail? No; they could not. They would soon show their strength, and triumph like their fellow Catholics in Ohio.

The remarks of Father Walker made a profound sensation among those who heard them, and opinions differed very much as to the wisdom or soundness of such radical utterances.—*New York Herald*, March 15.

PRECOCIOUS SAINTS.

PROTRACTED MEETING TO CONVERT SINNERS OF FOUR AND FIVE YEARS OLD—REVIVALIST HAMMOND'S OPERATIONS IN SAN FRANCISCO.

The children's revival meeting in Calvary Church was not very extensively attended yesterday morning. The seats in the body of the church were not even filled. Many recent examples of conversion to grace were related by Mr. Hammond and other clergymen. One story was about two young ladies—one a Methodist, the other an Episcopalian—who ten years ago prayed for a young man from Holland. This young man was converted, though he knew nothing of their efforts in his behalf.

A gentleman testified that he had spoken to a large number of youthful persons, not one of whom gave answers to his simple questions, but only cried.

Seventy requests for prayers were sent up. Mr. Hammond read the list. Prayers were asked for the only son of a widow, for an infidel whose wife is a praying woman, a Catholic lady whose eyes are opened—who has left idols to seek the Saviour,—our four boys, a professor of religion who has not the joy of God in her heart, an only brother, a number of Christians who stand aloof from this work, one who does not believe that the Bible is the work of God, a young man who says he cannot pray for himself, a business man—a leading banker in this city,—a young boy who made light of these meetings when asked to attend them, the Mission Sunday-school that all its members may be converted, a little girl out of Christ, a little boy eight years old out of Christ, but whose conversion is looked for every minute.

The Howard Street Methodist Episcopal Church was crowded yesterday afternoon. The audience was composed mainly of adults, with a heavy battalion of children in the front seats. The platform was occupied by prominent ecclesiastical lights of the city.

HALF AN HOUR OF SONG.

The services opened at 3.15 with the song, "When I can read my title clear to mansions in the skies," accompanied by the organ. For nearly half an hour the time was taken up with the vocalization of popular missionary melodies, the principal burden of the refrain being the love of Jesus. During the musical exercises a fresh assortment of covenant cards were brought in and laid upon the platform, and the children greeted their arrival with sparkling eyes. As the singing continued the revivalists warmed to their work. Mr. Hammond strode up and down the platform, emphasizing the staccato portions of the music with a vigorous clapping of the hands and an occasional stamp of the foot, *a la* G. F. Train.

At the close of the song, "I am weak and weary, and hopeless and deified," Mr. Hammond advanced, and remarked that the Bible taught that we were all sinners, but a love for Jesus would wipe out the stain. As he continued to dwell upon the hopeless state of iniquity into which the human race had fallen, the faces of the innocents upon the front seat, who ranged from five years to twelve, became flushed with recollections of their past depravity, and at times they shrank back at the picture presented them.

The Rev. Dr. Burroughs offered up a prayer, and after another song Dr. Stone took the platform and severely condemned the action of some of the public school-teachers who had attempted to influence the children against the grand work of revival, calling it all nonsense, and that it interfered with their studies. If a teacher did this in an official capacity he should repent before his God in sackcloth and ashes. Dr. Stone concluded by urging upon the children to obtain written permits from their parents to attend the revivals.

The Rev. Dr. Dunn rose and stated that not all of the teachers were to blame in this matter, and he hoped that the Board of Education would not expel the teachers who were disposed to help the revival. [Laughter.]

AN INTERVIEW WITH A SINNER OF SIX.

Mr. Hammond then took the platform and opened by complimenting the children on the quietness which was noticeable throughout the church. Yesterday, said he, a gentleman came on the platform and went up to a little boy of six, whom he took in his arms and said:—

"How old are you, my boy?"

"Six, sir."

"Have you signed the covenant card?"

"Yes, sir."

"Do you love Jesus?"

"Yes, sir."

"Why do you love him, dear?"
 "Because he first loved me."
 "Were you a great sinner, pet?"
 "Yes, sir."
 "And you felt very sorry for your sins?"
 "Yes, sir."
 "What sins did you commit?"
 "Sir?"
 "What did you do that was so wicked?"
 "I forget, sir."

You see, dear children, the little boy could not remember all of his sins, but by his intelligent answers showed that he fully understood the great plan of salvation. The children say that they all pray harder now than before the revival. [Laughter.] Why, this same man asked a little shaver of six a number of questions, and if I had trained myself six weeks to answer them I could not have done better.

STORY OF THE LITTLE DUCK.

And there was a little wee bit of a duck, only two days old, and its mother was a hen. As soon as the little duck saw some water it began to toddle along to it just like this. [Here the reverend speaker imitated the waddling of a duck across the stage, amid loud laughter.] Now, children, the little duck knew what was good for him. And now, my dear children, you should take to Jesus like ducks to water.

THE EFFICACY OF CONVERSION.

Some had said that a conversion did not last long; but the fact that ninety-five out of every hundred of the people that he had converted were leading Christian lives to-day ought to be enough to stop the mouths of carpers.

A man once bought a watch, but when he came home to dinner he was three-quarters of an hour behind time, and instead of a nice boiled codfish found nothing but bones on the table, and he found his watch would not go because one of the wheels was bad. Now all it wanted was a new wheel, and all you want is a new heart to make you go right and not be behind time in working for the Lord.

THE LITTLE BOYS AND THE OLD WOMAN.

Two little boys playing marbles in a back alley heard an old woman dying in an attic, and lamenting her dreadful life. One of those boys procured a ladder, and, climbing up, put his mouth to a broken glass, and said, softly, in a silvery voice, "Jesus loves you, and if you love him you will be saved." That old woman died happy, because she thought it was an angel.

THE PRAYERFUL BOY WHO GOT WHIPPED.

Once there was a little boy who prayed so much that it almost drove his father crazy, and the old man said, "If you ever pray again I'll whip you awfully," and that afternoon the boy got off by himself to pray. His father caught him at it, and told him to pack up and leave. But just as little Benny was bidding all his sisters and mother good-by the old man relented, and said, "Pray for me," and now the sweetest music in that household is little Benny's prayers.

THE MAN WITH THE BIG WHIP.

Once a man had a little daughter four years old who was very naughty. So one day he tied her hands together, and taking a big knotted whip lifted it to strike. The little girl screamed with terror, and said, "Papa, this will kill me." Then he said, "If Lucy, your big sister, takes this whipping instead of you, will you love her?" "Yes, I will love her all my life." Now, children, Christ has taken upon himself the punishment of your sins, and you must love him, too.

SIGNING THE COVENANT.

The exercises then closed by the children crowding on the platform and singing, while the newly-converted signed the printed covenant. After considerable more singing and prayer the meeting was dismissed.—*San Francisco Chronicle*, Feb. 27, 1875.

THE WHOLESALE CONVERSIONS IN RUSSIA.

Tracy Turnerelli writes to the editor of the *London Standard*: "We live in a wonderful age, and the account the papers are giving us of the conversion in twenty-four hours of fifty thousand Uniates in Poland to Russian Orthodoxy would alone prove it to be so. I happen to know something of these matters myself, having personally assisted, *notens volens*, at the 'edifying' conversion of about two thousand Tchouvash peasants in the government of Kazan, made Christians, not in twenty-four, but in less than four hours. The Tchouvash—whose customs and religious ceremonies I have described in my work on Kazan—were pagans. The Emperor Nicholas determined to convert these unbelievers to Russian Christianity; so on a given day, a regiment of Cossacks, armed with whips—the governor-general, the high clergy, and other great officials presiding—and a sufficient supply of cannon, muskets, pikes, and bayonets in the rear, the task of 'conversion' began—*id est*, the task of scourging; and so effectually were these Christian arguments applied, *ad hominem*, that on bended knees, full of zeal, fervor, and gratitude, the Tchouvash peasants kissed the cross, signed their names with a 'cross,' also; *ca va sans dire*, and went to their homes with bleeding backs, blessing 'the white tzar' for the benefit done them and heaven. But that I had better not touch on. A few months later, when they had received full instructions in Christian doctrines, I chanced to visit one of the 'converted' Tchouvash Christian villages. A crowd of hirsute Christians of the race were gathered round me. 'You believe in Jesus, God the Son?' said I. 'Oh, yes, master, we do, indeed—indeed, we do,' and the Cossack whips floated before their eyes when they answered my question. 'And in God the

Father also?' I inquired. The crowd were puzzled, bewildered, terrified at the answer they had to make. At length one gray-beard, evidently an authority among them, came forward and said gravely and solemnly, 'What, master? Is the old man still alive?' not being able to persuade themselves that the Son could reign even in heaven until the Father had ceased to live and breathe there. This was 'Russian conversion' and 'Russian instruction,' and as these fifty thousand converts will no doubt find a place in history it will be well if the 'methods of conversion' adapted were coupled with it."

A YOUNG GIRL'S MADNESS.

EXCITED ON RELIGIOUS TOPICS, SHE ERECTS A FUNERAL PYRE AND BURNS HERSELF TO DEATH.

HONESDALE, Penn., January 15.—The country around here is greatly excited over the unparalleled affair that has just been brought to light in the case of Crissy Hacker, an intelligent and beautiful young lady, at White's Valley, sixteen miles west of this place, who deliberately burned herself to death on Wednesday, while under the influence of extraordinary religious fanaticism. She was the daughter of William Hacker, a wealthy and prominent farmer of the county. For some five or six years past she has at times been subject to temporary insanity, during which lapses she imagined that she had committed sins against "her Immanuel" which could only be absolved by the making of burnt offerings.

While laboring under this mental hallucination, she would erect altars in the fields of her father's farm, and sacrifice lambs to appease the wrath of her offended Deity, and also burn clothing and household articles of different kinds. Her father (a widower), fearing that she might, during one of these intervals, do herself bodily harm, kept a strict watch on her movements.

On Wednesday Mr. Hacker had occasion to go to a neighboring village, and, as his daughter manifested signs of the recurrence of one of her insane intervals, he charged his hired man to watch her during his absence. At noon the man went to his dinner, leaving the young lady in the kitchen reading the Bible. For some reason he did not return to the house until Mr. Hacker came back, which was about two o'clock.

When the latter entered his kitchen he was paralyzed with horror at the sight that confronted him. On the coals and ashes of what had evidently been one of Miss Hacker's altars, lay the body of his daughter, literally burned to a crisp. The face was the only part not burned. Notwithstanding the intense agony that she must have endured, her features were not distorted in the least, but wore an expression calm and peaceful, her lips being parted in a smile, as if she died believing that through that fiery ordeal she was to pass into a joyful eternity.

It appears that while the hired man was absent Miss Hacker had formed, out of a set of quilting frames, a pyre or altar. On this she had spread some carpet, and made herself a pillow. When found she lay on her right side, with her cheek resting on her hand. Everything seemed to indicate that this was the position she had taken at first, and from which she had not moved. At one side of the altar she had piled up a quantity of combustible wood, and when all was in readiness had fired it, from which the flames soon spread and enveloped the altar.

In the family Bible, which was found open at the book of Job, the following note was found in the handwriting of the deceased:—

DEAR FATHER,—My Immanuel appeared to me to-day. He reveals to me the fact that I have committed the unpardonable sin, which I can only obtain forgiveness for by passing through the cleansing of fire. I will intercede for you, my dear father. You will find my purified body in the northeast corner of the house. I wish to have my ashes buried in my Immanuel's ground, at the northwest corner of the house. Good-by. Meet me on the eternal ground. CRISSY.

Mr. Hacker went to the corner of the house indicated in the note as the spot where the remains were to be buried, and found that his daughter had staked out there a space for her grave.

Martin Prentiss, Esq., summoned a jury who held an inquest on the remains. A verdict in accordance with the above facts was rendered.—*Pittsburgh Commercial*.

A COMPETENT WITNESS.—"William Look—tell us, William, who made you?"

William, who was considered a fool, screwed up his face, and looked thoughtful and somewhat bewildered, and answered, "Moses, I s'pose."

"That will do," said Counsellor Grey, addressing the Court. "The witness says he supposes Moses made him. That is an intelligent answer; more than I thought him capable of giving, for it shows that he has some faint idea of Scripture. I submit that it is not sufficient to entitle him to be sworn as a witness capable of giving evidence."

"Mr. Judge," said the fool, "may I ax the lawyer a question?"

"Certainly," said the Judge.

"Wal, then, Mr. Lawyer, who d'ye s'pose made you?"

"Aaron, I s'pose," said Counsellor Grey, imitating the witness.

After the mirth had somewhat subsided, the witness drawled out, "Wal, now, we do read in the book that Aaron once made a calf, but who thought the critter had got in here?"

The Judge ordered the man to be sworn.—*National Baptist*.

Poetry.

LIBERTY.

BY JOHN HAY.

What man is there so bold that he should say,
 "Thus, and thus only, would I have the sea?"
 For whether lying calm and beautiful,
 Clapping the earth in love, and throwing back
 The smile of heaven from waves of amethyst;
 Or whether, freshened by the busy winds,
 It bears the trade and navies of the world
 To ends of use or stern activity;
 Or whether, lashed by tempests, it gives way
 To elemental fury, howls and roars
 At all its rocky barriers, in wild lust
 Of ruin drinks the blood of living things,
 And strews its wrecks o'er leagues of desolate shore;—
 Always it is the sea, and all bow down
 Before its vast and varied majesty.

So all in vain will timorous men essay
 To set the metes and bounds of Liberty;
 For Freedom is its own, eternal law.
 It makes its own conditions, and in storm
 Or calm alike fulfills the unerring Will.
 Let us not, then, despise it when it lies
 Still as a sleeping lion, while a swarm
 Of gnat-like evils hover round its head;
 Nor doubt it when in mad, disjointed times
 It shakes the torch of terror, and its cry
 Shrills o'er the quaking earth, and in the flame
 Of riot and war we see its awful form
 Rise by the scaffold, where the crimson axe
 Rings down its grooves the knell of shuddering kings.
 For always in thine eyes, O Liberty!
 Shines that high light whereby the World is saved;
 And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee!

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 27.

Chas. T. How, \$3.20; Chas. Garrison, \$3; I. W. Bealey, \$2; James Underhill, \$1.60; Edwin Bean, \$1; N. B. Rupp-
 leye, \$1; Geo. B. Nichols, \$1; H. B. Martin, \$3.20; C. J.
 Hamblen, \$1; Ensign & Clifford, \$1; D. H. Hale, \$1; A.
 L. Chamberlain, 75 cents; Geo. D. Broomell, \$1.60; G. L.
 Watson, \$3.20; J. Watson, \$13.20; W. H. H. Crowell, 80
 cents; E. W. Eastman, \$1.60; Cornelia Rose, 80 cents;
 Eliz. Butterworth, \$3.20; Mary Westphal, \$13; S. L. Shaw,
 \$2; H. B. Peckham, \$3.20; H. P. Nicholson, \$3.20; Henry
 Lantz, \$1; M. E. Sawyer, \$3; C. A. Greenleaf, \$10; S. B.
 Clark, 75 cents; J. T. Reid, 75 cents; Simon Ocho, \$1.50;
 J. W. Frank, \$4.10; E. Stow, 10 cents; M. H. McKay, \$1.50;
 Chas. H. Merrill, \$3; Edgar Brown, \$1.50; H. N. Winslow,
 \$1.20; Wm. Campbell, \$4; J. W. Bartlett, \$23.20; E. J.
 Hamet, \$5; Wm. A. Abbot, \$3; Mary A. Turner, \$2;
 James Jefferson, \$3; Hiram W. Moore, \$5; F. Melluish,
 \$1; E. F. Horton, \$3.20; Cash, 50 cents; T. H. Stewart, \$1;
 A. J. Davis, \$8; G. H. Foster, \$2.30; T. H. Callahan, 20
 cents; L. F. Gardner, \$10; B. F. Chapman, \$15; Morris
 Einstein, \$5; Hiram Day, 35 cents; American News Co.,
 \$4.85; J. E. Emerson, \$2; W. D. Corken, 50 cents; Will.
 Kennedy, \$1.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

RECEIVED.

Books.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO the Expediency of Revising and Amending the Laws Relating to Taxation and Exemption Therefrom. January, 1875. House Document, No. 15. Boston: Wright & Potter, 1875.

THE GLOBE DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, Etymological, Explanatory, and Pronouncing. Illustrated by 500 Engravings on Wood. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. London and Glasgow: William Collins, Sons & Co.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF MAN. A Course of Elementary Lectures. By A. De Quatrefages. Translated by Eliza A. Youmans. With an Appendix. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875. [Popular Science Library.]

THE SCIENCE OF MUSIC; OR, THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF MUSICAL HARMONY. By Sedley Taylor. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875. [Popular Science Library.]

RELIGION AND SCIENCE. By the author of "Fibrilia and Fibrous Manufactures," etc. Boston: James Campbell, 1875.

THE RAINBOW CREED. A Story of the Times. Boston: William F. Gill & Co. 1875.

Pamphlets and Periodicals.

TAXATION OF WOMEN IN MASSACHUSETTS. By William I. Bowditch. Cambridge: Press of John Wilson & Son. 1875.

NORTH CAROLINA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. The Great Ecclesiastical Trial of J. Williams Thorne, Expelled for Opinion's Sake by the House of Representatives, Feb. 24, 1875. Ridgeway, N.C.: J. Williams Thorne. Price, 25 cents.

CAN CHRISTIANITY BE MADE TO HARMONIZE WITH SCIENCE? An Essay Read before the Liberal League, at Minneapolis, March 7, 1875. By T. D. Hall, of Hudson, Wis. Published by the League.

SERMONS by the Rev. Charles Voysey, at St. George's Hall, London.—Religious Enthusiasm: Feb. 7.—Lent and Fast-
 ing: Feb. 14.—Comfort and Consolation: Feb. 21.—Im-
 portance of Right Opinion in Religion: Feb. 28.

THE POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY, for April. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

THE PENN MONTHLY, for April. Philadelphia: 506 Walnut Street.

THE HERALD OF HEALTH, for April. New York: Wood & Holbrook.

THE SANITARIAN, for April. New York: 234 Broadway.

MORTON'S MONTHLY, for March. Louisville: J. P. Morton & Co.

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The Index.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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TO CONTRIBUTORS.—Please do not ask whether your articles will be printed; we cannot tell on receiving them, but must be guided by circumstances. Many more are sent than the paper will hold, and somebody has to be disappointed; but we always mean to print from week to week the *best on hand*. Also, please do not ask to have the manuscripts returned. Either keep a copy, or do not send at all. Notwithstanding our regularly published rule on this point, we are constantly annoyed by requests to return articles not used. It will be a great favor if occasional contributors will attend to this notice.

It is pleasant to find our contributors appreciated: "What capital and soul-bracing letters," writes a correspondent from California, "are those from Mr. Holyoake!"

THE Moral Education Association hold a meeting next Friday at 3 Tremont Place, at 3 P. M. Paper by Harriet Clisby, M. D., on "Some Thoughts in Connection with Crime."

THE FREQUENT CHANGES of the French ministry distress Aunt Tabitha. She says: "I never had much opinion of them French people anyway, and nothing could save them but good, stated, regular preaching."

THERE WAS at least one amusing circumstance connected with the horrible tragedy at East Boston. A peripatetic agent of the Bible Society is said to have been arrested at one time on suspicion of being Mrs. Bingham's murderer!

PROFESSOR MAX MUELLER is reported as about to leave England for the Continent, in order to make the necessary arrangements for the translation of all the Oriental Bibles into the chief languages of Europe. This herculean task is to be executed by the coöperation of all the great Orientalists, if this can be secured.

THE Joint Special Committee of the Legislature on tax-exemption in Rhode Island have just made their report. They recommend, as a compromise, to tax the land, but not the buildings, of religious, charitable and educational institutions. The Committee held four public hearings, and their report fills nearly three columns of the Providence *Morning Star* of March 25. We may refer to it again.

THE CHILDREN of California are on the revivalist's gridiron. Rev. Mr. Hammond is at work making Christians of them. At one of his meetings a little girl of eight thanked Jesus for dying a cruel death on the cross for her sake. Another of seven thanked God for giving her a new heart. And another of five thanked Jesus for wearing a crown of thorns for her. There ought to be a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Little Innocents.

A VENERABLE friend in Maryland inquires what is meant by the "personality of God." There are a great many meanings of that phrase. Some mean by it the possession of a form like that of man, which can be conceived by the imagination; and, when they think of God, they perhaps unconsciously picture to themselves a majestic figure as "the Father." Others mean by it simply the possession of moral and intellectual attributes, without forming any imaginative conception at all. Everything depends on what is meant by the word "person" as applied to man, and the degree of analogy supposed to exist between man and the Sole Power of the universe. In our reply to Mr. Savage we did not presume to *define* what Unitarians understand by the word; we only pointed out that they expect a professed belief in that doctrine in some sense from all their ministers.

REFERRING to Mr. Potter's recent discourses on "Some Aspects of Unitarianism," the *Golden Age* says: "The *ism* must be distinguished from its organizations, and all that was ever true and vital in Unitarian principles remains intact, and has not been cancelled by the timidity or narrowness of sectarian managers." There is a curious fallacy in all such reasoning as this. What are "Unitarian principles" but the principles of Unitarian "organizations"? Either *individuals* or *organizations* must decide what the "*ism*" is: which shall it be, good *Golden Age*? We take the ground that Unitarian organizations, by their collective votes, define Unitarianism; and that Christian organizations, by their collective votes, define Christianity. Does the *Golden Age* really mean to say that any man can set aside these votes, and in their stead impose his personal views upon the denomination or the world as the veritable "*ism*"? What is *true* is one thing: what is *Unitarian* is quite another. It is a violation of good sense to declare that the denominational belief is anything else than what the denomination itself, as such, affirms it to be. The sect alone defines the *ism*; the individual members of it are guilty of great presumption, if they individually put forward their irresponsible views as its true definition.

CASES of encroachment on religious liberty in this country are multiplying with disturbing rapidity. A witness has lately been denied the right to testify in the courts of New York City,—a member of the legislature has been summarily ejected in North Carolina,—and now, as described by Professor L. in another column, an applicant has just been refused his naturalization papers in Philadelphia,—all because of religious opinions. Such cases are continually occurring, these being only illustrations that are fresh in our memory; and yet radicals see "no use" in the Liberal League. How much longer are they to be publicly trampled on before they betray their discomfort? Or don't they care unless the insult and outrage are inflicted upon each and every individual radical in the country? If a British subject is insulted anywhere, the whole empire flames with wrath, and reparation is exacted forthwith. Would that American free-thinkers had a spark of the same spirit! We are thoroughly mortified that such things as these can happen, while yet the indignities insolently put upon the rights of free thought call forth no determination to protect these rights by some general measure. Yes, radicals, we are shamed by your tame, mean-spirited indifference, when your reply to one such outrage ought to be a thousand Liberal Leagues, starting up like Roderick Dhu's clansmen from the heather.

THE New York *Herald* recently reported a sermon delivered in that city by Rev. Father Walker, of the St. Lawrence's Roman Catholic Church in Eighty-fourth Street. He is said to be a very zealous Irish Jesuit priest, recently transferred from the South. In announcing that a collection would be taken for the benefit of the parochial schools, he burst into a tirade on the public school system of New York. "Woe," said he, "woe be to the parents who send their children to these public schools! Woe be to those who secretly favor them in their hearts! I would not like to be in their places on the day of Judgment. The public schools are the nurseries of vice. They are Godless schools, and they who send their children to them cannot expect the mercy of God. They ought not to expect the sacraments of the church in their dying moments. I hope you and I will live to see the day when it will be understood that parents who commit this great sin will be refused the sacraments of the church. 'What! let them die without the rites of the church?' you will ask. Yes, I say so. I would as soon administer the sacraments to a dog as to such Catholics." "And so this fanatical preacher went on at length, winding up with the boast that the Catholics in the State of New York were strong enough, if valiantly banded together, to control the public school system, or to be relieved from taxation for its support." Shall the State continue to exempt from taxation the rapidly accumulating possessions of a church which is determined, if possible, to keep the people in ignorance in order to assure its own control over them? No doubt, Father Walker is conscientious; but when the conscience for despotism prompts direct assaults on the only safeguards of republican institutions, the conscience for liberty can make no compromise with it. One or the other must go to the wall. The Catholic only asserts the right to govern us all! Shall tenderness for his "conscience" cause us to submit, and become his obedient servants? That is the whole question in a nutshell.

THE TAXATION COMMISSIONERS' REPORT.

The "Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the expediency of revising and amending the laws of the State relating to taxation and the exemptions therefrom" was published a few weeks ago, as a bulky volume of 577 pages; but so great was the demand for copies that we have been unable to obtain one till very recently. The Commission was authorized by a Resolve of the last Legislature passed June 18, 1874; and under it Messrs. Hills, Seelye, and Barker were appointed commissioners by the Governor and Council on July 22. Liberal extracts from their Report, bearing on the question of exempting from taxation property used for educational, charitable, and religious purposes, will be found on preceding pages of this number of THE INDEX. The majority of the Commissioners recommend that the existing exemptions be continued; while Mr. Hills made a minority report recommending that the property of literary and charitable corporations be taxed in certain cases above a fixed amount, and that "exemption from taxation for any house of religious worship be limited to twenty-five thousand dollars." We propose to consider at present some of the chief arguments of the majority Report in favor of continued exemption.

1. The grounds of the State's right to tax its citizens asserted by the Report are not those of the Constitution of the State. The Constitution requires the Legislature to impose taxes "for the public service, in the necessary defence and support of the government of the said Commonwealth, and the protection and preservation of the subjects thereof." [Art. IV., §1, ch. 1.] By this provision the sole object of taxation is to protect and preserve the citizens, and, as a means to this end, to defend and support the government which protects them. Again, the same principle is laid down with even greater explicitness in Article X., which derives the citizen's obligation to pay taxes to the State from his right to be "protected by it in the enjoyment of his life, liberty, and property." Nothing could be more unequivocal; nothing could be more necessary, in order to prevent the most grievous oppression and tyranny. Yet the Report declares that "taxation is not a payment to society for certain social privileges and immunities, but it is the enforcement of the right, and the fulfilment of the obligation, revealed in the very existence of the State and its subjects." What is this "right"? What is this "obligation"? The very next sentence of the Report explains: "This involves the righteous surrender or subjection of the individual will to the will of the community. When this self-surrender is free and complete, there is nothing more to be desired, either on the part of the individual or the State." To such desperate shifts are the defenders of tax-exemption driven! Individual liberty and individual rights as against the State must all be swept away, to avoid admitting the justice of the demand for the cessation of this great wrong. It is not necessary to do more than point out the flat contradiction given to the State Constitution by the Report; surely there is enough sagacity in the Legislature and the public to comprehend the audacious sophistry by which the most despotic principles are thus invoked to bolster up a self-evident violation of the fundamental liberties of the citizen. It is the Christian Amendment movement, of which Commissioner Seelye is a well-known advocate, which has captured the Report, and ventured to deny openly the first principles of republican institutions. That the State is nothing but a permanent corporation, whose rights are strictly limited, and which has no right whatever to levy taxes except in return for protective services rendered to its members, is a truth completely recognized by the Constitution; and there is no need to comment further on the glaring denial of it by the Report.

2. But not only is the Report in direct contradiction of the State Constitution as to the grounds of the State's right to tax; it is also in direct contradiction of itself as to the State's relation to religion. "State favor may more properly be granted to institutions of religion than to any other, since all the prosperity of any State—its culture, its freedom from crime, its social order—will rest ultimately upon the religion of its subjects, and will be perfect in exactly the degree that this religion is perfect and completely prevalent. What religion will do for the next life, or whether there is any future life, or whether religion is anything other than a superstition or delusion,—these are questions which the State properly leaves to the individual judgment and conscience." Now these two successive sentences flatly contradict each other. The first sentence declares that all social

order rests on religion, and depends on the perfection and complete prevalence of it; and it infers correctly enough from these premises that the State must favor and support religious institutions. Very well; those are the premises of the Roman Catholic Church, and justify the absolute control of the State by the Church. But the second sentence declares, with astonishing unconsciousness and coolness, that the State has nothing to do with religion—does not even care whether it is all a superstition or not—and leaves it wholly to the individual! Very well; those are the premises of Free Religion, and demand the absolute separation of Church and State. Was ever a contradiction more patent? Because the State cannot possibly get along without religion, it is argued that the State has nothing to do with religion! It is idle to attempt to reply to such reasoning as this; a general smile is its merited response.

3. From the assumed principle that religion is necessary to the State, the Report innocently argues that "any treatment of Christian churches by a Christian State which would curb their influence would be just as disastrous to the State as to the Church." Hence it justifies exempting them from taxation. But religion is not synonymous with Christianity; and nothing would follow from such arguments but the conclusion that Christianity is the Established Religion of Massachusetts. Are the people prepared to admit that Massachusetts has an Established Religion, or an Established Church, which is precisely the same thing? Yet that is exactly what church-exemption means, so far as it goes. Our whole history has been a continual curtailment of the peculiar privileges claimed by the Church from the State; and the process has not yet come to an end.

4. In one point we are satisfied with the Report. It rejects the idea of a compromise by which a minimum amount of church property should be exempted from taxation, and the rest taxed. Mr. Hills favors such a compromise, which would equally violate both of the opposing principles and complicate the whole question. Let things be as they are till the people are ripe for a thorough reform in this matter. The original movers for the repeal of church exemption are actuated by a regard for principle; and the principle they stand for is one already recognized and adopted in substance by the people of the State in 1833. All they want now is a more consistent application of this principle; and they deprecate above all else the miserable device of a compromise like Mr. Hills', which would satisfy nobody. Sooner or later the abolition of all church exemption in this country must come, and it had better come now. Why make two bites of a cherry?

5. There is something melancholy in the manner in which the Report treats the whole subject of conscientious objections to the practice of supporting the churches by indirect taxation of the whole community. The objectors are not responsible for what they cannot help,—therefore the Commissioners "are unable to see how their conscience should be troubled about it." Well, it is not necessary that they should see; the fact is not changed by their blindness. But they would see with great celerity, if the case should be reversed—if the Catholics should get control of the State and tax these comfortable Commissioners for the support of the Catholic Church, or if some inconsistent free-thinkers should get control of the State and tax the Commissioners for the support of Atheistic Institutes. The scales would immediately fall from their eyes. Is it no injustice to exact taxes for the propagation of religious opinions which are offensive and false in the judgment of those who pay the taxes? Have we no consciousness of wrongs done to us as well as of wrongs done by us? Does not conscience protest against anything but its own sins? Has it no protest against injustice perpetrated against itself? The history of Massachusetts proves that the people have not been so insensible to the rights of conscience as their Commissioners now are; the abolition of direct taxation for church-support in 1833 was but one of a long series of measures designed to relieve conscience from the unnecessary and felt weight of public injustice in these very respects. It remains to be seen whether the people have become as callous as their Commissioners to the appeals of protesting consciences. Sooner or later, the movement of 1833 will be carried forward to its logical completion by abolishing all forms of compulsory church-support; and we hope to live to see that day, despite the disappointing Report now rendered to the Massachusetts Legislature by Commissioners who think it very unreasonable that any one should have a conscience not precisely like their own.

LITERATURE AND BELIEF.

We cannot be too thankful, I think, that the tendency to scientific studies has prevailed so largely in these modern times; since the result is that our minds have been recalled from the realm of mere speculation and fancy, and brought down to the *terra firma* of those solid facts and substantial realities which it is the ambition of science to present to us. We too long, perhaps, had been soaring on pinions in the upper air of imagination, dreaming all sorts of wild dreams, believing anything and everything we wanted to, and having our heads turned with whatever kind of superstition that came along; and no doubt we needed the wholesome experience of being landed on our two feet, and made to use our prosy legs for a while as our only means of locomotion. One fact, I suppose, is worth for all practical purposes more than fifty fancies, and in this everyday world *knowing* is a surer way of getting along than *guessing*. So that, for one, I am heartily rejoiced that the literature of science is as abundant in these latter days as it is; that scientific studies are being more and more elevated to a place of importance in our schools; that science is being popularized for the million by so many able writers and scholars of true scientific renown; and that the thought of the people is becoming so discriminating between fact and fiction, appearance and reality, truth and error. Mill and Spencer, Darwin and Huxley, Tyndall and Maudsley, Agassiz and Youmans are glorious benefactors of their race; and long may and must their memories be green and dear in the minds and hearts of all who have read and been instructed by them!

Nevertheless, though I give in to no man in the degree of gratitude which I feel for what the literature of science has done for us,—in respect of clarifying, pruning, and strengthening the belief of our time,—I yet am decidedly of the opinion that one may too exclusively devote himself to scientific reading and study, to the extent of hardening and stiffening his mind in one direction, drying up other sources of instruction to be found in his own being, and narrowing his whole view of the truth of things in general.

The old Scripture has it, that "as a man thinketh so is he." With as much correctness may it be said, that as a man *readeth* so he *thinketh*. The literature which a man reads inevitably colors and moulds his thought; and if that literature be of one kind only, then his thought flows but in one channel, and is stamped with but one characteristic. The broad reader is the broad thinker. He who pursues a liberal and varied course of reading cannot well be narrow and dogmatic in his thinking. Our minds need more than one kind of diet in order that they may preserve a healthy tone and appetite. That culture is wisest and best which provides for the education, not of one faculty of our being only, but for all; which allows the reasoning powers and the imagination, the intellect and the emotions, the head and the heart to have equal scope and play, well-proportioned use and opportunity.

It is a danger to which radicals and free-thinkers especially are liable, when they break away from the authority of Church and Bible, and launch out into untrammelled thought, that they betake themselves solely to that kind of literature which feeds the logical faculties of the mind, and sets in motion the keenest powers of reasoning. They have an appetite for scientific studies sharpened by long denial; and hence they almost invariably become mere devourers of scientific books, constant and insatiable pillagers in the realms of physics and logic. They are almost incensed at the man who ventures to suggest that there are some books worth reading other than those bearing the names of well-known writers in science; and it is quite as much as they can do to refrain from calling him a fool, who spends a little portion of his short time on the earth wandering in the beautiful fields of poetry and romance, and culling gems from writers on art, history, philosophy, and religion. Such radical colts who take the bit between their teeth, and refuse to be directed any whither but to an investigation into the facts of the external world, or to partake of any fodder but such as is cut up in some scientific treatise, are pretty sure to fetch up in bald atheism and materialism; since, from looking so long and hard at *things* only, they somehow appear to lose the power of deep insight into the *soul* of things. They forget that there is some real truth and beauty still remaining in what they have left behind them,—even in the grand old forms and litanies of the Church, the psalms and prophecies and beatitudes of the Bible; appealing, as

these all somewhat do, to the æsthetic and religious emotions of man.

No one is whole-minded or whole-hearted, no one is thoroughly sane throughout, who does not nicely balance himself between all the powers, faculties, and wants of his nature; who does not look within as well as without for his knowledge; who does not put his ear close to the ages to hear the complete story of the upward and onward struggle of man for self-expression—close to Nature to hear the full articulate word of God, as it is uttered in things visible and invisible. We need to cultivate an acquaintance with the prophets and seers, no less than the scientists and savans of the world. We need to read that literature which speaks or sings the language of the heart, as well as that which formulates the logic of the head. Our culture is incomplete and one-sided, if it leave out such writers as Carlyle and Emerson, Shakspeare and Wordsworth, and include only such as Darwin and Spencer, Mill and Lewes.

There would be fewer atheists and materialists, I think, if all radicals would take counsel somewhat of the inner as well as the outer voices of the world. It would be hard, indeed, for any man to be either atheist or materialist, when his soul were filled with the resonant meaning of such poems as Wordsworth's "Ode on Immortality" and Tennyson's "In Memoriam." For who will be so foolish as to scorn even a feather's weight in any real deliverance of our being, when he comes to make up his conclusion about the deepest problems of the hour? A. W. S.

A POINT OF GOOD MANNERS.

This broad hint is contained in the *Christian Register* of March 20:—

"The American Unitarian Association has decided that persons who wish to be released from the responsibility of being life-members of that body can have their names taken from the list by making their wishes known. Probably Bishop Huntington, F. E. Abbot, and G. H. Hepworth will be equally ready to avail themselves of this way of escape from a false position."

Let us have a clear understanding on this point. In 1868 we publicly announced our withdrawal from the Unitarian denomination, formally notified the Secretary of the American Unitarian Association of the fact in person, and requested him to strike our name from the *Year Book* denominational register. By this we intended to withdraw from connection with all Unitarian organizations, so far as any action of ours could accomplish it; and this was perfectly understood at the time by all concerned. Nobody has ventured until now to intimate even by innuendo that we had any "false position" to "escape" from; and we consider the above intimation a most extraordinarily cool one.

It is true that, without so much as consulting us on the subject, we had previously been made a life-member of the Association by a college classmate and friend, who paid thirty dollars to them for the purpose. But we know of nothing in the constitution or by-laws of any association which provides for a dissolution of such life-membership; and there are obligations of delicate courtesy in the case which no gentleman would disregard. We should not dream for an instant of availing ourselves of any rights or privileges which membership may be supposed to confer; we disown emphatically all obligations or "responsibilities" which it may be supposed to entail; the membership is a merely technical connection which means absolutely nothing, and carries absolutely nothing with it.

But this year, for the first time, the Association have published a list of their life-members; and they may possibly be disconcerted that the above names should be even technically entitled to a place in their list. This is their own affair, not ours. It may be that they have so amended their constitution as to provide for the dissolution of life-membership connections, though the above is the first suggestion of it that has reached our notice. But it is to be presumed that the officers of the Association have a sufficient knowledge of good manners to notify directly those who may be affected by their action; and in the absence of such notice we shall pay them the compliment of considering the above slur to be a piece of newspaper impertinence for which they are not responsible, and which would be acted upon only by one quite ignorant of the proprieties of the case. We are willing to take it for granted that, if they are themselves uneasy at the continuance of our merely technical life-membership, they will have courage enough to say so, and honestly enough to refund the money to the gentleman who paid it. It would be the height of discourtesy towards him for us to do

anything in the premises. But we shall be extremely happy to gratify the apparent "wishes" of the Association in any way which he and they can mutually agree upon. Meanwhile we shall take no further notice of the matter until we have been properly and respectfully notified of any action they have taken or may propose to take.

FREE-THOUGHT NOTES.

BY A VETERAN ENGLISH FREE-THINKER.

MR. EDITOR:—

As a rule, we English people do not wonder. Wonder solves no difficulties, adds little to our information, is rather a waste of time; and, therefore, being a practical and business people, we are very little engaged in wonder. But I, not being a wholly practical person, do wonder; and what I wonder at is the scant and precarious support rendered by friends of free-thought to the advocacy of their principles, as compared with that the advocates of superstition can command. The reason, no doubt, is that the immediate value and importance of secular interests are not seen. The belief that supernatural agencies are to be propitiated by gifts to the churches has much to do with it. When it comes to be understood that the unknown powers which surround this world are to be propitiated, not by gifts for their use who need them not, but by the service to humanity in which they take, or must be assumed to take, generous interest, the case will be very different. Then men will give to whatever things are calculated to advance human progress. Giving for such purposes will be a well-understood policy of self-defence. When life becomes uncertain, the most parsimonious will pay liberally the ablest physician who may restore. When men come to see that science is the only available providence of man,—that free-thought is the source of all our improvements,—that truth is the only position that can save us and give us dignity and power,—they will regard the cost of it as the best investment they can make. Men have never been moved by convictions as to unseen things as they will be, when they come to discern the influence of a real life. What passion, what fervor, what picturesque language, what boldness and ardor, what dramatic conceptions, what fiery exultations, will one day animate pulpit and platform, when the day in the belief of realities succeeds to the fluctuating and uncertain, though powerful, belief in unseen things!

It is quite ludicrous the way in which free-thought papers are commonly supported. Mere pride should, if common sense did not, dictate that they should be well sustained. A mere steam-engine won't go, unless the stoker pays it due attention. Men who keep horses or hounds know that the best work cannot be got out of them, unless the best kind of sustentation is put into them. The old slave-owner fed his slaves from policy, if he did not do it from humanity. A wise English manufacturer, when lately asked why he gave higher wages to his men than his neighbor, answered: "I cannot afford to pay them badly." It is wonderful that the same thing does not occur to those who desire a free-thought advocacy to be maintained in their defence. It would pay them better to compensate well than poorly those who represent their interest. If I read a paper at a scientific society, it would be upon the "Influence of Diet upon Style." Let any reader observe the quality of the editorial style at Christmas time in England, and he will find much better composition proceeds from tables well supplied with partridge and grouse. It is an abstract literary fact that articles produced under such inspiration have a choice, succulent, and excellent flavor. Most readers know well enough what a lean, insipid, consumptive style, with no flesh upon the bones of its sentences, is that which proceeds from ill-supplied trenchers. It is clear that the partridge-style is quite the contrary, and their ratiocination of pheasant and grouse is a most conclusive reasoning to be found at Christmas time. Indeed, then may be seen sentences excellently rounded by turkey and geese of good substance. I believe I could tell the rate of payment the editorial chest was able to make, by an examination of the style of the contributors, the subjects they write upon, their order of thought, the alacrity or heaviness of the movements of their minds, the character of their smiles, the fulness or exhaustiveness of their treatment; all have their pecuniary sign about them, which no ardor can evade, no generosity conceal, no philosophy efface.

When I was engaged in conducting the Fleet-Street House, the business and propagandism of which I spoke came under my notice in many ways; but the relation between means and service was a very obvious one, though much overlooked. On one occasion I remember saying: "It seems desirable that those who engage in Publicism should accept for such services the smallest amount necessary to enable them efficiently to discharge their duties—to educate their children—and keep themselves free from private debts. Where this cannot be afforded, they must of necessity seek such income by some other profession; and where adequate means are denied, they have a right to seek the indispensable means of good citizenship elsewhere. For it is not good in ordinary cases to die with the reputation of having taken such

great care of all mankind, that family and creditors have been left to take care of themselves."

At first there was difficulty in getting our new organization to work. Some friends unintentionally, and, of course, opponents wilfully, frustrated it. Deficiency of funds compelled such incessant labor to supply them, by personal efforts of the conductors, that there was no time for proper explanations of the nature of the work being attempted; and in the absence of such explanation many withdrew all aid, and some misconstrued the objects and discouraged others. Some, looking at the completeness of the arrangements, withheld aid, thinking none wanted: others, knowing how much the cost exceeded any possible returns for a long period, declined to help, believing the whole must break down. Others who had asked loudly for respectability of position, that their cause might stand proudly by the side of that of the priest, denounced the position when attained as a "compromise" of principle. It was in the midst of this cross-fire, kept up during three years by enemies within and enemies without, that the work of construction was carried on. Actual contest with the actual enemy was a far lighter task than combating with the misapprehensions which in democratic societies arise, or are sown, in the minds of friends. Mazzini, notwithstanding his incorruptible life and perilous devotion to his country, was subjected to them. Kossuth, who, if he had had but a thousandth part of the insincerity imputed to him, might have worn a ducal coronet, had to encounter them. Who, then, can hope to escape? The Church, Established and Dissenting, which has no habit of republican publicity, and conceals all it can, has something to complain of in this way as well as free-thinkers. Sir Walter Scott, in *Old Mortality*, tells an instructive story of the heroic days of the Old Covenanters. While Morton, at the peril of his head, was negotiating recognition and safety for the Puritan party, and shedding his blood in their defence, they were plotting against him as a traitor and coward. The selfish and ambitious Burley was preferred before him. The impractical lunatic Macbriar was believed against him, and the mad Mucklewrath had sufficient credit to sentence him to death. In the hour of mortal struggle they leave him on the field of battle, unsupported against the common enemy, and retire themselves, under the burden of their virtues and jealousies, to dispute on trifles, and calumniate in safety. This is the experience of many popular movements. Men who do nothing but stand aloof and make imputations get credit, and those who take the place of peril and do the work sometimes die under suspicions. But there are no serious discouragements in these contingencies. There are always enough honest and sensible men in every just party to sustain it, who are above personal envy or distrust—who act only upon the facts of the case—whose confident, frank service will sooner or later win: and the good opinion of such is the highest reward of life. And if in the battle of Democracy you miss this, no matter, if you have done your duty.

There are some current topics among us for which I have not left myself space to treat; but you have an able correspondent who will doubtless include them in his "London Letter." Mr. Gladstone has published another remarkable book on the "Vatican Decrees." Mrs. Girling still troubles us; and we have now a George Francis Train of our own. Dr. Kenealy, who has got himself elected member for Stoke, is a perfect monster of egotism. He publishes Prayers and Devotional Songs, and abounds in more vicious Billingsgate than any other public man of the day. He came into the House of Commons like the Sairey Gamp of Stoke, depositing a fat umbrella on the Speaker's table. In your country the Irish are very angry with England, and say bitter and offensive things against us; whereas we in England treat the Irish with Imperial distinction. We give up the Chartist agitation to them; and no sooner does an Irish candidate appear for any constituency than we go mad to elect him. Had Dr. Kenealy not been an Irishman, he would not now be member for Stoke.

Very faithfully yours,

GEO. JACOB HOLYOAKE.

{ NEWCASTLE CHAMBERS, 22 Essex St.,
{ Temple Bar, London, Feb. 28, 1875.

Literary Notices.

HIGGINSON'S "CHILD'S HISTORY."

This history, recently published, marks an epoch in the manner and matter of American historical reading and study for the future.

It heaps in one vast funeral pile the names and dates of hundreds of discoveries, settlements, battles, and military heroes; and the writer spreads the pages, which these dry facts have hitherto monopolized, with poetic descriptions of daily living, striking characteristics of men and women, romantic accounts of early settlers, scientific speculations of their origin, and instructive talks concerning the causes of war, the justice or injustice of nations, and the beauties of peace. Perhaps the time has only just arrived, when this sifting of facts and mere statistics should begin. Perhaps two hundred and fifty years were necessary in which to hold these records of dates and names up before the people. Be that as it may, their day of parade has set. The masterly pen of this writer has bowed them out, and ushered them with great reverence into quiet corners of museums, where they will repose for coming ages with other antiquated relics.

No one knows at what date Homer recited his Greek histories, nor how much besprinkled with dates they were. We only know that dates had vanished before the Iliad and Odyssey were immortalized in

written language; and it is probable that it took many centuries to clear them of this rubbish. Surely, it would seem ridiculous to-day to read the date of Patroclus' death, or the year of Hector's funeral; and the Iliad would not have one reader where it now has a hundred, were it thus encumbered.

So, I think, we should all be glad to bid adieu to these temporary necessities which have been outgrown; and I am sure the boys and girls of America will rejoice, and shout glad tidings of great joy!

Sufficient names and dates are preserved, to secure to the reader a clear and definite thread of connected narrative; and, whenever a date appears, it comes in so naturally that the memory grasps and retains it unconsciously, and without any apparent effort.

The first three chapters of the book—"The Earliest Inhabitants," "The Mound-Builders," and "The American Indians"—contain not a single date. But how they glow with information and picturesque description! How they tempt the school-children into scientific speculation, and fire their curiosity to plunge into further research! The style is strong and dignified, yet so simple that it explains itself without any interpreter. Take, for instance, the chapter on Delaware. How such a sentence as this wins the heart of a boy: "It happened once that an Englishman," etc. At once he takes the author's hand, and walks into the compact account of the Swedes' settlement of this territory, with eager delight; and, when he has passed through the chapter, he can state what he has seen and heard.

The landing of the Pilgrims, and their early life in the colonies, is as fascinating as a fairy tale. On one page is an engraving of a Meeting-House, which the pioneers are entering with their muskets on their shoulders. Then follows a vivid description of the church-going customs: "The old men sit together in one part of the church, and the women in another; the boys on the pulpit-stairs and gallery, with a constable to guard them." We not only visit them in church, but at home: "If we should see the people occupying their houses, we should find the men wearing jerkins, small-clothes, ruffs around their necks, and, when in the open air, short cloaks. We should find the young women wearing plain homespun clothing when about their work, but appearing on Sunday in silk hoods, lace neckerchiefs, slashed sleeves, and embroidered hats." Washington, as he takes command of his army, is "dressed in a blue coat with buff facings, buff small-clothes, an epaulet on each shoulder, and a black cockade in his hat."

Still farther on, we are introduced to the habits of society, when Washington was President. He "held levees, or receptions, once a fortnight, in his own house. At precisely three in the afternoon, the doors of the great dining-room were thrown open; and the guests who were admitted saw the President standing before the fireplace, with members of his cabinet or other eminent men around him. On these occasions he was usually dressed in black velvet, with white or pearl-colored waistcoat, yellow gloves, and silver knee-buckles and shoe-buckles. His hair was powdered, and gathered into a small bag behind."

Laws and religions that were tyrannical and illiberal are very wisely exposed, by being stated in a clear and truthful manner, with very little moralizing from the pen of the writer. In fact, the entire history seems free from personal prejudice. Facts are foremost, and the author at all times is behind the scenes, an animated and enthusiastic student and observer with his readers. He says: "The laws of the Puritans were in many ways more severe than wise, as we should now think." "Those who had done wrong were often publicly whipped; . . . a woman who scolded her family might be silenced by a cleft stick applied to her tongue, or by being ducked in water." The Quakers "were whipped publicly through the streets, and four of them hanged on Boston Common. All this was very wrong and cruel; but we must remember that such severity was the practice of those days in most countries, and that men had not learned to tolerate freedom of opinion in one another. Indeed, they have not entirely learned it even now."

The French and Indian war—which is a severe tax to a child's constitution in most histories, and probably has helped to ruin more intellects than it ever helped to create—is treated in a remarkably pleasant and interesting manner. A fine illustration of Washington fording the Ohio River, on his way to treat with the French, induces the boys to pursue the journey with him and find out what it is all about. The cause of the war is told them in a single sentence, as plain as a, b, c. The French, Indians, and Colonists all move on through the taking of forts, the massacre of families, and capture of Quebec, like some grand panoramic scene. Instead of a bomb-shell, a beautiful little poetic gem is thrown in here: "As Wolfe rowed along in his boat, he spoke to his officers of Gray's *Elegy in a Country Church-Yard*, and said that he would rather have written that poem than taken Quebec." Then follows a stanza from this poem.

A wonderful spirit of charity and good-heartedness tones all the pages. There is no brandishing of clubs in the faces of the British because of the Revolutionary War, or rapping the Southerners on account of the Civil War. "There were some reasons why it seemed just that the Americans should be taxed. The debt of the British government was very great, and part of this debt had been incurred in defending the American colonies from the French and Indians." The origin of slavery, its growth and final overthrow, are powerfully told. As the events of this rebellion appear and disappear in the pages of the history, they are never forgotten; but the mind recalls them by force of the strong feeling in which each one is related.

I believe no history ever has suggested before that

suffrage for woman has any claim upon the attention of the world. But the justice that inspires this author compels him to look over the entire field of human rights, and not lift his pen till the whole truth has been told. "There are many questions that are important, or claimed as important,—currency reform, civil service reform, revenue reform, woman suffrage, the rights of labor, and matters pertaining to temperance, education, and religion. It is impossible to see just what shape these questions may take in the future; which of them will prove most prominent, or which will lead to lasting reforms."

The book closes with a list of over two hundred different works, that the author advises to be read or consulted in reference to the history of our country; works not only of history, but of poetry and fiction.

It is to be hoped that this valuable book will be introduced speedily into our schools; but, meantime, we are sure it is being introduced into the heads and hearts, not only of children, but of readers everywhere, as fast as it comes within their reach. L. S. H.

Communications.

BISHOP FERRETTE'S

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY PLATFORM.

1. No sectarian teaching in public schools.
2. No Sabbath laws.
3. No chaplains of legislatures or other public institutions.
4. No incorporation of sectarian institutions.
5. All clauses in private contracts granting temporal advantages on sectarian conditions to be null and void in the eyes of the law.
6. All property at present owned by sectarian societies to become, on a day to be fixed by law, the absolute civil property of the members of each such society, irrespective of religious conditions.

[The Constitution of the United States provides that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." As shown in our proposed "Religious Freedom Amendment," we favor the extension of this restriction to the separate States. We do not see the justice of discriminating against religious corporations, or forbidding them as such to hold property. Is not that "prohibiting the free exercise" of religion? When no special privilege is granted to religious corporations, we shall be satisfied, because that seems to be all that justice demands; and we mean to stop scrupulously where justice stops. Perhaps Bishop Ferrette will explain the grounds on which he bases this apparently invidious prohibition to religious corporations of rights and privileges universally conceded to all other corporations.—Ed.]

NATURALIZATION REFUSED ON THE GROUND OF "INFIDELITY."

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—The championship for "Liberty and Light," which you claim for your paper, encourages me to hope that you will find space in it for the facts I herewith submit to you and your readers' attention, as a significant sign of the times, and an earnest of the condition of things we may look for, if the efforts of those should prove successful, who aim at introducing their God into the Constitution of these (as yet) free United States.

On the sixth of this month, Julius Nieland, a member of the Freie Gemeinde, applied at the naturalization office in this city for his "second paper," accompanied by Franz Brilefeld, another member of the same congregation, as his voucher. Having proved his right to full citizenship under the Constitution of the United States, the necessary papers were made out and handed to him. He then went in company with his voucher to Court-room No. 2 to have his paper legalized by Judge Pratt, who was then and there sitting in Court of Common Pleas, with Judge Hare as presiding Judge. Mr. Nieland stated the object of his application. Judge Pratt examined his paper, and, finding it all right, offered him a Bible with the invitation to swear upon it. Mr. Nieland said he would "affirm." Judge Pratt asked him why he objected to swearing. He asked in return, Why the Judge objected to his "affirming," as was his plain right under the laws which give to every one the option of swearing or affirming, according to his conviction. Instead of answering this question, however, Judge Pratt entered upon an inquisitorial cross-examination of Nieland's motive for objecting to swear; and, finally, elicited from the latter the frank admission that he did not believe in the revelation of the Bible. Whereupon Judge Pratt grasped the paper, denying the application, to which denial Judge Hare nodded his gracious assent, ringing the bell for the adjournment of the Court; and the paper was endorsed by the clerk in these words: "Refused on account of being an infidel."

These are the facts as obtained from the persons directly concerned in this remarkable transaction, who stand ready at any time to vouch for their truth. It requires no additional word on my part to point out the far-reaching significance of this "small beginning," and the interest it involves for every liberal-minded citizen of these United States. But in the interest of the hundreds of thousands of our cit-

izens whose welfare would be gravely jeopardized, if the example of these "Christian" judges should be followed by their professional brethren throughout the land, I ask you to carry the matter before the court of public opinion, in order to bring the question to a fair and decisive test, how soon and how far, in spite of all glittering generalizations of Fourth of July speeches on "American Freedom and Independence," we are to be carried back to the times of Mediæval Inquisitions and its Torquemadas; and whether American citizens may yet awhile hope to enjoy the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution, without the meddlesome interference of petty judges of common pleas, who, on the rather "uncommon" plea of their papal infallibility, claim the right to decide what special creed entitles its holders to the full benefit of constitutional liberty. A. L.

PHILADELPHIA, March 25, 1875.

[It is enough to make a proud-spirited radical bite his lip with shame, when he reflects that the scorn thus visited by arrogant Orthodoxy upon the most sacred rights of reason and conscience will only call forth from his brother-radicals a lazy "Don't agitate! Don't agitate!" Who wonders that they are despised, when he sees the spirit they manifest? Let the Freie Gemeinde join the new Philadelphia Liberal League *en masse*, and defend the rights of free thought in some bold, practical way. It is about time that Liberalism should stop hibernating in America.—Ed.]

THE YEAR OF JUBILEE, 1876.

MR. F. E. ABBOT:—

I see that your Philadelphia correspondent, Mr. Kilgore, favors my proposal to hold "A World's Convention of Liberals" in 1876.

The interest in the coming Centennial steadily increases, and I believe it will be a success beyond the expectations of its most sanguine supporters.

What is to be celebrated in 1876? The declaration of the rights of man,—of political and religious liberty. Have liberals no interest in this celebration? May not their religion be defined as liberty? To my thinking, no class of men are so much interested in the celebration and perpetuation of liberty, as liberals. Shall we, then, let its Centennial Anniversary pass unnoticed? I hope not. Let the liberal leagues and individual liberals, then, at once, signify their desire for and willingness to participate in a convention of liberty-lovers. Invitations to meet with us should be extended to the liberals of Europe; and a special and pressing one to that noble man—Gibaldi.

You may be sure, Mr. Abbot, that the churches of the United States will make all the capital they can out of the Centennial, and that the Christianizers of the Constitution will make specially strong efforts to advance their schemes in 1876.

Shall we remain idle spectators of the efforts of our enemies—we who love liberty more than they? For one I say no!

Issue a call of certain sound, clear and ringing: one that shall be heard throughout the land and across the ocean, calling the lovers of liberty, of free thought, of the human race, to their festival at Philadelphia in 1876.

Yours for 1876, E. C. ALPHONSE.

[We stand ready to help forward this suggestion, which has occurred to many, to the utmost of our ability; but it cannot possibly be carried out by any "ringing call" alone. There must be preliminary organization. For this we have been working for more than two years. Start a Liberal League at once in your own town, if you mean to have a Centennial worthy of the liberal movement. There is no time to waste.—Ed.]

THE WONDERS OF SPIRITUALISM.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Your brief comment upon the communication of John Wetherbee, pointing out the inconsequentiality of his argument (so far as knowledge of the cause of spiritual manifestations can be postulated from the fact of their occurrence), is both timely and pertinent, inasmuch as it is the logical objection to the acceptance of the theories of Spiritualists as a sect, as well as an appropriate reply to the communication aforesaid.

The writer has had, perhaps, as startling experiences in "Spiritualistic phenomena" as Mr. Wetherbee, but has arrived at very different conclusions as to their origin, while no less impressed with the fact of their occurrence. Without, however, pretending to any assured knowledge upon the subject, it suffices to state that no skilled mesmerist, clairvoyant, or student of the peculiar effects of "animal magnetism" (so called) need to have recourse to the agency of disembodied spirits to account for effects similar to those produced by the "psychic force."

Certain individuals are possessed of magnetic or electric powers which give them command over the will-power of other persons, and even over inorganic substances. Until all the properties of electricity are understood—until the law governing the chemical affinities of matter is reduced to its ultimate analyses,—it is the audacity of ignorance alone that will limit the universal application of natural laws by asserting the crude theories of modern Spiritualism. One hundred years ago, if one had asked the wisest men of the eighteenth century whether an individual could be at one and the same moment in the middle

of the broad Atlantic, and in communication with all Europe and America also, so that information of any event, transpiring on either side the ocean, could be *instantaneously* transmitted to the voyager hundreds of miles away from land,—the question would have been regarded as proof of lunacy, and mankind would have voted, with entire unanimity, that only supernatural beings, or the unholy magic of diabolical agencies, could account for such an event. Yet Cyrus Field, having laid the *second* ocean cable and picked up the *first* from the depths of ocean, was able to and *did* actually accomplish this wonderful achievement of being simultaneously in communication with both continents; and, now that we partially comprehend the means, we think it no miracle. One hundred years hence, doubtless, this feat will be surpassed by the better understanding of natural forces subject, not to capricious "disembodied intelligences," but to the unchanging law of cause and effect. At least, such is the opinion of

Yours very respectfully,

A. WARREN KELSEY,
of Saint Louis.

March 14, 1875.

"PHENOMENA" FALSE AND TRUE.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., March 14, 1875.

MY DEAR INDEX:—

I have just read John Wetherbee's article on Spiritualism, with your added comments, and am delighted to read sensible remarks on the subject *pro* and *con*. I have seen "manifestations" in my own house, and in the houses of my friends, where I know there was no trickery; with every public medium, I believe I have discovered added trickery, but the latter, though observed, never vitiated the genuine phenomena. But now why must these things remain "phenomena"? They must be an outgrowth of natural law. We have seen tables moved without visible power. We have received intelligent answers to questions, but I have yet to get information not possessed by some person present in the room where the manifestations were given. We have never received reliable prophecy. We have never received information concerning lost ships, missing people, or present unknown quantities (so to speak), that has ever been substantiated. Can these manifestations, then, be from departed spirits? If they could come and communicate with us, would they spend our time in talking such bosh and twaddle? Is it some unknown law of mental reflex, a propulsion of mind into matter? We know that in mesmerism one mind can influence another; and if that be possible while both minds are yet in the body, surely when the spirit is freed from muscular restrictions—after shuffling off the mortal coil,—it would be less difficult. What is the power, the force, that lifts tables and pianos? Can it not be utilized? It is no use shutting our eyes to facts and denying them, because we cannot explain them.

There is a motive power; what is its source?

There is objective intelligence; whose is it?

S. N.

MONCURE D. CONWAY, who holds public services, and delivers scientific, literary, or religious discourses, as he pleases, to an independent congregation in London, on Sundays, and who is best known as a facile and entertaining writer for literary periodicals, both in Great Britain and America, is proposing to visit his native land on a lecturing tour. His subjects, as announced, are characteristic: "London," "The Devil," and "Oriental Religion." Twenty-five years ago, or thereabouts, he left his place in the Baltimore Conference to enter the theological department of Harvard. He was a graduate of Dickinson College. He met Bishop, then Rev. Mr. Foster, at the Marlboro' House, where both happened to stop over the Sabbath, and surprised him with the announcement of his intentions. The advice to return and submit his religious doubts to such intelligent friends as Dr. McClintock and others, was of little avail. Conway attended, on the Sabbath, the services of Theodore Parker, in Music Hall, and came back to his hotel greatly distressed and disgusted. He was so shocked by what he heard that he was quite inclined to pack up and return home again. The Bishop intimated that if he kept on the line he had marked out for himself he would probably astonish Mr. Parker himself before his course was ended. The event has proved the prophecy to be true. Some of the talks in the London chapel would give the Mr. Parker of those days, if he were living, as decided a sensation of pain as anything Mr. Conway heard in Music Hall. When a young man cuts himself loose from certain fundamental moral truths there is no determining beforehand into what seas he will drift.—*Zion's Herald*, March 11.

REV. AZEL BACKUS, D. D., was a graduate of Yale, and became President of Hamilton College. It was in the good old days when they had prayers and recitation before breakfast, so that early rising was in order. The chapel-bell was moderate in size and feeble in utterance, and it became a standing excuse for "sleeping over": "I didn't hear the bell." At last, one morning, the President himself was late at morning prayers; and, as he opened the Bible to commence the service, he delighted the boys by indorsing their own old threadbare excuse: "The fact is, young gentlemen, that I didn't hear the bell. And no wonder; for it scarcely makes more noise than would the shaking of a fur cap, with a sheep's tail for a clapper!"

A PERSIAN aphorism: "None but God knows the inside of the heart; for when it is open to other eyes, then that which was the inside is the outside."

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

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EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

O. B. FROTHINGHAM, New York City.
 W. J. POTTER, New Bedford, Mass.
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To increase general intelligence with respect to religion:

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

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(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

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VOLUME 6.

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WHOLE No. 276.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN celebrated his seventieth birthday on April 2. The blessings of countless children, some of them no longer such, crown him in his green old age.

THE NEW YORK *Sun* gives a startling account of the increase in this country of the consumption of opium, declaring that "we consume more opium than the Celestials in proportion to our population."

THE *Springfield Union* thinks that "Rutism is worse than Ritualism," and instances various "ruts" into which rigidly Puritan congregations have fallen, such as turning their backs on the minister during the singing of the last hymn.

REV. J. W. CRACRAFT is handsomely rebuked by "E. D. S.," in the *Cleveland Leader*, for declaring that "an unbeliever is always a sensualist." Such reckless libels will deprive any minister of the "grand old name of gentleman."

REV. ROBERT PARVIN, a Methodist minister of Louisiana, thinks it "will never do to make the preachers live on hard tack and without vegetables." Then why do they make their audiences live on hard tack? It is a poor rule that does not work both ways.

THE RELIGIOUS papers have been full of Moody and Sankey for a long time. But it is questionable whether their evangelical revivals will bring a tithe as much solid good to the world as the great orthographic revival going on in the spelling-matches now so fashionable.

THE INFAMOUS hoax practised by the Chicago *Times* in announcing the burning of a theatre in that city, when no such burning occurred, killed the mother and crazed the wife of one gentleman whose name was published in the fabulous list of the burned. Is there no punishment for such a crime as the *Times* committed?

THE Milwaukee *News* is of the opinion that "a lot of pop-corn balls hung all over a Christmas tree will create more interest in a Sunday-school than twenty miracles could possibly do." There is a great deal of pop-corn Christianity, for children of a larger growth, in the fashionable churches of to-day. Operatic choirs and histrionic ministers might properly be classed under that head.

ACCORDING to his letter in the *Morning Star*, Mr. Oliver Johnson is about as "Evangelical" as nineteenth-century of those who bear that title. He does not believe in everlasting punishment, is "unable" to accept the Deity of Christ, and receives spirit-communications; but he finds the Bible "inexpressibly precious, as containing a revelation of the Divine will." This is gruel of the thinnest kind to a Radical appetite.

MRS. M. E. BERRY is the editor and publisher of a new monthly journal of sixteen pages called the *Note-Book*. It is "devoted to the interests of suffering humanity"—especially to the consideration of crime and insanity, the abuses attendant on overgrown institutions for their treatment, and the proper remedial measures to be adopted. The subscription price is \$1.50 a year, and may be sent to A. Williams & Co., 135 Washington St., Boston.

MR. BOWDITCH's elaborate pamphlet on the "Taxation of Women in Massachusetts," reviewed on a subsequent page of this issue by Rev. John T. Sargent, can be had from this office on receipt of the very low price of twenty-five cents. It is a very handsome pamphlet with light repped covers and tinted paper, comprising over seventy pages full of statistical, legal, and historical information—altogether a most instructive document to all who are interested in the "woman question."

THREE OF THE principal dignitaries of the Catholic Church in Chili have excommunicated the President of the republic, the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies, and all others who refuse to obey the Church in

preference to the laws of the land. In Ecuador the Catholics have forced the State to submit; but in Chili they have not yet succeeded. It is impossible not to connect these overt attempts to subordinate the State to the Church with the "Vatican Decrees" against which Gladstone has so boldly protested.

PRESIDENT MARK HOPKINS, in a recent lecture at Vassar College, said: "It is to be lamented that the present agitation concerning the rights of woman is so much a matter of 'rights' rather than of 'duties,' as the reform of the latter would involve the former." If Dr. Hopkins means that woman's rights are man's duties, and woman's duties are man's rights, we agree with him. For instance, if it is woman's duty to obey, it is man's right to command; but if it is woman's right to be an individual, it is man's duty to respect her individuality. But why this Christian repugnance to the discussion of *rights*? Simply because Christianity scarcely recognizes rights at all, although natural morality is built upon them. There is a great reform to come in the science of ethics.

THE *Liberal Worker*, a Unitarian paper of Sharon, Wisconsin, had this item in its issue of March 10: "The old-time editor of the *Radical*, Sidney H. Morse, is dealing THE INDEX some pretty hard blows. Mr. Abbot has planted himself on too narrow a platform to withstand a vigorous movement against him." Whether the platform of Universal Reason is a more "narrow" one than that of Individualism, or even than that of Unitarianism, is a question which we willingly leave to the consideration of the patiently thoughtful. The *Worker*, like some of our critics nearer home, seems to think that platform the "broadest" which tempts the greatest number of people to stand upon it, rather than that platform which lays down the broadest principles. The platform of perfect liberty and perfect fellowship (and we have no other) will probably "withstand" any movement that can be brought against it—at least by the *Liberal Worker*.

A CORRESPONDENT of the New York *Observer* thus gossips about affairs in Toledo, Ohio, where THE INDEX had its birthplace and where it still has noble and sterling friends; though, if he blunders about events since the paper's removal to Boston as he does about events before that time, the gossip is only half history: "The five leading Protestant bodies in this city are so nearly equal in strength, that it would take close counting of sittings, contributions, and communicants, to tell which was the stronger. But they are all small in proportion to the population, for the census of 1870 gave only a third of our people as from American parents. Two-thirds were recorded as foreigners or of foreign parentage. Then, among the third that are purely American, there has always been a large element anti-Christian, and comprising families of position and influence. These were able to bring Francis E. Abbot to Toledo, to establish THE INDEX. They maintained the enterprise until a business quarrel arose, and THE INDEX was moved to Boston. Since that they have been leaderless, but exert still no slight influence against the Christian churches. An instance of this has been seen in their warfare upon the Bible in the schools. This began in Mr. Abbot's time, when a public controversy was carried on between him and one of the Protestant pastors. The issue was made in the school elections, and finally, this winter, it has been pressed to a vote. To the gratification of Christians, the anti-Christian element so offended the Romanists and politicians on the Board, that the resolution to exclude the Bible was killed by a three-fourths majority. Much praise in connection with this is due to Gen. Wager Swayne, eldest son of Justice Swayne of the Supreme Court [and a Vestryman of Trinity Church.]" Further echoes of this action may be heard in an article which we copy elsewhere from a Catholic paper of Louisville.

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[FOR THE INDEX.]

Free Religion Notwithstanding.

BY DAVID H. CLARK.

It is remarkable as well as significant, in view of the opposite demonstrations there have been in the world, how common is the praise of liberty,—how disposed religious teachers of every name are, regardless of the inconsistency, to speak of the importance of intellectual freedom, the fearless and untrammelled pursuit of truth. Indeed, it is impossible for the human mind, though it consent to lose itself in the maze of a bewildering bondage,—though it resort to ingenious quibblings and subterfuge to fortify a false position,—if it thinks at all, to think otherwise.

At the beginning of the Reformation, the cry arose of the sacredness of the private judgment and conscience; nor has it ceased since, despite the impediments to its practical recognition, the direct or indirect denials of it that have intervened.

All intelligent persons are familiar with these words of Milton: "Give me the liberty to argue freely according to conscience above all liberties. . . . And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; whoever knew Truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter?" Hooker, Chillingworth, Jeremy Taylor, and others, reiterated with scarcely less vigor and eloquence the same sentiments. This was upwards of three hundred years ago. They are still heard in our day, not unfrequently from the most unexpected quarters; and so natural is it for the heart to quicken into enthusiasm at their utterance, that we frequently forget, for the time, they have been heard before, and almost think the era of universal emancipation has come.

In the opening of his recent address, Mr. Savage renews the strain, and though, in the vesture of his vivacious and sparkling style, it assumes an air of captivating novelty and freshness, it needs but a moment's reflection to remind those who are conversant with Unitarian thought and teaching, that it is one which has long been familiar in his communion. Unitarians have long insisted on the right of free inquiry in religion, upon freedom of investigation and opinion, upon science as something to be followed and welcomed rather than feared. It would be an easy task to cull from its literature an indefinite number of citations corroboratory of this, sufficiently unqualified and positive to satisfy the extremest rationalist. Indeed, to make use of hackneyed phraseology, so much has been said on this subject, and so well said, that it would seem there is nothing more to say. Nor are such sentiments peculiar to Unitarians, but proceed from even the most creed-bound of the sects. Two or three examples, taken at random, will make this apparent.

"God has written upon our minds the ineffaceable law that they search after the truth, whatever, wherever it be, however arduous the toil for it, whithersoever it may lead. Let it come; even if it should promise nothing to the utilitarian, there are yet in us the *mirabiles amores* to find it out. A sound heart is alive with curiosity, and will not retain its health while its aspirations are rebuffed. It gives no unbroken peace to the man who thwarts his reasoning instincts; for amid all its conflicting demands it is at times importunate for a reasonable belief. When it is famished by an idle intellect, it loses its tone, becomes bigoted rather than inquisitive, and takes up with theological fancies which reduce it still

lower. When it is fed by an inquiring mind, it is enlivened, and reaches out for an expanded faith." [Edward A. Park, D.D.]

"Mental freedom is the only true freedom, the foundation of all other liberty, without which an immortal creature is a degraded slave, and not the less a vassal because his chains may chance to be made of gold."

"For what is freedom but the unfettered use Of all the powers which God hath given?"

"The intellectual power of man proves that there must be an object suitable for its exercise, and demanding its study. This object is truth, the knowledge of something real, and consists in the exact understanding of the highest realities that exist." [E. L. Magoon, D.D.]

"We trust that the time will come when, in all departments of history and philology, men will write, not for denomination or party, but for the truth; when the inquiry will not be what will this or that sect say of this, but what will God say of it, to whom all suppressing of the truth and all pious fraud is an abomination." [Edward Beecher, D.D.]

An eminent European representative of Roman Catholicism repels with scorn, in a recent number of the *New York Tribune*, the charge which Mr. Gladstone makes that his Church is hostile to liberty. Thus the principle of freedom has been, and is, more or less approved and celebrated in the Church, from the most conservative to the most progressive of its divisions. Unitarians, both wings, and one scarcely less earnestly or broadly than the other, have spoken in its praise; and those with whom they have little agreement, in terms as strong.

Now what has been the purport of all these admirable deliverances? Were they simply uttered in a Pickwickian sense? Were they but clever rhodomontade? Do we not know that they have never been practised by any of the sects from which they have proceeded,—not even by Unitarians? Nor are there signs that they are likely to be at present. Do we not know, on the other hand, that, whenever there has been such an effort, liberty has been coolly, if not rudely, rebuffed and forced to retire as an insufferable and presumptuous intruder? And thus the Church, while it has "spoken the word of promise to the ear, has broken it to the hope."

Setting aside, then, these "glittering generalities" of Mr. Savage's essay in regard to freedom, the right of free inquiry, the fearless pursuit of truth, the acceptance of the demonstrations of science, and the like,—in which Liberal Christians, as we have seen, in common with those who are reckoned of the illiberal sort, have been wont to indulge in their more fervid moods, and which, were it not that there is constant need of their presentation (and were it not also for the attractive manner in this instance), would seem commonplace,—we are conducted to this conclusion: that the alleged hostility between Free Religion and Christianity is imaginary rather than real—an idea that results from an indiscriminate or narrow definition of the latter. It arises from the error of confounding perverted or spurious Christianity with unperturbed or pure Christianity. Against the former, or Orthodox Christianity, we, as Unitarians, Mr. Savage says, "are all arrayed."

Just here, it seems to us, in his initiation of the discussion, he betrays confusion in respect to the points at issue that greatly impairs all that follows, and causes him to appear somewhat like one talking at random.

It is evident that he fails to apprehend not only Unitarianism, but also Free Religion. It is easy for him to see why Free Religion should be hostile to Orthodoxy; but he cannot see why it should be to Unitarianism. If he understood Free Religion better, he would perceive that it is irreconcilably opposed, not to a special phase, or to special doctrines of the Church, or a single portion of it alone, as he thinks, but to certain cardinal or distinguishing principles that pervade the whole system in all its forms. He would see (what "Free Religionists" see) that, if Orthodoxy is a religion of authority and supernaturalism, so is Unitarianism also, though it is confessedly of a milder kind. The one, through the force of its circumstances and the influence of the past, necessarily inclines to an adherence to the Church method of looking at religion, while the other partially adopts that of rationalism and science. It is thus that Unitarianism and Free Religion, quite to the contrary of what the essayist supposes, are not synonymous, but constitute distinct modes of thought. They cannot coalesce. It is necessary to stand outside of the one to stand inside of the other; and the sooner this is clearly recognized, the better for each.

Taking up Mr. Savage's argument from this point, it logically falls into the following syllogism:—

Pure Christianity, or the Christianity of the New Testament, is compatible with absolute intellectual freedom.

Unitarianism is pure Christianity.

Therefore Unitarianism is compatible with absolute freedom.

Let us examine these propositions. Let us go back to primitive Christianity, to the Christianity of Jesus, and see if the above statement with reference to its relation to freedom is true. What was its paramount idea? What was then essential to be a Christian? If it is said, as Unitarians have been accustomed to teach, simply a good life—the love of God and man (a representation, by the way, which they have refused to abide by again and again), it will need but a critical glance at the New Testament to see that this is a very false definition of it,—is in fact no definition of it at all. It will be seen that the first requisite to be a Christian in those days was not one of the life or character, but what it has ever been since, *belief*—to acknowledge Jesus as the Christ, the long-expected Messiah. There was no encouragement to freedom of thought apart from its relation to this

conception. Thus Christianity began, and thus it has been perpetuated, and will remain so long as it is regarded as a final religion. The uncompromising free-thinker, though possessed of the good life, though his character had been never so exalted or unexceptionable, without the prescribed belief would have been as much outside of it then as now.

But not only was primitive Christianity not free, but Unitarianism is not; nor has it ever been primitive Christianity. Indeed, Christianity has never been in any two centuries alike. It was different in the first from what it was in the second, and it has never been since precisely what it was in either. There is nothing clearer in the New Testament than that Jesus never cherished such a conception of himself, or such a general purpose, as the Church has entertained. There were different conceptions of the Messiah, and the mind of Jesus appears to have passed through a transition in the course of his career in this particular. But the central idea of his mission at all times was the exaltation of the Jewish people, the restoration of their departed glory, the supremacy and purification of their worship. This idea gradually assumed a more spiritual character. Perceiving that his dream of Messiahship was not likely to be realized, he at length conceived, in accordance with the conception (common to his age) of periodic destructions and renovations of the world, an approaching transformation of the then existing order of things into "a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness," in which his kingdom should be established, Jesus passed away in that belief. He announced in definite terms the time of his reappearance as before that generation had expired. He depicted in vivid language the manifestations of that coming, the aspect it would present. This was the general expectation among his followers, both before his death and after it for some time. What has become of that expectation? Is it not plain that the first form of Christianity and all forms of Unitarianism diverge at this point?—that their conceptions of the Messiahship, in this particular at least, are dissimilar rather than identical?

Nor is this the only point in respect to which they disagree. The religion of Jesus, like that of every great religious reformer or teacher, was much intermixed with the ideas and moulded by the influence of his time. It is quite certain that he shared in the common belief in a personal devil, the formidable rival and irrepressible antagonist of God in the universe; in spirits of evil, in demoniacal possessions, and in a place of future punishment for the wicked and disbelieving. Even his idea of God, though mainly that of a father, is at times that of a stern, wrathful, and vindictive Being. Does Unitarianism include these beliefs in its view of Christianity? Does it agree with them? If not, is there any reason in assuming that primitive Christianity and Unitarianism are the same, because they possess a special historic connection, or are allied to each other through certain distinguishing characteristics?

But there are other points of contrast or divergence between the Christianity of Jesus and Unitarianism beside those we have noticed. Some of the inculcations of Jesus, distinctive of the first Christian community, are strikingly unpractical and radically at variance with the conditions of modern society and the first principles of existing civilization. Take, for example, the doctrine of non-resistance, which has never been to any considerable extent accepted in theory nor exemplified in practice in Christendom: which would be impossible in the present stage of human development. With the exception of a comparatively insignificant body of Christians, numerically speaking, and an isolated eccentric individual here and there, it has been repudiated in every division of the Church, among Unitarians as well as others. Another distinction of original Christianity was the renunciation of property. "The multitude of them that believed had all things common." They were told that "whosoever forsaketh not all he hath cannot be my disciple,"—the promise being that he should "receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting." Wealth was discountenanced. It was hard for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Poverty was especially in favor. Those who became his disciples were to take no thought for the morrow. As they went forth to proclaim the new religion, they were to dispense with all clothing beyond that upon their persons. They were to take no money or provisions for their journey. They were not to consider what they should say.

Now imagine a person thus equipped going forth as a preacher of Christianity to-day! Imagine his visit to the Unitarian Rooms in quest of a Sunday appointment! Would he not have an inspiring greeting? Would he not soon come to the conclusion that Christianity in the New Testament is one thing, and Unitarianism in Boston another? That, instead of unkempt hair and dust-stained, uncemely, or tattered raiment, one of the first requisites to a respectful hearing, in this nineteenth century of grace, is a trim and faultless appearance, a garb of spotless linen, and well-fitting black broadcloth suit; and, instead of no thought of what he should say, a production in his satchel known as a sermon (unless he have the rare gift of acquitting himself as acceptably without such a preparation) of the most perfect literary execution possible. Imagine him entering one of our modern Christian temples, say one of the opulent and aristocratic Unitarian ones of Boston, pronouncing severe condemnation of riches, declaring that men of wealth cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven, and that it is essential, in order to be a Christian, to have all things common, or to sell all one has and give to the poor; that poverty is the condition on which Jesus bestowed his special approval, and the most favorable to piety,—how long would he have a congregation? Would he not stand a pretty good chance to have his

discourse suddenly brought to a close by the police, and to be arrested as a disturber of the peace, an intolerable fanatic and brawler?

The Christianity of the New Testament is impractical in other respects. Jesus placed but little emphasis on the word "home." Domestic relations were but of small esteem, compared with becoming his disciple. Marriage was lightly regarded. Celibacy was preferable. Abstinence from the propagation of one's kind was commended as a special sign of fitness for his kingdom.

According to the teachings of Jesus there is a miraculous power in faith in the material no less than the spiritual world. "All things are possible to him that believeth." "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye might say unto this sycamore tree, 'Be thou plucked up by the roots and be thou planted in the sea,' and it should obey you." "Whosoever shall say unto this mountain, 'Be thou removed and cast into the sea,' and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe these things shall come to pass, he shall have whatsoever he saith." All extraordinary effects produced by Jesus are ascribed to the power of faith. It wrought physical cures of various kinds, and atoned for moral and spiritual delinquencies. "Thy faith hath made thee whole." "Thy sins are forgiven." "Thy faith hath saved thee," were common assurances. Peter walked on the sea by the power of faith (so the record tells us), and sank only when it deserted him. Surely, if these things were true, those must have been remarkable times. The Christian says they are true, and stoutly defends them; or, if sceptical in regard to them, preaches or talks of something else, and thus preserves a non-committal and wary silence. The rationalist openly declares that he does not believe them to be true, at least in the sense in which they are related and ordinarily understood; that they are simply fictions or distorted views of things that became intermingled with the narrative. This conception of the miraculous power of faith was not peculiar to Jesus. It was common to all the ancient religions. It was, in a word, an inheritance of the New Testament times.

Of course I am aware that Mr. Savage, with the apparent pertinacity of one wedded to a foregone conclusion, adopts a cool and convenient way of thrusting aside these considerations, and such as these, as of little moment and of no power to move him from his position. But is not this like the blindness of those who, having eyes, see not? Is it not yielding to the vice of those illogical mental habits which so often characterize religious and political parties—clinging to an idea, an organization, or a name, when all that it once represented or that gave birth to it has been superseded or discarded: a tendency which is fatal to an unbiased and reasonable view of things, and to progress?

Mr. Savage insists that none of the errors and misconceptions in which the teachings of Jesus and the New Testament are implicated can detract from the special claim that is made for Christianity, any more than those of Newton or Copernicus from the glory of the new truth they revealed. The case was just the reverse in regard to Jesus. The interest which he awakened, and the followers he won were, not so much through the attractive force of what is pronounced his special truth, the acknowledged excellence of his character and religion, as what are beginning to be considered his errors. It was not chiefly because he taught love to God and man that he so effectually awakened public interest and fixed attention upon himself; that people thronged his steps, and spread their garments before him, and threw branches in his way, shouting, "Hosanna to the son of David! Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" It was because they believed the long expected Messiah had come for whom "the whole creation had groaned and travailed"—the Deliverer and King, who was "to restore the Kingdom to Israel" and reign as conqueror of the world, the supreme monarch and Prince of Peace for a thousand years. It was because stories had gone abroad, or in some way impressions had been received, of his wonder-working power. It was also because it was supposed that a great physical and spiritual revolution was at hand; and self-preservation led men to seek an alliance with one who was to sustain so important a relation to it. It is said that in a similar way some of the Gothic tribes were induced to embrace Christianity, thinking that Christ, or the God of the Romans, who had been represented as a most powerful being, would defend them from hostile tribes. The Christianity of the first converts was little more than a delusion. It consisted of conceptions crude and unsubstantial, and hopes that never were realized. All that was novel in it or elicited particular attention has long been transformed or cast aside. It is exceedingly doubtful, if love to God and man had constituted the burden of the announcement of Jesus, whether he would have attracted any considerable attention, or his name outlived his generation.

This, then, was not the essential distinction of Christianity, nor has it ever been regarded as such; as any one who recalls the elaborate theological systems and confessions of faith, and persecutions that have raged in its name must be aware.

Jesus differed from Newton and Copernicus and distinguished minds of their type in the errors of his system over-shadowing to his followers the importance of his truths. The errors became the principal thing. Again, he was not a discoverer in the sense they were. There is no evidence that he announced any truth unknown before. There is not a single religious idea, not even the most spiritual, that is not to be found in the sacred writings of other religions. "What is called the Christian religion," said St. Augustine, "has existed among the ancients, and was not absent from the beginning of the human race until Christ came in the flesh; from which time

the true religion which existed already began to be called Christian." Speaking of the various religions of the world, Mr. Higginson adds this confirmatory testimony: "They all show," says he, "the same aim, the same symbols, the same forms, the same weaknesses, the same aspirations. Looking at these points of unity, we might say there is but one religion, under many forms, whose essential creed is the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man—disguised by corruptions, symbolized by mythologies, ennobled by virtues, degraded by vice, but still the same."

It will be seen, then, from the foregoing, that we contend there is a strong dissimilarity between original Christianity and the Christianity of the Church—between original Christianity and Unitarianism. The latter is the Church's latest evolution. It belongs to its system—possesses a vital relation to it. Its peculiar distinction consists in the softening of some of the theological austerities of the Church, an enlivening of its more gloomy shades, a discarding of some of its theoretical inconsistencies, a larger concession to reason. Nevertheless it is essentially the same. The Jewish Scriptures are its Bible, the book of its special reverence, more infallible than any other, indeed with a divinity that is all its own. The person of Jesus was exceptional to humanity, unlike in his nature and teachings to all other religious teachers. His religion is the final religion of the human race, Heaven's last word to man: "At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow." It includes an element of authority which says to reason, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." The Church has never been free. It was founded on the principle of authority, and that principle still pervades its every part. It has never allowed any one to dispute its dictation; whoever was rash enough to do so did it at his peril. As one by one, from time to time, those appeared who dared to venture upon such a course, they were cast out from its fellowship and pursued with imprecations and relentless severities. Unitarianism began with the proclamation of the right of reason in religion, the promise of mental freedom; but, though distinguished by a more humane temper, a broader and finer culture, it inherited the Church's spirit and soon yielded to its ways.

Mr. Savage says: "We cannot go back on liberty of thought and utterance without committing denominational suicide." There are those who think it has already perpetrated that fatal act. It has certainly "gone back" on freedom so often that it would seem there is little prospect of its going forward in the path of the special emancipation demanded in this time. It went back on liberty of thought and utterance in the days of Theodore Parker, when he sought to subject Christianity to a keener and more critical inspection than had been hitherto applied to it. How effectually it went back on him, let his own words bear witness: "Most of my clerical friends," says he, "fell off; some would not speak to me in the streets, and refused to take me by the hand. In their public meetings they left the sofas or benches when I sat down, and withdrew from me as Jews from contact with a leper. In a few months most of my former ministerial coadjutors forsook me. . . . The Unitarian periodicals were shut against me and my friends." It would probably not treat heresy in the same way to-day; but the same spirit lingers in its midst, and shows itself from time to time in one way or another. It is shown in its repeated refusals to commit itself to entire freedom in its national conventions; in its efforts to force a formula of belief upon the radical portion of its body; in the erasure from the list of its ministers of the name of one of the most esteemed and respected of its ministers, because, in his greater breadth of view and the strictness of his sincerity, he declined to call himself a Christian; in its decided bias in the interest of conservatism; in the conduct of its denominational affairs and policy, as witnessed in the government of the American Unitarian Association, and particularly its publishing department, when a book on Mormonism would find as fair a chance of introduction to the public as one by a "Free Religionist" author; in the inevitable consequence that, in proportion as a person develops in radicalism, he develops out of the Unitarian denomination.

During the last quarter of a century, Orthodoxy has been advancing with rapid strides, while Unitarianism has done little more than stand still; and now they are pretty nearly abreast of each other. It should have rendered the Free Religious Association unnecessary or impossible. It could have done so, if it had been more ready to recognize and concede to the new thought of the time, and if its course had been more direct and positive. As it is, its intellectual leadership in the religious world is gone. Its vagueness and indefiniteness have long been proverbial. It is for this reason unfitted to meet the issues which increasing knowledge and science are thrusting upon the attention of independent minds. It has much to say of science, but it is shy of its conclusions. It has much to say of progress, but it shows only a lukewarm sympathy with its representative thinkers.

The question to-day is, not so much whether God exists in a Unitarian or Trinitarian sense, as whether he has any existence; not so much whether this doctrine or the other is sustained by the Bible, as what is thought of the book itself. Men want to know what is thought about miracles, about the miraculous birth of Christ, about his nature in its relation to humanity, about the religion he taught and its relation to the religions of the world. Now so far as Unitarianism has any voice in regard to these, it coincides closely with Orthodoxy. It coincides with Orthodoxy, or is silent. But the inquisitive, keen, and searching intelligence which raises such interrogations will not be satisfied either with the old answers

or with evasion. It repeats the call to all who assume to be religious guides and teachers of the fabled Eden: "Where art thou?" Free Religion is devoted to the scientific study of religion, and therefore knows where it is in regard to some of these things, at least, and does not hesitate to declare it. Unitarianism is bound to a system, and in the search for truth must submit to its limitations. Free Religion is independent of all systems, and welcomes and appropriates "truth wherever found, on heathen or on Christian ground." The one is the bondage of special authority; the other the freedom of universal consciousness and reason.

And therefore—not without due acknowledgment of the merit of the essay we have been considering, its original, forcible, and piquant treatment of the theme, its evident sincerity, and winsome spirit—we are compelled to say that we still believe in and prefer *Free Religion Notwithstanding*.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND CHRISTIANITY.

. . . . To me, the refusal of men in this pretended republic to allow women an equal voice in the government appears to be the meanest and most unreasonable thing of which they could be guilty, and none the less would it appear so to me, if all the women but one were willing to submit to disfranchisement. It is foolish; that is, unjust to themselves as well as to the women. It makes the men appear to me both religious and political hypocrites. For if there is anything Christian in Christianity, it is the "Golden Rule"; and if there is anything republican in this republic, it is that sentence of the Declaration of Independence which is a paraphrase of the Golden Rule. Both are trampled under foot by any law or custom which excludes from the polls on account of sex.

The men who commit this wrong have nothing to fall back upon but bad science or bad theology.

If their science were good for anything, it would teach them that wisdom in none of its branches is confined to a simple sex, and that in politics there would be none too much if all that belongs to both sexes were available.

If their theology were not bad, it would teach them that God cannot be worshipped by compulsion, nor in any way except freely. Hence to make either party of the dual head of a family pope over the other, is to turn that other off with a very poor substitute for God. It is in effect to say that God could not make the two atoms, whose union was to constitute the human family-molecule, with equal though different powers and prerogatives, but must needs make one to be lord of the other,—one proprietor and the other property. As if He could only create harmony by creating slavery. It is time the world were rid of such theology as this; and it certainly is beginning to get rid of it. It is a theology at war with facts. Facts are slow but sure.

In thus speaking my own individual mind, as to how things appear to me, I do not pretend to deny that the majority of men in Massachusetts may be henceforth true to the little they know, and the much they believe. On the whole, I think they must be. I think they feel themselves religiously bound to oppose woman suffrage, and are at least as sincere, earnest, and conscientious as the holy Romish inquisitors were in laboring to make Galileo abjure the motion of our planet. I cheerfully confess that it would be a great deal better, if one could do it, to pity them, rather than to indulge in any degree of contempt.

It is a very ungracious thing to turn upon the venerable theological creed in which one was brought up, a creed which we have all been taught to believe is bound up for life and for death with the only morality that can save this world from utter corruption. But, if one lives, he must grow wiser, whether he wills it or not. And one has lived to see hundreds and thousands of people who have thrown away the "Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly of Divines," and still love God and their neighbor as much as they ever did; who credit Paul and Peter for all the good things they ever did, but don't believe a word of their supernatural inspiration, or of their doctrines about human salvation. They credit these apostles with any amount of zeal for the welfare of mankind in a future life, and an equal amount of ignorance as to the best way of making them virtuous and happy in this one.

It is the sublime residuum of moral law (which is all that is left, or will be left, of any human religion, when all the superstition is winnowed out of it) that will finally give woman equal political rights with men everywhere. We cannot expect impartial suffrage in these United States, or even in Massachusetts, till this winnowing process is much further advanced.

In the fight against negro slavery we had a "Bible argument" to contend with. In that against female slavery we have a still stronger one. It is in fact so strong, that it cannot be overcome without upsetting the whole supernatural character and superhuman authority of the Bible along with it. If human language can make anything plain and unequivocal, Paul explains himself beyond possible doubt or cavil when he says:—

"Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church."

According to the apostolic idea, everywhere inculcated in the New Testament, Christ is not a provisional or fallible head of the Church. He must be believed in and obeyed on the pain of eternal damnation. Hence either the husband is by divine command a supreme pope over his wife, or else Paul had

no more authority to write this, or a dozen other things of the same sort, than any of the rest of us.

It does not help the matter that the apostles, doubtless having some remembrance of the sublime moral teaching of the Sermon on the Mount, tried to impress upon the husbands, thus clothed with supreme power, that they should not treat their wives with unnecessary cruelty. Says Peter, quite shrewdly:—

"Ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands; that, if any obey not the word, they who marry without the word be won by the conversation of the wives."

And a little further on:—

"Likewise, ye husbands, dwell with them according to knowledge, giving honor unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel, and as being heirs together of the grace of life, that your prayers be not hindered."

May we not wonder whether the successor of St. Peter, now whining so lamentably at the loss of his temporal power, considers Mary Somerville and Elizabeth Barrett Browning as "weaker vessels,"—weaker than himself, or any other consecrated bachelor who has worn the triple crown? Is it not about time for papers, whether ecclesiastic or domestic, to "shut up and dry up" in this talk about "weaker vessels"? Is it either gentlemanly or logically relevant? Inasmuch as women have never claimed to be superior to men, except perhaps in the amount of suffering naturally allotted to them, there seems to be nothing but thoughtless brutality in the masculine habit of taunting them with their weakness.

This miserable habit is conspicuous in the myths of all savage ages. Even the highly poetical account of the creation, in the book of Genesis, is tainted with it; a blotch that would disgust every person of decent refinement, but for the power of early education. Superstition can gild any abomination. Here we have it stated, as holy writ, that woman was a mere afterthought, an animated rib, so weak that a snake was too much for her reasoning faculty; and her Creator, seeing this weakness, after having created her to be the companion of man, found himself obliged to make her his slave, a doom that was afterwards abundantly confirmed in the Levitical Law.

Is it any wonder that men educated to believe this silly story as solemn truth should think a wife a mere costly appendage to a man, or that the wife, accepting such degradation, should become a very costly appendage?

I am well aware that the opponents of woman suffrage will say that all this is terribly blasphemous. I return the compliment. Without denying that some of the most precious wisdom and some of the noblest sentiment of the world has come down to us in the Hebrew Scriptures, I affirm, and appeal to the conscience of every reader, that blasphemy against both God and man has come down along with it. And, with the same appeal, I still further affirm, that the Greek Scriptures of the New Testament, with a still clearer and fuller statement of the great moral axioms that should govern human conduct, do intensify the blasphemy.

The Hebrews had a higher idea of God than most of the tribes of the earth at the same period; but they not only worshipped him in the sublime psalms of David, but in the bloody sacrifice of animals, under the essentially blasphemous imputation that the pardon of sins could be purchased by thus feeding him and his priests. In this they agreed with most other barbarous people. But as time rolled on, and the abuses of the ceremonial and sacrificial law rolled up, in the more enlightened minds the moral part of the law began to assert a mighty superiority to the sacrificial. There were earnest men who, while they dared not denounce the superstition of appeasing the wrath of the Almighty, by the blood of lambs and goats, thought it was better to try to prevent sin than to atone for it in so absurd and blasphemous a manner. They regarded these sacrifices as absolutely worthless except as an outward sign of inward penitence, and a public pledge of reform. Is it strange that one of those preachers of righteousness, full of the grand poems of Isaiah, should have supposed that God would stand by him if he headed the deluded people, and drove out of God's temple that corrupt hierarchy which was enriching itself by a blasphemous traffic in the victims of sacrifice? Is it strange that, when physically defeated, he should still have faith that God would rescue him from the jaws of a cruel death, and set up a kingdom through him, in which his worship should be purified? His simple disciples expected and waited for this, but it did not come. Nothing remained to them but the sermons and parables, which with a most pathetic earnestness they tried to put in practice among themselves.

Soon came a rather cosmopolitan Jew, a man of exceeding eloquence, brought up at the feet of the learned Gamaliel, breathing out threatenings and slaughter against this simple-hearted people. Is it any wonder that, having a human heart, it finally smote him? Is it any wonder that, being a consummate scholar in Jewish law, as well as so zealous for its dignity, he in his new state of mind invented the theory that the sacrifice of the paschal lamb was but a type of the sacrifice of an incarnate God, which was really to take away the sins of the world? Is it any wonder that this new view, dominating this world only in behalf of the kingdom of God in a future one, should in a great measure take the place of the Messianic idea?

Paul was the man to see his opportunity, and to see that the new superstition which had seized his soul was mighty enough to overturn the world. But it was and is a superstition, and as such has blasphemy as its foundation. It did not overthrow existing superstitions, but only absorbed the weaker ones into itself. The saving grace of the Sermon on the Mount only maintained its efficacy to counteract its immoral

effects for two or three centuries at most. Then came the dark ages.

Paul decreed: "Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak." This decree has never been expunged. Perhaps it was effective while Paul lived. He had not been dead, however, four hundred years, before a woman arose and spoke outside of the Church, whose learning, eloquence, and argument were more than a match for any of Paul's successors in the gospel ministry,—inasmuch that the monks of Alexandria, with the connivance, if not consent, of St. Cyril, the bishop or patriarch of the city, dragged her into a Christian church and murdered her. She, a follower of the martyred philosopher of Greece, argued against all superstitions in favor of the moral axioms underlying them,—that virtue cannot be vicarious; that neither God nor man can be justly punished for any sins but his own; and, above all things, that monasticism was unnatural, fanatical, and foolish. The monks tried to murder her memory as well as her person. But this woman who, in her freshest youth preferred to be the martyr of science and philosophy, rather than the belle of the most luxurious city in the world, stamped upon the highest minds of the age such an indelible conviction of her purity, that the Church was finally obliged to revamp and reverse the story of her martyrdom, and hand her down to posterity as the *Christian Saint Catharine* of Alexandria! Probably no pious Catholic now believes that Hypatia, the pagan monster of Alexandria, ever existed.

The late Canon Kingsley made this woman the subject of one of his novels, in which he allowed his imagination to make her character quite impossible as well as inconsistent with the few credible traits which have come down to us in history. And, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, he also speaks of her as "one of those whose names are glorified rather by wrongs than by merits; and had she not died, few would not know, and fewer care, whether she ever lived."—Had his eyes not been blinded by the prejudices of his cloth, he would have seen that this sentence was not only illiberal, but that it might be retorted with terrible emphasis upon the nominal author of the very religion of which he was a priest. The character of Hypatia rests upon the testimony of a contemporary Christian Bishop, Synesius, one of the most learned and trustworthy writers of his age, whose works in elegant Greek, translated into poor Latin, may be found in almost any large library.

Among his numerous epistles may be found many addressed to this "Mistress of Philosophy." In one of them he pleasantly calls her his "mother, sister, teacher (*didaskalê*); in another he seeks her sympathy in his affliction at the death of his children; in another he deprecates the violence of the times, and the bloody persecutions in which the Christians, then in the ascendancy in Egypt and Lybia, were indulging themselves; in another he seeks with the utmost deference her criticism on two works, one theological and the other philosophical, which he had been writing. She was to be the first to read them. This Christian Bishop confessed with shame that his own life was in danger because he thought it Christian to have charity towards a sincere opponent of Christianity, who had the courage to avow and defend her then unpopular opinions.

If it is now urged as a divine decree that women should keep silence, not speak, not vote, not meddle with politics, all I have to say is, the decree is impotent. The Ruler of this universe has never stood behind it, and never will. If there is now, in this age of the world, any intelligent man who maintains that there is any such decree, he does it simply out of regard to other widely-accepted dogmas, which he thinks must stand or fall with it; and which, though he does not himself believe them, he thinks others cannot disbelieve without danger to their morals. Here we have arrived at the fountain-head of modern demoralization—confidence in the false as the foundation of national morality, and want of confidence in the truth.

Do men really believe either in God or their own souls, who think the eternal verities of this universe would demoralize mankind if they should become known? Have people become more wicked since they learned that the planets revolve round the sun, and that every star is a sun? Has the microscope been a promoter of sin? Have human skulls, that must have had brains in them many hundreds of centuries before Adam, made anything false in the Bible which was true before they were found? Does a preacher of the Gospel inspire more respect than an honest infidel, after his hearers find out that he has beliefs and disbeliefs which he conceals from them out of regard to the soundness of their morals or the salvation of their souls?

After all, I come back to the point where I started. Though woman suffrage has thus far been almost untried in the world, it is the logical consequence of the Golden Rule, a rule sanctioned by all Bibles, and never practical without benefit. As long as our Bible contains that rule, it cannot be wholly rejected except by bad men. In fact, our Bible is like that of the ancient Sibyls, which the last of them sold to King Tarquin. He would not buy till she had burned up six of the volumes, and then paid her the same price for the remaining three as she had asked for the nine. Whether he made a good bargain or not, it certainly has become the opinion of many more men than will yet avow it, that a small part of the Christian Scriptures is worth a great deal more than the whole.

Very truly yours, ELIZUR WRIGHT.

IN SOME parts of Arabia the devil is called "Al-ghool," or "The Ghoul." May not our word "alcohol" be derived from this? The Maux name for the evil spirit is "Jouyll."

THE DOVER CHURCH DECISION.

With the exception of the "Bible in the Public Schools" case in Cincinnati, the most interesting ecclesiastical suit which for some time has come before the courts is that of *Hale v. Everett*, in New Hampshire. A great deal of the decision (a full copy of which has been issued by the State Reporter) turns on local provisions of the New Hampshire constitution and laws; but the main facts were these. Some years ago, Mr. F. E. Abbot, whose name will be recognized by many of our readers as that of the author of some clever metaphysical articles in the *North American Review*, but who is much more widely known now as the editor of *THE INDEX*, a radical Boston paper, was called to the pulpit of a Unitarian church in New Hampshire. *THE INDEX* prints every week a little platform headed, "The Demands of Liberalism," which are, 1st, that all ecclesiastical property shall be taxed; 2d, that the employment of chaplains in Congress and other public situations shall be discontinued; 3d, that all public appropriations to sectarian uses shall cease; 4th, that all Governmental religious services shall be abolished, especially the use of the Bible in the public schools; 5th, that the public appointment of fast and feast days shall cease; 6th, that all oaths be abolished; 7th, that laws for the observance of the Sabbath shall be repealed; 8th, that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty; 9th, that politics shall be secularized, and Christianity "or any other special religion" be deprived of all special privileges. *THE INDEX* counts among its "editorial contributors" persons of such widely different views as Mr. O. B. Frothingham, Mrs. E. D. Cheney, Rev. Charles Voysey, and Prof. Francis W. Newman; but we suppose the programme quoted above expresses the views of the editor-in-chief, and from them it clearly appears that he is not now a conservative. When he went to New Hampshire, however, to preach for "The First Unitarian Society of Christians in Dover," his attitude towards the Christian Church was less purely negative, for the court finds that at the time of his ordination he had two children baptized "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost"; and he appears to have "believed in Jesus Christ as the Messiah," and regarded his religion "as a revelation from God." This was in 1864, but from this time forward Mr. Abbot (to whom the court pays a high compliment on the score of the truthfulness and integrity of his character) gradually changed his religious views, becoming more and more radical, till April 1, 1868, when he resigned.

Towards the latter part of his ministry it appears that he voluntarily abandoned all connection with Christianity, making statements in sermons and other public ways to the effect that "Jesus Christ was like other men, with no more authority"; compared him with good men now living; said that he considered Christ a mere man, and fallible like other men; that Christ was not the Messiah; that if he believed himself to be the Messiah, he was mistaken; that the New Testament showed that Christ did claim to be the Messiah, but that he (Abbot) believed the Messiah had not come and would not come. He openly declared himself neither a Christian nor a Unitarian, announced his belief that Christianity was "merely one of many religions," each "partly true and partly false." He also declared that "humanity is its own Messiah," and that "religion has no more to do with Jesus than it has with Judas." From these extracts it appears, says the court, that the charge "that said Abbot was a progressive man, and that he changed his opinions from time to time," was true. In the course of Mr. Abbot's progress towards his present position he, of course, dissatisfied a great many of his congregation, and the members finally split into two parties, both of which naturally desired to get hold of the church property. An independent society was organized which desired to retain Mr. Abbot; this they proposed substantially to do by hiring him to preach, and swallowing up the church organization in their own. Certain members, however, protesting against it, brought a bill in equity against the wardens of the society and others, praying for an injunction; and this they got, the Supreme Court holding that the church property being held in trust for a "Christian Unitarian Church" could only be used to support Christian Unitarian worship; that the doctrines preached by Abbot were subversive of Christianity and Unitarianism. An injunction, which we take to be somewhat novel in form, was issued forbidding the society to hire, employ, allow, suffer, or permit Francis E. Abbot, or any other person, to preach and inculcate in the meeting-house of the society doctrines subversive of the fundamental principles of Christianity, as generally received and holden by the denomination of Christians known as Unitarians; or "to employ, suffer, or permit to preach in said meeting-house any person who rejects Christianity altogether; or who teaches that, as a system of religion, Christianity is partly true and partly false; or who preaches or inculcates a disbelief in the doctrine of the Lordship and Messiahship of Jesus Christ, as taught by him in the New Testament Scriptures, or a disbelief in Jesus Christ as the great head of the Church, or of his divine mission and authority as a religious teacher, as thus taught by him; or who preaches and inculcates a denial of the doctrine that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments do contain a divine revelation given by inspiration of God, and containing a sufficient and perfect rule of faith and practice."—*New York Nation*, March 25, 1875.

SWEDENBORG describes certain spirits who fancied they were in heaven, when they really were in hell.

LATE NEWS FROM DOVER.

DOVER, N. H., March 19, 1875.

The Unitarian church in this city is one of the oldest of the denomination in New England, and it has a historical record of exceeding interest on account of its age and position. The society was organized in 1827, the church built in 1828, and dedicated Feb. 18, 1829, forty-six years ago. It was one of the first if not the first society formed under the law of 1827 or 1828, authorizing the formation of societies for religious "Christian" worship, and on such a basis it was conducted until 1864, and has been since 1869. Among its original members were many leading and influential citizens and families of Southeastern New Hampshire, whose names are prominent in the history of the State. The church edifice still stands, a large brick structure on Locust Street, and pleasantly situated. In 1871 it was partially remodelled inside, frescoed and painted, newly carpeted, stained glass windows put in, and the whole auditorium made very attractive, which work was soon paid for, through the energetic labors of the society, the ladies doing a liberal share. For many years this society was one of the most flourishing in this city, but during the past few years it has been reduced in numbers, and the burden has fallen heavily on a few of the wealthier members.

The first sermon preached to the society was by the sainted Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., of Boston, in 1827, in the old Court House, now standing on the corner of Pleasant and Court Streets, opposite the New Hampshire House. The first pastor was Rev. Dr. S. K. Lothrop, of Boston, who was ordained at the same time the dedication took place, in 1829. His successors have been Rev. Edgar Buckingham, Rev. John Parkman, Rev. Henry F. Bond, Rev. Edwin M. Wheelock, Rev. Francis E. Abbot, and Rev. Thomas W. Brown, the present worthy and able incumbent. During Rev. Mr. Parkman's absence in Europe in 1846-8 Rev. Dr. Thompson, of Barre, and Rev. William P. Tilden were acting pastors.

Like most churches it has had its successes and reverses, and has done great good in this community; but at the time of Mr. Abbot's ministrations, 1864-9, its severest troubles began, owing to his theistical and anti-Christian views and preaching. The division in the society between the extreme radicals and liberal Christians was severe and sharp, eliciting the earnest interest of all denominations throughout the country. The leading divines of the Unitarian denomination became actively interested in the contest. The pew-owners and regular attendants mainly composed the liberal Christian party. By the accession of new signers of the parish book the Abbot party obtained possession.

A temporary injunction was granted by the Supreme Court restraining the Abbot party from possession, use, and occupancy of the church, which injunction, after full and interesting hearings, some of the ablest Unitarians appearing, was made permanent, and the church reverted to "the regulars," and has remained in their possession ever since. Rev. Thomas W. Brown, of Sandwich, Mass., a native of Plymouth, was soon afterward settled as pastor, and has been to them a most worthy shepherd. But the prodigals have not, very many of them, returned, and the present business depression has also affected the society, and whether it will continue or not is uncertain. The annual meeting occurs on Monday, March 29, when definite action will be taken.

Outside of any denominational view, the case is one in which Christians of all denominations are interested. The pastor, Mr. Brown, is in many respects of the Rev. Dr. A. P. Peabody school, under whose ministry at Portsmouth he was brought up, and they are strong friends. Rev. Dr. Peabody has always regarded the Dover Church as next in his heart to his dear old Portsmouth Church. Mr. Brown believes in and preaches Christ the Savior a divinely inspired Master, and he exchanges with some of the Evangelical ministers of this section of the State, by whom he is most warmly regarded. This Unitarian church, therefore, being established on a Christian basis, should be sustained, because of its nearly half century age, its historic interest, its valiant and successful vindication of Christianity, and it is only because of the "extreme modesty" of the church managers that an appeal for aid has not been made. To close up this aged and worthy church would be a great calamity to the cause of Christian religion, and afford "the red radicals" extreme rejoicing. The co-operation of liberal and wealthy Christians, therefore, would resuscitate and restore the good old church to its pristine activity and prosperity.—"S," in the Boston Journal of March 22, 1875.

[The statement that—"by the accession of new signers of the parish books the Abbot party obtained possession"—is untrue: a majority of the old society favored the new movement. Much is discreetly omitted which would put quite a different face on the above account of events in 1868.—ED.]

THE BIBLE QUESTION IN TOLEDO.

In Toledo, Ohio, the Board of Education have been bringing themselves into public notice by a discussion on the Bible in the public schools. At a meeting in last May, as we learn from the Toledo Review, a certain Mr. Cone introduced the following resolution, to be acted upon at the first full meeting of the board:—

Resolved, That reading from any version of a book, commonly known as the Bible; the singing of hymns, commonly known as religious hymns; and the religious act, commonly known as prayer,—shall not hereafter be any part of the exercise in any of the

schools under the control of the Board, and are hereby prohibited.

The Review adds:—

A full meeting took place on Tuesday, and the question was flippantly discussed. Mr. Hill remarked in his speech that, for twenty-four years, he had been connected with the public schools, and during that time he had never known of a pupil being withdrawn on account of the reading of the Bible, or by reason of any other exercise of a religious nature.

This unfounded statement was sanctioned by Mr. McGreevy, a Catholic member of the Board, who, if he be reported correctly in the Commercial, said "that no sectarianism had been introduced in the schools. There was liberty for everybody to believe and act as they pleased. All of his children had received their education at the public schools. They were reared as Catholics, and their religion or their religious opinions had never been changed or interfered with in the least."

This assertion of the evidently nominal Catholic McGreevy calls forth some comments from the able pen of Mr. Carr, editor of the Review, in which the imitator of Mayor Keiley is informed that Protestantism pure and undiluted is taught in the Toledo schools, and hence the Bible and the hymns. But the incisive lancet of the Review seems to have lost its usual edge when it touches so lightly McGreevy's assertion that the religion or "religious opinions" of his children had never been changed or been interfered with. Perhaps McGreevy is one of those Catholics who knows so little about his church as not to know that Catholics have no "religious opinions." Protestants always have "opinions," and have nothing else. But Catholics have faith, certainty, and conviction, but no "opinions." Parents who send their children to the public schools are usually utterly incompetent to say whether their children have suffered in faith or not; for if their own faith had the ring of the true metal in it, their children would never have been exposed in the seminaries of godlessness. "Playing" Catholic is easy enough before a non-Catholic audience, but Catholics, properly so-called, can quickly detect the shams and frauds. Let us compare this to another case. In New York there is a "society for the prevention of cruelty to children." This society is at present asking the legislature for laws and police power similar to Bergh's "for prevention of cruelty to animals." Suppose McGreevy were charged by such a society with sending his children to school to the nurse of a pest-house in which the small-pox was raging, could he defend the persecution by saying the disease had not broken out on his children? If he made such a plea it would be replied to him very justly: (1.) It may break out at any moment. The disease remains in the system a long time before manifesting itself externally. (2.) You do not seem to know the disease when you see it, hence cannot say whether it has broken out or not. (3.) And even if your children did not catch the disease, you did all in your power to make them catch it, and the "cruelty is the same." We apprehend "the society" would "get" McGreevy in the small-pox case, all his corkscrew logic and "opinions" to the contrary notwithstanding. The trouble with such skin-deep Catholics as McGreevy, "and their name is legion," is that they have no faith "to talk of" in anything that cannot come under the cognizance of their five senses. As to heaven and the things of eternity, the most that can be said of them is they don't disbelieve their existence, but their belief in them isn't "worth a cent." But McGreevy's pastor gets after him in the Review. We extract the closing comment, which may be useful to somebody:

"If Mr. McGreevy's children have attended the public schools without any detriment to their religion, he may thank God who had given his children such a religious 'turn of mind' that nothing could change. If any Catholic father can boast that his children have steered clear of the dangers that menaced their purity and honesty in all its variety of shapes, while attending the common school, he may well congratulate them on having performed a feat vainly attempted by thousands of others.

"When Mr. McGreevy sets up his disobedience of the authorities of his church as an example for others to follow, when he substantially says the efforts of his pastor to keep up Catholic schools are made to support an unnecessary thing, then we tell Mr. McGreevy that his example is pernicious and not to be followed by good Catholics."—Catholic Advocate, Louisville, Ky., Jan. 28, 1875.

WE HAVE repeatedly asserted that Mormonism was based on the Bible, and consequently was an adjunct of Christianity; but our Orthodox friends stoutly deny the fact. We have before us an autograph letter of Brigham Young, the head of the Mormon Church, which settles the question pretty effectually. The letter is dated—

"SALT LAKE CITY, Utah Territory, }
"August 10, 1869."

"Dear Sir.—Yours of the 28th ult. has been received. . . With regard to the Book of Mormon, what it is, and how to procure a copy of it, I will briefly say, that it is not what many suppose it to be—the Bible of the Latter-day-Saints. The Bible of Christianity is the Bible of the Latter-day-Saints. The Book of Mormon is a history of the aborigines of the American continent—much as the Old Testament is a history of the Jews; it was translated by the gift and power of God, and is really the most extraordinary work extant. The Latter-day-Saints believe in it, because it is truth, and they very generally bear witness of their knowledge of this fact. . .

"Yours with respect, BRIGHAM YOUNG."
—Banner of Light.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

BEFORE A STATUE.

BY S. H. MORSE.

Silent and cold and motionless it stands,
Clasps the white drapery with bloodless hands.
Fain would I question, could those firm lips speak:—
"What news of him whose radiant form thou art?
Hold'st in thy marble cells the tale I seek,
The long-lost, hidden, sacred record true
Of a soul's life the blind old world ne'er knew?
What secret in thy solid, pulseless heart
Thou wilt disclose? Wilt not reveal thyself?
As all men's else, so thy desire was pelf?
Had'st thou no wit with strange, proud mien to scorn
The things that perish all, and ill adorn?
—Rebuked, I read on thy grave chiselled brow
The answer modest lips will not avow."

THE FAT MISSIONARY.

It was all in a fore-and-aft schooner
That he sailed to that far countree;
And, according to Captain Simonson,
It was beautiful for to see
How warmly those heathens welcomed him,
And how grateful they seemed to be;
And how, in their simple, innocent way,
They patted him, now on his knee,
And now on his cheek, and now on his chin,
And, in short, made only too free
With the Reverend Oleus Bacon,
As was sent upon a mission
To the islands near Feejee.

But I have an affidavit
Captain Simonson took afore me
(And Simonson is a Christian name),
How standin' that night on his lee,
And a-swearin' up his canvas
All ready to put to sea,
He noticed a fire on the island
As was burnin' remarkably free;
But he had no idea those devils
Were a-makin' a fricassee
Of the Reverend Oleus Bacon,
As was sent upon a mission
To the islands near Feejee.

But so it turned out; and therefore I say,
As Simonson said to me,
If the Board of Foreign Missions
Had any eyes for to see,
They'd never have sent a man out there
A missionary for to be,
The make of whose person was tempting
In the very least degree;
Or one as was anyways bulgy at all,
Still less, one as bulgy as he;
This Reverend Oleus Bacon,
As was sent upon a mission
To the islands near Feejee.

However, the Lord was in it,
At least, so it seems to me;
Or something was in Mr. Bacon
As didn't at all agree
With the stomachs of those heathen men,
But made 'em throw up quite free.
And I happen to know what that something was;
It was cavendish and rappee!
Nevertheless, it was something unfortunate,
As most any man may see,
That the Reverend Oleus Bacon
Ever started on that mission
To the islands near Feejee.

—Washington Capital.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 3.

W. M. Wood, 10 cents; Harvey Grinnell, \$2; Herbert Foote, \$2; A. Walther, Jr., \$3.20; J. W. Griffin, \$1; J. C. Fargo, \$1.60; A. Farnsworth, 50 cents; J. J. Bagley, \$3.20; Wm. Gill, \$3; J. L. Wilson, 20 cents; R. McIntosh, \$3.20; B. Cobb, Jr., \$1.20; H. Duhme, \$3.20; A. B. Baxter & Son, \$3.20; E. B. Welch, \$3.20; N. P. Gilman, \$3.20; Wm. Wickersham, \$3; D. Bloodgood, 75 cents; C. H. Newcomer, \$4; G. H. Foster, 45 cents; J. P. Cooke, 25 cents; Dr. Wigglesworth, \$3; A. K. Loring, 24 cents; John Beanham, \$1.20; C. D. Wileman, \$3.20; S. S. Hunting, \$3.20; Isaac Ketcham, \$3.20; L. A. Duhring, \$3.20; Thos. Lamery, \$1.60; Cary Bros., \$13; H. A. Dean, \$16.40; W. H. Simmons, \$3.20; Frank Cheney, \$1.20; C. H. Brown, \$3.20; Enoch Plummer, \$3.20; J. H. Stiles, \$3.20; A. D. Oneal, \$1; H. B. Murdock, 75 cents; Collins Eaton, \$1; S. J. Avery, \$3; J. F. McCarthy, \$1; C. Hendee, \$1.50; B. C. Farrot, 75 cents; John Meyer, 75 cents; Jackson & Davidson, 75 cents; Isaiah Pillars, \$1.60; J. E. Richie, \$3.20; H. G. Hadsell, \$1; John A. Dunton, \$1.50; Cash, 30 cents; Jas. Ramsden, \$1; W. J. Carleton, \$1.45; H. C. Buchanan, 50 cents; P. Fahrney, 50 cents; E. F. Hassinger, 75 cents; A. T. Wheelock, 10 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 8, 1875.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
ABRAM WALTER STEVENS, Associate Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
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D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRANCIS
W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), Editorial Contributors.

SUNDAY LECTURES.—The Editors of THE INDEX will lecture occasionally on Sundays, if desired, within a convenient distance of Boston.

TO CONTRIBUTORS.—Please do not ask whether your articles will be printed; we cannot tell on receiving them, but must be guided by circumstances. Many more are sent than the paper will hold, and somebody has to be disappointed; but we always mean to print from week to week the *best on hand*. Also, please do not ask to have the manuscripts returned. Either keep a copy, or do not send at all. Notwithstanding our regularly published rule on this point, we are constantly annoyed by requests to return articles not used. It will be a great favor if occasional contributors will attend to this notice.

ARE WE CIVILIZED IN BOSTON?

The case of the boy-murderer, Jesse Pomeroy, who is now under sentence in this city to be hanged for the horribly mutilating and killing of a child, is exciting no ordinary degree of interest in the minds of the people of this community. The youth of the boy, the almost unparalleled disposition to cruelty evinced in the torturing of his still more youthful victim, in addition to the fact of his being known to have shockingly tortured and mutilated other children, besides being suspected of having murdered at least one other child, and all apparently without cause,—these circumstances taken together combine to make his case certainly one of the most remarkable ever known in the history of crime, and sufficiently warrant the extraordinary interest which so generally has been manifested in it from the beginning. At last convicted by a jury, and sentenced by the court to the extreme penalty of the law, Jesse now awaits in jail his doom; and, unless the competent authorities of the State should intervene, he will before long be hung by the neck, until he himself, too, shall be dead!

In the meantime, public interest in Jesse's case is manifesting itself in the way of appeals to the Executive for and against the commutation of his sentence. The Governor, in deference to the recommendation of the jury, is disposed to entertain the idea of interposing his official clemency to mitigate the rigor of the outraged law which now in turn seeks Jesse's life. But not a few of the respectable citizens of Boston are besieging vigorously the ear of the Executive with clamors that he shall do no such thing. Learned physicians, and educated men and women (presumably parents) have petitioned the Governor that this boy's sentence be not commuted. To suffer him to live, they say, is to endanger the lives of other children in this community, who—were he eventually to be set free by pardon—would be liable to become the further victims of his strange disposition to torture and kill. The only safe course to pursue with him now, they argue, is to take advantage of our present opportunity to kill him under sanction of State authority; to check his career utterly by putting him clean out of existence, by means of the Christian and civilized invention of hanging. A few there are, we know not how many, who venture to suggest that possibly something else may be done with Jesse Pomeroy, which will render it just as safe for society and much better for him, as if he were sent without mercy and without wisdom to the gallows.

I confess that I am of this last number. But,

while thus confessing, I utterly disclaim being a sentimentalist on the subject of taking human life under any conceivable circumstance. Given a case in which were established the clear necessity of doing so, and I certainly could not oppose any objection on the score of its absolute inviolableness. I believe that I have the natural right to defend myself; and, if my life were put in jeopardy from the attack of a ferocious beast or a ferocious man, I should not hesitate in self-defence to take the life of either. According to my view, society has the same right to the same extent. If a mad dog were rushing through the streets, imperilling the life of every passer-by, society without compunction would shoot the animal. With as little compunction might it take the life of any mad man (morally or mentally mad) who was endangering the lives of many others, when to do so were the absolutely expedient or necessary course to be pursued.

The right, then, to take human life, either on the part of the individual or society, is based upon absolute expediency or necessity. In no other case is it justifiable; and every such case should be clear and unmistakable. For it should be borne in mind that society owes protection to all its members—bad as well as good, disturbers as well as pacificators. A man by becoming a criminal of whatever class does not necessarily forfeit his right to the protection of society; for it not only owes him protection to the extent of his merits, but also to the extent of *its own responsibility for his demerits*. No man is bad on his own responsibility merely; all other men are partly responsible for his badness. He is bad, not alone in consequence of what is in him, but partly in consequence of what is in the society of which he is an outcome. Therefore, when society finds that any one of its members has become a criminal, it should blame itself as well as him for such a result. Its conduct towards him should have not the slightest element of anger or retaliation in it, but should be a wise behavior looking to his speedy and complete recovery, no less than to the welfare of all.

Now, in the case of Jesse Pomeroy, society cannot ignore its responsibility for his crime, black and fearful as it is. He is but a mere youth, and yet an extraordinary criminal. How does it happen that he is worse than the average boy of his years? Is it because he deliberately and wilfully chose to be so? When asked why he killed his little playmate, his reply was: "I couldn't help it." The people of Boston, of Massachusetts, are bound to consider well that pathetic answer, before they make haste to kill him!

The question is, Is Jesse Pomeroy responsible for his crime? Is he responsible, in the first instance, for having been born? Is he responsible, in the second place, for having been born with such a peculiar temperament and disposition as he plainly derived from heredity? If the State assume now to hang such as he, and to do it with cool deliberation, let it consider if it be not its duty to begin farther back, and to prevent the conception and birth of such as he. Why should it not carry its assumed authority a little further, and say (as Plato long ago suggested) to such men and women as are physically, intellectually, and morally fit, "You may become parents;" and to such others as are not fit, "You may not"? Better thus, it would seem, for the State to prevent the birth of criminals, than to kill them after they are born!

But if the State reluctant at the exercise of such prenatal authority (as, I think, it well may), then let it have every manner of institution for the education, training, and development of every species of child born. Let it spend everything for education, and nothing for punishment; everything to perfect life, and nothing to destroy it. Let it not only have the ordinary schools and colleges (more of them and better), institutions for the education of the blind, the deaf and dumb, the imbeciles; for the curing of the insane and the physically diseased,—but let it also have institutions where those with moral maladies, such as Jesse Pomeroy, may go and be trained with the wisest training; a training which shall give sure promise of eventual recovery and cure.

Neither Massachusetts nor Boston has any such scientific, moral-education school, officered with skilled, scientific men and women, to which it can humanely and safely send Jesse Pomeroy. But, instead, they have a gibbet to which some fine day this spring they propose to drag this poor boy more sinned against than sinning; and, in the presence of sympathizing reporters and other privileged persons, to put a rope round his neck, and deliberately choke him to death! And then all the fathers and mothers

of this city propose to feel safe and secure as to the lives of their children!

If the people of Boston consent thus to the murder of this defenceless boy, whom now they wholly have in their power, the time will come when they will be as thoroughly ashamed of it as now they are that Quakers were once whipped through these streets, and four of them hung on the Common. We cannot call ourselves civilized, when such barbarous things are done in our midst. And for us to acknowledge that we know of no better way, or that we have no better way, of dealing with Jesse Pomeroy except to hang him on the gibbet till he is dead, is, in my opinion, to confess that our boasted civilization is a failure.

A. W. S.

THE CATHOLIC POSITION.

The New York *Tablet*, a well-known, ably-conducted, and very decided Catholic paper, devotes two columns of a late issue (March 27th) to a notice of "Dr. Frothingham's" recent sermon on "Conscience" under Rome and under Reason. The reviewer pays unnecessarily high compliment to the "learned Dr.," as it styles him, but is entirely dissatisfied with his discourse. This was to be expected. Apparently it will never be possible for Romanists and Rationalists to come to an understanding. The fault is, perhaps, on the side of the Rationalist, as much as on that of the Romanist. If the latter cannot disabuse himself of the prejudice that the former is unfair, the former finds it difficult to divest his mind of the opinion that the latter is uncandid.

The discourse in question was prepared with all the care the author could give it, and was intended to be scrupulously just. Yet the *Tablet* complains of "misstatement which forms the great body of the discourse." The writer is accused of attributing to Catholics a doctrine respecting conscience that has never been held, and has been repeatedly disavowed. If we may take the reviewer's word for it, the doctrine of the Church is in no wise different from that held by earnest radicals. The preacher of the sermon, having quoted a remarkable passage from a recent letter of Dr. Newman, in the Gladstone controversy, said: "This sounds like the speech of a Rationalist. It might proceed from an advocate of the extremest doctrine of freedom. Hearing 'it, one is tempted to exclaim: There is on this point no controversy between Rome and reason!" There is none, says the critic, intimating that the surprise is quite uncalled for. It is unjust, he declares, to suspect Dr. Newman of reserve, equivocation, or the least want of frankness: "Dr. Newman neither intimates, nor does the Church intimate, any tribunal higher than conscience itself, at which it must render an account." "Does he [Mr. Frothingham] not know that the priest [in the confessional] has no right to impose his opinion upon a penitent who holds an opposite opinion?" The preacher, alluding to a very strong statement on this subject contained in a letter from a Catholic priest, which was printed some months since in THE INDEX, said: "According to some Catholic teachers, an invincibly erroneous conscience, when dictating what is positively wrong, must be followed under pain of sin." "Not only some, but all teach this," is the rejoinder of the critic. The sermon contained extracts from published lectures by Archbishop Manning, in which the doctrine of Rome's supremacy over conscience seemed to be set forth in language as plain as English speech permitted. Even to this the undaunted reviewer replies: "In all the texts from Dr. Manning and others by which it is attempted to substantiate this interpretation of the Catholic doctrine regarding conscience, he cannot show what he wishes, and no doubt believes, to be the teaching of the Church on this point." An age of conundrums is not a pleasant age to live in.

If the assertions of the reviewer are to be taken as sincere, and as representing intelligent Catholic opinion, why is it not apprehended? Why this perpetual misunderstanding, so dangerous, so hateful, so harmful to the dearest interests of society, if a few frank and honest words of plain truth can correct it all? Whose fault is it that a bitter but needless warfare divides Christendom, threatening every now and then to issue in blows and blood? If Rome and reason (as Rationalists apprehend reason) are in full accord on this most vital matter, let it be understood, in order that, so far at least, hostile parties may be reconciled.

A friend who had been educated at a Catholic college in the vicinity of New York assures me that the *Tablet* does, in this doctrine of the supremacy of conscience, represent the approved sentiment of educated

Catholics. On being asked why nobody but "educated Catholics" understood it, he replied that it was not taught to the common people. But why it should not be taught is one of the unaccountable things. It can hardly be expected that what is only taught at Catholic colleges should be learned by those who do not go there. A church is judged by its *exoteric*, not by its *esoteric*, doctrines. And while the Catholic Church, under any form, by any action, by any implication, permits so damaging a misunderstanding to exist in the minds of intelligent people, it must take the consequences of antipathy that will not be appeased, and of hostility that will not be disarmed.

O. B. F.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—By the time this letter gets into your columns, the controversy between yourself and the Rev. M. J. Savage on "Christianity" will very likely be closed, though, let us hope, not forgotten. There can be little doubt that the disputants on this great point of debate are clearing the ground for a vast campaign in which the whole of Christendom will take part. I will not presume to aid you in your attack and defence, for the spectacle of your skill and prowess is far too delightful to be spoiled by officious interference. I do not quite agree with your definition of "religion," but I consider you to be quite unanswerable in your reiterated assertion that "Christianity" is what the mass of Christians say it is, and not what the small minority say it ought to be.

However, I want to attack—in a most friendly spirit—our opponent Mr. Savage on my own account. I hope he will give me credit for admiring and reverencing Jesus Christ quite as much, and for the same reasons, as he admires and reverences him. I could reasonably demur to his definition of the "essentials of Christianity"; but for the sake of argument I will accept it, and for the present assume that these "essentials" are the "central teachings of Jesus, together with the relations in which he set them; and secondly the life-impulse he gave the world."

Both Mr. Savage and myself have but one source of information as to the teachings and life of Jesus—namely, the New Testament; and it would be in the highest degree illogical to accept some portions of these writings and to reject others, except on good evidence that the latter were interpolations or corruptions of the original text.

Now I maintain that, if Orthodoxy quotes, as it has ever quoted, certain sayings attributed to Jesus in support of dogmas which Christians deem essential to Christianity, we have no right to deny that they are *Christian* dogmas, nor can we with justice define as a Christianity that which shall exclude them.

As Mr. Savage and most of your readers know their New Testament, I need not quote at length whole passages, but will only do so, if called upon. I will only remind them of the following facts.

1. The Church of Rome continually reverts to the giving of the keys of heaven and hell by Jesus to Peter, as the pillar and ground of the truth.

2. High-Churchmen maintain the necessity of baptism for salvation on the ground of Jesus Christ's own words, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved."

3. All "Christians" (*pace* Mr. Savage) argue the doctrine of the Trinity from the Baptismal formula given by Jesus to his disciples. It is further supported by his Trinitarian conversation with his disciples shortly before his last supper. (See John xiv., xv., xvi.)

The atonement is also extensively supported by passages from the same book.

Moreover, the final separation of mankind into "the saved" and "the lost" rests upon the well-known parable of the sheep and the goats, and several other direct assertions of eternal condemnation.

The odious doctrines of Calvin—namely, Predestination and Election—are clearly taught in the fourth gospel. And not even Mr. Savage, I presume, will have the hardihood to deny that Jesus believed in the devil and his angels, and regarded some of his fellow-men who reviled him as children of the devil.

Minor points (as regards doctrine, though not *minor* as regards morals) are also based upon the New Testament record of the sayings of Christ: *e.g.*, celibacy and eunuchism, mendicancy and devoteism, all rest on the recorded example and teaching of Jesus; his disregard of family ties has been quoted a thousand times over in the history of the Church in support of the wickedness of denouncing parents or children or brothers and sisters as here-

tics. His rebuke of poor, industrious, and thoughtful Martha, and his praise of the idle, sentimental Mary, have been perpetually used to exalt "religious devotions" and to depreciate homely duties.

Now if all these distinctive features of doctrine and practice are not "Christian," what in the name of language shall we call them? And, when they are added up, they cover nearly the whole ground of Christianity. I say *nearly*, for I will admit with Mr. Savage that even Orthodoxy professes to include "Love to God and love to man" as part of its system.

But this part is strikingly the feature of other religions besides Christianity. It is essentially the religion of the modern Jews, and is to be found embedded in the Jewish Scriptures, and even beneath the incrustation of Levitical law. It was the religion of Confucius; and the second half of it, at all events, was the religion of the founder of Buddhism. Mohammed, though posterior to Christ, can claim the same as the chief part of his religion.

It seems to me that the more we admit Jesus to have been one of the greatest and best teachers of this religion of love, the less right we have to call it Christianity; for the teachings which Jesus added to it, and which form the basis of Christian Orthodoxy, were utterly rejected by the Jewish people, while they retained the religion of love as their own possession and inheritance—the birthright of their nation, and not the monopoly of the prophet of Nazareth.

In short, what was best in the religion of Jesus was what he inherited as a Jew, and what was most erroneous in it became, and has ever since been known as, Christianity. Jesus, it is true, fulfilled other functions as a prophet and reformer, and the Jews of his day sorely needed some of his rebukes; but this excellence leaves untouched the main point I have tried to establish.

Our opponent will find himself on the horns of this dilemma. If the New Testament be so untrustworthy that the Christians have no right to build upon it their Orthodox dogmas, neither has Mr. Savage any right to build upon it his estimate of Jesus as the most illustrious preacher of the religion of love. If, on the other hand, the testimony of the New Testament be worth anything at all, it gives the strongest possible support to the dogmas of Orthodox Christianity.

Like you, sir, I must admire the vigor and straightforwardness of Mr. Savage's essay; and have no fear of his shuffling away, like some of his brethren, in a cloud of dust. I hope we shall hear more from him.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S.E., March 15, 1875.

WE FEAR DEATH, as children fear to go in the dark; and, as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death as the wages of sin and the passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto Nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations, there is sometimes a mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read in some of the friars' books of mortification, that a man should think with himself, what the pain is, if he have but his fingers' ends pressed or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of death are when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb; for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense. And by him that spake only as a philosopher, and natural man, it was well said, "The pomp of death is more feared than death itself." Groans and convulsions, and a discolored face, and friends weeping, and blacks, and obsequies, and the like, show death terrible.

It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy, when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; love slights it; honor aspireth to it; grief flieth to it; fear, preoccupied it; nay, we read, after Otho the Emperor had slain himself, pity, which is the tenderest of affections, provoked many to die, out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers. . . . It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood; who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good doth avert the dolors of death; but above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace."—*Lord Bacon.*

SYDNEY SMITH likened some complaints against the political intrusiveness of the dissenters of his day to the behavior of a highwayman, who, having battered with a bludgeon some harmless wayfarer, grumbles that his victim has spattered him with his blood, and is pestering him with his groans.

Literary Notices.

TAXATION OF WOMEN IN MASSACHUSETTS. By Wm. I. Bowditch. Cambridge: Press of John Wilson and Son. 1875.

A masterly argument this in favor of Woman's Rights! In some seventy welcome pages, Mr. Bowditch has given us an eloquent intercession in behalf of one of the most vital social interests that can come before any jury of common sense, courtesy, or impartial justice. It is a complete and searching plea, in favor of the rights, claims, and responsibilities of woman as a citizen; a thorough setting forth of her social right and title to the privilege of suffrage, and of the injustice of her taxation without that corresponding privilege. It amazes us that as a community we are so slow to recognize the rights thus ably advocated.

The plea in this case is based mainly upon the fundamental idea (implied, if not clearly recognized, in the letter and purport of our State and general constitution) that the term "citizen" includes properly women as well as men; and that, when we speak of "the people," we mean the inhabitants of a city, town, or country, without distinction of sex.

Notwithstanding this implied recognition of the rights of woman as a citizen, Mr. Bowditch goes on to show, and does show very clearly, that this right is constantly and shamefully ignored in all our political and civil arrangements. "It seems clear," says he, "that the entire government of the State, in all its branches, executive, legislative, and judicial, or, in other words, that the entire power of making, interpreting, and executing all the laws which are to affect the persons and property of every woman in the State, is exclusively vested in male citizens or their appointees. If they please to allow woman to be appointed on school committees, they may do so,—it is an act of grace and favor; but the women themselves, though declared capable of performing the duties of the office, are nevertheless deemed incapable of voting for persons even of their own sex to perform such duties. How few of us realize the injustice of this condition of things! By the last United States census (1870), the total population of the State is declared to be 1,457,351 persons; and of these only 312,770 are male citizens. According to our Declaration of Rights, the 'sole and exclusive right of governing themselves' is vested in the people; and yet, under our laws, more than three-quarters of the people are entirely disfranchised and have no voice whatever in determining who shall govern them or by what laws their rights of person and property shall be protected."

So, also, the organization of the general government, as well as that of the State, is alike unfavorable to woman. The Senate of the United States is composed of two members from each State chosen by the Legislature thereof. "So long, therefore, as these Legislatures shall continue to be chosen only by male citizens, so long will the United States Senate really represent only male citizens." "No woman, whatever her qualifications for holding office may be, has any right to hold any office which male citizens are legally bound to respect. Who would imagine that this condition of things could exist under a constitution which professes upon its face to be framed by 'the people,' and to be designed in an especial manner to establish justice and insure domestic tranquillity?" "The key-note of our Declaration of Independence is that 'governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.' This great idea, 'the consent of the governed,' is the one upon which the whole structure of our government is theoretically built."

From this point the writer proceeds, by a multitude of statistics and figures, to show how our own Congress in these later days has been doing the same acts of tyranny towards the women of our country which once characterized the conduct of England towards us, and how towards the people generally, including of course that disfranchised class, the women, their acts have been burdensome and oppressive. "It is perfectly safe, therefore," he continues, "for me to say that Congress taxes the women of Massachusetts millions of dollars every year. According to our Declaration of Independence they have no just right so to do, unless the women have consented to be thus taxed. Without such consent the mere act of taxation by itself alone is conclusive evidence of 'absolute tyranny,' on the part of Congress, as much as any of those acts which the Continental Congress could urge against King George and Parliament. When have the women given consent to any such taxation? Never by any vote of their own! Nobody, indeed, has ever dreamed of asking them to say whether they consented or not. Never by their representatives, for the best of all reasons; they have not the slightest power to choose representatives to act for them in reference to this or any other personal or political rights." (P. 13.)

In the course of his further researches as to facts illustrative of woman's continued wrongs, Mr. Bowditch has, with a rare diligence, canvassed the whole State, sending circulars to every city and town to ascertain in what proportion the State or general tax was borne by woman. The result was that, out of some 340 places to which he so sent, 161 gave returns showing that, of the aggregate twenty millions and a half or more there paid within the time specified, \$1,955,838, or 95 per cent., was paid by women, who have no right of suffrage. "We may, therefore," he says, "from these and other returns, consider it as clearly proved that the women of the State, taken as a whole, pay certainly one-eleventh, and probably one-tenth or even more, of all the tax property in the State." Proceeding with still further details and statistics of figures for which we have here no room,

he makes it out very clearly that in every city and town throughout the State the women are paying every year an amount of money in taxes far exceeding what the men pay, and for which they receive no equivalent by any civil right.

But look at a few cases only of this inequality, as reported by our friend Bowditch. For instance, he says: "Each of the 7,214 women taxed in Boston paid an average of \$179, or the equivalent of 89 polls; and together they paid more than nine times as much as was paid by the 88,415 men in the city, who only paid a poll-tax, and more than ninety times as much as was paid by the 7,032 poll-tax voters who no doubt elected Governor Gaston. There were 3 women in Newton who paid more tax than 2,034 men in that city. In Shrewsbury there were 116 men who only paid a poll-tax, and one woman alone there paid twice as much as the whole of them. In Brookline there were 921 who paid a poll-tax only, and one woman in that town paid more than three times, and another more than six times, as much tax as was paid by the whole of these 921 men. Now these figures we take at random from two full pages of similar statistics, and we can only say, Shame on us that such things should be!"

But look at another important matter illustrative of our gross disregard of "woman's rights." I quote again from the pamphlet: "There are 92 scholarships in Harvard College for the aid of poor students; the total income is about \$21,000. It was a man who planned 22 of these scholarships, which yield more than one-quarter of the income derived from the whole 92; but the money by which they were established came, in point of fact, from a woman tax-payer. No young woman of the State, no matter how scholarly she may be, can, however, hope to receive aid from the bounty of this large-hearted woman."

If the presentation of such facts, so illustrative of woman's social depressions and wrongs, do not mortify our consciousness and quicken our anxiety to have justice done her, I know not where our human sympathies or sense of right can be. Mr. Bowditch himself speaks (p. 26) of the "inexpressible meanness of the thing," and says: "We men save at least two millions of dollars every year from our own burdens by these acts of injustice." "If, as we have seen, the women no doubt pay more than one-eleventh of the whole tax on property, every man of property in the State saves more than one-eleventh of his taxes by the taxation of women. One-half the men of property in the State save, every year, more than one-ninth of their taxes by compelling the women (who have no votes with which to protect themselves) to pay the amount."

In this connection, with what keenness of sarcasm does our writer arraign thus the forthcoming "Centennial" at Concord! "In April next the people of Concord and neighboring towns intend to unite in celebrating the fight at the old North Bridge, where

"Once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world!"

"A bronze statue of a minute man, of life-size, is to be dedicated with appropriate ceremonies; and the Committee of Arrangements have prepared a programme, including an oration by George William Curtis, poems by Emerson, Longfellow, and Lowell, and a monster procession. The President and his Cabinet, the Governor, Council, and Legislature, the Corporation and Faculty of Harvard College, and the Governors of the New England States, have been, or are to be, invited," etc. (Boston Advertiser, Jan. 7, 1875.) Why was it, according to those immortal lines, that the Concord farmers fired their shot a hundred years ago, except that the world might hear that taxation without representation was tyranny? Was it merely in order that so much powder, so many cannon and guns stored in Concord, might be saved from destruction, that Paul Revere was induced to take his midnight ride? Was it not rather and solely because these same stores were intended to be used in the fight against taxation without representation? And to show to the mother country that the men of Massachusetts were too high-born to be propertied? Perhaps Mr. Curtis may take as the subject for his oration the clause in our Declaration of Rights, that a constant adherence to the principle of justice is absolutely necessary to preserve the advantages of liberty, and to maintain a free government; and then proceed to show from the Report of 1871 in how very just a way the men of Concord, Lexington, and Acton have been able to save their money and their principles. He can prove, beyond all doubt, that they have saved enough to pay for the statue, as they save about \$7,000 a year. Is it probable that Mr. Emerson in his poem will call to mind the fact that he and other Concord men of property and influence have been spared every year about one-fifth of their taxes, owing solely to the fact that the women of Concord are treated in the very same way

"That made those heroes dare
To die or leave their children free?"

"We are inclined to think neither of them will make any such allusions. It might cause confusion on the faces of the Committee of Arrangements. Nevertheless, we will venture to ask Mr. Emerson to recite on that occasion William Allingham's poem, 'The Touchstone,' as he did years since in Boston, and as he only can recite it; and then let him try to explain to his audience, if he can, why it is that woman suffrage is not now, as anti-slavery used to be, the touchstone to test

"All things in the land
By its unerring spell?"

"Would it not be a far more fitting celebration of the Concord fight for us to shape our lives to-day ac-

cording to the noble principles of our fathers, rather than to call attention to our degeneracy by erecting a monument in honor of their nobility? But if we must have a statue, let it be of brass, and on the stone base let us have some appropriate bas-reliefs. One may illustrate the sale of Abby Smith's cows, and the reverse the quite likely taking to jail of Abby Foster, each for the non-payment of taxes. One might show Josiah Quincy, Jr., denouncing to the citizens of Boston, from the gallery of the Old South Church, the taxation of men without representation as tyranny; and the reverse might appropriately show their townsman, Judge Hoar, and his associates, declaring that to tax a woman who is disfranchised is in accordance with an express authority conferred by our Constitution."

So much for the letter and spirit of the fine pamphlet under review, which seems to us to contain the most impressive and powerful argument in behalf of woman's rights, elaborate in all its details; a noble setting forth of the real dignity, position, and practical social necessity of woman's influence and co-operation as a citizen of this Republic.

JOHN T. SARGENT.

Communications.

"WORDS, WORDS, WORDS!"

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I am sure it will seem strange to many of your readers that you and Mr. Morse have not been able to come to an agreement upon these seemingly simple question over which you have had so lengthened a discussion. What, after all, is it all about? You insist that all liberals must be anti-Christians; in other words, you insist that the name anti-Christian is one properly belonging to the whole class of liberals. Mr. Morse does not find the name a fitting one for himself, and yet he thinks he comes up to the full stature of a liberal. How can it be a matter of very great importance what name a man adopts, so long as he thoroughly understands the state of his own mind, and is not governed either in its adoption or in its rejection, by any unworthy motive?

You insist upon the name because you claim that you have made an exhaustive analysis of Christianity, and have found that it is essentially opposed to the freedom of thought which is the essence of liberalism. Now here, unless I am greatly mistaken, you have been betrayed into a little confusion of thought. A man does not require to be a liberal in order to be, in a tolerably wide sense, an anti-Christian. A Mohammedan is an anti-Christian in so far as he rejects Christian doctrines; so is a Buddhist; so is a Zulu. I am an anti-Christian in so far as those doctrines of Christianity in which I disbelieve are concerned, but no farther. If Christianity made formal profession of distrust in human reason, there would be one more doctrine in it to which I would be opposed, and the significance and range of my anti-Christianity would be just so much enlarged. In trying to arrive at the essence of Christianity you undertake a difficult, if not impossible, and, as it seems to me, wholly unnecessary task. The essence of Christianity is hardly any more to be got at than the essence of the English Constitution. A thousand influences have been absorbed into historic Christianity that would have had their own efficacy in the world, if Christ had never trodden the earth. Of course there is some interest in following a great institution through the ages, and recognizing, if we can, certain unalterable lineaments which it bears through all changes of time and circumstance; but such an undertaking (who can deny?) is *isplenum alea*, subject to all kinds of mistakes and mischances, and one which no two men, perhaps, would bring to precisely the same conclusion. How would it do for us to have to wait to adjust our relations to the facts of to-day, until some one had expressed for us the essence of all the facts of the past? And how should we like to be told, after we had at length effected the adjustment, that the historical analysis on which we relied was all astray, and that we would have to content ourselves with being at sea, until somebody else had gone over the whole ground again?

No; I contend that it is quite enough for us to know that we dissent from and earnestly repudiate the doctrines of Christianity (or many of them at least) in order to have a distinct and satisfactory assurance that we are to that extent anti-Christian; and it is for each liberal to settle with himself the degree and scope of his anti-Christianity, and to decide whether, upon the whole, the name "anti-Christian" would best describe him to his neighbors. For, after all, names, be it remembered, are chiefly important in the signification they have to others. For me to label myself, voluntarily, "anti-Christian," knowing that the term would be understood by nineteen persons out of twenty in a very much wider sense than I attached to it myself, would be an act of simple folly. I do not, as a matter of fact, call myself anti-Christian, because Christianity, as the word is commonly understood, and as I understand it myself, embraces very much more than the doctrines from which I dissent; it embraces the morality of the gospels, it embraces the revelation of God made by Christ, and towards these—though I attach to them no supernatural authority—I feel much more of sympathy than antagonism.

Not only was it quite unnecessary for any practical purpose to enter into the question as to what constituted the essence of Christianity; but the inquiry, I very much incline to think, has landed you in distinct error. You find that liberals must be anti-Christian because Christianity in its very nature is at

war with liberty. Surely Christianity is not at war with the liberty of those who believe its doctrines true. The system of geology now most in vogue is not at war with the liberty of those who accept it. Neither it, indeed, nor Christianity can ever be at war with anybody's liberty, except in the case of one or the other being imposed upon people by force. All systems have their difficulties. Geology has its difficulties; Darwinism has immense difficulties; but those who believe in geology, in Darwinism, or in Christianity, believe in it because, to their apprehension, the proofs outweigh the difficulties. Christianity, you seem to forget, claims to be true, and claims to be able to satisfy a thoroughly reasonable mind that it is true, and not only to satisfy that mind once, but to keep it satisfied. And, as you perfectly well know, a great many not dishonest minds are thoroughly convinced of the truth of Christianity. You cannot accept their modes of reasoning; but neither can they accept yours. They seem to you in bondage to influences that check the natural play of their intellectual faculties; you seem to them in bondage to an unspiritual way of looking at things that prevents you recognizing some of the most momentous of realities. So that there is precisely the same reason for an earnest and honest Christian saying that "liberalism" is opposed to true liberty, as there is for a liberal to say the same of Christianity. Beneath all your reasonings on this subject lies the fallacy that Christianity is a conscious impostor; that she knows she cannot prove her case, and therefore lays an embargo on human thought. Dismiss that notion; recognize Christianity as an honest claimant for the position of a true and verifiable religion, and you will see that opposition to freedom is no more essential to it than to any scientific theory. You will see too that you are not yourself "anti-Christian" as claiming a larger measure of freedom than the believing Christian claims, but simply as having used your freedom to different purpose and with a different result.

You seem to think the idea of allegiance to a person or to a book absolutely inconsistent with the idea of freedom. But why, if the claims of the person or the book have been established by evidence too strong to be nullified by any of the difficulties incident to an acknowledgment of those claims? Surely it is not bondage to yield to the weightiest reasons. You are doing the same thing every day of your life, and recognize your rationality in doing so. I have for my own part reasoned enough with Christians to know, as a matter of experience, that they obey precisely the same law as you or I: there are arguments in favor of Christianity that, to them, outweigh all that can be mustered on the other side; and their minds necessarily move in the direction of least resistance. Is that bondage? It is bondage, if you like, to error, and prejudice, and confusion of thought, but not to any felt tyranny. It is bondage precisely similar to that which either you or Mr. Morse must be in, seeing that you cannot both be right. It is bondage such as Messrs. Darwin and Herbert Spencer may both be in at this moment. Suppose that, by some *tour de force*, I could convert some of these earnest believers: would they be any freer than before? By no means; they would recognize how artificial had been some of their previous modes of thought, what large assumptions they had made, and how strangely insensible they had been to many important and striking facts; but this would be the experience of any one who had escaped from a false theory. They might begin to use faculties that had before lain idle, but that would be because the reason that had caused them to allow those faculties to be idle had been removed.

Then if Christianity is not bondage to those who sincerely believe in it—except in so far as all error is bondage,—to whom is it bondage? Not to those who do not believe in it. Then, if it involves bondage only in so far as it contains errors, why not base your anti-Christianity simply on the ground that Christianity is an erroneous system? The reason why you have not done this, if I may be allowed a speculation on the subject, is that you wanted a justification for using the appellation "anti-Christian" in an absolute sense; and thought you might do this if you could only get at the centre of gravity, so to speak, of Christianity, and prove that at that point the antagonism between Christianity and free-thought was absolute. If your anti-Christianity were based on the errors and defects in Christianity, then it would have to be relative and proportioned to those errors and defects, and this was not what you craved. You cannot, however, hang Christianity up by a string and determine its centre of gravity; and I cannot help thinking that, if you will reflect on it further, you will conclude that the basis I propose is the best after all. And if, after taking its measure accurately, you decide that you scarcely care to continue the use of the title for which you have hitherto so strenuously contended, no harm will be done; we shall know what measure of man you are quite as well without the title as with it, and perhaps peace will reign for a time in the columns of THE INDEX.

Believe me, with the utmost respect and good-will,
Yours ever truly,

WM. D. LESUEUR.

OTTAWA, March 20, 1875.

[That the discussion referred to turns on something more important than "words," will be evident from the consideration that the main point at issue is the true relation between those who want liberty of thought to be unlimited and a great institution which wants to limit it. So long as liberals imagine themselves to be Christians, they will more or less actively uphold and strengthen the Christian Church; but the Church meanwhile, regardless of the refinement

by which they rationalize away its creed, continues to propagate doctrines which block scientific progress in all directions. It is no mere matter of words to rouse the liberals to a perception of what they are doing; to show them that they cannot identify Christianity with science and civilization; and to persuade them to cease giving "aid and comfort" to influences which are neutralizing, to a large extent, their best exertions for the spread of intelligence. We are not so shallow as to think names as of any consequence except as they determine practical relationships to existing institutions. What we desire is to make evident that, with all the good it does, the Church is doing immense evil by standing in the way of advancing knowledge, and perpetuating indifference to scientific truth in order to keep its own creed safe. With great respect for our highly cultivated correspondent, we think he fails to perceive this vitally important practical bearing of our work.—Ed.]

ROME AND LIBERTY.

CURWENSVILLE, Pa., March 21, 1875.

F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—Your correspondent, S. H. Morse, displays considerable talent and no little ingenuity in attempting to prove the compatibility of Christianity with religious liberty. As long as your replies accompany his articles, we can afford to "let truth and error grapple." There is one paragraph, however, in his late article which I cannot refrain from noticing. It is this: "Drop your fears, espouse heartily the great cause of America's complete emancipation, and let your light so shine that all men, your Catholic brethren included, shall come up to the help of all that is true, noble, and good." Will they do this? Does Mr. Morse suppose for an instant that they will?

I believe implicitly in the right of the individual to "worship God (or not) according to the dictates of his own conscience"; but what assurance have I that, if I respect the Catholic's conscientious scruples, he will respect mine?

The only criterion by which to judge the future is the past. But before I appeal to history for an answer to the above question, I wish to state this general proposition: Roman Catholicism is essentially opposed to secular education, religious liberty, and any form of government except that of Rome; and, whenever and wherever the Church gets the power, she puts her principles in practice.

Out of the great ocean of historical facts I will select but a few.

From the time of Pope Gregory VII. to the present time, no less than eighteen distinct attempts have been made by Popes and Councils to prevent the common people from reading the Scriptures.

The Jesuits are the sappers and miners of the Church, and for their plotting against civil and religious liberty they have been successively expelled from England, France, Holland, Scotland, Ireland, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Russia, Portugal, Spain, and Germany; and to-day the theatre of their operations—their land of promise—is the United States. What use will they make of the *carte blanche* given them in this country? Time will tell.

That sagacious Frenchman, Lafayette, declared: "If ever the liberty of this republic is destroyed, it will be by Roman priests."

Every Catholic owes his first allegiance to a foreign sovereign,—the infallible Pontiff whose sentiments when expressed *ex-cathedra* are the supreme law to two hundred million people, seven million of whom (according to their own estimate) reside in this country. That we may ascertain what these sentiments are, let us quote from some of the Pope's authorized mouth-pieces. O. A. Brownson, editor of the *Catholic Review*, said: "Protestantism of every form has not, and never can have, any rights, where Catholicity is triumphant."

Bishop O'Connor said: "Religious liberty is merely endured until the opposite can be carried into execution without peril to the Catholic world."

About twenty years ago the following paragraph appeared in the *Shepherd of the Valley*, printed at St. Louis, Mo.; and its sentiments have frequently since found expression in Catholic journals: "Religious liberty, in the sense of liberty possessed by every man to choose his own religion, is one of the most wicked delusions ever foisted upon this age by the father of deceit. The very name of liberty—except in the sense of permission to do certain definite acts—ought to be banished from the very domain of religion. No man has a right to choose his religion. Shall I foster the damnable doctrine that Socinianism, and Calvinism, and Anglicanism, and Judaism, are not every one of them mortal sins, like murder and adultery? Shall I hold out hopes to my erring Protestant brother that I will not meddle with his creed, if he will not meddle with mine? Shall I tempt him to forget that he has no more right to his religious views than he has to my purse or my house, or my life-blood? No! Catholicism is the most intolerant of all creeds." In the light of the above declaration, and the facts cited, it is not difficult to explain the hostility of Catholics to our free-school system, nor to determine what Catholics will do when they "gain an immense numerical majority in this country," as one of their archbishops declared they "most certainly will do."

Would Mr. Morse be in favor of violating our consciences in favor of a church cherishing such sentiments, and contemplating such a return for the protection extended to them in common with others?

I will only add a paragraph. In all this, Catholicism is logically consistent. Protestantism presents the pitiable spectacle of vociferously claiming the right of "private interpretation" as against Rome, and as vehemently denying it to free-thinkers.

As soon as the Christian Amendment is adopted, the Catholic motto will serve equally well for Protestantism: "Heresy and Infidelity are crimes, and in Christian countries they will be punished as other crimes."

Yours pensively,
HARRY HOOVER.

A FALSE VIEW OF PROVIDENCE.

The poet Dryden says: "Art may err, but Nature cannot miss"—a truth that must be plain to even an ordinary observer. When contemplating the natural world, from the rudest clay to the ripened fruit, we are confronted with the evidence of systematic and uniform operations. Not a grain of sand glitters in the sunshine, not a drop of water sparkles in the dew or sports in the cascade, not a flower unfolds its fragrance without the operation of some fundamental law controlling its movements. The same principle, precisely, holds good in human nature. Man is a part of nature so far as his outward, physical body is concerned. Chemical analysis reveals the existence of mineral, vegetable, and animal substances in his constitution, and the same laws that control these substances in their own kingdoms control them in man; hence, when we have anything to do with disease or health, we speak of "natural laws" regulating and controlling them.

Pleasure and pain, physically speaking, are generally the result of our own actions. Health and sickness are not providential in the popular sense of that term; if they were, God would be the author of all suicides and other deaths. There is much ignorance afloat upon this subject; persons whose reasoning capacity is very small do not stop to think upon these matters, and the want of intelligent thought in our day is our social and national curse. There are certain, fixed, inviolable, natural laws controlling the well-being of the human body, and he who violates these laws suffers the bodily consequences of that violation. God does not preserve our lives or our health unless we use those means he has instituted for that purpose. If a man refuses food, he must die; if a man takes poison, he must die, and he ought to, if God is to be true to himself. This notion of depending upon God's providence, irrespective of means, is a popular and senseless absurdity. And yet how much of this kind of religion have we in our day! For example: persons on shipboard, with no visible hope of safety from shipwreck, pray vociferously, if they ever prayed before or not, rather than depend upon their own efforts and the operation of natural laws for relief. If there is no relief, the sinner will pray, and, as a rule, the greater the hypocrite the louder the prayer. When sickness comes, the first thing, with some people, is to pray rather than use sensible means for recovery. Sickness is the direct result of a violation of natural law—the physical reaping of what has been sown,—and natural law, not supernatural power, must be brought into its proper working order before that sickness is removed. No amount of praying and singing or exhortation will cure a disease—they mostly aggravate it; but physical means must be used to cure a physical disease.

Another form in which this popular nonsense concerning Providence manifests itself is in some cases of death. God's providence does not underlie disease and death by a palpable, direct interposition, as is commonly supposed. We do not regard physical health properly; we commit a grievous sin by neglecting to take proper care of our bodies. We hardly ever think that, as we care for or neglect the body, so shall we enjoy health or suffer pain. Natural law in the human body is alarmingly violated by no other agency, perhaps, so much as fashion and fashionable dissipation. What is the result? How is this violation punished? Puny forms, pale faces, pains and aches, short lives and short graves, too—these are the verdicts of outraged law. A beautiful maiden dies suddenly, overcome by exertion in the prosecution of some object of gratification; the house is craped, the community sympathizes, the funeral is large, the physician says "heart-disease"; the minister adds to the lie by calling it "a direct visitation of divine providence." Why not be honest in this matter, and call it what it is in the sight of God: *suicide*! Why not say, plainly and truthfully: here is a sad illustration of violated natural law, a reaping of the seed sown by a disregard of the laws of health?

By pressing our inquiry into the moral sphere of being, we find that reward and punishment fall under the general truth to which we are now referring. The assertion sometimes made that man creates his own heaven or hell in this world contains not only sound philosophy but truth that cannot be gainsaid. The general laws by which the world is governed so control human actions that they bring their legitimate result with them; or, as some one has written:—

"If either vice or virtue we abandon,
We either are rewarded as we serve,
Or plagued as our deeds deserve."

Violate a law of health, and sickness is the result; commit a crime, and punishment follows—if not by legal authority, by internal distress, by a conscience smitten with bitter remorse. And it is this internal retribution that is hardest to bear—that reaps the bitterest fruit—that plunges the shame-covered soul beneath the waters of the river, or cuts it loose from the body with the suicide's knife. Just as inviolable as is the natural law producing like from like, so inviolable is this moral law of reward and punishment. Let the appetite be sated with reason and moderation, let fashion no longer control judgment, and we shall see bright eyes, rosy cheeks, manly forms, and womanly beauty such as will be fit temples for the indwelling of heaven's angels. Life is a seed-time,

human nature the soil; men are the farmers, and their actions the seed sown—seed to bear the fruit of corruption or the sheaves of a glorified life.

O. L. ASHENFELTER.

CARLISLE, Pa.

UNANSWERABLE ARGUMENTS.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I wish to present for your consideration a couple of arguments that seem to bear heavily against your proposition that Christianity and freedom are incompatible. I would like you to answer them, if you can, for they represent in a condensed and convenient form much of the intellectual force that is expended in combating your views on this subject, and by meeting them fairly you will perhaps save much "unprofitable discussion."

You must be aware that your views with regard to this matter of freedom and Christianity are somewhat peculiar, and that very few people agree with you fully. Now what I want to know is:—

ARGUMENT No. 1.—How is it that you happen to know so much? Do you not perceive that the position you take leaves you open to a suspicion of immeasurable conceit? I know you pretend to make "no superior claim" of any sort; but the facts are against you. You think you are right on this question—do you not? Well, then, if you are right, all those who differ from you must be wrong—must they not? Very well, then; is there not a virtual assumption of superior knowledge on your part? Answer that!

When you have disposed of the above to your satisfaction, you may turn your attention to my

ARGUMENT No. 2,—which, I think, will floor you. It is this: I guess I've got a right to my opinion!

C. E. M.

[The tone of the above article is a little exceptional, as compared with most of our "communications"; but we cheerfully waive that point. It is rather dismaying, however, to be challenged to answer "unanswerable arguments," but (with some palpitation of the heart) we will try to do our best. For convenience' sake we will invert their order.

ARG. No. 2.—The gentleman has certainly "a right to his opinion." But that does not prove his opinion right: which being the only point in debate, we pass to

ARG. No. 1.—The gentleman suspects that we are guilty of "immeasurable conceit," and assume to possess "superior knowledge," because we think that we are "right in this question," and that "those who differ from us must be wrong." Unfortunately, the same disaster happens to every gentleman who "guesses he's got a right to his own opinion." Nobody can "guess" that, without "guessing" that those who differ from him are in the wrong; and then he must immediately explain "how it happens that he knows so much."

Moral.—We will forgive the gentleman for "flooring" us so unmercifully, if he will only impart to us the secret of his own immeasurable modesty. It would certainly make our fortune.—Ed.]

THE CHRISTIANIZERS IN KANSAS.

EDITOR INDEX:—

We have had a God-in-the-Constitution Convention at Leavenworth—led by Rev. Mr. McAlister, General Secretary of the National Christian Amendment Association.

Mr. McAlister is shrewd. I must tell you one of his arts. "For the benefit of the friends of the movement," he read "the demands of our enemies," as he characterized the Demands of Liberalism. It was funny, and yet provoking, how he read those demands, and admitted no correction of his reading.

The first Demand was not even noticed. Now we have in Leavenworth church property of great value, all untaxed. Our taxes are heavy; and the church property of our city is nearly one-fifth of our total valuation.

The second Demand was read, with the emphasis on "chaplains," and omitting "all other institutions supported by public money."

The third was read in full, with the parenthetical explanation, "or religious," directly after "sectarian."

The fourth Demand was read in full, with strong emphasis on "religious services" and "religious worship."

The fifth was in full, with the same full emphasis on "religious festivals."

The sixth was read in part, as if that were all of it; omitting the whole strength of the demand—"and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead."

The seventh was read without the phrase "of Sunday as"—which demands the repealing of laws "enforcing the observance of the Sabbath."

The eighth he read—"that all laws looking to the enforcement of Christian morality shall be abrogated," and stopped there, as if that was all; emphasizing "morality" instead of "Christian."

The ninth Demand was read in full, and vigorously denounced.

Nothing was said about the "Religious Freedom Amendment." This same McAlister asserted that, by the constitutional acknowledgment of God and Christ and the Bible, no rights of conscience would be violated. The few Jews and Atheists, he said, would not be conscience-bound by the Amendment. And yet he was applauded!

I. J. STINE.

LEAVENWORTH, Kansas, Feb. 28, 1875.

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OF THE

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WM. J. POTTER, Sec. F. R. A.

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

ABRAHAM WALTER STEVENS.

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

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To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, APRIL 15, 1875.

WHOLE No. 277.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in:—

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

EFFORTS are made every now and then to break up the itinerancy system among the Methodists. The last instance was in Pennsylvania. Probably this change will be gradually effected.

THE *Christian Statesman*, of Philadelphia, explicitly approves the expulsion of Mr. Thorne from the North Carolina Legislature. Of course! Is it not the organ of the Christianizers of the Constitution?

THE SEAL-FISHERIES of the Arctic seas are in danger of being ruined by the over-destruction of these animals; and regulations are proposed for their protection establishing a "close time" during which no seal shall be killed. No such restriction will ever be imposed upon the "fool-killers"; their game is inexhaustible.

THE CATHOLICS of New Jersey have got a bill before the Legislature of that State for the incorporation of a "New Jersey Protectory," to whose control and custody all children shall be surrendered who may be deemed, by any justice of the peace, to be "idle, truant, vicious, homeless, or delinquent"! Rome never sleeps; but Liberty takes many a nap.

REV. MR. VARLEY, the English revivalist, has been suffering little children to come unto Jesus in New York city. Rev. Mr. Hepworth's church contributed eighty-two of them, crying over the horrible iniquities of their long lives of from four to fourteen years. As they had been born so recently, is it not precipitate in Mr. Varley to pray that they may be born again under his auspices?

THE CATHOLICS say they have fifty "parochial schools," and thirty thousand pupils in them, in New York city alone. The trustees of these schools are making strenuous efforts to get them adopted by the Board of Education, which would of course involve their support by the public funds. A good article on this subject from the *Christian Union* will be found on another page, and a better one still from the *Nation*.

THE POPE has released Catholics in Germany, by his Encyclical of February 5, from all obligation to the Falk laws, which he declares "null and void." Bismarck has retaliated by transferring to lay hands the management of ecclesiastical revenues, and withholding the State endowment from the clergy. The conflict deepens, and will spread. Rome wears a mask in America, but here too will be detected ere long as the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan.

HON. GEORGE F. HOAR has published a letter proposing the rebuilding of William and Mary College, at Williamsburg, Va., by Northern contributions. It is a noble proposal. This venerable college is in age second only to Harvard, being six years older than Yale; it was burned during the Civil War in September, 1862, and neither the State nor the alumni have been able to rebuild it. Let the North seize this opportunity of showing its fraternal spirit towards the South, and it will rebuild more than the ruined walls.

THE EXPOSURE now going on with respect to the New York Canal Ring, initiated by Gov. Tilden's brave message, and as bravely followed up by the *New York Tribune*, is another illustration of the necessity of fighting corruption as the only means of putting it down. The non-resistance principle works poorly in politics, and it works no less poorly in religion. This is a world of conflicting forces, and the avoidance of conflict means simply submission and slavery. Are not religious radicals open to instruction by the general course of Nature?

THE *BOSTON Pilot*, a Roman Catholic paper, disbelieves that Father Walker uttered the words we quoted from the *New York Herald*, in our issue of April 1, to the effect that he "would as soon admin-

ister the sacraments to a dog" as to a Catholic parent who sends his child to the public schools; and the *Pilot* wants to regard the utterance, in any case, as that of an individual and not of the Church. But the *New York Tablet*, the leading Catholic organ of the country, says emphatically: "Most likely Father Walker did say it, but it is only what has been said by the bishops all over the world over and over again in their pastorals. And we heartily indorse it."

THE NEW YORK State Prison Association have just recommended the steady maintenance of "a system of hard labor as an indispensable part of prison discipline,"—an entire separation of hardened criminals from young and inexperienced ones,—the instruction of every convict in some useful trade or employment,—the mental and moral training of the prisoners,—the encouragement of hope as the surest basis of reformation; and they conclude that crime, disease, and pauperism are evils entailed on society which can only be broken up by "instructing, training, and saving every child." These suggestions embody practical wisdom of the highest kind; and they cannot be heeded too soon.

TWO SPLENDID "parochial schools" have been erected in New York city just back of Trinity Church, one by the Episcopalians and the other by the Catholics, which the *Christian Union* describes as "larger, more perfectly appointed, and better lighted than our best public schools," and which it complacently regards as proofs of genuine Christianity. When the zeal for untrue dogmas which has built these costly rivals of our public unsectarian schools is considered, we must sadly admit the genuineness, and also the dangerousness, of it. If the same lavish liberality and earnestness could only be won over to the grander and nobler principle of non-sectarian education, the Republic would gain wise friends where now it has unconscious enemies.

THE NEW OPERA, at Paris, brings all the resources of science to bear on the production of scenic effects. The Electric Room contains a Bunsen battery of three hundred and sixty elements, sixty on a table; and the electric light is so powerful as almost to equal sunlight in intensity. By means of it M. Duboscq throws upon the stage a veritable rainbow in *Moses*, causes the light from the painted windows to fall upon the flags of the church where Margaret remorsefully kneels in *Faust*, illuminates the fountain of wine in Gounod's opera, and performs various other wonders. The arrangements of this Electric Room are highly ingenious; and if the Pope could only get it into his possession, he might exhibit miracles which would throw his winking Virgins and liquefying St. Januaries into the shade. Then we should all be converted, and jubilantly return to the bosom of Holy Mother Church!

JESSE POMEROY, the boy-torturer, is scarcely a subject for sentimental consideration. He is probably as irresponsible as a rattlesnake, and certainly as dangerous. If the pardoning power could be taken out of the Governor's hands, or any certainty had that the boy would not be turned loose on society again in a few years, we should greatly prefer to have him imprisoned; for capital punishment seems to us a wholly unnecessary barbarism in any well-settled and well-governed community. But as it is, with every reason to expect his release after a limited confinement, we consider it a great deal more humane to hang Jesse than to let him murder one or more children hereafter by slow and fiendish cruelty. There is properly no question of responsibility, of blame or punishment or revenge, in his case; it is simply a question of protecting other children from the devilry of this child. We are opposed to capital punishment, provided imprisonment for life can be made the certain penalty for murder; but without that proviso we are in favor of it. And we apply these conclusions to the case of Jesse Pomeroy.

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Bishop Ferrette's Religious Liberty Platform.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir—I thank you for inserting the six short articles which constitute my Religious Liberty Platform in your number of the first inst., and not less for the objections which you make to part of it, and your invitation to answer them.

My platform agrees with yours in its three first articles:—

1. No sectarian teaching in public schools.
2. No Sabbath laws.
3. No chaplains of legislatures or other public institutions.

Your objections, therefore, only bear on my three last articles:—

4. No incorporation of sectarian societies.
5. All clauses, in private contracts, granting temporal advantages on sectarian conditions, to be null and void in the eyes of the law.
6. All property at present owned by sectarian societies to become, on a day to be fixed by law, the absolute civil property of the members of each such society, irrespective of religious conditions.

Your objections are very clearly stated in the following sentences:—

"The Constitution of the United States provides that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' As shown in our proposed 'Religious Freedom Amendment,' we favor the extension of this restriction to the separate States. We do not see the justice of discriminating against religious corporations, or forbidding them as such to hold property. Is not that 'prohibiting the free exercise' of religion? When no special privilege is granted to religious corporations, we shall be satisfied, because that seems to be all that justice demands; and we mean to stop where justice stops. Perhaps Bishop Ferrette will explain the grounds on which he bases this apparently invidious prohibition to religious corporations of rights and privileges universally conceded to all other corporations."

Before I proceed farther I must compliment you on the spirit of fairness and moderation toward those who might be considered as your adversaries and mine, which breathes through this editorial paragraph. When the American nation comes to deal with the question of church property, which will necessarily be in no distant future, whether she does it on your plan, or on mine, she will do it, I am sure, in that spirit of moderation, fairness, and respect for conscience and acquired rights, not in the spirit of French communists. I hope to be able to prove, among other things, that my solutions are imbued with this spirit not less than yours.

As no inconsiderable part of the task which I now undertake will be accomplished when I have directed the attention to what my articles say and to what they say not, I will make this the first part of it.

WHAT THE ARTICLES MEAN.

They strictly and calmly mean what they say, neither less nor more; and the words which they contain, having been carefully selected, are not translatable into approximate synonyms. I use the word *sectarian* and the word *religious*, but not as synonymous terms.

It is the incorporation of sectarian, not of religious institutions, that I exclude. Supposing an institution, such as a college or a church, to be religious in such a manner as to be in no way sectarian, my

platform contains nothing that would prevent that institution from obtaining a charter of incorporation.

With regard to contracts, it is clauses in them granting temporal advantages on sectarian, not on religious, conditions, that I propose to make null and void in the eyes of the law. For aught my platform contains, a theological school might make a contract with a professor, granting him a certain salary for the term of his life on condition of his teaching theology, that is, the science of religion, so many hours a week. This is a religious condition, but not a sectarian one. The professor may not stop teaching theology and retain his salary, but he may, without forfeiting it, modify his theological views as truth is dawning upon him in the course of a studious life. If he could be bound under pain of forfeiture of his position, to teach Methodist, or Presbyterian, or Vaticanist theology, that would be a sectarian condition, the only kind of condition which, according to my platform, should be null and void in the eyes of the law.

It is the property at present owned by sectarian, not religious, societies, which I say ought to become, on a day to be fixed by law, the absolute civil property of the members of each such society irrespective of religious conditions. If a society can show to the satisfaction of the courts that it is, as a society, simply religious, not sectarian, its property, on the day fixed by law, no more becomes the absolute civil property of its members than if it were the property of a medical college, or of a hospital.

This distinction between religion and sectarianism is one on which I must absolutely insist. Religion and sectarianism may have points of contact, as dogs and dog-fighting have with each other. But there is no more identity between religion and sectarianism than between being fond of dogs and being fond of dog-fighting. The first is a praiseworthy disposition, which the State might encourage even to the extent of incorporating a society for the protection of dogs. The second is a debasing sport which makes men cruel, first to animals, and then to their fellow-men; and which either should be made an indictable offence, or at least not encouraged by the State to the extent of incorporating societies for promoting fighting among dogs.

To make complete my observations about what I say and what I do not say, I may direct your attention to the fact that I do not propose to tax either sectarian or religious property. Sectarian property could not be taxed according to my platform, because there would be none. Religious property might be taxed or not for aught my platform contains. I now, as you ask, proceed to give my

GROUNDS.

I do not object to either the taxing or the exempting of non-sectarian church property, because both courses appear to me reasonable, and the result would not be very different in either case. The existence in a country of different pulpits which anathematize and send to hell each other tends to promote hatred and contempt among the citizens, and therefore should be either discouraged or at least not encouraged by the State. But we easily conceive that a religion purely religious—that is, religious of that religion pure and undefiled which "consists in visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and in keeping oneself unspotted from the world"—is highly conducive to the welfare of the State, and as such might be encouraged by having its halls exempted from taxation. The State might even build church halls, and allow their free use to the people on condition that no sectarian teachings should be introduced therein. This suggestion, however, could not be practical in our time, because no such religion is universally accepted among us. Those who would accept the free use of the halls on such terms form a small minority, and the taxing of the community on behalf of their principles might promote animosity instead of peace, which is what the State aims at securing. If so, the argument might be urged against exemption also, as well as other arguments which I will not develop, as either exemption or taxation of non-sectarian church property is outside of my platform.

Sectarian institutions should not be incorporated, because sectarianism is a sin, while incorporation is an encouragement, and no sin should be encouraged by the State, especially sins which lead to the disturbance of the public peace, and even to civil or foreign war. When, therefore a sectarian society, a Roman Catholic society, for example, comes before the Legislature for incorporation, the Legislature might grant the charter after striking off the word Roman Catholic, and every other word or clause limiting the privileges of the charter to persons of the Roman or of any other denomination. With that clause in, that charter is precisely what you remark that our National Constitution restricts Congress, what you say you wish that all State Constitutions should prevent Legislatures from making: a "law for the establishment of Religion;" religion here meaning a sect. An incorporated sect differs in nothing essential from an established church. The members and ministers of both are compelled by the sheriff, backed, if necessary, by the whole military power of the land, to stick to their respective beliefs on penalty of forfeiture of their temporalities. Such would be, more or less everywhere, the effect of the Anglo-Saxon law, even in the case of a sect not directly chartered by a law, nor recognized by the law as a civil person, but indirectly endowed through a trust-deed to which the law gives validity. The distinction between a sectarian society endowed through a trust-deed and an established church is a mere jesuitical distinction; and whoever reads in Blackstone the history of the introduction of those trust-deeds as a means of cheating the law will find that, as there were Reformers

before the Reformation, so there were Jesuits before Loyola. In England, for example, they say that the Anglican Church is established and that the Presbyterian is not; but what is the difference? Suppose an Anglican and a Presbyterian minister live near each other, and converse on the views of their respective sects so often that finally, by the influence of each other, the Anglican turns a Presbyterian and the Presbyterian an Anglican: they will have both to resign, or else the sheriff will turn each of them from his parsonage into the street. The same would be the case if they agreed together on some intermediate position, or on a different one; if they both became Baptists, for example. That is, the law treats them just as dog-fighters treat dogs who, of themselves are too good-natured to wish to fight—make them artificially wicked, and compel them to fight against their will. I am aware that in Massachusetts the law has been somewhat humanized on this point; but what I have described is the average state of Anglo-Saxon law all over the British Empire and the United States. I earnestly call the attention of my fellow-citizens to the fact that it is impossible that public and private honesty should grow or not decrease in this land, if religious teachers, who ought to form the national morality, are by law compelled to either forfeit their living and career, or to stick to obsolete and absurd creeds, the embracing of which was a weakness of their youth—selecting almost invariably the latter alternative. The incorporation of sectarian societies by law, or allowing them in any shape or form so to constitute themselves as to hold property and institute emoluments to be enjoyed on sectarian conditions enforceable by law, is immoral: just as the incorporation of a society for the importation of China women for the purposes of prostitution, or the allowing such a society to constitute itself under the laws in any shape or form so as to hold property and institute emoluments to be enjoyed on condition of operating or abetting such importation for such a purpose, such a condition being enforceable against recalcitrant members at the hands of the courts, would be an immorality. The difference between the two cases is, that the latter immorality would revolt the public feeling of the land, which has not yet grown up to be equally offended by the former. When this becomes also the case, this nation will tolerate "no incorporation," direct or indirect, disguised or not disguised, "of sectarian institutions."

Generally, to stipulate a grant of money or any temporal advantage as the price or as the condition of any sectarian act or profession is immoral; and all such conditions should be, as immoral, null and void in the eyes of the law. To my surprise, my asserting this appears novel to everybody to whom I speak of it, and however this has been taught by the most competent legislators and founders of religions. Thus we find in the Bible that Balaam was cursed of God, and his name made the patronymic name of an immense sect, for accepting a pecuniary reward for a religious act, though he had taken care to stipulate that this reward would not bind him to deviate from what the Lord would say unto him. The New Testament has Balaam's antitype in Simon the sorcerer, whom Peter sends with his money to perdition; but Peter died and Simon hath an everlasting priesthood. The Canons of the Orthodox Catholic Church depose bishops who receive money as a reward for ordinations, or as the condition of admittance to a place of worship. But as it is civil legislation that I propose, I had better not be so theological. The commentators on the French Code, and the courts of countries where that code is in force, such as France and Belgium, have declared invalid, because immoral, that clause of a will or contract which makes any of its provisions conditional on the beneficiary becoming a Protestant, or remaining a Catholic, or becoming a monk or nun, or marrying none but a person of a certain religion. The Code itself distinctly excludes from the right of holding property all religious societies whatever, except the four established ones when the State has authorized them to accept a special donation. This exception in favor of the four established sects is an inconsistency explained by the fact that Romanism is yet too powerful for the State to be able to treat it as strict adherence to principle would require; while Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Judaism have been established as a provisory check to Romanism; and all other sects left unestablished and unable to hold property, but otherwise free, in deference to those principles, which will cease to have exceptions when the law will be strong enough to apply them to Romanism. The law of this country should not wait until it is too weak to do it.

If what I have said of the immorality of sectarian stipulations for temporal advantages has made some impression upon your mind, as I cannot help thinking it must have done, you may be not very far from clearing me of all imputation of making an unjust and invidious discrimination against religious corporations. I treat them more favorably than you do, for I have no objection to their remaining exempt from taxation, provided that they be simply religious, and not sectarian. I do not make any unjust discrimination against sectarian societies. The corporate existence which I refuse to them is not a common right, but a privilege which, according to the spirit of the institutions on which this nation rests, can only be granted on conditions which sectarian societies do not fulfil. To grant to a sectarian society a charter authorizing it to enforce upon its members obedience to sectarian principles by temporal penalties or the loss of temporal advantages, would be to make a "law for the establishment of religion" and the compulsory "exercise thereof." To refuse to a sectarian religion the power of exercising over its members any discipline other than spiritual is to prohibit the compulsory,

not "the free, exercise thereof." Sectarial societies being not incorporated, all their contracts are, in the eyes of the law, merely the private contracts of their members, not as members thereof, but as simple citizens. When those contracts contain an immoral clause, for the law to hold that clause as null and void is not to make an unjust, singular, or invidious distinction against religious or even seclarial societies, but simply to treat immoral religious stipulations as all other immoral stipulations.

My fourth and fifth articles contain the permanent principles of my platform so far as it differs from yours. My sixth article provides a method for

THE TRANSITION

from the present state of things to the new. My provisions are not intended to affect the real existence of any sect as voluntary association, but merely its corporate existence as a creature of the law. A religious society having in its constitution anything seclarial would lose its legal existence if that seclarial clause was the fundamental principle of its existence, but would retain that existence if that condition was found to be only accidental, and not to affect the main object of the society, religion in the broad human sense exclusive of any seclarialism. As the incorruptible soul survives the corruptible body, some of the present societies would, under this legislation, survive their seclarial frailties, and continue to be, only in a more spiritual and exalted sphere of religious being. Mere seclarial societies, like that part of animated creation whose souls are not immortal, would come, civilly at least, to their death; and their remains would have to be disposed of.

These remains are the property of the fictitious civil persons who had received their existence not from Nature but from the will of the State, and who now, by the same will, have ceased to exist. This property I do not propose to confiscate, as has been done in France, Germany, Italy, Spain, England, Mexico, and as will have to be done in the United States, unless my platform be adopted: for allow me to tell you that your proposed Church taxation, good as it is so far as it goes, is totally inadequate to meet a national danger of such a magnitude as the growing accumulation of property by the Roman Catholic Church in this country. My process is infinitely more just, and moderate, and respectful of the conscientious feelings of seclarial societies, than the monotonous and embittering one of confiscation. I leave the property to those who now own it, only their title is changed from a seclarial into a merely civil one. Every one becomes the absolute owner of his legitimate share in it, "irrespective of religious conditions." Here for the first and only time in my platform I use the word religious, by which I mean religious, not seclarial. Though the United States are a highly religious nation, they are not, and do not pretend to be, a theocracy. So no man in the United States holds his real or personal estate on religious conditions. He may swear, or become an atheist, both of which are acknowledgedly very wrong in the opinion of this nation, and yet keep his farm and his railroad shares, and sell them to whom he pleases, or transmit them to his heirs. So every person who on the day to be fixed by law was a member of any seclarial society, having, by virtue of my sixth article, become on that very day the absolute owner of his share of the seclarial property, might sell it or donate it to whom he pleased, or transmit it to his heirs, just as he could do with his share in a farm which he would have bought in company, or inherited as co-heir.

THE ULTERIOR PROSPECT.

It is needless to say that one of the uses which he would be free to make of his share would be to let it be used for the same collective purposes as before he was its absolute owner.

In the case of edifices used for actual religious purposes this would, in practice, happen almost invariably, with this distinction: that shareholders who would be at the same time fervent members of the congregation would let the congregation have the use of their share without rent; whereas shareholders who would be lukewarm members, or not members at all, would probably ask a rent for the use of their property, which would be simply fair, and for the congregations themselves the most healthy state of things imaginable. Religious societies would then have to subsist on their present living faith, not on old endowments chained to the letter of dead creeds.

But in the case of city blocks, and other property used not for actual worship but for the purpose of raising an income whereby to exercise party discipline, the result would be very different. Where that property is owned, nominally, by the bishop, the law would have to determine, or the courts to decide, whether it be the *bona fide* civil property of the bishop, or the property of the people. In the former case, the bishop might one day renounce the church and keep the property, and the fear of that eventuality would prevent too zealous Catholics from further contributing to the accumulation of a property hanging on such a precarious thread. In the second case, every Catholic, far from being persecuted, would at once come to a nice share of property, and use it to exercise an influence over his priest and his bishop, as both have hitherto used it in controlling him and threatening to eject him from his tenement if he persists in obeying the laws of his country by sending his children to the public schools. The Roman Catholic Church which, under the present limitations of the power of its clergy, has already become a very much more amiable and estimable body than it once was, would continue to endear itself to the people of this country more and more, much to its advantage and to ours. Instead of being to us a national danger the fear of which throws us into Protestant

alliance, it might even become to the liberal cause a valuable ally against Sabbatarianism and Protestant fanaticism.

JULIUS FERRETTE.
CAMBRIDGE, Mass., April, 1875.

THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

The representatives and trustees of the Catholic parochial schools of this city have requested the Board of Education to appoint a committee of its members to meet a similar committee of their own body, "to consider on what terms the said parochial schools may be admitted to the benefits of the common school system, subject to its laws as regards the course of instruction, the methods of discipline, and the general management, in such manner as may be agreed upon." The authors of this proposal say that the number of Catholic parochial schools in the city is fifty, the number of pupils, thirty thousand. What plan the representatives of the Catholic schools have in view we do not know; but if they propose to teach the Catholic faith in their schools, in school hours, we hope the Board of Education will set its face as a flint against any appropriation from the common school fund for their support. The tendency of such a scheme would inevitably be toward the complete disintegration of our common school system.

The *New England Journal of Education*, however, informs us that a plan—perhaps the same now to be proposed for this city—is already, by the authority of the local school board, in operation in Poughkeepsie. The *Journal* says that two schools in that place, heretofore exclusively Roman Catholic, are now integral parts of the school system, and under the direct control of the Board of Education; their teachers are employed and paid by the board, new teachers being examined and appointed like those in the other schools; the text-books used are the same; the teachers—the *Sisters* as well as the others—are members of the City Teachers' Institute, and its most regular and earnest attendants, as well as among the most anxious to reach the High School; and all this without clash or complication. The question of religious instruction in the schools has been adjusted by the simple requirement that all such instruction shall be given outside of the regular hours of school session, and shall be wholly a matter of voluntary attention on the part of both teachers and pupils. And as to the preference of pupils for connection with the Catholic schools, and the preference of those schools for teachers of the Roman Catholic faith, both, we are informed by the *Journal*, have been provided for without trouble—the former by constituting the city one school district, leaving all pupils free to attend the school of their choice, so long as there may be room for them in it; and the latter, by allowing those schools the teachers of their own choice, so long as the candidates sustain themselves equally under examination, and submit to the same system of appointment, and abide by the common regulations.

From all this, according to the *New England Journal of Education*, "there has resulted a better harmony between both classes in the schools, and a nearer approach to a unification of the school system. There has also been curiously developed the fact, that the supposed popular demand among so-called Protestants for 'The Bible in the Schools' is rather fancied than not, only the merest fraction of the pupils being willing to remain in school for the religious exercises when made a voluntary matter, and held outside of the legal school session. In other words, it appears to have been made clear that there is no necessary barrier between Roman Catholics and Protestants in the public school system, and that both, when simply left to themselves, have more faith in the religious education of their children in the home and the church than in that of the public school."

We must know more of this Poughkeepsie arrangement before coming to a final judgment as to its character and workings; but if it shall be found to offer a solution of the troubles between Protestants and Catholics in regard to the schools, we shall rejoice. We are not among those who complain of the Catholics on account of their anxiety for the religious education of their children, and to guard them against perverting influences. As Protestants, we cherish a similar anxiety for the right moral and religious training of our own children; and on this subject, as on every other, remembering the equal rights of our Catholic fellow-citizens, we would do as we would be done by. We are willing, for their sake, and in compliance with what we regard as the true American principle, to eliminate from the schools all religious instruction, and all ceremonies of worship. This, however, does not satisfy them any more than it does a large class of Protestants. We should be glad if Protestant and Catholic children could mingle together in the same schools, the teachers being appointed for their literary and moral qualifications solely, without regard to their church relations; but if religious prejudices are too strong for this at present, we are willing, as Protestants, to make any concession to the Catholics that may be compatible with the non-sectarian character of the schools, and that shall have the effect of securing to the system their hearty support. We think it would be better, all things considered, to withdraw religious instruction even from the school buildings; but if we can have peace between Protestants and Catholics by allowing both an opportunity, under proper conditions, to impart such instruction before or after school hours, we think the adoption of such a plan worthy of grave consideration. Whatever sect uses a school building for such a purpose should pay a reasonable rent, for the government must not, even by allowing the free use of its property, make itself responsible for such teaching.

The proposal of the representatives of the Catholic schools for a conference with the Board of Education has elicited a fierce outcry from many Protestant journals; but we choose to wait and see what our Catholic fellow-citizens have to propose before joining in this chorus of oburgation. If they insist upon appropriations from the school fund for their parochial schools, as such, we shall be among the most earnest and persistent opponents of the scheme; but if they propose to put those schools, in good faith, under the exclusive care of the Board of Education, and consent that there shall be no seclarial or religious instruction in them, we are willing to go as far as we honorably can to conciliate them and secure their support to our common school system.—*Christian Union*.

THE CATHOLIC COMPROMISE.

Negotiations are pending in this city between a Committee, acting for the parochial schools of the Church, and a Committee of the Board of Education, over a proposal, on the part of the former, to have the Catholic schools placed under the Board, and made part of the common school system, "subject to its laws as regards the course of instruction, the methods of discipline, and the general management," on "such terms as may be agreed upon." The only terms the Catholic Committee can offer include, necessarily, the reservation to the Catholic clergy of the virtual management of the schools by the selection of the teachers, and the giving of religious instruction as part of the regular school course. If they were not going to insist on these things, there would be nothing to negotiate about; and all they would have to do to get their schools into the common school system would be to hand them over to the Board. The proposed compromise has, it is said, been adopted in other cities "with success," though in what cities we do not know, nor do we know what success can mean except the satisfaction of Catholic claims. People who suppose the satisfaction of these claims can mean anything short of the destruction of the common school system deceive themselves. They must remember, first of all, that after we have given the priests the control of Catholic schools, we shall have only given them a part of what they conceive to be their due. They hold themselves entitled as of right, and solemnly proclaim it, to the control of the education of children of all denominations in every country. Their willingness now to share it with the Protestants in this country is simply a concession to the force of circumstances, which in no way releases them from the obligation of extending the limits of their jurisdiction by every means in their power; and it behooves those who negotiate with either cardinal, archbishop, or vicar-general to remember that they negotiate with a person who cannot bind himself on subjects of this sort by human conventions. A secret order from Rome may any day relieve him from any stipulation whatever which may seem prejudicial to the interests of the Church.

In the second place, it is folly to suppose that after the Catholics have been allowed to withdraw their share of the school-tax from the common fund, or—which is the same thing—been allowed to place their own schools under the Board of Education, other denominations will long remain satisfied with the present system; all religious denominations would like to educate their own children in their own way, if they could get the State to raise funds for them by taxation. Episcopalians, and Methodists, and Baptists support the common schools, not as a perfect system, but as the best attainable system; but a large part of its efficiency and the whole of its justice would be gone, if it was modified to meet the requirements of one religious sect. Moreover—and here is a consideration which the people of this country must face sooner or later, and they may as well begin to face it now,—the education given or superintended by Catholic priests is a bad education; indeed, for political purposes, worse than none. It unfits children for the citizenship of free States. If extended widely enough, it would ruin this government. It has been tried for ages in various countries, and has in all worked unutterable mischief, and destroyed the sources of national greatness by killing the sincerity, the truthfulness, the courage and high-mindedness on which national greatness is based. The thoughtful and patriotic men of all Catholic countries are to-day getting rid of it as a national curse. And it would be an astounding spectacle if, after the priests had been excluded from the work of public instruction in France, Spain, Italy, and Bavaria, they were to be allowed to carry it on here with taxes voted by American citizens. Compromise with these men has, in short, never succeeded, and never will. The only thing that does succeed with them is their rigorous subjection to the common law.—*New York Nation*, April 1.

GOD IN THE CONSTITUTION.

Mr Ferree lectured before the Free Thought Society in Music Hall, on Sunday, on this subject.

He began with the assertion that the conflict between those who were disposed to enlarge and those who wished to contract or limit the area of human liberty was irrepressible. When our National Constitution was formed it was on the basis of the declaration that all men are created free and equal. There was an apparent and real inconsistency in allowing negro slavery to continue in those States where it was established. This concession was thought necessary to a union of the States. It was thought and believed that slavery in an otherwise free country must die out. But after eighty years it was found strong and powerful, and it cost us a bloody four years' war to eliminate it.

The fathers of the Constitution, who were liberal

men, provided in that document for religious liberty, full and complete. There were some apparent and real inconsistencies in the government administration—the appointment of chaplains in army and navy, the appointments of religious fasts and feasts, and the exemption of churches and church property from taxation. Taking courage from this long allowed inconsistency, there is a large and influential body of men, organized for the express purpose of procuring a change in our National Constitution, which shall not only recognize God but also Jesus Christ as the ruler among nations, and the Christian Scriptures as the inspired foundation of our laws. This would be consistent with their doctrine, and with the above mentioned concessions. But it would be utterly inconsistent with the guaranties of religious freedom in the Constitution and the demands of American liberty. Hence this irrepressible conflict comes about. Shall the Constitution be conformed to these customs, or these customs be dropped in conformity with the Constitution? If the amendment carries, no man who is not an Orthodox Christian can hold any office, from that of tideswaiter up to that of governor and president. Not only Atheists, but Unitarians, Spiritualists, Jews, and others, would be thereby politically tabooed. Your present governor would have to step out, for he does not believe in Jesus Christ or the Bible, as this proposed amendment demands.

The Jews are among our best citizens, but they would be practically disenfranchised. This amendment would crowd out from office the best brain of the country; or if not, it would be retained at the expense of hypocrisy. It would virtually rule Orthodoxy as the established religion. Nothing but that would be allowed to be preached or taught. This would be to carry us back five hundred years in the history of the world. We have hypocrisy enough now, God knows; but with this amendment hypocrisy would come in like a flood. Why do these men want this change? It is to rehabilitate the waning power of the priesthood. Therefore it is that the ministers take so active a part in the movement.

The fact is that Christianity, as represented by the popular churches, is in deadly hostility to American liberty; they have taken the initiative in this great coming conflict. They mean business. They are honest and earnest. It is high time that Liberals were on the alert. The danger is that the great masses of the people will be so engaged in other matters that they will allow judgment to go against them by default. Liberal leagues ought to be formed in every town. Petitions ought to be circulated and tracts distributed looking to the abolition of these sectarian inconsistencies in the administration of our government.

Under Mr. Abbot and others something has been done, but little, as yet, compared with what should have been done. The prevailing apathy on this subject is ominous of evil.—*San José Mercury.*

EQUAL RIGHTS IN THE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

NORTHAMPTON, Mass., March 25, 1875.

FRIEND ABBOT:—

I inclose an article taken from the *Hampshire Gazette* of this week, and written by the pastor of the First (Orthodox) Church of Northampton. I think you will agree with me that we ought to feel that liberal ideas are taking root, when so tolerant a position is taken by the occupant of President Edwards' pulpit, and who is, at the same time, a prominent and active member of the committee of the Public Library of Northampton.

I wish I could now lay my hands on a sermon to send you, preached last Thanksgiving by the minister referred to above, in which he strongly opposes the Christian Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Yours truly, SETH HUNT.

The desire having been expressed in the late town meeting that more "Catholic books" should be added to the library, it deserves to be considered that every individual citizen of Northampton has equal rights in this respect; and that, from the nature of a public library and of literature itself, sectarian differences cannot even be taken into account. A good book is a good book, whatever may be the religious connections or opinions of the author; and in a public library the only questions to be asked about it are these: Is it a good book—that is, ably and decently written? Are some citizens likely to wish to read it? Can we spare the money to buy it? If yes, then the book goes in as a matter of course.

By referring to the thirteenth regulation, on page 8, of the new catalogue, it will be seen that every citizen, of whatever religious denomination, has the same privileges of requesting for his use and benefit the addition of any book which is not in the library; and by referring to the last sentence in the preface to the catalogue, it will be seen that the ideal of a public library is, "an institution in which every citizen may find every book which he desires to aid him in his daily pursuits, or minister to his intellectual growth and pleasure."

If a citizen wants a book that advocates or controverts any religious opinions whatever, he should have it, if it is a decent book and there is money to buy it. In what is so well called "The Republic of Letters," there are no sectarian distinctions; there is no "Catholic literature," and no "Protestant literature"—only literature. The works of Shakespeare, Bacon, Milton, Scott, Dickens, Guizot, Mrs. Stowe, Canon Kingsley, Bishop Butler, President Edwards, Dante, Bossuet, Pope, Chateaubriand, Lacordaire, Montalembert, Madame Craven, Father Newman, Cardinal Wiseman, and Pope Clement XIV., are all in our library—not because ten of these authors are "Prot-

estants" and ten are "Catholics"; but because all of them have written books which people wish to read. The question is not, Is it a "Catholic," or "Protestant," or "Mohammedan," or "Jewish" book? but only, Does somebody want to read it? Exactly as our highway surveyors never ask whether it is a "Protestant" or "Catholic" wagon or shovel, only, Is it a good wagon or shovel to use in mending the roads?

So may it always be—a question of literature, not of religion. May the time never come when the "Republic of Letters" shall be disturbed or invaded by sectarian strife! May the time never come when Catholics and Protestants shall refuse to read each others' books, to put themselves in each others' place, endeavor to see with each others' eyes, and learn from each other all the truth and good they can!

Finally, the only real difficulty is a financial one. Let there be money enough to buy all the books that all the people want to read; and then all the people will have all the books they want to read. L.

"WHERE ARE WE?"

We read the leading article in THE INDEX for January 7, with a feeling somewhat akin to that with which one opens his door and finds a tract thrust beneath, entitled, "Reader, are you a Christian?" The editor, dropping the reserve with which commonly, known but unnamed, he speaks from the editorial column, with the editorial "we," puts his own signature to an eager question, emphatic answer, and earnest appeal. At first we doubt: is he lost and despairingly crying out for succor, or are we wandering in some maze of doubt and danger? We soon find, however, that the editor has not the slightest doubt about his own position; his anxiety is all for us. What is the fearful danger from which he would rescue us? Mainly this: "You are all friends to liberty and light, science and civilization, truth, brotherhood, and humanitarian religion, in all their magnificent universality." Not a bad plight, surely! But—and this constitutes the danger—being such, we still call ourselves Christians! It would seem to be the opinion of THE INDEX that if we persist much longer in this infatuation we shall speedily lose our "liberty and light, science and civilization." And yet, one counter question seems pertinent here. If in, with, and through our Christianity we have attained in any small or large degree to "liberty and light, science and civilization," what possible harm can come from holding on a little longer, in the hope that the religion which has led, or at least accompanied, us on the way to these desirable elements of modern life may have still further treasures to reveal? Would it be impertinent to remark that, since THE INDEX writers parted company with Christianity, we miss a little of the "sweetness" which should accompany "light" to make modern civilization desirable; that we apprehend a danger from rudely forcing the processes of growth and tearing men from the relations in which they have naturally come to their "humanitarian religion"; and that when in the process of evolution Christianity blossoms into the better thing which is to follow, all who have spiritual eyes will see it and rejoice at the sight?

This is an age of transition. Was there ever an age which was not? Creeds, philosophies, and sciences are going through processes of destruction and renewal. Is not that the method of life? No wise man, or good man, is content with any church, system of thought, or mode of government now extant. Was it ever otherwise? There have always been in vogue two methods of reform: the one to rush into the most eager and violent partisanship, for and against the old and the new; the other, to weigh, test, discriminate, and, day by day, build the best which is attainable into life, in the hope that good living and wise thinking will most surely bring better living and wiser thought. By the first method men are led to dissension and unnecessary conflict. Passions are excited, prejudices are aroused; and by well-meant but injudicious attacks old and outgrown superstitions get a support of love and service which they do not deserve, and would not have if left to the fate which their own merits would determine for them. By the second method, ideas, practical utilities, and evident superiorities slowly win their way and commend themselves by their "sweetness and light."

In our opinion no man is doing more to perpetuate for the rest of this century the grosser forms of Christianity, which he detests, than the editor of THE INDEX. Furthermore, we detect in this appeal a capital illustration of that offence which he so vehemently condemns; i. e., "personal leadership." "Verily verily, I say unto you" is the burden of the warning. Why not state facts, produce reasons, and then let them have their due effect? Why not show stronger thinking, a more tender humanity, better moralities, and a more cheerful faith than the Christian religion can produce, and let the world choose? We are not indifferent to our interests and the good of our children. We are seeking the better way as earnestly as extra-Christians or anti-Christians, and shall gladly drop our Christianity, when we are convinced that its life has by natural processes of evolution passed into a higher form of religion. We cannot undo the past. If we could, it is doubtful whether we could better it. By such methods as were possible, and with such materials as they had, men wrought out that which to-day we call the Christian religion; the last, best, highest transformation of the religious sentiment. If a better has already come, it will find means to reveal itself, and it will be better for the world that only those should be its prophets who are fully inspired by its spirit. Haste and violence will only retard and destroy.—*N. Y. Liberal Christian.*

MATTIE STEVENSON:

THE HEROINE OF MEMPHIS.

BY REV. W. H. SPENCER, IN THE "LIBERAL WORKER."

What was it a year ago, when the cities of Shreveport and Memphis were scourged by the yellow fever, what was it that touched our tenderest heart-strings, and commanded our deepest reverence, and the richest incense we could offer? It was not the money which the generous heart of Chicago and other cities contributed to alleviate the distress of these suffering people. Gold might have been poured in like water, and we should have simply said, "It is a noble, generous, creditable thing to do;" but there was one who gave more than money, who did a deed as self-sacrificing, devoted, heroic, sublime, as history any where records. We read how Florence Nightingale flew to the Crimea, with her lint and anodyne, to bind the wounds of red-handed war. We applaud her and send her name with praises round the world. We read how Grace Darling leaped into her little boat and pulled it through the boiling surf out toward the wrecked ship, and saved the struggling few whom the waves had spared; and we call her daring, heroic, and immortalize her name and deeds in print of stone and steel. It is well; but there is one young American girl whose deed of chivalrous daring and pure self-sacrifice deserves to have her name written as high as honor has placed the names of these English heroines. She heard, from her home in Illinois, the cry of distress that went up from stricken Memphis. The dreadful plague had frightened the well from the city and left hundreds of sick without nurses. She heard the cry for help, and her young heart went out in pity to them. The next train that ran toward Memphis saw her on board. She did not dare to whisper her intent to father or mother. She left her house with only the garments she wore, paid her own passage to Memphis, hastened to proffer her services, waited on the feverish sick day and night, saw scenes so loathsome that stout men sickened and fled in terror from them, would accept no pay for her services, and when the horrid disease laid its poisonous hand upon her, she sank beneath its withering touch, with only one regret to whisper—would I might live to help you a little more! It was no selfish interest drew her there—no father, mother, sister, brother, or lover called her; it was only the cry of a stranger she heard, and she obeyed—because she loved her neighbor as herself.

No wonder the city of Memphis forgot the plague an hour to admire heroism like hers. No wonder the Howard Association, and the city officials, and the clergy, and the nurses, and hundreds of others, followed in solemn procession the coffin which bore to the grave all that was left of the pure and gentle Mattie Stevenson. In these times when we see brilliant suns in the intellectual firmament passing into eclipse, and stars that to thousands have stood as true as the pole star, now trembling and falling from their sphere, and we feel our faith in human nature staggering under the dark revelations and still darker suspicions of human weakness and depravity, then we need to come face to face with just such sublime heroism, consecration, and martyrdom as this of Mattie Stevenson. Then we begin to realize that brotherly love is not a dream of the poets, a chimera of religious fanatics, a mere sentimental platitude, but a living, breathing, governing spirit in the hearts of men; and that there do live angels in the flesh, souls that love their neighbors as themselves, and show us by their deeds that of all the graces and virtues that make up the crown of true manhood and womanhood there is not a flower more beautiful, and fragrant, and fadeless than love—brotherly love—the love that watches by the bedside of the sick, gives bread to the starving poor, builds hospitals for the insane in body and in mind, makes homes for the homeless, houses of refuge for the unfortunate, and scatters its charity broadcast over the earth with a prodigal hand. What virtue is more beautiful! There is none. I thank God that it is taught by every religion on the globe. It assures us that God has made of one blood all nations of the earth, and the time shall come when they shall dwell together in unity and amity.

THE FEAR OF DEATH.

.... One navy who was saved was overheard by the correspondent of the *Standard* saying: "When I saw what was up, I said, ses I, I'm goin' to die; and, damn it, I may as well do it as comfortable as I can; and so I lit my pipe." There was no high feeling in that man, but there was an indefinite capacity for discipline. Fear did not overpower him in any degree. He thought a smoke, even in the face of death, still an object worth desiring. He was not scared. He was not awed. He simply filled up the few moments which appeared to be left to him in the manner which seemed most satisfactory to his senses. Such a man as that under discipline would have helped to put down the panic and preserve rigid order. He serves excellently as an instance how extremely small a diversion in the grain of the raw material of human nature is needed to turn a rough man into one who would face death calmly to preserve others. It is quite certain that the pleasure of a smoke does not exert half the power over most men which the desire to preserve discipline to the last has for those who have once learned to respect it. Yet this man was probably very slightly different in temperament from scores of others who sacrificed their own and their fellow-passengers' lives in the excess of an animal panic. Clearly the spirit of discipline, though it makes such a vast difference in results, is one of the most accessible of human qualities. Fear of death is not so strong but what it is subdued by very trifling forces indeed,—by forces which it takes

but little effort to implant in human nature. The spirit of discipline is no very deep quality, nothing that implies any true spiritual culture, but rather a superficial social habit, which works the great effects it does, less because it is so powerful, than because fear and panic in most men are, after all, very weak, whenever there is any collective motive acting on a considerable body of men to overcome them. Fear of death seems one of the most terrific of all forces. But really a mere thread of nervous energy and habit acting on a group of associated minds will utterly defy it,—and that without the help of faith, or hope, or even conscience, to help it.

But this being so, as it undoubtedly is, what strikes us as most remarkable is that the spiritual faith of centuries seems to have had so very little result in overcoming this weakest of all paralyzing terrors,—a terror which the love of tobacco completely subdues in an uneducated and undisciplined man, and which a very little discipline and *esprit de corps* would have subdued wholly in all who perished. How is it that by this time there are not a far larger number of persons who, in the immediate expectation of death, feel rather a curious desire for the change before them, though they do not deem it lawful to seek it for themselves, than anything like alarm? If a little *esprit de corps* will fully overcome the disposition for panic even in brutal men, how strange that centuries of a faith which, if it teaches anything, teaches spiritual presence of mind and dependence on God, should have apparently had no effect in nerving the spirit in the face of sudden danger and death! The physiological speculations which seem to show that even mental and moral tendencies are inherited, make the want of this presence of mind in the face of death even more astonishing. One would suppose that centuries of contemplation of the life beyond the grave would have steadied our nerves and strung our wills to meet unexpected death more as we should enter on an unexpected journey, than with the wild recoil of fear. Is, then, faith less operative than the emulation of shame produced by a very few months' common drill? Is it of less operative force than the attraction of that single last smoke, the enjoyment of which kept the poor navy calm amidst all the bewilderment and shrieks of his fellow-passengers on the wreck? Certainly human nature is a paradox. It is governed in great crises by motives so minute, and yet remains ungovernable in the presence of motives so powerful. It is kept firm in the face of death by a habit of yesterday, and yet seems to find no strength at all in the convictions of a lifetime. Responsibility to man makes it firm as a rock, and responsibility to God leaves it as changeable as the waves. A single thread of connection with the visible world—a thread just about to be severed—is all-powerful to guide what the strongest ties to the spiritual world—ties of life-long standing just about to become the only ties left—cannot even stir. Surely there is no stranger spectacle than the power of a modicum of social motive to steel men against the last fear, when all the combined forces of all the spiritual motives that Christianity has given us, after near two thousand years of influence, do not weigh as much as a bowl of tobacco against the death-panic with the majority of Englishmen.—*London Spectator*, on the "Loss of the Northfleet."

ECCLÉSIASTICISM IN BOSTON.

How thoroughly the founders of Boston carried out their purpose of rooting up out of mind and memory the traditional observances of the English Church, is shown at no time more forcibly than in the general popular oblivion, among the natives, of the season of Lent, and its culmination in Holy Week. The Roman Catholic multitude's decoration with sprigs of green on their return from church on Palm Sunday, is usually the first notion the native masses receive that the penitential season of the Church commemorating Christ's forty days' fast in the wilderness, has come and nearly gone. The Protestant Episcopal churches, from the influential character of their membership, though comparatively limited in numbers, do leave the impress of Lent on society, to a certain extent. No festivity where the world of fashion is expected to assist would be undertaken between Ash Wednesday and Easter. But the theatres and the concerts proceed as usual, and probably not even an opera-manager would think it necessary to intermit his season in Boston on account of Lent.

Hence Holy Week arrives and passes here without any lively popular consciousness that the great body of the Christian world is engaged in celebrating the most sacred mysteries. The ceremonies of what was anciently called the great or painful week, or week of sorrows, begin to-morrow, when Christ's entry into Jerusalem is commemorated by blessing and distributing palm or other green branches. On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the tenebrae (darkness) constitute the services, and the bells are not rung nor instruments of music sounded from Thursday until Sunday. On Friday, the day of the crucifixion, the altar, which has been veiled throughout Lent, is stripped of its ornaments, and the sorrowful services reach their height. Easter Sunday ushers in the glowing festival of the resurrection after the three days of darkness and silence. Seen in all the fulness of impressive ritual among the Roman Catholics, these Holy Week services are modified in the Episcopal churches according to the tastes and beliefs of the worshippers. The Episcopal churches in Boston run through the whole range from High to Low, with the Low or Evangelical preponderating, but with the High or Ritualistic persuasion represented by a church that outstrips anything in this country for ecclesiastical observances.

Truly, "extremes meet" in the existence in Puritan-bred Boston of the most *ultra* ecclesiasticism to

be found anywhere in this country outside of the Roman Church. The Church of the Advent, in Bowdoin Street, which was (curiously enough, for another meeting of extremes) originally the meeting-house of Dr. Lyman Beecher, is still, from the necessities of the parish, a plain, old-fashioned meeting-house in general appearances. But connected with it is a "mission" of the "Society of St. John the Evangelist," an order or brotherhood claiming the authority of the Anglican Church, known in England as the "Cowley Fathers." These fathers have a monastery at Oxford, where the life of the monks of centuries ago is reproduced as closely as circumstances permit. The order has one more monastery besides, and that is in Staniford Street in this city, not far from the Church of the Advent. Here dwell some half-a-dozen modern monks, with Rev. Mr. Grafton, rector of the Church of the Advent, as the "father superior." The house is an ordinary brownstone-front residence exteriorly, but across the hallway, just within the outer doors, are two wooden gates, surmounted by a large wooden cross. Beyond this mediæval-looking portal no woman ever passes; for the fathers in the cells above stairs are celibates. The furniture is plain and severe, the chairs and benches are all without backs, and the floors bare of carpetings. In the "refectory" is a reading-desk, laden with an ancient tome or two, from which one of the fathers read, while the rest, seated on stools around the table, eat their frugal meals in silence. The injunction of continual silence in the monastery is repeated from placards on all the walls. The monks move silently about from cell to oratory, to library, or refectory, in their long, black gowns, with a knotted girdle about the waist, and their day is parcelled out according to a posted order signed by the father superior. One of the fathers (they are all quite young men) rises at half-past five, and intoning a Latin phrase receives from the cell of each waking priest a "*Deo gratias*" in reply. Then the "Primes and lauds" in the little chapel, or oratory, on the second floor (where the altar bears the candles and other paraphernalia of the Catholic Church), at a quarter of six, two hours before breaking fast, and henceforth throughout the day an almost continual series of prayers and services of various kinds, noted by the father superior with their ancient ecclesiastical designations. Other duties of the young monks are celebrating the many daily services in the Church of the Advent. It will not surprise the reader, after the foregoing, to be told that the confessional is a part of the discipline at the Church of the Advent. The entire institution, which flourishes with considerable popularity, is as pure a bit of mediæval ecclesiasticism as can be found anywhere in the Old World.—*Daily Transcript*, March 19.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS.

REPORT OF THE NEW YORK STATE PRISON ASSOCIATION—SUGGESTIONS FOR PRISON REFORM.

ALBANY, N. Y., April 9.—The thirtieth annual report of the Prison Association of New York, which has been presented in the Legislature and ordered to be printed, sets forth some important facts. Besides bringing advice and material aid to upward of 2,000 prisoners at the time of release from the prisons and penitentiaries, and making special inquiry into the personal history and wants of more than 10,000 inmates of the jails in this State, the members of this organization have pursued a system of inquiries into the sources and preventable causes of crime. The total number of penitentiary prisoners at the beginning of the year 1874 was 2,856. The number admitted during the year was 10,960. The number discharged, including deaths and 70 pardons, was 10,586. Therefore, 13,816 prisoners have received treatment in the penitentiaries during the year, and 3,012 are reported as remaining in prison at the beginning of the fiscal year. Of the total number, 16.62 per cent. were under 20 years of age, and 6,019, or 54.91 per cent., were under 30 years of age. The habit of intemperance or drunkenness was confessed by 75 per cent. of all who were admitted to five of the penitentiaries. Only 3,416 of the total number of prisoners were married persons. Following are some of the suggestions and conclusions of the report:—

First: That there shall be a prompt and searching inquiry into the pernicious consequences of the failure to steadily maintain a system of hard labor as an indispensable part of prison discipline.

Second: That there should be entire and permanent separation of the hardened and vicious criminals who are dangerous or injurious to younger and more inexperienced convicts.

Third: That there is a practical necessity for giving every young convict in the State Prisons and Penitentiaries knowledge and experience in an employment or trade by means of which an honest and useful course of life may be best secured.

Fourth: That the awakening of all the available powers of the mind and the moral nature of the prisoner should be prompted by suitable means.

Fifth: That while experience shows that the rigorous and impartial discipline of hard labor and strict obedience are the first elements of successful penitentiary treatment, that whatever awakens and strengthens the substantial hopes of useful and honorable life in the prisoner gives the surest basis for permanent reformation and good conduct.

Sixth: That crime, disease, and pauperism entail evils of their own respective kinds upon successive generations.

Seventh: That to sever the links in the chain of such entailed evils, and to instruct, train, and save every child, is to reduce the criminal classes, and break up the entailment of the evils which defy remedies, and curative discipline in adult lives.—*N. Y. Tribune*.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

"ANIMAL IMPLUME BIPES."

FROM THE RUSSIAN OF OZBONHAUZ.

BY ALBERT WARREN KELSEY.

What mighty forces mingling ran
As warp and woof to that vast plan
Which formed the grand result—a Man!

From sea-grown weeds of little worth,
Through shapes that wound and crept on earth,
A human being had his birth,—

Just one removal from the brute,
With form adapted but to suit
His search for food, from prey to root.

No past could move his feeble sense
To ask that awful question, "Whence?"
For in supremest confidence

He lived each day, and knew no more
That he had lived the day before,
Than that the next day life was o'er.

His body's movement formed his mind
And good and evil so combined,
That neither could the other find.

Not knowing right, he knew no wrong:
In all he did 'twas but his strong,
Fierce nature carried him along.

His senses' zest, his passions' joy,
He never scrupled to enjoy,
For conscience could not him annoy.

No mystic hopes, no idle fears
For something other than the years
He lived, gave cause for smiles or tears.

Heedless, he saw his race increase,
His own life blossom, ripen, cease:
Absence of thought was mental peace.

Our wiser age has yet to learn
That peace of mind we seek to earn
Results from something that we spurn.

With grossest inconsistency,
We dream that perfect peace may be
United with mind's mystery:

But thought is *motion*—peace is *rest*;
And each is good; though which the best,
"Beyond the veil" may be confessed,
But ne'er on earth can be expressed!

CHRISTIAN ADVERTISING.

BY G. B. BARTLETT.

I'm a poor, hard-working farmer, that's never done no harm,
But have labored hard for fifty years to clear my little farm;

And my dear wife has churned, and spun, and toiled with all her might,
From long before the break of day till after candle-light;
We read our Bible Sundays, and the Christian paper, too,
With equal faith in both of them, that what they teach is true.

As our paper recommended some bonds at ten per cent.,
I called my woman to me to see if she'd consent
To selling off our homestead that we might thus invest,
And living on the ten per cent. to end our days in rest.
Our pastor come to see us and approved of the idea:
"I'll put five hundred dollars in, 'tis all I have," says he;
"The savings of my three-score years, for I'm growing old,
And 'twill make me independent while I watch my little fold."

I'm stopping at the poor-house now; somehow my bonds don't pay.

Thank God! my darling did not live to see this dreary day;
For when she heard the neighbors say we'd come upon the town

It somehow broke her noble heart! she kinder wilted down.
But most of all I pity them who put the notice in;
For how their homeless children must be sufferin'.
Their wives must take in washing, and must scrimp in every way,

As the bonds they had such faith in, don't somehow seem to pay.

When I heard the old man's story, a vision rose to view
Of splendid brown-stone mansions on a spacious avenue,
And how their pious owners must enjoy this text to see,
"As to the very least of these you did it unto me."

—*Christian Register*.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 10.

Cash, 50 cents; Cash, 20 cents; F. E. Abbot, \$50; Wm. Wiley, \$10; C. E. Streeter, \$1; H. D. Maxson, 50 cents; John Richards, 75 cents; W. T. Newton, \$3.20; John V. Faith, \$3.20; W. A. Brazee, 75 cents; L. H. Kindy, 75 cents; H. G. Wythe, 75 cents; D. H. Hunnewell, \$3.20; S. G. Whiting, \$3.20; Chas. Mead, \$3; G. K. Withington, \$3.20; H. W. Whitney, \$3.20; N. H. Hunt, \$3; Carl Zerrahn, \$1; Chas. Voysey, \$33.33; James Manson, \$5.56; —, \$3.20; Victor Bishop, \$3.20; James Damon, \$3.20; Chas. Aplin, \$5.50; Thos. Martin, \$3.20; J. E. Follett, \$3.20; Mrs. L. B. Sayles, \$3.20; Maxwell Ramsby, 20 cents; Jerome Bass, \$3.20.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 15, 1875.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRANCIS
W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), Editorial Contributors.

It is stated by the Boston Post that the petition of Mr. Julius Nieland for naturalization papers was made out in due form; that the petitioner had been five years a resident of the United States and one year of Pennsylvania; and that his moral and mental character was all that could be required. Judge Pratt and Judge Hare refused to naturalize him solely "on account of being an infidel."

AS REASONS for not actively pushing the work of the Liberal League, Judge — "fears his legal practice will suffer," and Dr. — "said active work would ruin his practice;" while a third thought his nationality stood in the way of his usefulness with Americans. Our informant adds: "Well, here are the three most prominent men in the League unwilling to act." Some of the difficulties in the way of the Liberal League are revealed pretty plainly in such statements. It requires some self-sacrifice to make it useful and effective. Cannot this be found, if the objects are approved?

I WISH to call the attention of the readers of THE INDEX to three lectures on Natural History, to be given at No. 3 Tremont Place, on Thursday afternoons, at 3 o'clock, beginning April 15. Miss Lewis, the lecturer, is a genuine Abolitionist of the good old stock, who devoted her energies to succoring the fugitive slave until he needed her help no longer, and then felt free to turn to the study of Nature, which she has always loved. She has devoted ten or twelve years to the earnest pursuit of this branch of science, and won the appreciation of many distinguished men in her own State. She now proposes for the first time to make public the results of her studies and original observations. Insects and birds have been especial objects of attention to her; and with special reference to the latter class she will trace out the leading laws of organization and development in the world of Nature. We trust the friends of woman's higher development, as well as of scientific progress, will give her a fair chance to show what she has accomplished in this interesting and noble pursuit.

E. D. C.

A PRIVATE letter from London, quoted in the Boston Transcript, tells of the visit of a lady to Westminster Abbey: "Holding the Catholic faith, the lady was moved to offer her devotions at the shrine of Edward the Confessor. Kneeling upon the time-worn floor, where thousands had before knelt, she was telling her beads and saying her prayers, when she was interrupted by the horrified beadle. Shaking her by the arm, he said, 'This won't do, mum; it's quite out of place, mum. Against the law, mum, and really you must go somewhere else, mum!' Taking no heed of his interruption, the lady finished her devotions. Rising, she confronted the beadle, still aghast at this trespass upon the sanctuary under his charge, and it was truly refreshing to see how quietly but effectually she annihilated this custodian. With the gentlest manner and blindest of tones, she asked if she was not mistaken in what she had just heard; if it was possible that in any Christian Church in Christian England a Christian woman was denied the privilege of saying her prayers. Reminding him that the noble abbey was reared by Catholic hands, she asked if he was not just a little overstepping the bounds of his brief authority, and fairly drove the beadle from the field by her kind manner and persuasive words. Then there is an old English law forbidding any person telling his beads or making the sign of the cross in any public place, under severe penalties; but it would be hardly credible that it is enforced at the present time, but for this incident."

THE "MAIN BUSINESS" OF RADICALISM.

A respected correspondent vindicates in another column the course of those radicals who "see no use in the Liberal League," and who hear no summons to action in such events as the refusal of naturalization papers to Mr. Nieland, of Philadelphia, "on account of being an infidel." Believing strongly in the duty of all who value the civil and political rights of the unorthodox to make emphatic protest against such injustice and to take prompt and vigorous measures for its redress, we nevertheless thank Mr. C. for defending so ably and so courteously the views of those who consider that the proper course of radicals under the circumstances is pure passivity. He may be right and we wrong, or *vice versa*; but it is a reason for encouragement when radicals begin to discuss thoughtfully what public duties such circumstances may impose upon them.

1. The editorial paragraph which chiefly called out Mr. C.'s article was as follows:—

"Cases of encroachment on religious liberty in this country are multiplying with disturbing rapidity. A witness has lately been denied the right to testify in the courts of New York City,—a member of the legislature has been summarily ejected in North Carolina,—and now, as described by Professor L. in another column, an applicant has just been refused his naturalization papers in Philadelphia,—all because of religious opinions. Such cases are continually occurring, these being only illustrations that are fresh in our memory; and yet radicals see 'no use' in the Liberal League. How much longer are they to be publicly trampled on before they betray their discomfort? Or don't they care unless the insult and outrage are inflicted upon each and every individual radical in the country? If a British subject is insulted anywhere, the whole empire flames with wrath, and reparation is exacted forthwith. Would that American free-thinkers had a spark of the same spirit! We are thoroughly mortified that such things as these can happen, while yet the indignities insolently put upon the rights of free thought call forth no determination to protect these rights by some general measure. Yes, radicals, we are ashamed by your tame, mean-spirited indifference, when your reply to one such outrage ought to be a thousand Liberal Leagues, starting up like Roderick Dhu's clansmen from the heather."

1. The first point of Mr. C.'s article is one that we reluctantly notice. He says: "Some one will suggest that the two utterances mentioned above are somewhat chieftain-like, wherein the editor assumes the rôle of Roderick Dhu, blowing his shrill whistle (but without its once magical effect) to conjure up the lurking 'clansmen of the heather.' Not so the present writer," etc.

The "editor" has not "assumed the rôle of Roderick Dhu"; and that there can be any such Papuan intelligence among the radicals of this country as to "assume the rôle" of this apocryphal "some one," we shall refuse to believe until it reveals itself unmistakably by making the absurd "suggestion" intimated. We credit all our readers with brain enough to avoid so fatuous a misunderstanding of so very plain a simile. The Roderick Dhu required by this simile is self-evidently not THE INDEX, much less its editor, but rather the *love of liberty* in each radical's soul—liberty being the only "chieftain" that any radical can for a moment recognize. The paragraph clearly enough implies that the radicals ought to hear their leader's "shrill whistle" in the "outrage" reported,—in the swift summons of their own hearts when liberty is thus publicly insulted. If they will not hear that, they would not hear though Roderick Dhu himself should rise from the dead to blow his own bugle. It certainly did not occur to us that any reader of THE INDEX could possibly miss the whole point of our comparison—the mere instantaneous and simultaneous response in many minds to an event that was in itself a trumpet call. Mr. C. does not miss it himself: why should he imagine that any one else could miss it? Except under the bias of a gratuitous suspicion which we decline to discuss, no one could fail to comprehend a simile so transparently clear.

When a night attack is made on the camp, and the first soldier that chances to be awakened beats a drum to rouse his sleeping comrades, is it the part of good sense to suspect that he thereby assumes to be "braver" than they, or "misjudges" them because he believes that they are asleep? They who should spend their time in such accusations would better employ it in providing for the common defence. So much "assumption of superiority of insight, bravery, and earnestness in the liberal cause" as may be implied in the belief that a large proportion of our fellow-radicals are asleep when they ought to be awake, passive when they ought to be active, submissive when they ought to be strenuous in self-defence, we

unhesitatingly plead guilty to; and we try to rouse them from their seeming lethargy simply because we believe that the cause of human rights demands their aid. When a German fellow-citizen is denied the privileges of a freeman in this republic avowedly on the ground that he is an "infidel," it must not be left unsaid that every instinct of manhood summons to his side, at the very least, the liberals whose own most sacred rights are outraged in his person. We cannot help it, if indifference to his oppression looks also like deficiency of self-respect; and we cannot reckon it as censoriousness to be ashamed of to say so publicly with the emphasis which the case demands.

2. General measures of some sort are indispensable to protect the religious liberty of the whole people; and that existing laws are inadequate for this purpose is proved by the occurrence of a single case like Mr. Nieland's. If we only saw among the radicals a general disposition to vindicate the rights of free thought in any way at all, whether in the poor way we have ventured to propose or in some better way of their own, we should have no need to mention the Liberal League; but when they do not lift so much as a finger to carry any measure whatever for the general defence of these violated fundamental rights, how can it be said that there is only a difference of opinion as to methods? The difference is as to objects. The Demands of Liberalism are an enumeration of objects; and the form of organization which has been submitted to the public under the name of the Liberal League leaves the question of methods wholly open. If a better mode can be devised for uniting the energies of all radicals in the work of perfecting and strengthening the Constitutional guarantees of religious liberty (and this is the whole end and aim of the Liberal League), we shall instantly abandon the mode already proposed. But do not let us confound objects with methods. The "main business" of religious radicalism in this country is to finish the task of separating Church and State—a task which must consist in carrying the very points specified in the Demands of Liberalism, and in securing some form of a Religious Freedom Amendment to the United States Constitution. No other "main business" can be named; and the keeping of it "in full view of all liberals" will most certainly not "do itself, in fact." On the contrary, nothing is more difficult than to convince the pre-occupied, indifferent radical public that they have any "main business" at all. Once convinced that they have a common public duty, as the most intelligent part of the nation in all that concerns religious progress or reform, and they will soon see for themselves that the object named is the only "main business" before them. It is not methods that we are strenuous for, but objects; for objects, once heartily embraced, will create their own methods. It is the apparent total lack of earnestness in secularizing our political institutions, the apparent total ignorance of the fact that religious radicalism has any "main business" at all, which makes radicalism feeble and despised, and invites just such outrages as the expulsion of Mr. Thorne from the North Carolina Legislature, the exclusion of Mr. Treat from the witness-stand, and the disfranchisement of Mr. Nieland. The only "main business" which radicalism is apparently conscious of to-day is to take these kicks and cuffs with *sang-froid*, and to turn the other cheek; and we long for the day when it shall discover that its real "main business" is to render such incessant insults and wrongs impossible forevermore. The approaching national Centennial will celebrate our forefathers' stern resistance to tyranny; but, for all that yet appears, the liberals of the land propose to adorn the occasion with the admirable foil of their own meek submission to it.

3. By all means would we put "one question" to the religious radicals of our country, day, and generation; though it is not precisely the one suggested by Mr. C. It is this: "Do you not see that it is your 'main business' to put an end to all outrages, little or great, upon the equal rights of American citizens, because of their religious opinions? That, when you recognize this as your veritable 'main business,' you cannot do it without carrying the Demands of Liberalism and the Religious Freedom Amendment, in some form or other? And that you cannot carry these measures without doing the work of the Liberal League, whether you choose to do it under that name or not?" This triple question as a whole, three-in-one, we do put most earnestly to the radicals of our time and clime; and we solicit replies to it from such as can think clearly and write strongly.

4. Our emphasis is not on the Liberal League just

as we have proposed it, whether one, or one thousand, or fifty thousand in number; but rather on some form of organization which shall be thoroughly fitted to do the "main business" of radicalism. Nevertheless, we will meet the questions put by Mr. C., in objection to any and all such organizations. He argues that a thousand Liberal Leagues would undoubtedly call into existence a thousand illiberal ones; that, if this should happen, the best thing would be for both sides to disband, without either fighting or voting; that the appeal to numbers will cause the radicals to be at once outnumbered; that radicals must rely on slow natural causes as the only fit agencies, unaccompanied by any organized efforts of their own; that "Thought" will do it all, without the aid of concerted Action. This is the gist of his argument.

Our reply is this. Perhaps every Liberal League would be met by one or a dozen illiberal ones; very likely this might happen. But would that be any reason for discouragement or dismay? Exactly the contrary. There would be no fighting; that bugbear may be dismissed. But there would be discussions, debates, speeches, conventions, editorials, pamphlets, lectures, sermons, and all the various other expressions of thought profoundly stirred by the certainty of approaching political action. Voting might go against liberalism year after year, as has always been its history; but in the end it would win. Numbers are at last conquered, and brought over to the side of truth. In any republic this is the only means of reforming bad laws or introducing good ones; it is precisely the means which liberalism has nothing to fear from—precisely the means which conservatism is shrewd enough most sedulously to avoid. Of course we rely on "Thought," as confidently and as patiently as Mr. C. But such agitation as this will do more in one year to provoke thought, and bring it to wholesome results, than all other means combined can do in ten or twenty years. The Liberal League means nothing but "Thought"; it is not an army or a *posse comitatus*, but a body of thinkers applying their intelligence methodically to the work of enlightening thoughtlessness on questions of profoundest import, and bringing about results in liberal legislation just as fast as they can win over the people to liberal ideas. It is the most peaceable and justifiable of all agencies; relying on persuasion and argument, on practical work and moral appeal. Does Mr. C. or any one suppose that we counsel rant or rhodomontade, much less fierce, bitter, inflammatory speech or disorderly and riotous action? He cannot seriously have entertained such a notion for an instant; yet his argument goes for nothing, if he entertained any other. General causes work results in society only as thought is formed, expressed, and applied; and the Liberal League is one of those various causes without which no legislative reform or progress ever has been or ever will be secured. It is itself the result of thought; it creates thought; it aims to put thought into the permanent form of constitutional or statutory guarantees of religious freedom. Let the silly phantasm of a band of conspirators plotting violence or deeds of hatred be dismissed from the imagination; the Liberal League is only an association of persons sufficiently disinterested to do some very tiresome drudgery with the hope of shaping public opinion in favor of just practical measures, and carrying liberal and just ideas into practical effect. Any other notion of it is the merest moonshine.

5. Mr. C. considers conspicuous cases of outrage on the rights of free thought to be of a specially liberalizing tendency. In one sense this is true; in another, totally untrue. Outrage in itself is simply outrage, beginning and ending in wrong; but among the effects it produces must be reckoned the reaction it creates. If Mr. C. will only analyze the facts, he will see that an outrage which creates no powerful protest, such as would be the very attempt by a "thousand Liberal Leagues" to prevent its recurrence by statute or constitutional amendment, could not possibly have anything but a brutalizing tendency. Otherwise, why not rejoice in the multiplication of outrages, and indeed go into the outrage business ourselves?

There are two kinds of radicalism—one content with thought alone, the other eager to apply thought to the rectification of wrongs. If we consider the latter as nobler than the former, it is because nobility cannot stay in the narrow circle of self, but goes out to spend and be spent. When the "very patient type of radicalism" learns to be impatient at the infliction of wrongs on others, and impatient with itself till it has at least endeavored to right them, we shall certainly think it a much nobler thing than it seems.

And if this is "disparagement," we must submit to the imputation.

6. The relevancy of the last part of Mr. C.'s article is not perfectly clear to us. If we understand it, it is an argument for not saying a word against any but next-door evils. Intrusiveness is, of course, injurious in general and in particular; but we do not see what it has to do with the Liberal League, which minds its own "main business" severely, namely, to seek the protection of all American citizens in their religious liberty and equal religious rights.

In conclusion, we would express a strong desire to have this whole subject discussed on both sides in THE INDEX. It is a question that surely concerns every radical: "What is the main business of radicalism?"

EDUCATION.

"Please tell us what you mean by education," remarked a lady, in a recent reform-meeting in this city. The remark, made in perfect good faith, was addressed to those who lay emphasis upon education as the most efficient means of promoting the moral improvement of society.

As one of those who believe in the prime importance and all-cogent efficacy of education, as bearing upon the matter of social welfare, I admit the eminent practicalness and pertinency of the intelligent lady's inquiry. If we deprecate concentration of interest and effort upon this or that special measure of reform, and urge instead a general movement looking to the abatement of ignorance in the community, and universal education of the masses, she, as a "reformer," has a right to challenge us for a definition of our favorite word *education*, and to ask us exactly what and how much we mean by it. Do we mean that, if all the people be taught to read, write, and cipher, they will be virtuous? Do we mean that, if a compulsory-education law were to be passed in every State of this Union, and all the children over seven years of age and under fourteen were to be made to attend the common schools,—say, four or six hours a day for, say, as many months in each year,—vice and crime would thereby be removed from society? Or do we mean that, if all the youth of both sexes could be taught the classics and the higher mathematics,—in other words be sent to college, and given what is called a liberal education,—we should then have a perfectly moral community, and a model social state? The demand for definitions is always in order; and no surer way than this exists of testing the intelligibility and efficacy of any theory advanced by this or that party to meet the supposed or real exigencies of the hour. An idea which cannot be defined cannot certainly be applied; that is, cannot be made of much use in this practical world of ours. Therefore, those who advocate education as the great panacea for all our social evils should be able to tell pretty clearly what they mean by the word, or the thing, itself.

If one word can define another word, I should say that *education* means simply *evolution*. It means the thorough and harmonious development of our nature. It means the gradual unfolding and edification of character.

It is a great mistake to suppose that education means mere learning, or acquirement, or accomplishment—something, in short, that is usually obtained in schools, and under teachers, so-called. It is a great mistake to suppose that education means only knowledge, in the ordinary acceptance of that word: something derived from study, from books, from lecture-rooms, from academic training; information gathered from various sources, upon many subjects, and filling the mind with intellectual abundance. Education includes all these, indeed; but in its completeness it means something vastly more radical than is expressed by any of the familiar words used in defining it. It means something that makes a man and a woman in their entirety. It means something that produces a full, rounded, rich, useful life—a life that reconciles us to the world, and sheds joy and beauty as the sun sheds light and heat.

Hitherto, the Church has declared that "religion" is the great promoter of virtue, and the all-sufficient safeguard of society; and yet history shows that no crimes against humanity have been blacker than those done in the name of "religion," and by the agency of "religious" men and institutions. Perhaps this scientific age is in a similar danger of ascribing too much moral efficacy to education, as the name and the thing are popularly understood. I am not so positive as some are, that statistics would invariably show that the most intelligent communities are the freest from crime. Knowledge is power,

surely, but it is not always a power for good; sometimes it is a fearful power for evil. The most successful rogues are not ignorant men, but very intelligent ones. The dullest blockheads in the State are seldom offenders against public peace and welfare; they hew our wood and draw our water, and do our hard and disagreeable work for us, and give us no more trouble than the patient ox or the faithful horse. But it is the bright and knowing, yet unprincipled, men who prove our veriest scamps and rascals. It takes a man of extraordinary brains to steal a whole railroad, and corrupt an entire legislature,—and of such capable scoundrels our educational systems in the North have turned out quite too many. If the statistics of crime among college-graduates could be taken, and compared with similar statistics among the graduates of our farms and factories and workshops, I doubt very much if we should find that what we call education had proved more effective for virtue than the lack of it. In these days, the boy who is put to learn a trade is quite as likely to turn out to be a good citizen, as the one who is sent to the university; and perhaps he is much more likely to be a thoroughly self-reliant and useful man.

Nevertheless, education is the one thing needful for all men—and all women. But it is a real and true education which we need, and not a *quasi* one. We need an education which shall do for each individual what the law of evolution has done or is doing for the race,—which shall bring us gradually into a comprehension and exercise of all our powers and faculties. A little knowledge, or false knowledge, is a dangerous thing; but more knowledge, perfect and true knowledge, is complete and utter safety!

Perhaps our present civilization stands in need of nothing more than a wiser understanding and interpretation of the word and the thing, *education*. Our whole educational system needs revision and improvement, beginning with our common schools and ending with our universities. Nay, ought we not to go back of our common schools, and make education to begin in the nursery, even in the mother's arms? Doubtless we shall begin here, when we have learned well what education is,—that it is no forcing process, no intermeddling, arbitrary dictation; but something in which Nature and art, God and man, have an equal and reciprocal part. It appears to me not improbable that something like the "Kindergarten" has an important function to perform in all our future processes of education; that, at any rate, many of the ideas and suggestions prominent in the system of "Kindergarten" will be hereafter generally adopted, not only in the education of children, but in that of more advanced learners; nay, even in the education of the adult man, which is to continue throughout his whole life.

For herein is the important fact, that the real and true education on which all our social interests depend is for the whole life, and not any particular period of it. As the process of evolution is endless in its operation in the race, so that of education must be for the child, the youth, and the adult—must stretch throughout the entire experience of the individual.

On this sort of continuous education, or evolution, of human nature and human character we must build all our solid hopes for man. Herein and hereon we must, as philanthropists, lay our heavy emphasis. Any special work of "reforming" which we can do, will be only a patching and tinkering of the social fabric. Let those do it, who feel they must, or think they can; no intentional hindrance shall they receive from me. But in *formation* rather than *re-formation* is my faith. And for this work the "eternal years of God" are needed; and all "evils" incident to its gradual accomplishment we must be patient and brave enough to endure.

A. W. S.

THE HOLYOAKE FUND.

Mr. G. W. Smalley, the well-known London correspondent of the New York Tribune, thus writes of Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, whose letters to THE INDEX have been so highly appreciated by its readers:—

Mr. Holyoake announces that the first volume of his *History of Coöperation* in England, embracing the Pioneer Period from 1812 to 1844, is now in the hands of the Coöperative Printers, and will soon be out of the press. The second volume will follow later. I have lately mentioned Mr. Holyoake as a leading authority on coöperation. There is, I think, no book which undertakes to do as much for this important subject as Mr. Holyoake's, or in the same way, or with the same opportunities of personal

knowledge about the matter. The book has the following dedication:—

TO
WENDELL PHILLIPS,
OF AMERICA:
A COUNTRY
WHERE WHAT IS NEW IS WELCOME;
WHERE WHAT IS TRUE EXPANDS:
TO HIM
WHOSE INTREPID VOICE,
CONFRONTING DANGEROUS MAJORITIES,
ANIMATING FORLORN HOPES,
HAS EVER BEEN RAISED
ON BEHALF OF THE SLAVE, BLACK OR WHITE,
IN BONDAGE TO PLANTER OR CAPITALIST;
THIS HISTORY OF THE PIONEER PERIOD OF CO-
OPERATION IN ENGLAND
IS INSCRIBED
WITH GRATITUDE AND REGARD
BY
GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

Some friends of Mr. George Jacob Holyoake have begun a subscription for him—in which I think there must be Americans who would like to join. Mr. Holyoake has been ill for some months. He has reached an age at which his brilliant abilities and his industry would have given him wealth, had he chosen to make them of service to himself. But he has been all his life working for others and for certain ideas or principles. You may agree with him or not, but the number of men who devote themselves unselfishly and helpfully to promoting the welfare of others is not so great that you can afford not to admire Mr. Holyoake. His committee seek to recognize his services to unfriended truth, extending over thirty years; services of great public use, often perilous, of a nature the reverse of profitable to him, continually involving exclusion from positions of credit or profit, while his time and resources were taxed in many ways more than one country. With means of reasonable leisure and choice of pursuit, they add, it is believed he may continue his efforts in behalf of free-thought and progress; and that is why they want a fund raised for him.

Mr. Holyoake was perhaps earliest known as the founder of Secularism, a system which, as he defines it, bases organized action on moral and scientific agreements, apart from atheism and theology. Of late years he became most conspicuous as a writer on cooperation, on which he is a very high authority. His *History of Cooperation in Rochdale* was the means of founding two hundred and fifty coöperative societies within two years. He has lately been engaged on a general *History of Cooperation*, shortly to be published; a book of the greatest interest and value, judging from a few chapters which I have seen. A recent notice of him says:—

"Mr. Holyoake was the last person imprisoned in England for alleged atheism, and the last person against whom an indictment was issued by the Court of Exchequer for publishing unstamped papers in support of the Society for Repealing the Taxes upon Knowledge; Mr. Holyoake having incurred upwards of £800,000 of fines (which he was under the necessity of asking the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take weekly). The repeal of the Newspaper Stamp Act, however, caused the prosecution to be abandoned. He was chiefly instrumental in causing the Evidence Amendment Bill to be passed, which legalized purely secular affirmations; Mr. Holyoake having incurred loss and public outrage through refusing all his life to take an oath. He suggested and furnished the scheme of the last Blue Book issued by Lord Clarendon, the first of a series now preparing by the Foreign Office on the 'Condition of the Industrial Classes in Foreign Countries.'"

I quote that remark about atheism at the risk of frightening off some worthy people, whom I hope to win back by telling them that Mr. Holyoake's London Committee is headed by three clergymen of the Church of England, of whom the Rev. Stopford Brooke is one. Other names on it are Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Thomas Hughes, Mrs. Lynn Linton, Mr. Walter Morrison, and Prof. Huxley. Antislavery men of other days will recognize Mr. Holyoake as the writer of those powerful letters, under the signature of "Ion," to which Mr. Phillips once paid the compliment of an elaborate criticism. Not to extend my notice too far, I add only that Mr. Holyoake, while finding time to give active assistance to liberal movements in many countries, is one of those to whom the workmen of England are most indebted for their recent increase of opportunities and enlightenment. Subscriptions already promised here amount to some \$4,000. Americans may send money through any banker to the London and Westminster Bank, St. James' Square, London. Or I dare say the *Tribune* will receive and forward subscriptions.

The editor of the *Tribune* has announced that he will forward contributions to the Holyoake Fund; and we shall be very happy to do the same, if any are sent to THE INDEX.

A PROMINENT Boston clergyman recently said: "The pendulum of toleration has swung to the wall—it is time to look for a rebound!" And, says the *Banner of Light*, such a rebound toward arbitrary authority in all the concerns of life and government the bigots are seeking to bring to pass, pausing in their labors in any given direction only when it becomes evident to them that it were better to wait for awhile till the chain in other points is fastened more securely upon the people.

AN OLD LADY, in a storm at sea, was told that only Providence could save the passengers. "Has it come to that?" she exclaimed. "How dreadful!"

Literary Notices.

THE RAINBOW CREED. A Story of the Times. Boston: William F. Gill & Co., 151 Washington Street. 1875.

This is truly a story adapted to the times. Radical thought, free inquiry, and the supremacy of reason form its basis. Its title seems to be justified by the exposure of the various-colored interpretations which Christian ministers give, in the privacy of their own minds, to one and the same creed to which they all subscribe. It shows how the spontaneity of reason and the tendency to free, independent thought is attempted to be put down and crushed out by theological teachers and denominational influences; and that the young student who has the temerity to think for himself must be turned adrift, and his resources withheld. It satirizes the inconsistencies between profession and practice, and exhibits the selfish, narrow, and bigoted temper which often lurks beneath religious professions. There are allusions to the "Great Scandal" of the times, to prominent radicals of the day, and to the Free Religious movement.

All this is strung upon an interesting thread of story. A young man, Malcolm, left an orphan at an early age, with no talent for practical business, but having the germs of original and free thought, is thrown upon himself. He goes to sea, is interested in observations upon men and things, drinks in inspiration from Nature, and becomes an earnest student within the limits of his means. At length he saves from shipwreck the life of a man who proves to be the owner of great wealth, obtained, indeed, by questionable means, but who in his way is scrupulously pious, and devotes much to religious purposes. Filled with gratitude to the poor young man, he takes him to his home where his only companion is a daughter, the heir of all his wealth. As a matter of course these young people fall in love with each other. The father is wroth, and Malcolm leaves the house and his adored one "forever." But the daughter cannot bear the separation. The father loves his child, and really at heart is attached to Malcolm. A happy scheme is devised. The young man is to be made a minister, and is sent to a theological school for training. But he cannot be kept within the limits of creed, and is at last dismissed. The father is again in anger, and Malcolm relinquishes all claim to the daughter. But she, appreciating the nobleness of his character, gives up her own creed-religion, renounces all title to her father's estate, and is ready to go forth in poverty, to stand side by side with him who values truth above all things else. The father relents, is glad to find "an honest man in the world," and is convinced, after all, that Malcolm is not opposed to true religion.

As a specimen of the work, the following extract is given:—

"For a few days another student had shared Malcolm's room, and, when night arrived, both went to bed and arose in the morning in entire oblivion of the necessity of prayer. At last Brown, as the other student was called—a dapper, little, red-headed fellow—came to Malcolm, and said in a very solemn tone: 'It seems to me that we have not been faithful to our eternal interests; but, not to speak of these, if we intend to be Christian ministers, it is very necessary that we should give some time to prayer. Ought we not to exercise ourselves in private that we may excel in the public performance of the devotional function?' 'Certainly, friend,' exclaimed Malcolm, who at the time actually felt the force of his chum's remark, 'ease of utterance is essential.' 'Well,' said Brown, in genuine sacerdotal style, 'I'll officiate to-night, and you will in the morning.' 'Allright,' said Malcolm, who had again resumed his pen.

"That night Brown knelt, and, after making an excellent prayer, rose and turned in, in an excellent humor with himself. Malcolm envied him his flow of words, and asked how he contrived to pray so easily. The embryo public instructor called to him from under the blankets, that faith was the key to the door of that gift, and that he ought to give it as much attention as he could.

"Next morning, Malcolm arose as usual, entirely forgetting the promised officiation. Not so his friend, who piously informed him that it was 'his turn.' Thereupon they both knelt, in 'the trailing garments of the night,' each at his own bedside, and Malcolm lifted up his voice. He had hardly reached the end of the first sentence, when a most overpowering sense of the absurdity of the whole proceeding came over him, so that he could not utter a word. He broke down most infamously, to the amazement of little Brown, who, removing a sanctimonious finger from his left eye, looked round to see what was keeping him. Poor Malcolm, who naturally wondered how Brown was taking this stoppage in the transmission of the message to the gods, also removed a finger from the eye nearest the expectant hearer, and turned his head slightly in his direction. Their eyes met, and for a moment gazed into one another, the one indicating profound amazement, and the other a vague anxiety. What were they to do? Suddenly the ludicrousness of the situation told on Malcolm so powerfully, that he could not repress the mirth that bubbled to his lips. Brown caught the infection, and, affected likewise, the gentle mirth rapidly grew into peals of convulsive merriment. It is needless to say that from that day to this these young men never officiated for each other."

A. H.

A WITTY DIVINE once remarked that, from one point of view, at least, the Pope was the true successor of St. Peter. He always knew the fish that had money in its mouth.

Communications.

THE USELESSNESS OF THE LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Your issue of April 1 contains at least two editorial utterances, such as I have often seen in THE INDEX before, which may fairly be taken as reproaches of radical "indifferentism," tameness, meanness of spirit, and some other things: of which radical failings, sufficiently deserving reproach, no doubt, there are, let us admit, enough. And let me, for one, admire the editor's disdain and (where it is just) severe rebuke.

1. Some one will suggest that the two utterances mentioned above are somewhat chieftain-like, where-in the editor assumes the rôle of Roderick Dhu, blowing his shrill whistle (but without its once magical effect) to conjure up the lurking "clansmen from the heather."

Not so the present writer. He will rather recognize therein, not without respect, not entirely without sympathy, the impetuous outburst of strong and earnest conviction, impatient of sloth and of all manner of half-conviction, unable, in its poor, pitiable half-state, to find for itself a decent and anywise brave expression.

Yet do I think that such apparently excited utterances carry in themselves, however unconsciously to the utterer, if not a real assumption of superiority of insight, bravery, and earnestness in the liberal cause, at least a harshness of judgment amounting to a mis-judgment of certain intelligent and sincere radicals, brave and earnest enough, too, who "see no use in the Liberal League."

But let this pass—this matter of an editor's unintentional misjudgment of a considerable number of his readers and fellow-workers, who differ from him upon certain questions of organization, Liberal League and other.

2. What seems most needful is, that some *main business* be kept in full view of all liberals, however these may divide on questions of "How" and "What First." This will most likely be done,—will do itself, in fact. Very well: when it comes to methods, then let us have a fair hearing of opinions; and let none be "ashamed" of all others whose opinions differ from his own. Difference of opinion is not "indifferentism," on one side more than on another. To conclude on any side that on others it is "indifferentism" argues something in the conclusion itself whereof it were well to be ashamed, perhaps.

Why, then, instead of telling radicals in general how "shamed" he is by their indifference, tameness, and meanness of spirit, as shown in their not organizing themselves forthwith into Liberal Leagues ("by their not responding," some one will say, "to the shrill whistle of bold Roderick Dhu"), does not the editor of THE INDEX propound to them the principal question of *his* method, and get their honest answers to that—propound the question, at all events, whether answer comes or not, without concluding, even when there is no answer, that radicals are all indifferent, or something worse? "A noble patience was in him," is a favorite discovery of one of our most discerning biographers in his "heroic man" of whatever sort. A grand thing to have discoverable in one, whether the discoverer comes or not. I think the discoverer is *here* for every man in public station, in these days.

3. I believe that, if the editor of THE INDEX would ask *one* question, he might get many answers, to *one* effect, from numerous radicals. Here is a question which, I think, he ought to ask: "Do you not see that a thousand Liberal Leagues would put an end to outrages of bigotry upon American citizens, would make their disfranchisement, their expulsion from legislatures, and the denial of their right to testify in courts of justice, because of their religious opinions,—do you not see that 'a thousand Liberal Leagues' would make these and the like outrages henceforth impossible on American soil?" I think he would get some answer to this question, some *negative* answer, for which, already in the minds of not a few radicals ready for deliberate utterance, he does not, to me, appear to have allowed enough in his judgments hitherto of their earnestness in the common cause.

4. Make your thousand Liberal Leagues, and who can doubt that they would directly call into being a thousand illiberal ones? When these should be well organized—a thousand on a side,—what, on the whole, had they better do? On the whole, I should say, they had better sign a truce, and save fighting; or else "pair off," go home quietly, two by two, and save voting. In fact, when once you appeal to numbers, knowing that you are in the minority, you expect to be out-numbered. Evidently, then, there must be something *better* than number to count on, battalions mightier than minorities, mightier even than majorities. What are these? They are the sun and moon, and tides and seasons, the solar system and the solar year of Thought, with all their winged and footed messengers, and manifold means of getting the seeds of Thought well planted, well germinated, and well propagated and husbanded in every soil,—manifold means, likewise, of getting much else exterminated from the world. Men shall be patrons of Thought's husbandry without knowing it, without intending it, in spite of contrary intentions, not less effectually, perhaps, than with voluntary and most conscious tenders of service.

5. For one, I confess that I see a more potent force for securing the desired ends of liberals, in one illiberal outrage of conspicuous notoriety, than in "a thousand Liberal Leagues," even unopposed by a thousand illiberal ones. Otherwise, I would toil day

and night, till one Liberal League should be organized somewhere here. The three recent "cases of encroachment on religious liberty" mentioned in THE INDEX are, I firmly believe, among the most notable liberalizing agencies and (practical) radical influences of this time. Unwise, say I, to neutralize their work with ill-timed and ill-tuned hostilities—Liberal League, or other.

How many also say the same, I cannot undertake to tell. But that there are radicals not a few who justly deem themselves, if not as clear-sighted as some, at least, as earnest as any, who do say this, and much more to the same purpose, I am very sure.

It is not, then, resentment, however natural, of those epithets, so often used in THE INDEX, seemingly to the disparagement of such radicals as these—it is not this which demands principal emphasis here; but it is some bringing forward, however poorly, of this very earnest, yet very patient, type of radicalism, which discredits the Liberal League for many reasons,—because, by its very nature, it excludes many of the liberals, for one. As to the opinion, herein expressed, of the service done to the liberal cause by acts in themselves most offensively illiberal, if argument and proof are asked in support of it, I answer that I do not think them needful here, since history itself is replete with adequate illustrations which, by the intelligent, will easily be applied.

6. I will add, however, what experience makes plain enough to all, that the occurrence of illiberal or irrational acts, of any sort, always calls out the condemnation of voices near by and widely influential, which are usually heard in the quarter where they are needed, long before more ultra voices, no matter how these excel in vehemence and shrillness. And hands from next door are reached out to strangle whatever is inhuman, false to right, before more distant hands, although of sterner grip, can be extended. Again, let the ultra voice come too quick, or too loud, and the neighboring one, fearing a greater danger from the new quarter, lends itself to the outrage, to the inhumanity; and the next-door hand turns itself against the far-off one, too soon invading—whereby the latter finds its foe suddenly increased by the whole force of what was its friend, and would have fought its fight, had it but stayed away!

Is not this last a fact patent to all? And if so, is not its significance immeasurably more than that of all arguments and battle-words whatsoever?

"I am sure that a certain truth will be said through me, though I should be dumb, or though I should try to say the reverse," says the most revered of American radicals.

Yea: and through all bigots and blockheads whomsoever, though they gnash the teeth never so fiercely in their vain endeavor to gainsay Truth or Justice.

J. H. C.

ANDOVER, Mass.

"IN THE CONFESSIONAL."

A very interesting sketch with the above title was published in THE INDEX several weeks since. In it one of the characters—a woman of fine culture—is made to use these words:—

"I would like to believe in a Father-God who would take a tender personal cognizance of my little needs and doings; to whom I could apply in the hour of suffering with perfect assurance of instant help. I would like some Divine Being to ease me of my burdens when they bear too heavily upon me. It is not because I wish, but because conscience and reason compel, that I give up the Church."

That these mournful words do express the inmost yearning of many who are passing, or have but lately passed, from the Orthodox fold into the open air of Free Religion, there can be, I think, no manner of doubt. The judgment is convinced; "conscience and reason" point toward freedom; but feeling draws them in an opposite direction. They linger wistfully on the debatable ground, saddened more by the thought of the sheltered valley they are leaving, than gladdened by the sight of the mountain tops which invite their forward footsteps.

Something like this is perhaps inevitable during such a transition. No doubt Mr. Voysey speaks from experience in saying that the "first moment of all disillusion is a moment of intense pain"; and I think there is not in all of Lecky's writing a truer passage than the one which admits that in the widening of our intellectual horizon, "it is a great mistake to suppose that only the degrading superstitions will be swept away." The beautiful and beneficent ones must go too.

Yet I cannot believe that these regrets need be of long continuance. Such persons have not yet entered upon all the blessings to which a free faith entitles them. In Orthodox phrase, "they do not live up to their privileges." They are unaware of half the treasures of their new kingdom. Feeling about for a Deity outside themselves upon which they may lean for strength, they fail to recognize the strength of the God within them. They wander, faint and fearful, half longing to go to the old Fountain for refreshment, forgetful that the soul which is faithful to its best conceptions of truth has only to keep itself receptive, and the strength and peace which are born of Truth will flow in as naturally as sunlight into an open room, and will not be hindered. The man or woman who for conscience' sake relinquishes with pain beliefs that once were precious, but from which the living spirit has departed, has turned his face toward the sun, and will find, sooner or later, that the rays which enlightened his vision have also power to warm his heart.

Undoubtedly there are timid, tender, confiding souls, to whom the relation of child to father will always represent the highest form of spiritual attain-

ment and enjoyment. They stand bewildered and distressed by the defections they see about them, clinging all the closer to the "encircling arms," and vainly calling on those they love to return to their sheltering embrace. To talk to these of a nobler and more satisfying conception of the Unseen Power is a mere waste of words. They cannot understand it. Child-nature is eternal in our world, and it should be treated only with tenderness.

A year or two since I asked a radical friend, whose equanimity under peculiar trials was remarked by all who knew him, the secret of his contented mind. "What is it to which you look for strength, courage, comfort, when outward affairs are dark and disheartening? Formerly you called upon a Heavenly Father. Tell me from what source do you now draw supplies?"

"My supplies?" was the smiling answer. "How can I tell—unless from the atmosphere? Why, I cannot consciously breathe without taking in supplies."

To how many would this answer seem empty or trivial. Yet to those who have learned the secret of self-reliance there is meaning in it.

Another writes: "If a feeling of being upheld, as by a hand, were gradually changed to a feeling of being upborne, as by an atmosphere, would you regret it, and weep, and cry out for the withdrawn hand? I am sure you would not."

Does any sturdy radical object that such emotional utterances savor of the weakness of Orthodoxy, and would soon degenerate into the frothy rhapsodies of the Young Men's Christian Association and revival meetings? I do not think so. The emotion that has a rational (say, if you please, a scientific) basis, which does not burrow in the dead past for a supernatural source, but draws from the living issues of the present; which does not make a Person its central figure, does not enjoin a grovelling and God-dishonoring humility—will never degenerate into aught that is sickly or degrading.

Not long ago Mr. Abbot wrote these golden words: "The gods of Olympus fed on nectar and ambrosia; the idealist is nourished by a diviner diet still. Nothing so invigorates or expands the mind as the love of great principles; they return a thousand-fold reward for such devotion, by bestowing the inspiration needed to redeem human life from its own littleness." Yes—and from its weakness also.

Said Paul: "When I was a child, I understood as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things." And a very earnest English writer has lately said: "We advance from the gushing rhetoric of a religious childhood to the sober and safe thoughts of men." But the sober thoughts of manhood are none the less safe for wearing the glow of enthusiasm, and there is no inspiration like that which comes from conscious advancement in all which makes life worth the living.

The fairies have gone from wood and water-side; but the poetic eye finds them again in the liberated mystic forces forever astir among the atoms. In fact, there is no spring of poetry, no realm of enchantment, like that which the wonders of modern science open up to us. So the beatific visions of the supernatural fade from the minds that have outgrown them, only to be replaced by something more grand, more noble, more elevating.

Let no one make the mistake of supposing that the disciple of radicalism must breathe only the rarified air of pure logic, leaving forever behind him the delights of imagination, and the inspiration which comes of communion with the "Highest." The instinct which demands them is one of the factors of our nature, part and parcel of our humanity; and no wisdom which ignores them will ever be justified of her children.

H. L. B. B.

CLEVELAND, Ohio.

"ARE WE CIVILIZED IN BOSTON?"

NEW YORK, April 8, 1875.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In to-day's INDEX I notice an article entitled, "Are We Civilized in Boston?" to which, if you will allow me, I desire to take exception; because it seems to me that writing of this sort is apt to retard rather than advance the spread of the views which you have at heart. I object to the article, partly because it is illogical, but chiefly because it deals in that species of extravagant assertion that has so great an effect in repelling reasonable people who would otherwise be disposed to give liberal opinions a fair hearing.

The article is illogical, because, while admitting that society has the same right to take the life of a mad man (morally or mentally mad) as to take the life of a mad dog, provided the former is as dangerous as the latter, and no other way of disposing of him presents itself,—while admitting, further, that the analogy holds good in the case of Jesse Pomeroy, and that there is actually no place to which he can be sent,—it still claims that it would be wrong to hang him, because to do so would be "to confess that our boasted civilization is a failure." This sort of argument may be conclusive to some minds, but will not stand the test of analysis. If our civilization is actually a failure, the sooner we confess and admit it to be so, the more likely will it be to emerge from that unpleasant condition: if not, no amount of confession will do it any substantial harm. In either case, it is preferable to put Jesse Pomeroy out of the way, no matter how humiliating a confession is implied in so doing, than to turn him loose to do murder at his will in order to save our conceit of being civilized. Besides, if Jesse Pomeroy is not responsible for his crime, or even for being born, neither is a mad dog responsible; and still we take his life which to him is just as precious.

The article is extravagant in statement, because, on the solitary case of Jesse Pomeroy, occurring

among the hundreds of thousands of children that have been born in the State of Massachusetts, to say nothing of the rest of the country, it predicates a wholesale indictment against society and civilization. Such sweeping generalizations carry no weight, and only tend to raise prejudice against those who resort to them. To go a little further back, it is an open question whether society is responsible for this case, which is certainly an abnormal one, and almost without precedent. There is no telling from what remote ancestor the boy may have inherited the moral twist in his nature; at any rate there is no satisfactory evidence that he has been the victim of special neglect or abandonment.

Out of regard for your limited space, I have condensed as much as possible what I had to say, and have omitted some remarks which I should otherwise have added; so that perhaps I have not made my meaning quite so clear and explicit as it might be.

A. T.

NEW TESTAMENT CHRISTIANITY.

OTTAWA, March 20, 1875.

DEAR SIR:—

I have been much interested in your discussions with the Rev. Mr. Savage and with Mr. Morse. It appears to me that in these discussions, as well as in other places, you have entirely made good your position that Christianity (if Christianity means the teachings of the New Testament) is antagonistic to liberty. More especially is this the case with the Gospels containing the utterances of Christ himself; there is nothing in these akin to the Pauline injunction to "prove all things and hold fast that which is good," but a great deal that is very much the reverse. The proofs of this are far more numerous than is generally supposed by those who have not perused the Gospels with care. Passing over the passages which speak of the fate of those who reject Christ as being less tolerable than that of Sodom and Gomorrah—the unpardonable crime of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, which, if it means anything means the rejection of Christ,—and the necessity of teaching the people the mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven in parables, and reserving the explanations for the disciples only,—we come to the great commission to Peter: "I give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; whatsoever thou bindest on earth shall be bound in Heaven," etc.

Here is a foundation wide enough to support the whole superstructure of papacy. When to this tremendous power given to a grossly ignorant fisherman, you add Christ's last words, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world," the whole ground seems to be cut away from beneath the feet of Protestantism; for how is it possible that a church thus divinely commissioned and divinely watched over should ever fall into error?

Mr. Savage says he is able to retain his liberty and at the same time "bow to the authority of Jesus." What does he think of the commission to Peter? Is he willing to bow to the authority of the hierarchy which has been legitimately founded on this commission: a priesthood which has shown that it is the true successor to Peter by its zeal for binding everything on earth, by its readiness to bind the bodies of men to the stake when it could not bind their consciences to its creed? Mr. Savage is, no doubt, ready to say that he is willing to bow to the authority of Jesus only when he speaks truly; but that is a kind of discipleship which Christ himself would never have permitted. To pick and choose amongst his sayings, to receive this and reject that, is a mode of viewing his Messiahship which he would have most emphatically condemned.

Those who attempt to make a rational system of Christianity out of the Gospels have a hard task on hand. The lofty and high-sounding phrases which we so commonly hear about the Fatherhood of God, and the universality of the Christian scheme, receive but little confirmation when we come to read the words of Christ himself. He said that he was not sent but to the lost sheep of the House of Israel; that the Jews were the children of God, and all others were dogs; that, when he sent out his apostles to preach the Kingdom of Heaven, they should not go near the Gentiles. He forbade them to enter any city of the Samaritans, so that even the House of Israel seems to have been narrowed down to the House of Judah.

It is not easy to see how Unitarians, considering all these things, should be so anxious to cling to the name of Christian, or how they can imagine that they can retain liberty of thought while bowing to an authority so stern and despotic.

J. G. W.

AS MR. HARDRIFF was going through the Athenæum, during some exhibition, he was attracted by a beautiful picture of the Crucifixion, and was much struck by it, inquiring of his companion the story of it, about which he had never heard. He was much incensed thereat, and treasured it in his mind.

Going through North Street next day, where the twelve tribes do congregate, he was button-holed and held by a member of them, who importuned him to "come and buy something."

"What are you?" said Hardriff, "are you a Jew?"

"I am an Ishraelite," was the reply.

"Then take that," giving him at the same time a rap on the nose.

"Vot you do that for?" said Moses, rubbing his proboscis; "I never sold you no clo'es."

"No, but you were one of them that nailed that man to the cross, confound you!"

"Me? I no do him; dat was done two thousand years ago."

"Well, I don't care anything about that," said Hardriff; "I never heard of it till yesterday."

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EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

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Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India;" also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, APRIL 22, 1875.

WHOLE No. 278.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

THE ATTACK of the Catholics on the school system is admirably exposed in an article which we copy from *Harper's Weekly* in another column.

FATHER SCHAUER, of Buffalo, lately declared that "the public schools have produced nothing but a godless generation of thieves and blackguards."

FATHER SASSIL, of Iowa, exclaims in a Des Moines paper: "Say, therefore, that the greatest shame, instead of gem, in the crown of America, is the public schools!"

THE JAPANESE have celebrated the two thousand five hundred and thirty-fifth anniversary of their empire. What a parvenu this country is, to be sure, to make such an ado over the prospect of becoming a centenarian!

REV. JOHN WEISS is delivering his brilliant lectures on "The Women of Shakespeare" in Wesleyan Hall, in this city. He takes decided ground against the Baconian theory of the authorship of Shakespeare's plays.

A GENTLEMAN in England has purchased the larger part of the third edition of Mr. Conway's *Sacred Anthology*, and presented it to the Brahma-Somaj of India. The fourth English edition of this valuable work will soon be issued, two editions having been issued and sold in this country.

ON THE fourteenth of April, the Anti-Slavery Society of the United States held their hundredth anniversary in Philadelphia. Benjamin Franklin was at one time President of this society, the pioneer services of which have been lost sight of behind the eclipsing fame of later reformers. Let the "original Abolitionists" have their due!

AT THE recent Methodist Conference in Newark, Rev. W. I. Gill was charged by Rev. J. Atkinson with the most "atrocious heresy," as the *Independent* phrases it. What sort of heresy is that? We have heard of "atrocious" crimes; but to intimate that any "heresy" can be "atrocious" is simply absurd. Belief is a purely intellectual act, while atrocity is a moral quality; and an "atrocious heresy," or misbelief, is as impossible as a pea-green thunder-clap.

HERE is a bit of private information: "The Liberal Religion Association of Cairo, Ill., has challenged President O. A. Burgess, of the North-Western Christian University, to meet B. F. Underwood in a second debate on the Bible; the same to be reported and published for general circulation. A debate occurred between these gentlemen on the same subject at Cairo, last December; but it was not reported, and the Liberals claim that Burgess' friends have grossly misrepresented it."

THE VIOLENT utterances of Catholic priests, such as those of Fathers Walker, Schauer, and Sassil, against the common schools, would be at once repressed by the higher authorities of the Church, if they were not approved by them. Discipline in that Church is altogether too perfect to permit any other conclusion. The deliberate conspiracy against the education of the people proved by these facts must be met in the most uncompromising manner, or the foundations of the republic will be destroyed within a generation.

THE "First Liberal League of Milwaukee," as we have just been kindly notified by the Secretary, was formed on March 3 with fifteen members. Mr. Theodore Fritz was elected President, and Mr. D. C. Züning Secretary. Fifteen live members are better than fifteen thousand sluggish ones, and are quite sufficient to accomplish a great deal, if they devote themselves to action rather than to talk. Talk enough will come out of the action, provided it is judicious, above-board, and bold. We hope to hear good news from this League before long.

WE ARE glad to learn from G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, that this well-known firm "have taken charge of the publication of the books and sermons of the Rev. O. B. Frothingham. They will issue at once a new and revised edition of *The Religion of Humanity*, and will publish in the fall in new and attractive shape the *Stories from the Lips of the Teacher* and *Stories of the Patriarchs*. The series of the Sermons will hereafter be published semi-monthly." All this is good news for the radical cause. Mr. Frothingham's reputation is growing rapidly every year, and this new announcement is only one of many proofs of it.

THE CELEBRATIONS at Lexington and Concord on the historic nineteenth of April were attended by swarming thousands. All the genius and patriotism of the country have been kindled by the glorious memories of that birthday of independence, and the great traditions of liberty have blazed into new splendor at the beginning of this second century of the national life. It was a privilege we shall not soon forget to be allowed to tread the "hallowed ground" of Concord on that day, to stand by historic graves, to catch the inspiration of remembered heroism, and to witness the outpouring of a nation's homage to the magnificent self-devotion of those "embattled farmers." There is more to say than can be said, and silence may be excused when so many tongues are eloquent. But the freedom that was won by the fathers is a sacred heritage to the sons; and what was conquered by blood and tears must be more than defended by moral fidelity. The talent has been entrusted to us: shall it be buried in the ground?

"BISHOP FERRETTE'S Religious Liberty Platform," the opening paper of last week's INDEX, ought to be read with great attention by all who are interested in the religio-political question. It is an extremely able and instructive article. The demands upon our pen are so exorbitant that we were unable to accompany it at the time with the many reflections it suggested; but the general topic is too important not to be widely discussed. Bishop Ferrette argues that the State should refuse to recognize sectarianism on the ground that it is essentially immoral and detrimental to the public welfare; while yet he admits that the State ought not to interfere with the "free exercise of religion." He would refuse incorporation to sectarian societies, cancel all sectarian conditions in private contracts, and make all property owned by sectarian societies the civil property of their members, which it is not to-day. His arguments are very cogent, and would be entirely convincing, were it not for a difficulty which perhaps he can remove. Is not the "religion" itself of the sects so essentially "sectarian" that it would be impossible to suppress the sectarianism without persecuting the religion? We admit that sectarianism is immoral in its tendencies; but this only proves that Christianity itself is so far immoral. If we could see our way clear (as possibly he may enable us to see it) to some solution of this difficulty,—if we could only see how to escape the necessity of legally recognizing the existence of sectarianism, without "prohibiting the free exercise of religion" when religion itself happens to be essentially sectarian,—there could be no doubt of the justice of Bishop Ferrette's position. In truth, there is no "religion" but Free Religion which is not also "sectarian"; and to subject sectarianism, therefore, to civil disabilities, even on the justifiable ground of immorality, would really be persecuting the sects, or at least seems to be. And, strenuously insisting on the rights of free thought, we would not persecute *anybody's thought*—even though sectarian and immoral. It is only when thought passes into act, and violates equal rights, that it becomes amenable to the law. We hope to hear again on this subject from our able contributor.

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[For THE INDEX.]

Free Religion not Anti-Christian.

BY REV. EDWIN S. ELDER.

I have long felt that injustice is done to the Free Religious movement by those who insist that in its nature and aim it is anti-Christian; and, further, that every one identified with the movement should put himself in an attitude of hostility toward Christianity.

Of course every one's attitude toward the Christian Religion is determined by his definition of Christianity.

If, as is asserted, in a recent earnest appeal to Radicals in THE INDEX, "The Christian Religion and its Church stand arrayed against civilization, science, progress, freedom, truth, the higher ethics of Nature, the permanent and truest welfare of mankind," then the scientist, the advocate of freedom, whoever would contribute toward the permanent welfare of mankind, should wage uncompromising war against the Christian religion and its Church, and should also proclaim his anti-Christian position and purpose.

That very few Free Religionists do this, I believe, to be attributed not so much to mental blindness or moral weakness as to a conviction that their attitude, spirit, and purpose are not properly characterized by the phrase anti-Christian.

A majority, if not all, of those who are interested in or identified with the Free Religious movement will admit that Christianity (whether identified with the personal faith of one individual, the Prophet of Nazareth, or with a faith in or concerning Jesus as the Christ, or with that great theological and philosophical system which for fifteen hundred years has been designated Christian) has its limitations and its defects. And while all will admit that the teachings and life of Jesus have contributed immensely to the actual religion of to-day, yet they will also deny the identity of the New Testament religion with the most rational and most spiritual religion of the present. They will insist that the faith of one individual living in one remote age of the world is, and must be, partial; inadequate to the varied experiences, the altered conditions, and enlarging life of to-day. Many will declare that Christianity has been so intimately associated with certain errors that they no longer care to call this religion Christian. Yet they do not feel the hostile spirit; they cannot assume the anti-Christian attitude.

In insisting upon the anti-Christian position as the one to be taken by Free Religion, Mr. Abbot raises the merest accident of the Free Religious movement into undue prominence. The critical, destructive, negative functions of the movement, which, if the movement has any right to be, are incidental and subordinate, are made the most prominent. The essential spirit and purpose of Free Religion are subordinated to an accident. The Free Religionist is made an opponent of error rather than the representative of truth; his face is turned toward the superstitions that have been and are, rather than toward the truer faith that is to be.

1. In order to determine the true relation of the "Free Religionist" to Christianity, it is necessary to have a definite idea of the nature both of Christianity and Free Religion, and their relations to each other. An inadequate definition of Christianity will mislead.

Those who define Christianity with reference to

its universal element will insist that it is at one with absolute religion.

Those who ignore the universal element, and define Christianity with reference to what is peculiar to it, will to a great extent identify it with error; and will insist that, in so far as Free Religion is truly religious, it is anti-Christian, and that every Free Religionist is, whether consciously or not, an opponent of Christianity.

The term Christianity is synonymous with the "Christian Religion." This, like every other religion, contains two elements: first the universal truths of religion, which are to be found in each particular religion; and, secondly, an element peculiar to itself. In the phrase "Christian Religion" we have the two words that stand respectively for the two elements, the particular and the universal. The contents of the universal elements are hinted at in the words Duty, Righteousness, Purity, Aspiration, Holiness, Devotion, Love to God and Man. These are to be found in the religion of every civilized people. The peculiar element is expressed by the words Christ, Trinity, Vicarious Atonement, Personal Savior, Imputed Righteousness, Faith in Christ.

Christianity, then, is in its nature complex. It is a religion by virtue of its universal element—"Christian" by virtue of that which is peculiar to itself. Yet it is the habit of one class of writers to ignore the particular element in their definition; while another class identifies Christianity with that which is peculiar to itself.

Those who have outgrown nearly every dogma peculiar to Christianity,—such as that of the Trinity, the preexistence of Christ, salvation through his death,—very naturally insist that their personal faith is Christianity; or, in other words, they identify Christianity with that portion of it which they accept, which is its universal element. This identification of a part with the whole is not the result of independent reflection, but of inherited prepossessions. On the other hand it is the habit of a few to identify Christianity with those dogmas that constitute its particular element. They ignore its universal element, by which it is a religion.

It is evident that these prepossessed or prejudiced and partial definitions will be productive of nothing but controversy and misunderstanding. For to the one Christianity stands for all that is best in the purest morality and the most spiritual religion of to-day; while to the other the same word stands for all that is most erroneous in Christian theology, and most dangerous in the sectarian spirit, aims, and endeavors of the Catholic and Evangelical Churches. Whoever studies the Christian religion, either in the New Testament or in the eighteen Christian centuries, will come to the conclusion that in its entirety it is neither wholly true nor wholly false: but, like all systems, institutions, individuals, like all products and expressions of human thought and experience, it has its excellences and its defects, its inevitable limitations that will be outgrown, and its eternal truth. While we may separate these two elements in our thought, they are, and have always been, united in the religion itself. Nothing less than both taken together constitutes the Christian religion.

Inasmuch, then, as Christianity has been and is composed of these two elements, one of which is the universal truth of religion, the anti-Christian position is unphilosophical. It expresses an *indiscriminating antagonism toward both error and truth*. It is based upon a partial and very inadequate definition of Christianity.

2. There is another consideration that must not be lost sight of in the endeavor to determine the relation of Free Religion, and the consequent attitude of Free Religionists, toward Christianity.

The philosophical student of religion discovers the significant fact that religions are born, not made. That each particular religion is the result of the gradual transformation of preexisting religions. The New Religion may be said to have both a father and a mother; that is, it is either a modification of the old by contact with another faith, or it is a result of the union of certain elements and tendencies of different religions. Judaism was greatly modified by contact with the religion of Persia; while Christianity (or that which has for more than fifteen hundred years been known as Christianity) was the result of a union between the Messianic ideas of the Hebrew faith and certain ideas of Greek philosophy.

During the first three centuries, the Jewish element was in the ascendant. Since then, Christian theology has been essentially Greek, or at least a compromise between Hebrew monotheism and its tendencies, and the polytheism of the Greeks.

We have in the appearance, growth, and gradual transformations of Christianity, from the disciple's earnest expectations of the immediate return of Christ, through the various controversies of Christendom, to the latest phases of Christian faith,—in all this we have the result of one continuous process. There is a historical continuity extending from the first to the nineteenth century; nor is that continuity interrupted by the appearance of Free Religion. Each phase of Christianity has differed but little from the one immediately preceding. Free Religion differs less from the most liberal Christianity than the faith of Channing differed from the Orthodoxy of his time. When Channing affirmed the identity of religion with goodness, righteousness,—when he affirmed the integrity and perfectibility of human nature,—he emancipated religion from dogma, from dependence upon all historical persons and events, though it might continue to be closely associated with certain persons and events. The movement from Luther to Channing, from Channing to Parker, and from Parker to the Free Religious Association, is one continuous movement.

Free Religion and the most liberal Christianity

touch each other. Unitarianism has emphasized the universal element of Christianity, and at the same time accepted much of the particular element. This latter element has been gradually losing its hold upon the minds of many, until what they call Christianity is natural or Free Religion; so that there are many who call themselves Christians, who differ from the "Free Religionist" only in name.

It is a significant fact, as showing the historic relations of Free Religion to that phase of Christianity which needs the word "Liberal" to describe it, that, with but few, if any, exceptions, the most prominent representatives and exponents of Free Religion are, or have been, Unitarian clergymen. In men like Wasson, Frothingham, Weiss, Johnson, Longfellow, Potter, and Gannett, Christianity has passed into Free Religion. Nowhere in the history of religions is there a finer illustration of the law of evolution. The Free Religious movement is both literally and figuratively the child of Unitarian Christianity. And I am fully persuaded that the relation of one phase of thought or religion to that of which it is the offspring is not that of antagonism.

If the philosophy of evolution be true, it would seem to be the function of each movement in religious thought to fill the future with its positive faith rather than to attack the faith of the past. Each faith is the fulfilment rather than the antagonist of that which preceded it. The energy expended in combating the old is far better employed in establishing the new.

The old is never wholly false. Every dogma of Christendom represents a truth. Each Christian dogma contains as much truth as those who framed it could see; as much of truth as many who accept it can comprehend. If the dogma is less than the truth, if it is a narrow and one-sided statement, it will be outgrown. Its natural rejection will result from the perception of the larger truth. Until this larger truth is perceived, all attack on the dogmas will avail nothing. When the larger truth is perceived, all opposition to the dogma will be superfluous. These dogmas bear a relation to the minds of those who are satisfied with them, similar to that which the language of children bears to the thoughts of childhood. The vocabulary of a child is limited by his ideas; as his knowledge increases, his vocabulary will enlarge.

Limitation in the mental, moral, and spiritual faculties produces and necessitates a corresponding limitation in the perception, statement, and reception of the truth; or in other words the broadest and deepest truths of religion can be apprehended *only* by the fully developed moral and spiritual faculties. There are those to whom God in Christ is all of God of which they can have a conception. Indeed there have been those whose conceptions of God were expressed by a visible idol. The idol was not the cause of their limited conceptions; on the contrary, it was their limitations that necessitated and gave rise to the idol.

To me the idol is nothing but a block of wood or stone. But my destruction of the idol will not remove the mental and spiritual limitations that necessitated it. I render the cause of truth a poor service in merely breaking the idol. The worship of that idol is an essential step toward the worship of God in spirit and truth. What is most needed is to raise the idolater above the possibility of worshipping an idol. The means to be employed is the truth itself. The method is that of affirmation, not that of denial and antagonism.

This brings me to my final objection to the anti-Christian position.

3. To my mind "anti-Christian" stands for an erroneous method. It would make error its objective point. It is based upon that popular fallacy that error must be combated and destroyed before the truth can be established; that the darkness must be dispelled before the light can shine. It is, however, the light that dispels the darkness; it is the truth itself that dispels the error.

Mankind grow out of errors and resulting evils. Man is led by the beauty of the truth rather than driven by the deformity of the error.

If Radicals or Free Religionists entertain ideas, or represent principles which they believe to be essential to human welfare, let them put the emphasis upon these ideas and principles. If their method is superior to that which has been employed throughout Christendom, let them show its superiority by the results of its application. If certain evils exist, if certain dangers threaten, if the wealth of churches is exempted from taxation, if the efficiency of public schools is injured by Christian sectarianism, if there be any danger that that same sectarianism, or any other—Jewish or Buddhist—will be embodied in the Constitution, what ought to be done to remove the evil and avoid the danger? My answer is, Create a sentiment that will inevitably discontinue the evils, and discourage the effort of sectarian fanaticism. But these evils and efforts are the product of inadequate or erroneous ideas. These will disappear only as the truth itself is proclaimed and disseminated—for mankind are led from the error, not so much by denunciation and direct attack, as by the careful statement of the truth concerning those subjects upon which there is so great misconception. The actual and only remedy for the erroneous conceptions and resulting evils and dangerous tendencies of Catholic and Evangelical sectarianism is to be sought in the earnest and enthusiastic dissemination of those ideas of which the Free Religious movement, more than any other, should be the representative and exponent. In so far as mankind are converted to the larger truth, the error is left behind. But it is not true that, in so far as errors are attacked, the truth is established. Now in the method of the anti-Christian the error is made the objective point. Truth is considered chiefly in its relation to some

error. As health is something more than the antagonist of disease, light more than the antagonist of darkness, so truth is more than the antagonist of error. But the tendency of the "anti"-Christian attitude and method is to consider truth in its one relation to some error, and to array the universal ideas of natural religion in opposition to the inevitable limitations of a historical system. The Free Religionist claims to employ and represent the scientific method. Is this "anti"-spirit and attitude in the least scientific?

Does the geologist make Genesis the objective point of his labors?

Would it not be childish in him to array his theories and his facts of geology in antagonism to the dream of some ancient poet, and to direct more attention to the old dream than to the discoveries of the new science? Is it necessary for him to exert himself directly against the Mosaic cosmogony? Will not the truth of geology dispel the errors of Genesis? Is it not enough for the scientist to state the facts quite regardless of all those notions that are inconsistent with them?

I am of opinion that the importance of directing the attention of mankind to what is vicious in conduct, ignoble in character, and erroneous in opinion, is greatly exaggerated. Denunciation of wickedness contributes but little toward the reformation of the wicked. The discrediting and exposure of error of itself adds but little to our knowledge of truth. Criticism and attack of the vices and superstitions of the past or present are useless, if they reveal no positive truth.

The "Free Religionist" should sustain a relation to religion similar to that which the true artist bears to art, or the scientist to science; that is, he should be the representative and exponent of positive ideas rather than the critic and opponent of those opinions which he has outgrown and rejected.

All real reformatory work is constructive and creative. Now the anti-Christian position has the appearance of being almost entirely destructive; not because it is exclusively destructive, but for the reason that the emphasis is put upon the incidental feature of the Free Religious movement instead of being put upon its essential element and purpose.

The Free Religious movement is to be the representative and exponent of positive ideas. Indeed, it will be a movement only as it represents ideas. It is these positive ideas that give it a right to be and a work to do. It will do but little toward leading mankind toward the truth until it becomes the exponent of conviction. Enthusiasm in behalf of universal ideas will constitute its motive power. Without conviction and enthusiasm, it may be a brilliant critic of superstition, but will not be a representative of religion. It should seek to discover and disseminate the truth rather than to criticize error. I conceive it to be the work of the Free Religious movement to affirm the reality of religion, the validity of the religious sentiment, the integrity of human nature, the immediateness of those relations subsisting between the individual soul and the One in All, the Soul of the universe; to make more operative man's consciousness of his relation to God; to deepen the sense of moral obligation, and to insist upon the application of the moral law to all the concerns of individual and social life; to insist upon the entire separation of Church and State; to furnish a practical solution of the problem involved in the relation of science to religion, and by a faithful study of the religions of the world to determine their relations to each other, and, if possible, discover and state the laws of religious evolution; to formulate, in short, a philosophy of religion. And, last but not least, it will remain for the Free Religious movement to be the representative and exponent of a more natural, more rational, and more purely spiritual phase of religion than has been heretofore expressed in any system as represented by any sect. This work I call creative. It will be done on a high plane of thought. To do this work, it will not be necessary to descend to the noisy arena of antagonism with superstition.

Sectarians have shut themselves up within their little sects, and erected high walls. Now it is unnecessary to tear down those walls, or to build others; it is for the Free Religionist to entice mankind out of their narrow and dimly-lighted apartments by showing them something better than can be found within.

Let him who would lead the world toward the truth exert himself in behalf of the dissemination of whatever of truth he has found; and, in so far as his truth gains acceptance, will the error silently disappear, even as dreams before the morning light.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM.

In the interval between the conception in the soul of abstract principles of right and the embodiment of these in conduct lie all the error, misery, and crime of life. As there has never been a beginning, as the germs of all that is and will be have always existed, so those same spiritual germs, the embryo plan and purpose of human development, were simultaneous with human creation. Old as we are, familiar as our sensations, close as our blood and muscles, all-penetrating, inseparable, ever-active, we carry about this embryo with us, which embraces the whole moral code, the ideal of manhood and womanhood. Theoretically none are ignorant of it, none distort it, none are perplexed or mystified about it; it is the simplest of all things, and yet the most absolutely incomprehensible; transparent as a dew-drop, its depths are unfathomable.

So we are set to work here in the world with the draught before us, and well supplied with tools and instruments. It is the work of a mechanic, an artist,

a saint. Pre-ordained and inevitable, as much as the formation of a planet, or the unfolding of a flower, it nevertheless seems an utterly abortive attempt on the part of human incapacity. Feeling a hitch somewhere, the discomfited and nonplussed doer has attributed the difficulty to lack of freedom. He was hampered, interfered with, tyrannized over, his natural powers repressed; no one could effect anything with so many clogs. Do away with the emperor, the Pope, caste limitations, rigorous and binding laws, supremacy of all sorts; give the individual full scope in the exercise of his rights, and he will immediately expand into his grandest proportions. The experiment has been tried here; all the old-time hindrances have been removed; we live under a republican form of government, in a union of equality, and justice, and fraternity, enjoying the best conditions ever vouchsafed to any people. By an almost sudden turn, that much-coveted boon, individual freedom, has been placed in our hands. Guaranteed by the constitution, blazoned on all sides, prated about, exulted over, employed in and out of season, what do we really do with it? How far, and in what way do we understand it?

Providence has either paid us an immense compliment, or staked against fearful odds, in yielding us a privilege that gods only could use with discretion. It is indeed giving reins to lawlessness, untold power to imbecility, all the resources of wealth to the untried hand of a beggar. And verily the result has proven it. We are the laughing-stock of the unemancipated races abroad, as having essayed to walk on stilts and tripped; we are a mortification to ourselves for having been unequal to the support of our own greatness. The worst of curses is an inappropriate blessing.

Freedom—that means the opportunity to do as we like, as we think best; it means entire exemption from control. Granted. We take the next step, and come again to that chasm between definition and practice. We can do as we like. Americans have no sweeter solace than that thought. It is the running accompaniment to all their acts, recreations, and pursuits, their boast as superior beings, their defence when assailed. It gives them all the latitude they want, and with the accelerated velocity of unrestraint lands them straight into license. There is a slight curb in the after-clause, "as we think best"; but that is very elastic, and generally can be made to stretch over the most protuberant of desires. In the seclusion of the inner chamber, where no eye sees and no ear overhears, it must be an honest nature indeed that does not take some advantage of a good opportunity. "As we think best!" We wait a moment to decide, and in that moment the true instinct is lost. Temptations throng upon us; it is delicious in the first place to assert ourselves, to oppose the views of others, to pursue a slightly eccentric course. Then it has not been proven as yet precisely what is right; we will try a little, for nothing would we so like as what is now made possible and easy for us; so there is no more resistance on that head. With the gratification of self, action grows arrogant, personality magnifies rapidly, and very soon encroaches on the boundaries of other individuals, equally pretentious, and spreading at the same fast rate. Then whose freedom is to be respected? For one of the two will have to yield.

This species of collision, of daily occurrence, the subject of debate, legal process and private consideration, is the only limitation set upon the reckless incursions of so-called freedom; but it is as irregular and inadequate as the misguided impulse itself. It is, perhaps, better that the thing should be checked; yet being checked in this way only makes it rebound in another direction. Thence there is a continual clashing of interests, a chafing and rubbing, which intensifies the desire for freedom; each person accuses some other person of tampering with his rights, of standing in his way, of meditating injury. The effort for liberty immediately degenerates into a fight; and, as each one claims all space, it is a pretty hard thing to decide to whom the ground belongs. No apportionment being possible under the circumstances, all hands are plunged back into first principles, and find themselves in very narrow quarters. The cynical growl, declare freedom a sham and a cheat; there is no such thing. The pious see the chastening hand of the Lord in it, the way of righteousness is narrow, the broad road leadeth to destruction. The covetous and obstinate regard it all as ill-luck or accident, which does not deter them at all from trying the same game again. The weak sigh and complain that they can never succeed in anything, some one else is always ahead of them, they are domineered over and abused, and might just as well give it up first as last. The rogues keep on, and win the day; at least it is said that they do.

The idea of equity is lost in the general mêlée; sharps have a right (?) to gain possession of all the money they can; monopolists have a right (?) to accumulate power, influence, lands, exclusive and unrestricted control; social disturbers have a right (?) to untrammelled action, regardless of consequences; free-lovers have a right (?) to the free exercise of their affections, no matter what family they enter and break up, what purity they defile; the hypocrite has a right (?) to profess one thing and do another, to despise truth and honor; the drunkard has a right (?) to his glass, the gambler to his cards, the profligate to his vice;—who has a right to object to all this, to say "thus far and no farther"?

As a nation we stand aghast at the fierce encroachments made by all the dangerous and unenlightened classes in the name of freedom. We are threatened right and left. There are the Democrats who claim a right to their own rule; the South, which cries aloud against injustice and despotism because it cannot supersede the present semi-civilized condition with total barbarism; the Catholic power, which asserts its divine right to universal supremacy; and

amid all this clamor, rebellion, and actual violence, the only ones deserving of freedom in the remotest degree are completely despoiled of it.

Judging from appearances, the question unavoidably arises, "Is there any freedom? Is it not a chimeric, a delusion?" There undoubtedly is freedom; the soul does not cheat itself; what it has always affirmed, always believed, and hoped for, and loved for, is true. We are born to freedom. But again, what is it? Evidently far from what we have considered it to be, differing in every particular from the will-o'-the-wisp which has always eluded us.

We have just the freedom that a single instrument in an orchestra has. We, like it, have our own part to play, a part whose melody and meaning cannot be discerned except when in concert with the rest, a part entirely commensurate with our quality and capacity, tone and register. We are one of a body, inter-dependent; we must neither be subordinate nor predominant as a rule, but be in harmony, whether the coloring of the composition requires us to take the lead or to sink to a *sotto voce*. Orchestras are of many grades; we will take the poorest, or rather, less than an orchestra, a street band. Imagine one of the instruments in the hands of a twelfth-rate performer; there is license in its workings. It is out of tune to start with; the player, having no ear, gives false notes,—having no knowledge, misplaces the chords,—having no training or skill, blunders throughout, and makes the wretched composition more wretched in the treatment. The player and instrument both have something extremely enjoyable to a careless, easy-going nature; there is, beyond doubt, a certain freedom in playing one chord as well as another, in being sublimely oblivious to time, and in following a hit-or-miss ear instead of strict musical rules; it is also preferable not to have a leader with an inexorable baton. Then, to sum up all the advantages, there is no critical audience, no newspaper slashers, no steep mount of fame to climb, no failure that could cause a moment's grief. Strolling musicians have an immunity from all the risks and trials of artists.

With one stride let us pass to the finest of orchestras, in which each instrument is a picked instrument, each player endowed with more than ordinary talent. The composition being rendered is one of the grandest works of one of the great masters. The requirements laid upon every man, from the conductor down to the drummer, upon every instrument, are fairly appalling; every sense is strained to apprehend, every nerve to execute; no laxity, license, or freaks now. The instrument must be in perfect condition; each tone not only true, but exquisitely refined and ideal; the rhythm steady beyond the possibility of an oscillation, the precision absolute. The instrument is bound by countless laws, mechanical and mathematical as regards mere executive work, scientific as regards musical structure, phrasing, modulation, and psychical when mere manipulation enters into the realms of expression. Then skill is transcended by inspiration; then art becomes the expounder of the highest. But that instrument, restrained to the uttermost, not allowed the slightest quiver of uncertainty, the slightest substitution of its own for what is written, held resolutely to the highest standard, made to obey not only notes, and measures, and signs, but the most delicate, almost imperceptible, shades of expression, and not only that but the coloring and descriptive effect which take their way unguided over dizzy heights into new expanses of beauty,—that instrument, where is its freedom? Where is ours? In obedience.

Through the straight and narrow path of obedience we attain perfection, the mastery of all the lower elements, all the physical forces; perfection reached, we are ushered into the sphere of inspiration, and that is a self-illumination which renders our acts wise, our bearing firm and independent, our freedom unimpaired. A swift summary this of a process that may occupy eternity. Nevertheless it is the process we are all engaged in.

Like the instrument, when the mechanical portion is completely mastered, when there is no longer any obstacle, any difficulty, then and then only is there an opportunity for abandon, for impassioned feeling and the ecstatic flights of genius. With a perception of a great design in our being and destiny we are grateful for every law, however severe; accept every limitation as an added security against lapses and damage. Every barrier becomes a safeguard, every hazard a warning; in the right direction we find a path open; when we find it closed we shall turn back.

Those whose lives are most harmonious, who have the best balanced characters, are seldom heard complaining of lack of freedom. Being large in themselves, possessed of good judgment, power of intellect, strong, hearty sentiments, they feel no sense of cramped within, and consequently none without. Being expansive, they naturally expand their circumstances; having no morbid or irrational cravings, life yields them what they need; being individuals in the true sense, all things succumb to them. There is a royalty which knows no oppression, no inimical force, no terrors; which commands through its birthright, which goes whither it listeth, and has whatever its aspiration is fixed upon. This never counts its possessions nor bewails its losses, never suspects a hindrance nor meets with a reverse. Through a magic of its own it transforms all things into good, its enemies do it the most service, calamity breaks into a glory, and the powers of evil flee impotent before it.

The lower and ruder the nature, the more does it clamor for freedom. Weeds take more license than nicer growths; run wild. They are not prohibited, for they are of no value anyway, and only cover waste space. The savage has more liberty, much more, than the civilized man; is not burdened with a tithe

of the latter's responsibility. So in our own midst, the coarser and more ignorant the person, the fewer demands and restrictions put upon him; he may have no restraint whatsoever but the fear of the law. A grade higher, and public opinion answers the purpose; a grade higher than that, and the moral sense exerts an influence; but many grades must be reached and passed before self-hood alone can keep one to a true poise, and the ideal be the aim of every conscious moment. The child has an amount of liberty that any adult would scorn to have; in fact excessive liberty is a sign either that one is worthless or too puerile even to do harm, on the same principle that comets are allowed to course round in the way they do because they are uninhabitable, gaseous refuse. The instant a thing is of any value, it is conserved, put into an established orbit, and set to some use. Those erratic individuals who disclaim law and order, accuse fate of imprisoning them, and break loose from all enclosures, have no reason to feel proud of themselves, and their escape will but lead them into a bitterer thralldom; for there is a thralldom and oppression, there are despots and tyrants, and there are slaves and victims by the score. It is right that it should be so. None suffer from it that ought not to; there is not a shadow of injustice or hardness in the dispensation. Weakness only finds its master, wrong only finds its lash; the strong and the good need never fear either. Authority cannot lift its voice to one who knows what to do and means to do it. Those who run after license find a bond which no force can break, no art undo; the whole horrid conglomeration of prisons, fetters, inquisitorial torment and executioners, is on the forbidden territory. It all belongs to the department of retribution—retribution for deficiencies and defects just as much as wrong-doing. If we are below the standard, we must be brought up to it by one means or another; if we persist in being children after the period of maturity has come, we must be taught. Stern dealing reduces sentimentalism to sense.

Let us observe the effect of passion, any passion, upon one addicted to it. Indulgence seems freedom, enjoyment; and reason is coerced to sanction it. Ere long, as in the case of the drunkard, the craving increases, gratification must needs be more frequent, and so what was optional at first is now imperative, and abstinence is at the cost of physical pangs. Passion puts a very high price upon its paltry delights, and makes its victim vulnerable to every form of woe. For one run of luck the gambler has agonies of suspense, the horror of ruin and its reality; a merry blaze of excitement was wished for, a consuming fire by night and by day is gained. The passion of love is an ecstasy, the elixir of life. People would quaff it, would quaff it often. They make themselves susceptible, nourish ardent emotions, fill their heads with romance, and watch for an opportunity. With the whole being in gaslight and folly, any trivial charm or grace, a glance of the eye or accidental clasp of the hand, is sufficient to fire the feelings, and the person gives up to the blissful intoxication. To resist it would be prudish, cold, unnatural; are not men and women created for this thing? Is not society organized for this species of interchange, with all the auxiliaries of wealth, pleasure, fashion, personal beauty, vanity and arts to promote it? Men are trained to be irresistible, women to be fascinating, in order that they may cast potent spells over each other; intrinsic worth is nothing; the glamour of false attractions is all. Conquest of hearts is perfectly legitimate, the inalienable right of every man and woman; therein selfishness has its empire. Likewise hearts have the indisputable right to be taken captive; they invite the flattering siege. All this is freedom in the broadest sense. What comes of it? The person open to passion attachment, seeking it, regarding it as the end and aim of life, is credulous, unsuspecting, indiscriminating, averse to analysis of traits, for that cools the fervor directly; it is so much sweeter to assume that the beloved object is angelic. The question is not what is the character of this man or woman, is he or she fit to be trusted, liked, respected; but what is the nameless charm that attracts, the cause of the involuntary admiration, the magnetic drawing? Of course the only answer is an increase of the intangible, delicious something; and the mysterious syren-power lures into flirtation, intrigue, seduction, marriage,—vile amours under either or all of these forms. If the coquette and the libertine were always pitted against each other, they would serve each other right; and, while their operations lasted, society would be relieved from their depredations. But, unhappily, they find no field in each other; they must have the innocent, unsophisticated and confiding to work upon; hence those babes, who go forth crowing over their right to love everybody and to idolize whom they choose, fall right into the trap. Susceptible men become the sport of sensuous and designing women, cool enough withal to make their wicked propensities serve their calculations; tender-hearted, sentimental women, who would not for the world think ill of any one, become the easy prey of base men. To have the affections open is to be exposed to the most frightful of perils, for this freedom to love anybody is practically to have one's innermost soul invaded and laid waste. We are not free to love any but the one entitled by the highest considerations to this love, one with whom God in some sense has put us together, whether in friendship, affection, or conjugal attachment. All else is vice and profanation, followed by disagreement, hatred, betrayal, violent ruptures, and the disgrace of all concerned. The affections, more than our secret aspirations, more than our religion, more than our essential being, must be kept under lock and key; instead of being on the surface ready to be swooped up by any fish-hawk, preserved in the deep, sacred recesses, to which none but the true possessor can ever find the way.

Love should be rare as the diamond, not as cheap and common as the pebbles under our feet.

But, alas, the whole harm and the worst harm is not in being taken possession of by the wrong party, by an unauthorized stranger; the love-nature is the seat of the emotions, of thought, of sensation, hence of conscience, as conscience is moved by feeling. Influence there is all-powerful; if baneful, it is equivalent to having the devil lay hold of the rudder and lead us straight to perdition. There is the old saying, a house divided against itself cannot stand; and this is one of the most awful illustrations of it. If half of the demoralization prevalent comes from the promptings of evil inclinations and ugliness in the individual, the other half is assuredly due to pernicious alliances; the natures become adulterated.

The trouble is too much freedom, such as it is. What is the remedy? A return to monarchy, religious bondage, strict espionage, and authority? By no means. This is artificial, and it is of no use to give the ascendancy to an identical evil. If the subjects do not know how to behave, the king knows no better; if the divine law is not in the heart, the head of the church will not have it; the same elements that exist in the unit, exist in the mass, and, unless the unit is purified and exalted, endowed with intelligence and noble aspirations, the mass will continue to seethe in discord and corruption. The restraint must be interior, the presence of moral responsibility, the clear, unwavering sense of right, of allegiance to the Divine Spirit. Each person must be a law unto himself.

MARIE A. BROWN.

PAROCHIAL AND "GODLESS" SCHOOLS.

The Board of Education has received from the Roman Catholic Committee of the parochial schools two propositions as the grounds of union with the public schools. The first is that the parochial school buildings shall be leased to the board for school purposes, subject to the rules and regulations of the school system; the second is that the present teachers shall be retained if found qualified, and that the children shall be taught the Roman Catechism in the school-rooms before or after school hours. These are the opening propositions, and their scope may very easily be seen in the light of the fact that these parochial schools are established by the Catholics for sectarian purposes, that they are under the strictest Catholic supervision, that the teachers are appointed as Catholics who can be trusted to teach the tenets of the sect, that the pupils are children of Catholic parents, and that the object of the schools is to keep the pupils from the "godless" public schools.

Now if the Catholic clergy are honest in denouncing the public schools as "godless," it is evident that they cannot mean to merge their own in them, for that would be to make their own schools "godless." But if they do not mean this, they intend to retain the virtual control of them. It is therefore plain either that the Roman party has abandoned its purpose, which is not supposable, or that its present proposition is a desperate although veiled attack upon the public school system. The Roman priests and party intend to change the parochial schools into public schools, or they do not. If they do, there can be no possible question between them and the Board of Education except that of rent or sale of buildings. If there is any other question, and the account of the meeting of the Board and the Committee shows that there is, it is because they do not intend to make such a change, but, under the form of union, to make the public pay for supporting nurseries of the Roman creed. That, and nothing else, is the precise purpose of this negotiation, and the Board of Education should be aware that the plan is thoroughly understood by the public.

An important contribution to the discussion of the question since our last issue is the protest and memorial which has been widely circulated and signed in the city, and which presents the case against the union with great force and simplicity. The protest asserts most truly that our school system, by bringing all the children of every kind together, tends to produce that common sympathy which is vital in a republic. The school assembles the children of all natures, sects, and parties, and is itself the symbol of that equality which our institutions are meant to secure. This equal association is an attrition that serves to rub away the little differences which in youth are easily removed, but which in adults become tough and sharp. And this is one of the very things which are most distasteful to the Roman priesthood. It relaxes their despotic hold upon the young members of their Church, who, by constant contact with children of all denominations, insensibly become more generous and free in their religious sympathies.

The protest also affirms as a principle of distribution—if the public money could be lawfully devoted to sectarian instruction—a division among the sects in proportion to the amount of taxes paid by each sect, so that none may be compelled to pay for the increase of another. This is a view not always clearly understood. If the public money could be divided, it would be because of the desire of sects to have sectarian schools—schools to teach sectarian tenets,—and it would be only fair that no sect should be allowed to force other sects to pay for its propagation. But this is by no means the desire of the Roman sectarian party which is attacking the school system. The amount of taxes which it pays is quite out of proportion to the number of children that it supplies; so that it is really asking not for an equal and proportionate share of the school money, but for one vastly disproportionate to the amount it furnishes. If the State undertakes to divide citizens into sects, let it do the work thoroughly; and if the Roman party wishes to have public money to pay the ex-

penses of teaching children Roman Catholic doctrines, let it have the exact proportion of the amount of taxes it pays. The proposition is so preposterously impracticable that it should dispose of the whole scheme.

We repeat—and it should be constantly repeated until the Board of Education hears and heeds—that there is no way of merging parochial schools in the public school system except by absorption. The law is precise and inexorable, and any "arrangement" is but an evasion of the law. If Catholic schools with Catholic teachers appointed by Catholic priests, schools established to teach Catholic doctrines, are to be received as public schools under the school laws and to be supported by public taxation, upon the sole formal condition, which from the necessity of the case cannot be observed, that there is to be no religious instruction in school hours, then Methodist and Baptist and all other sectarian schools must be received upon the same terms. And when that is done, the whole system will have been overthrown, and the public schools will have become sectarian. The Pope may well make his Archbishop of New York a cardinal if his priests have succeeded at the end of the first century of American independence in destroying the public school system of the United States.—*Harper's Weekly*, April 24.

"PSYCHO."

THE NEW CARD-PLAYING AUTOMATON.

The new automaton invented by Mr. John Nevil Maskelyne and Mr. John Algernon Clarke, which appears twice daily in Messrs. Maskelyne & Cooke's entertainment at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, is not a deception like Baron Kempelen's renowned chess-player. That, though it astonished all Europe late in the last and early in the present century, was but in part mechanical; and the chess-playing was really performed by a man inside—a Polish patriot named Worosky, who, having lost both his legs in battle, was able to conceal himself in very small spaces within the figure and the box-table at which the figure was seated. Neither is the new automaton of the same class with Vaucanson's flute-player, which was exhibited and explained to the French Academy of Sciences in 1738. That superb piece of mechanism imitated the movements of the body, the fingers, the lips, the tongue, and the management of the breath of an expert performer on the flute. Sir David Brewster has recorded the fact that "for many years it continued to delight and astonish the philosophers and musicians of Europe"; but, like a barrel organ, the machine only executed those particular airs which it was arranged to play. The marvel of the new invention of Mr. Maskelyne and Mr. Clarke consists in these distinctive features: the figure has no living being within it; it is perfectly isolated from any connection—mechanical, electrical, magnetical, or otherwise conceivable—with any operator at a distance; and yet, nevertheless, it plays the game of whist with no little skill, performs arithmetical calculations, obeys by its movements the directions of any person in the audience, and accomplishes a number of very surprising feats with cards chosen and names written by the audience.

"Psycho," as the automaton has been named, is a figure in Oriental costume, sitting cross-legged upon a small box or pedestal; and, besides being too small to contain even a dwarf or mutilated man, is inspected through openings in the box and in the body of the figure. Mr. Maskelyne, moreover, allows any person from the audience to ascertain for himself that no spaces whatever are hidden by mirrors or any other contrivances. "Psycho" is just what he appears to be—a piece of mechanism, with the wheels, weights, strings, and levers visible, without trick or concealment. He is first seen upon a table; but, to isolate him from external control, he is then placed upon a stand of thin, transparent glass—this consisting of one single piece—thoroughly examined by the audience before being set clear away from the back or side scenes, and, in fact, in the centre of the stage. There is no attachment of any kind, the automaton resting loosely on the glass support, and in any position; and persons from the audience are allowed to watch as closely as possible round the figure while it is at work, and to re-examine the interior when they please. Under these searching guarantees that "Psycho" is perfectly self-acting, what is he seen to do? If any person gives him a sum to calculate in addition, subtraction, multiplication, or division, he shows the answer, one figure at a time, by opening a little door and sliding the figure in front of the aperture with a movement of his left hand. There is no pre-arrangement or collusion in this; for he proceeds to exhibit any numbers which anybody may call for. He plays a game at whist with any three gentlemen who may like to take a hand with him.

The three players seat themselves at a side table and cut to decide who shall be "Psycho's" partner; and, after dealing, the thirteen cards for the automaton are placed on a quadrant holder under the radial sweep of the figure's right hand, the cards standing upright, so that he can seize any one with his thumb and finger. "Psycho" turns his head, and looks up or down, apparently studying the hand of cards on his quadrant; and when his turn comes to play he finds the best card available to him, raises it, holds it up in full view of the spectators (so that there is no trickery or substitution), and then puts it down in front of the quadrant. He will hold up any card again and again as often as desired by any person in the audience, and shakes hands with his partner at the conclusion of the game. He plays a good game; and, unless matched against very scientific players, commonly wins when he happens to get fair average hands dealt to him and his partner. Then follows a series of further illustrations of "Psycho's" mysteri-

ous power of intelligence. You help yourself to a card out of a pack, and he tells the suit and rank and number of spots by means of strokes on a bell. You privately mark any card in a pack which you shuffle and hold in your own hand; and upon the pack being placed in front of the automaton he instantly finds the identical card, and holds it up, without possibility of substitution or deception. Again; you shuffle the pack, Mr. Maskelyne holds it behind him in full view of everybody, and "Psycho" tells the names of all the cards in succession, though the conjuror himself has not seen even the backs of them. Finally, Mr. Maskelyne informs the audience that the automaton is constructed to perform a number of other marvels of mechanism (not yet finished) by the aid of "secret intelligent forces." How long this "dynamic mystery" may remain unsolved, in an age when the usual resources of conjurors are very well understood by many people outside the profession, it would be unsafe to predict; but for complete novelty of the effects produced, this new automaton outdoes everything which has appeared since the subtle inventions of Robert Houdin.—*London Times*.

KINDERGARTENS FOR NEGLECTED CHILDREN.

A CIRCULAR.

Eight months ago two Kindergarten Schools were established in Boston, one at No. 223 Hanover Street, and one at No. 201 North Street, in a room furnished by the North-End Mission.

The object of these schools was to collect some of the neglected children who swarm in the streets, while yet too young for the Primary Schools, and give them facilities for intellectual and moral training at an age most tender and sensitive to every surrounding influence.

Even at the early age of three years children begin to use the vile language and copy the actions of persons in bad localities, as happier children in happier homes learn at that period their first loving words. Their plastic minds are open at this early stage to every surrounding impression, and a better training for criminal life could hardly be devised than the present method of neglect for these first years of little children.

So soon as we are able to provide for the ignorant and neglected class of people schools for their children from the earliest years, and thereby stimulate the moral and intellectual growth, we shall diminish not only the number of inmates in jails and penitentiaries, but pauperism in general will be sensibly lessened.

These Kindergartens for the poor are designed to teach the little ones habits of cleanliness and order, calculated to have an effect upon their homes as well as upon the children themselves; also by tender and affectionate care the teachers hope to win their love for better things.

By this early training it is believed that many children who might otherwise become worthless members of society may thus receive a foundation for future habits of industry and usefulness.

The two schools to which we have referred have thus far been quietly carried on by the efforts of a few friends, who have cheerfully borne the expense of one hundred dollars a month for both, until such time as the work might no longer be considered an experiment.

It has been proved desirable to continue these schools, and to plant others as soon as means shall be provided.

Two excellent teachers, both of them trained kindergartners—one from Madame Krieger's, the other from Miss Garland's, Training School—have taken up this work of training neglected children from choice. Under their care these schools are no longer an experiment. The public are cordially invited to visit and examine the work for themselves. All willing to further the work are invited to send their contributions to

MRS. JAMES T. FIELDS,
148 Charles Street.
MARY J. SAFFORD BLAKE,
16 Boylston Place.
MR. OTIS CLAPP,
3 Beacon Street.

MR. EMERSON'S "HISTORICAL DISCOURSE" AT CONCORD.

Forty years ago—almost half-way back to the day of the fight—the little town of Concord celebrated its second centennial, and Mr. Emerson gave the address. In the "order of exercises" for the day it is set down as an "Oration by Rev. Ralph Waldo Emerson." This is of an earlier date than any of the addresses which he has hitherto thought fit to preserve in his volumes; and the title-page, in the words "Republished by request," reminds us that even now we should hardly have the satisfaction of reading this one if it were not for the fast-approaching centennial return of another famous day in the Concord annals.

Those who are interested in Concord will need no recommendation of this little pamphlet, and at this particular time there are few who are not interested in Concord. Mr. Emerson had to tell of the founding of the town, of the Indian wars, and of many other matters. He gives also, of course, an account of the fight on the nineteenth of April. He mentions in an appendix (which was originally printed with the address in 1835) the sources from which he had drawn his information, and then adds an interesting narrative of the transaction, written by his own grandfather on the day of the fight,—as to which narrative he says, "a part of it I discovered, only a few days since, in a trunk of family papers." His

grandfather, the Rev. William Emerson, was at that time minister of the parish, and the occupant of the "old manse," close by the battle-field, which he had built not many years before; he died soon after, a chaplain in the army at Ticonderoga.

This little address is interesting for its record of many curious details, for certain sagacious comments on events, and for its full and exact references to the original authorities. These, however, are merits which one can find elsewhere. There are other things in it which some will value more,—sundry hints of what they will recall in Mr. Emerson's verse, and some of the earlier gleams, here and there, of the genius that has grown within these forty years to be one of the chief things in the literature of our English tongue. We add a single quotation. The speaker is giving some account of the town-meeting:

"Here the rich gave counsel, but the poor also; and, moreover, the just and the unjust. He is ill-informed who expects, on running down the town records for two hundred years, to find a church of saints, a metropolis of patriots, enacting wholesome and creditable laws. The constitution of the towns forbid it. In this open democracy, every opinion had utterance; every objection, every fact, every acre of land, every bushel of rye, its entire weight. The moderator was the passive mouth-piece, and the vote of the town, like the vane on the turret overhead, free for every wind to turn, and always turned by the last and strongest breath. In these assemblies, the public weal, the call of interest, duty, religion were heard; and every local feeling, every private grudge, every suggestion of petulance and ignorance was not less faithfully produced. Wrath and love came up to town-meeting in company. . . . The ill-spelled pages of the town records contain the result. I shall be excused for confessing that I have set a value upon any symptom of meanness and private pique which I have met with, in these antique books, as proof that justice was done; that if the results of our history are approved as wise and good, it was yet a free strife; if the good counsel prevailed, the sneaking counsel did not fail to be suggested; freedom and virtue, if they triumphed, triumphed in a fair field. And so be it an everlasting testimony for them, and so much ground of assurance of man's capacity for self-government.

"It is the consequence of this institution that not a schoolhouse, a public pew, a bridge, a pound, a mill-dam, hath been set up, or pulled down, or altered, or bought or sold, without the whole population of this town having a voice in the affair. A general contentment is the result, and the people truly feel that they are lords of the soil. In every winding road, in every stone fence, in the smokes of the poor-house chimney, in the clock on the church, they read their own power, and consider, at leisure, the wisdom and error of their judgments."—*Advertiser*.

IT IS SAID that the founders of Rome gathered from all parts of the neighboring country, and composed entirely of men, went to a festive assemblage among the Sabine hills, carried off the maidens and made them wives. Afterwards, when war broke out between the people of the Sabine territory and the men of Rome, and the two warring hosts encountered each other in battle, the daughters of the Sabines, now Roman matrons, rushed in between their Roman husbands and their Sabine kinsmen, forbade the war and obliged the hostile tribes to make peace and dwell together thereafter in amity. If the women of this age can do for the civilized world what these women did for the Sabine territory, they will lay mankind under a debt which the fervent gratitude of all succeeding generations will but partly repay.

When a battle is fought, women come and bind up the wounds of those whose bodies are torn by cannon-balls and grape-shot; they tend them in hospitals; they watch night and day by the bedside of those who are delirious with pain; they smooth the pillows of the dying. Shall they be limited to this? Are they to make no effort to prevent the evil which they so tenderly seek to mitigate? Must they always wait till the mischief is done and then seek to repair it, which they can only do in small part? Is there no hope that by standing on the threshold they may resist this great evil and forbid its entrance? This is a question which the present age may solve, and let us hope that it may be in the interest of peace.—*W. C. Bryant*.

SPEAKING of Mill's *Essays on Religion*, in which, to the surprise of his friends and enemies, he acknowledges the weight of the arguments for the divine existence, and speaks with reverence of the character of Christ, *The Presbyterian* moralizes thus:—

"A more miserable position can hardly be found in all the realm of thought. He would have been glad to have dismissed the Christian religion, or substitute for it a religion of humanity; but he is compelled to pay a tribute to the character of Christ, and to acknowledge that it has taken a great and salutary hold on the modern mind. In this painful uncertainty he laid down his pen and passed into the world where all things are made manifest."

Who art thou that judgest thy neighbor? How do you know that he was uncandid in studying the question of theism? How do you know that "he would have been glad to have dismissed [sic] the Christian religion," but was "compelled" against his will to acknowledge the goodness of its Founder and the salutary influence it has exerted? As for this "miserable position," that is not so clear. The man who is honestly and faithfully searching after truth, no matter on what subject, though he remain in doubt, is in the most glorious and happy position conceivable. A thousandfold better the humble seeking doubter than the conceited, unreasoning, bigoted dogmatist.—*Independent*.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

IN A DUNGEON.

BY GRACE MORVEN.

I.

One sat within a dungeon dim, and saw
No glimpse of busy life: the sunshine sweet
Fell o'er the dusty floor like sand of gold.
Only a narrow strip of sky appeared
Through grated window high; sometimes a bird
Skimmed by in rapid flight; sometimes a cloud
Went slowly floating o'er; sometimes a star
Looked in, through lonely watches of the night:
Or wrathful tempest filled with gloom the cell.
But once he climbed the dungeon wall to see,
Across the rippling river at its base,
Sweet sights of happy life and summer days,
And white-winged ships go sailing out to sea.
And thus went by his life, till Death's release.

II.

Prisoned, like him, by clogging walls of flesh
And senses dull, we catch but casual glimpse
Of God's fair, wondrous universe. Our thoughts
Are circumscribed by petty plans and hopes
Of Earth's ambition, and we wear strong chains
Of Mammon; weakly pleased by glittering bonds,
As once a Grecian prince, refusing iron,
Wore tamely silver chains the "Lion-King."
In mockery gave! Or, if we catch a strain
Of harmony divine, and, looking up,
See larger breadths of sky revealed, a wider world,
We sink again to Life's most sordid cares,—
Letting our souls starve, seeking not to reach
God's grand, high purpose in our earthly lives.

SENECA, Mo.

LEXINGTON—1775.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

No maddening thirst for blood had they,
No battle-joy was theirs who set
Against the alien bayonet
Their homespun breasts in that old day.

Their feet had trodden peaceful ways,
They loved not strife, they dreaded pain;
They saw not, what to us is plain,
That God would make man's wrath his praise.

No seers were they, but simple men;
Its vast results the future hid;
The meaning of the work they did
Was strange and dark and doubtful then.

Swift as the summons came they left
The plough, mid-furrow, standing still,
The half-ground corn-grist in the mill,
The spade in earth, the axe in cleft.

They went where duty seemed to call;
They scarcely asked the reason why;
They only knew they could but die,
And death was not the worst of all.

Of man for man the sacrifice,
Unstained by blood, save theirs, they gave.
The flowers that blossomed from their grave
Have sown themselves beneath all skies.

Their death-shot shook the feudal tower,
And shattered slavery's chain as well;
On the sky's dome, as on a bell,
Its echo struck the world's great hour.

That fateful echo is not dumb:
The nations, listening to its sound,
Wait, from a century's vantage-ground,
The holier triumphs yet to come,—

The bridal time of Law and Love,
The gladness of the world's release,
When, war-sick, at the feet of Peace
The hawk shall nestle with the dove,—

The golden age of brotherhood,
Unknown to other rivalries
Than of the mild humanities,
And gracious interchange of good,—

When closer strand shall lean to strand,
Till meet, beneath saluting flags,
The eagle of our mountain crags,
The lion of our Mother-land.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 17.

Chas. Storrs, \$5; Lucius Slade, \$3.75; Mrs. G. R. Russell, \$3.20; Mark T. Adams, \$3.20; J. R. High, \$1.60; G. W. Lewis, \$3.20; J. Andrews, \$1.60; H. N. Carver, \$3.20; J. J. Hall, \$1.60; C. C. Harwood, \$1.60; J. R. Buckell, \$1.60; T. Frestome, \$1.60; M. P. Morrison, \$1.60; Lewis Creieling, \$1.60; W. C. Allen, \$1.60; J. S. Bender, \$3.20; Wm. Hill, 20 cents; A. M. Lathrop, \$3.20; Adam Wolf, \$7.75; M. A. Tripler, \$3; John Landen, \$3; John Weiss, \$3.20; C. M. Lawler, \$3.20; Enos Hillis, 50 cents; Alvin Hoyt, \$3; ———, \$1.20; E. Case, \$1.50; A. Risk, \$3.30; Nathaniel Little, \$3.20; E. P. Hatfield, \$3.20; G. W. Low, \$1.60; W. S. Church, \$3.20; J. H. Clewell, 75 cents; Thos. Douglas, \$3.20; E. B. Babcock, \$3.20; Edw. Brown, \$13.20; Moses Milkman, \$3.45; Chas. T. Burrell, \$4.75; Matt. H. Ellis, \$1.20; Julius Kirschbaum, \$1; D. A. Robertson, \$3.20; H. Nye, \$3.20; E. W. Gunn, \$3; Johannes Ellenbaas, \$4.25; Henry Moore, \$5; J. V. R. West, \$1; R. Pritchett, \$1.50; John Alexander, \$2.40; S. W. Ayres, \$1.20; Wm. Ingram, \$3.20; O. L. Ashenfelter, 75 cents; E. M. Marshall, \$3; Henry Athorp, \$10; E. M. Davis, \$1.30; M. T. James, 75 cents; S. C. Alvord, 10 cents; Cash, 50 cents; J. W. Judd, 50 cents; S. C. Gale, 40 cents; R. Owen, 30 cents; C. H. White, \$1; M. H. Phelps, 50 cents; D. W. Pond, 80 cents; Benj. Hollowell, 25 cents; Miss Dana, 30 cents; Miss E. Johnson, \$1.50; Harry Hoover, 30 cents; M. B. Sibley, 25 cents; R. L. Patton, 25 cents.

The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 22, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. Toledo Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
ABRAM WALTER STEVENS, Associate Editor.
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RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E.
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W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), Editorial Contributors.

THE "Free Congregational Society" of Florence, Massachusetts, held their annual meeting on April 5, in their fine new Cosmian Hall, which was dedicated so happily in March, 1874. The treasurer's report showed the Society out of debt, the debt of last year (\$1400) having been entirely paid by voluntary contributions. From the name of their Hall, the Society have acquired the local soubriquet of "Cosmians"; and the report of the Executive Committee, read by Mr. Seth Hunt, the chairman, recommends its formal adoption as "short, comprehensive, pleasing to the ear, and more clearly descriptive than such epithets as Liberals, Radicals, Free Congregationalists, and Free Religionists." For about a third of the year the Sunday meetings have been sustained without the aid of any regular or imported speaker,—an example of self-help worthy of respectful attention elsewhere. Much value is placed on the Sunday School, which as conducted is an institution wholly unlike what is usually known by that name. The musical, theatrical, and social entertainments given by the Society from their own resources have been very successful. Altogether, this is one of the most interesting organizations on a free thought basis to be found in the country, and is exerting a wide influence.

THE NEW "IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT."

Rev. Edwin S. Elder, minister of the Unitarian society at Lexington (famous as the spot of the battle whose centennial anniversary was commemorated last Monday, and quite as notable for being the birthplace of Theodore Parker), makes a calm and thoughtful argument, in the leading paper of this issue, against the position that Free Religion is opposed to Christianity. The ground he takes is more radical than that taken by Rev. Minot J. Savage some weeks ago in these columns, and probably will come nearer to the average opinion of our readers; yet we fail to be satisfied even by this gentle-thoughted writer that our own ground is a mistaken one. Every man best serves his generation by adhering faithfully to the truth that has dawned on his own mind; and we know that a response drawn from the fountain of innermost conviction will best please Mr. Elder. His essay is a model for imitation in omitting all mere personal references, and in confining itself to the general question under consideration; and we are under cordially acknowledged obligations to him for contributing it to THE INDEX.

The sentence with which Mr. Elder opens states that "injustice is done to the Free Religious movement by those who insist that in its nature and aim it is anti-Christian; and, further, that every one identified with the movement should put himself in an attitude of hostility toward Christianity." Again, a little later, he says with reference to a "majority" of those connected with this movement: "They will also deny the identity of the New Testament religion with the most rational and most spiritual religion of the present. They will insist that the faith of one individual living in one remote age of the world is and must be partial, inadequate to the varied experiences, the altered conditions, and enlarging life of to-day. Many will declare that Christianity has been so intimately associated with certain errors that they no longer care to call their religion Christian. Yet they do not feel the hostile spirit; they cannot assume the anti-Christian attitude." (The italics are ours.)

Considering the fact that Christianity has always

laid so much stress upon emotions, sentiments, and feelings, as important above everything else, perhaps it is a not unnatural misapprehension that, when we conclude Free Religion and Christianity to be radically opposed to each other, we should also be imagined to be urging radicals to "feel the hostile spirit." But this is nevertheless a very grave and injurious misunderstanding. We have made our appeals to intellect and conscience, to "those who think and those who dare"; but not to feelings or emotions, or to those who are governed by them. It is no object of ours to stir up animosity or hatred against the Christian religion, much less against those who believe in it; we cherish no such sentiments, and should be greatly sorry to see them appearing anywhere. The anti-Christian attitude we take is forced upon us by the calmest and coolest reflection on the fundamental principles, the cardinal ideas, the intellectual, moral, social, and political tendencies, of the Christian religion; it involves no excited feelings or ebullitions of wrath, no bitterness, no malice, no hatred; it only involves the clear perception that Free Religion and Christianity cannot thrive or permanently exist together, that each opposes and tends to destroy the other, and that by their inherent nature fidelity to either sets one in opposition to the other beyond any possibility of escape. Men may not comprehend their own position; they may conceive it to be other than it is; but the real relations of things do not depend on anybody's comprehension or non-comprehension, and will ultimately force recognition of themselves even upon an unwilling world. It ought not any longer to be thoughtlessly charged upon us, or carelessly taken for granted, or ignorantly supposed, that we would inculcate any antagonism of feeling at all against Christianity; it ought to be seen and acknowledged that our protest against it rests solely upon intellectual and moral convictions, and not in the slightest degree upon any private pique, any personal grievance, any "hostility" of "feeling" of any name or sort; and we earnestly request all who would not do us a wilful injustice to appreciate the fact that we wish no one to have any "hostile spirit"—that what we wish is simply a recognition of the real state of things, and an earnest, high-minded, self-sacrificing discharge of the duties which that state of things imposes. Whatever feelings may come in the wake of clear perception, high moral purpose, and consistent action, they cannot be otherwise than worthy of the noblest spirit; and, knowing this, we would place all emphasis on these more important things, and leave feelings to take care of themselves, as they will and must.

But Mr. Elder, even while declaring that those for whom he speaks "cannot assume the anti-Christian attitude," nevertheless himself attributes it to them in unmistakable language. Just read over again carefully the passage we have quoted above; note how they are said to "deny the identity" of Christianity and Free Religion, and to "insist" on the "inadequacy" of the former to meet the wants of the modern world. Does not every one who thus "denies" and "insists" take an anti-Christian position so decided that it cannot possibly be misconstrued? Is there a Christian on this planet who would not instantaneously recognize this position as neither friendly nor neutral, but on the contrary positively anti-Christian? With the utmost respect we must say that Mr. Elder does not perceive the true character of the position he himself takes in this matter. He "assumes the anti-Christian attitude" without knowing it, and just as emphatically as any one could assume it. He disclaims "feeling a hostile spirit," but so do we; the essence of the "anti-Christian attitude" is not in cherishing hostility of feeling, but in the intellectual and moral rejection of its ideas, claims, and authority, and this rejection he makes as unequivocally as ever we have done. Without being conscious of the fact, he shows all through his essay that he repudiates without reserve the most solemn claim of Christianity to the belief and obedience of every human soul; and yet he thinks he can do this without being anti-Christian! Well, this is precisely the case with thousands and thousands of liberal people in this age; they think they are either Christians or at least friendly to Christianity, when the whole tenor of their thoughts, words, and actions is to weaken the world's faith in its doctrines and to withdraw men's souls from its influence; they imagine they are doing nothing against it, when they refuse personally to acknowledge its sway, to accept its doctrines, to obey its authority. How can they be so utterly unaware of the necessary results of this rejection? If everybody

should reject it in the same manner, the Christian religion would most certainly be as dead, as thoroughly and totally destroyed, as the Paganism of ancient Rome; and whoever rejects it for himself alone contributes just so much to its direct destruction. What, if not this, can it be to "assume the anti-Christian attitude"? The only difference in this respect between Mr. Elder and some others is that he assumes the anti-Christian attitude without knowing it, while they know exactly what they are doing.

At the same time Mr. Elder appears to recognize the contrariety between Christianity and Free Religion to some extent, when he refers to our emphasis of it as "raising the merest accident of the Free Religious movement into undue prominence." He admits a "critical, destructive, negative function of the movement," though holding it to be "incidental and subordinate." Very well: he will find the intrinsic positiveness of this movement most emphatically recognized by us from the beginning. Did we not begin the first page of the first issue of THE INDEX in 1870 with "Fifty Affirmations," in which he will find the distinction between the "universal and special elements" of Christianity, on which he now lays so much stress, stated with entire clearness, fulness, and force? For the sake of showing how little chargeable THE INDEX is with ignorance or neglect of this all-important distinction, it may be permissible to quote here a few of these "Fifty Affirmations" which teach it, and to add that we never had seen the distinction drawn in this manner at all. In fact, Mr. Elder seems to favor the very phrases we then employed in stating it:—

1. Religion is the effort of man to perfect himself.
2. The root of religion is universal human nature.
3. Historical religions are all one, in virtue of this one common root.
4. Historical religions are all different, in virtue of their different historical origin and development.
5. Every historical religion has thus two distinct elements,—one universal or spiritual, and the other special or historical.
6. The universal element is the same in all historical religions; the special element is peculiar in each of them.
7. The universal and the special elements are equally essential to the existence of an historical religion.
8. The unity of all religions must be sought in their universal element.
9. The peculiar character of each religion must be sought in its special element.

22. Christianity is the historical religion taught in the Christian Scriptures, and illustrated in the history of the Christian Church.

23. It is a religion in virtue of its universal element; it is the Christian religion in virtue of its special element.

42. Christianity is identical with Free Religion so far as its universal element is concerned,—antagonistic to it so far as its special element is concerned.

Again, in the first issue of THE INDEX for 1871, another positive statement was published under the name of "Modern Principles: a Synopsis of Free Religion," of which the beginning was as follows:—

1. Regarded as to its universal element, Christianity is a beautiful but imperfect presentation of natural morality.
2. Regarded as to its special element, Christianity is a great completed system of faith and life—a coherent body of doctrines logically developed and organized as an historical power by the Christian Church. It claims absolute control over the collective life of society and the outward and inward life of the individual. It rests this claim on the supernatural revelation of the will of God; that is, on the principle of DIVINE AUTHORITY.

Again, in the first issue of THE INDEX for 1872, in the "Impeachment of Christianity" itself, we were careful to recognize the fact that Christianity has been and still is more or less useful to the world:—

Christianity is the great system of faith and practice which is organized in the Christian Church; and its history is the history of the Christian Church. Such, I believe, is the definition which it has made for itself; and such is substantially the only definition of it which will abide the test of time.

Thus defined, I recognize with gratitude the great good which Christianity has done in the past, and is to some extent doing in the present. Nothing can long endure which has not struck root into the true, the admirable, the everlasting; and Christianity has endured for nearly two thousand years. But it is a product of humanity, and everything human is born to die. To-day Christianity is dying a lingering death—to be prolonged until its usefulness to the world shall have been wholly exhausted. To many it is dead already, and the number of these is increasing day by day. For these I speak.

These papers were representative ones, intended to be comprehensive statements, which the weekly editorial cannot always be. Let them speak for themselves as to the perception or non-perception of

the distinction justly emphasized by Mr. Elder as so important. They should show that, when we consider the anti-Christian attitude as involved in the very essence of Free Religion, and not as a mere accident of it, the view we take has not been formed in ignorance of this distinction; and that we do not hold, as Mr. Elder suggests, that "Free Religion is anti-Christian" because we "ignore the universal element" of Christianity. The real strength of our position cannot possibly be appreciated until it is better understood than this. Instead of being "undiscriminating, antagonistic towards both error and truth," in that we oppose Christianity when it contains universal truths as well as special errors, we have taken the utmost pains to discriminate between the two. On the contrary, in his reluctance to accept the inevitable attitude of opposition to Christianity as a whole, Mr. Elder himself seems to fail in discrimination by apparently befriending "error and truth" at the same time. If he should only say, as we have said in the passages quoted above, that Free Religion is identical with Christianity so far as it is really universal and true, and antagonistic to it only so far as it is special and false, then he would indeed discriminate—and substantially agree with the views he now controverts.

Nevertheless, there is real force in the difficulty which Mr. Elder means to bring up, and we wish to meet it in its fulness. The difficulty, which we long ago carefully considered, is this: if Christianity contains both a universal spiritual and ethical element which is true, and a special historical and dogmatic element which is false,—if, moreover, these two are indissolubly connected,—how is it possible to oppose Christianity without opposing the true, or to befriend it without befriending the false? How is it possible either to oppose or to befriend Christianity as a whole, when it is partly true and partly false? Can you shoot the wolf without shooting the sheep he is carrying off?

Let us suggest an illustration which is more true to the facts of the case. All living tissues are composed, as science tells us, of one and the same life-stuff, or "physical basis of life," as Huxley called it. This universal element of all organisms is protoplasm, without which there can be no organism at all. Now suppose a traveller is assailed in the forest by a panther, which is a peculiar organism composed ultimately of the same protoplasm of which the traveller himself and all other organisms are composed. What shall he do? He has no quarrel with protoplasm; he thinks very well of protoplasm; in fact, he could not conveniently get along without it. But this particular aggregate of protoplasm which now threatens to assail him with teeth and claws is something that he must quarrel with, or else be digested by. He is not anti-protoplasm, but he is certainly anti-panther; so he concludes not to be perplexed by the co-existence in the beast of both universal and special elements, but to shoot it as a whole. He cannot possibly kill all protoplasm, but he must kill this form of it or be killed himself. Now this is a crude representation of the fact as respects Christianity. The protoplasmic universal element, out of which all religions are built up into peculiar organic forms or institutions, cannot possibly be harmed by anything that happens to these; it is as permanent as man, and will survive the death of Christianity as easily as it survived the death of Grecian mythology. To oppose these institutions and the dogmas they express is not to oppose the universal element, but rather to seek for this very universal element a higher form of embodiment, better adapted to the condition of the modern world. The special element of Christianity, which Mr. Elder rejects as much as we do, is precisely that which gives all its organic shape and life to the religion; and to oppose Christianity as a whole, notwithstanding the fact that universal and special elements both enter into it, is really only seeking to emancipate the universal element from the limitations which are imposed on it by the special element—only seeking to leave it free to create such new organic forms as shall be in harmony with man's present needs. This work of disintegrating the old for the sake of the new is going on all about us; every one helps it forward who forbears to labor actively in the defence of the old; and whoever does help it forward is not working against the universal truth which Christianity has hitherto very imperfectly embodied, but rather doing his best to hasten the advent of that better embodiment which is surely coming. He is anti-panther, but not anti-protoplasm.

No space is left us for further consideration of Mr. Elder's paper; and we regret we cannot dwell on some of his points which remain untouched—espe-

cially the point that "Christianity has passed into Free Religion," as if in the course of natural evolution. We should like to show that Free Religion had its origin in influences long antedating this generation and wholly independent of Christianity in any form; that it is the legitimate offspring of a mighty outside secular life acting upon the Christian Church, and developing within the latter that which is now born out of it, as the heir of both. The continuity of evolution is indeed preserved, but in a far higher and profounder sense than Mr. Elder seems to suggest. But all this can now only be hinted, and left to the reader's private thought.

"KINDERGARTENS FOR NEGLECTED CHILDREN."

In November, 1873, a lady and gentleman of Boston became specially interested in the little children that swarm in the streets of the North End, growing up to a dismal future in the midst of squalor, vice, and wretchedness. For several months they visited this dreary region of the city, so slightly known to its happier inhabitants, and spent several hours every Sunday in amusing, instructing, and caring for these neglected little creatures. Their whole object was to benefit them in this world, dismissing all concern for another; and this feature of their work, which was indeed the living inspiration of it, will command the sympathy of all our readers. One might imagine that no obstacles would be wilfully thrown in the way of such an undertaking; but superstition stepped in, as usual, to defeat the humane purpose not governed by itself. A Catholic mob, stirred up by a jealous priest who suspected this was some artful attempt to proselytize the children (and it must be confessed that ordinary Protestant charity gives good ground for such suspicions), was excited one Sunday afternoon against these unselfish missionaries of natural humanity, and they escaped with their lives only by the aid of the police.

But others had become interested in these unpretentious but most noble endeavors. Private meetings were held in the spring of 1874 to sustain them: money was raised; clothing, books, and other necessities were contributed; two Kindergarten schools were established, which have been continued to the present time. It has been an experiment in the application of radical ideas to the uplifting of degraded humanity; and, though it is far too early to give any account of results, the promise of great good is unmistakable. Having had personal knowledge of the enterprise from the beginning, we can venture to guarantee the genuine usefulness of it; and we hope that most generous response will be made to the circular on behalf of it which is printed with the above caption in another column.

In consequence chiefly of the proved utility of these two Kindergarten schools, the Boston School Committee passed the following order at their meeting of March 23, 1875:—

"Ordered, That the Committee on the Kindergarten School consider and report to the Board at its stated meeting in May next whether it be expedient to establish at the beginning of the next school year six schools for Kindergarten instruction; to place one of these schools in Charlestown, one in Roxbury, one in East Boston, one in South Boston, and two in the central districts of Boston; to admit children to these schools at three years, and to continue the course of instruction during four years. Referred to the Committee on the Kindergarten School."

Kindergarten schools are not wholly a novelty in Boston. There has been an excellent public one on Somerset Street for four years; it is a decided success. There are also four private schools of this class, one being the Training School of Miss May Garland, a pupil of Madame Kriege, at 98 Chestnut Street, where twelve or fifteen teachers are fitting for this particular vocation. The others are those of Miss N. Moore, on Mt. Vernon Street; of Miss A. C. Rust, on West Brookline Street; and of Miss Mary S. Fuller, in Roxbury. But there was no other school of this sort for the neglected children of the city until the enterprise above described was started; and the benefits of the two now sustained by private beneficence are so great and so evident, and are doing so much to stop the black stream of pauperism and crime at its very fountain-head, that those who would be wisely liberal ought not to withhold lavish support of them. By-and-by the community will most certainly be induced to make the Kindergarten a part of the public school system; but meanwhile private benevolence must furnish the demonstration of its usefulness in the degraded quarters of the city. Listen, then, to the gentle appeal of the circular, the signers of which need no introduction, least of all a recommendation, where their names are known.

We only add that all who are interested in learning

about Fröbel and his Kindergarten system should apply to E. Steiger, 22 and 24 Frankfort Street, New York City, who has published at his own expense and gratuitously distributes many instructive tracts on this subject, and of whom more elaborate treatises can be ordered in English, German, and French. The Rhode Island State Medical Society has recently recommended "that the Kindergarten system should be engrafted upon our public school system"; and we venture to say that the importance of this measure, not only in a purely humanitarian aspect, but also with reference to the gravest questions of social science, will become daily more and more apparent.

WISCONSIN UNITARIAN CONFERENCE.

A Unitarian Conference in Massachusetts, even in old Essex County, is as different from a Wisconsin Unitarian Conference as a Massachusetts pancake is unlike a Western one, which becomes a "fritter" after it passes a certain undefinable meridian of longitude. A Unitarian Conference in New England is a conference of Unitarians; and Unitarians, for the most part, are those people who have sainted Channing, who open their back door to Orthodoxy and bolt their front door to Radicals, and make pilgrimages to biennial conventions where they reaffirm their allegiance to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and work to "build up the Kingdom of God,"—in which phrase they include all questions of education, philanthropy, and reform.

These are the sort of people who usually make up the rank and file of New England Unitarian Conferences. They are rather proud of the name Unitarian, and most of them insist that you call yourself a Unitarian, or at least a "Christian," in order to be welcomed into full fellowship.

Now, we have just attended a Wisconsin Unitarian Conference at Zanesville, which was, so far as we are informed, the most catholic and hospitable organization in the country, called by the name "Unitarian." It was, in fact, a Free Religious Convention. Although it was advertised as a "Unitarian Conference," it was expressly stated in its circular of invitation that, "this Conference recognizes as members all those who may attend in the spirit of co-operation, its aim being to work for the advancement of truth rather than for any dogma, and for humanity rather than for any sect; and holds the name Unitarian in no narrower sense than that of an effort to unite the best methods and spirit of all denominations under a peace that may become universal." Here is no test-word, creed, or creedlet which you must accept.

It is true, that it is a misnomer to call such a Conference a "Unitarian Conference," for it is not a Conference of Unitarians only, but a Conference of Unitarians, Universalists, Independents, and Spiritualists. For the sake of consistency, the name should be changed; and we have the best reason to think the good sense of the members will adopt a less sectarian name in less than two years. But the fact that in Wisconsin we have had a Conference attended by about fifteen to eighteen ministers, some from Northern Illinois, willing to stretch the name "Unitarian" out of all definite and traditional shape, in order to get a fellowship as big as the heart and broad as humanity, proves that Wisconsin "Unitarians" are practically Free Religionists, in their breadth of sympathy and freedom of fellowship.

There are some among them who think it is possible to save the Unitarian name from grounding, and so work manfully at the pumps; but the general opinion is getting to be that the ship is too waterlogged to make much head-way in the West, and she had better be abandoned. If Unitarians during the last ten years had been willing to let their name run ahead like a "flying ideal," it might, perhaps, have expanded to meet the expanding wants, and have been to-day in the West the synonyme of Liberality; but we think the time is now past. The action of the denomination at Syracuse, New York, Boston, and especially at Saratoga, has given to the name a circumference altogether too small to embrace the unorganized and floating faiths. It may catch the renegades from Orthodoxy, but it cannot sweep into its communion the great body of the unchurched; and the name and faith that can do this will supersede the name and function of Unitarianism in the West. We already have a Wisconsin Union Conference which is composed of exactly the same elements as our late so-called Unitarian Conference. There is no occasion for two names of the same thing. They will soon be merged into one, and that one will be in name, what it is in fact, a Union Conference.

One objection which we heard once urged against a broader fellowship by Unitarians, was that the Spiritualists, even the long-haired Spiritualists, might send delegates enough to out-vote and capture the Convention. There were Spiritualists in our Wisconsin Conference, several Independent ministers, and at least two Universalists; and yet we saw no dark plot to capture any of the Unitarians, their treasury, archives, or honorable name and prestige. On the contrary there was sympathy enough to warm us, diversity enough to provoke debate, common sense enough to tolerate difference, common interests sufficient to coöperate, and a common love of truth and right to make us feel that it was good for us to be there, and to resolve to meet again. W. H. S.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—Mr. A. W. Stevens' article entitled "After No, Yes," in THE INDEX of the 4th March, is so extremely valuable and suggestive that I cannot but hope it will be reprinted as a tract or hand-bill for the widest possible circulation. With his kind permission I shall reproduce it here in London, and make it known in every direction.

There can be no doubt that what he says of pure negations is strictly true. However necessary they are as pioneering work, they can never be made a substitute for the affirmations we seek to verify, and on the truth of which so much of man's well-being and progress depends.

The present attitude of many minds, even among the scientific, towards the affirmative side of religious inquiry is anything but respectful and encouraging. Where there is no open scorn, there is the contempt of a significant silence. Of course there are exceptions to this, as in the case of the late Sir Charles Lyell and, I think I may say also, in the writings of Professor Tyndall. It strikes me, however, that the prevailing indifference to, or contempt for, all religious inquiry is most certainly to be excused on the following grounds:—

(1.) Religion hitherto has been presented in a most unfavorable light, as teaching theories of cosmogony utterly at variance with recently discovered and well-proved facts; and as enforcing those exploded theories upon our acceptance as Divine and never-to-be-questioned truths.

(2.) Religion hitherto has been set forth as hostile to the scientific spirit of inquiry and demand for reasonable evidence. It has not been content to assert that which is contrary to facts; it has denounced the criticism of its own assertions as impiety.

(3.) Scientific men have been further outraged by the partly absurd, partly immoral, conceptions of God and man which religion hitherto has insisted on as final and unalterable truths. So that the alienation is on a twofold ground. Religion has been an affront to their consciences and understandings, not merely as students of science, but also as men.

(4.) There is as yet no alternative between the hostile religion and the state of complete irreligion, well put before the scientific and irreligious world. Whatever great and noble efforts have been made by some advanced Unitarians, by Theodore Parker, by THE INDEX itself, and by the no less zealous, if less conspicuous exertions of individuals, these efforts have not yet resulted in a concise, coherent, and explicit declaration of what may be reasonably believed. We have, in fact, no formulated creed, with its supports or proofs ready to submit to the scientific as an alternative to the creed they abhor. I do not think we are to blame for this; but I point to the fact as one among the grounds on which the whole subject of religion is often superciliously dismissed by the scientific as unworthy of human attention.

What we are aiming to do, each in his own way, as free-thinkers, is to present to this age our own sincere convictions supported by the best reasons we can find. In the very nature of things, our views must be more or less divergent; and as we start with the firm persuasion that much must ever lie beyond our ken, we refuse to lay down as dogmas even the most cardinal of our cherished doctrines. We bind neither each other nor ourselves, and we dread, perhaps morbidly dread, to tabulate and formulate our doctrines, lest we should even seem to be falling into the old error of dogmatizing.

While this hesitancy is most becoming on our part as professed seekers after truth, and has its great advantage in encouraging all to make individual researches, it acts unfavorably on those who reject religion altogether, for there is nothing, focussed before their minds, for them to examine.

We cannot, therefore, blame them for their scorn

of religion, so long as the only idea which that name calls up is one which is hostile to truth and repulsive to the imagination.

The value of Mr. Stevens' advice becomes still more apparent when these causes of disaffection towards religion are recognized. Surely we ought to be able to put forth some kind of religious manifesto which shall be guarded all through and from end to end against the fatal mistake of dogmatism. Surely a man may say without danger of scorn from the scientific, "I believe in God the Father Almighty," if he add to it the confession that these terms are only used because they are the best and simplest to convey the impression on his own mind, and that they are even to himself utterly inadequate to express the whole truth as it appears to him, much more inadequate to express the truth as it actually is. Neither the Orthodox nor the irreligious can be expected to care deeply for mere negations. The former will only too gladly see how futile is such opposition; the latter will take but a passing glance, may nod his assent, and will quickly turn and go on his way, forgetting even the brief pleasure he felt in the discomfiture of his foe.

Leaving aside, just now, the necessity for regarding the welfare of mankind, it is a mistaken policy towards those whom we most desire to cultivate, and from whom we hope to learn our best practical knowledge, to leave them unprovided with any alternative to the religion which they despise.

Soon the scientific spirit of inquiry will reassert itself in this deepest and highest of all regions of thought, and not only will men of science profit by the culture of this side of their nature, but they will bring to our aid their own highly-trained powers of investigation, and perhaps unfold to us truths yet undreamed of, while correcting our undetected errors.

Manifestly, this is a period of transition, imposing upon us especial duties and lines of conduct; and I think Mr. Stevens' word of warning will be responded to by many more hearts than he dreamed of reaching when he wrote them for your readers.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S.E., March 27, 1875.

Communications.

THE CENTENNIAL OF RADICALISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—With reference to the suggestions made by E. C. Alphonse, in your issue of April 1, regarding a convention of Radicals in 1876, I would state that the last triennial convention of the *Freie Gemeinden* (German Independent Congregations), held in Sauk City, Wisconsin, last June, in addition to a resolution commendatory of the course of THE INDEX, and recommending the formation of Liberal Leagues by all the *Freie Gemeinden*, passed a resolution fixing a convention of all the radical elements among the Germans to be held at Philadelphia in 1876, and to be prepared by a committee appointed by the Executive Committee of the "Union of German Independent Congregations in North America," in connection with a Local Committee of the *Freie Gemeinde* at Philadelphia. As the latter, in a largely attended meeting held yesterday for the purpose of discussing the steps to be taken for bringing Mr. Nieland's naturalization case, reported in your number of April 1, to a decision before the higher tribunals of the Supreme Court and the court of public opinion, was unanimously in favor of joining the Liberal League recently formed here, the two proposed conventions (of American and German Free-Thinkers) could perhaps be so arranged as to be held about the same time, so as to bring the liberal movement among the two nationalities into one channel; which I think could be but beneficial to the liberal cause in general, as it would tend to give additional strength to the isolated endeavors of both. What do you say to it?

Yours most sincerely,

A. LOOS.

PHILADELPHIA, April 12, 1875.

[First of all, we must congratulate the *Freie Gemeinde* of Philadelphia on their spirit of determination to right Mr. Nieland's wrong, and express the hope that they will adhere to that purpose with indomitable resolve. They cannot fail; for failure itself in a brave attempt is victory. Nothing would so rouse and electrify the sluggish radicalism of the day as a new Thermopylae.

Next, we are very glad to learn that the radical Germans propose to assemble at the Centennial in 1876. Perhaps this step may be the nucleus of a grand movement.

But, lastly, we do not like to hear of "two nationalities" in this matter. We are all—Germans, English, French, Scotch, Irish, or what not—but one nationality. We are all Americans, all fellow-

citizens; nothing less, nothing more. Emphatically we disapprove of the perpetuation of all such distinctions as these. Every man, of whatever nation by birth, who is devoted to cosmopolitan principles (and "America" means nothing else), should forget the accident of his birth in the superior claim of essential human rights. Instead, therefore, of "two conventions," we wish there might be one; for union is strength. With this modification we most cordially sympathize with the effort to have the general liberal movement well represented in 1876; and if large, wise counsels are favored, and all small ambitions are forgotten, we shall rejoice to work towards this end to the extent of our power.—ED.]

IS CHRISTIANITY A "CONSCIOUS IMPOSTOR"?

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In your answer to the communication of Mr. LeSueur, printed in THE INDEX of April 8, you say that "the main point at issue is the true relation between those who want liberty of thought to be unlimited and a great institution which wants to limit it."

1. Apparently this is only asserting in other words what Mr. LeSueur charged upon you as the "fallacy beneath all your reasoning"; namely, "that Christianity is a conscious impostor; that she knows she cannot prove her case, and therefore lays an embargo on human thought." That this in your judgment is not a fallacy, I take for granted from the fact that you are content to rest under the charge that it lies beneath all your reasoning.

Yet you do not here, and have not elsewhere so far as I know, adduced one particle of proof that it is truth. You cite history to show that the Church has restricted individual liberty; but this is no proof that in so doing she consciously and wilfully imposed a wrong upon the world.

For the sake of plain speaking, and in order that all your readers may get at the root of the difference between yourself and Mr. Morse, are you willing to say that Christianity is a "conscious impostor"?

If yes, it might not be irrelevant to inquire what sort of universal religion is likely to result from a scientific study of the facts of religious history, when the religion of the most civilized nations of the earth is branded as an imposture. Does not anti-Christian in this sense of the word mean anti-religion?

2. If you refuse to say that Christianity is consciously in error, then, descending from generalities, might it not be worth while to particularize those whose liberty it endangers or attacks?

If the Church conscientiously believes her doctrines—no matter what those doctrines are,—whose liberty is thereby abridged? Not the churchman's, for surely a man ought to have liberty to define his liberty if he wishes; and one cannot see that it is another's business to decide for him when he shall be satisfied, and when dissatisfied, with the amount of freedom he enjoys. Not yours, it appears; for no one has thus far interfered with your right to express your opinions.

3. So far as a benighted Christian intellect can discern, the question comes to this at last: whether Christianity in its successive stages has been the development of man's religious faith, or whether it has been a cunningly devised system by means of which priestcraft has ridden the race. If the former be true of it, Christians have had, and still have, all the liberty they desire; and may grant to the rest of the world the same privilege without becoming anti-Christian. If it be the latter, I know not where to look for any facts which warrant us in ascribing to religion anywhere reality or power.

With great respect,

A MINISTER.

BROOKLINE, Mass.

[That we did not reply to all the points of Mr. LeSueur's long article in a brief note at the end of it, is no ground for inferring that we admitted their correctness. It ought by this time to be well understood that we are obliged to let many statements with which we disagree appear uncorrected in these columns.

1. We do not consider Christianity a "conscious impostor"; neither does this "fallacy" have anything to do with our argument. If the Church relied on human reason to "prove her case," then the suppression of human reason, of which the Church is always more or less guilty, might fairly be taken as a proof of conscious imposition. But the Church relies on Divine Revelation, not on human reason; and she honestly suppresses reason because it is fatal to Revelation. She could not be honest in her devotion to Revelation in any other way; and so evident a consideration should have prevented the charge that we think "Christianity a conscious impostor."

2. By suppressing reason to the full extent of its power, no matter what its motives, the Church fetters the intellects of its own members and of all outsiders to the same extent. When it burned heretics, one would think its interference with liberty sufficiently plain. It cannot burn heretics to-day; but it can excommunicate them, proscribe them, brand them as morally bad or "infidel" because they do not believe its doctrines, and in various ways and degrees lay honest disbelief under disabilities. The treat-

ment of Messrs. Thorne, Treat, and Nieland is quite too recent to be forgotten in this connection; will "A Minister" deny that Christianity was at the bottom of it?

3 We regard Christianity as one stage of human development, just like the institution of chattel-slavery; but that does not prove that it is anything else than slavery. Slavery itself has had its uses in the past, and we have heard before now of contented slaves. All this is irrelevant to our argument, which is that Christianity (of course honestly) always opposes free thought, that free thought is to-day a necessity, and that all free thinkers, whether they know it or not, are in spite of themselves helping to undermine the very foundations of Christianity. —ED.]

THE "DEMANDS" CHALLENGED.

FRIEND ABBOT:—

Your reply to my objections to the "Demands of Liberalism," in THE INDEX of March 11, seems at call for a rejoinder, inasmuch as my position does not appear to be fully appreciated by you, or at least the answer is not altogether satisfactory.

1. In referring to the question of marriage, I did not wish to be understood as denying the correctness of your position; on the contrary I think you are quite right. I used the comparison only as an argument against prohibitory legislation on the question of the Bible as a text-book in the public schools.

You argue that "marriage is a civil contract, and is therefore a proper subject for legislation," and intimating that the Bible is not. How, then, about your prohibitory legislation on this religious subject? You say farther on (in paragraph 5) that the "Bible is not a text-book of anything except religion." Has it not a historical value, aside from the mere theological doctrines which some men want it to teach?

Mr. Frothingham, if I mistake not, values it principally as a collection of ancient Hebrew and early Christian Literature. Mr. Conway's *Anthology* seems to me to be much more exclusively a text-book of religion than the Bible itself. But I can see no possible objections to the "scientific study of theology" even in the public schools, with such text-books (among others) as the *Sacred Anthology* and the Bible, provided that competent, unprejudiced instructors be secured.

2. I confess my ignorance of the laws "enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath," probably because of never having had occasion to notice, practically, the limitations of my personal liberty, though working or playing whenever I chose. But in presenting my former criticism, I supposed (which I doubt not is the general impression) that your phrase "directly or indirectly," in that Demand, was intended to cover more ground than simply those laws which in set terms refer to Sunday as the Sabbath. It was because your critic did read carefully what he criticised, that he referred to that Demand as advocating the entire repeal of all Sunday laws. What you "have said again and again," outside of those demands, was not the subject of my criticism. And if you still insist on that particular Demand, I think it would be well to qualify it with some explanation equivalent to that which you have given me.

3. Your picture of taking off our hats to the family idols of another seems to me to be an entirely new and original conception of your own brilliant imagination, for I never experienced any such servitude as is there portrayed. I have always understood such proclamations to be simply recommendations to the people to abstain from their ordinary occupations, and assemble in their respective places of worship. If one who esteems it a privilege to act in accordance with the suggestion is accustomed to worship in the forest or by the seaside, his personal liberty is no more ignored than is that of the wealthy, well-dressed Episcopalian, sitting in his cushioned pew, in the "dim religious light" of the sanctuary. And what more easy and practical way of making known the time of such "religious festivals" than by proclamation of President or Governor; provided, as I said before, that there be no compulsion in the matter?

4. It seems hardly fair to go back into the past for a definition of Christianity or Christian morality. Burning people for heresy can hardly be said to be a part of the Christianity of to-day, even admitting that essential Christianity has been the cause of such injustice in the past. And as to the "natural morality," to the requirements of which you claim that all laws should be conformed, I am reminded of Mr. Savage's suggestion concerning the private dictionary which the Editor of the THE INDEX does at times seem to desire to establish as the universal criterion.

6. Your last question was answered before you asked it, in the corresponding paragraph of my first communication; but you do not directly answer my question in that same paragraph; but, instead of doing so, put the same question to me in a different form.

Do you wish me to understand that in your search after truth you do not care whether or not people think that you fairly represent the cause of Liberalism? That is what your evasive answer seems to imply; for you say "let feelings take care of themselves," and that seems to mean other people's feelings than your own.

7. And now, having reviewed the principal features of the former argument, allow me to state my position in a different form.

THE INDEX is devoted to Free Religion; so says its own advertisement, and so is it regarded by its

readers; and it is of the utmost importance that it should fairly represent the attitude of Free Religion, not only towards truth and liberty, but towards Christianity and all other named religions.

And what do the Demands imply? How would any one reading for the first time those Demands, in connection with the advertisement in another column, interpret them? Would they not be considered as the very basis of Free Religion?

Now I am well aware that for a time there was printed in THE INDEX, underneath the "Demands of Liberalism" and "Form of Local Organization," an explanatory note to the effect that, so far as he, the editor, was concerned, the above was the platform of THE INDEX.

So far as he was concerned, then, it was also the platform of Free Religion. But is it the platform of Free Religion? And to-day, that little note of explanation having somehow slipped from its position, THE INDEX, with its demands, stands to the world as an emblem and type of Free Religion! I suppose that the note was crowded out by something more interesting in its character.

But suppose, for the sake of following out the argument, that it should be placed back in its old position; what then?

In your criticism of Mr. Savage's article in THE INDEX of March 11th, you say that, having undertaken to champion and protect Unitarianism, "he has no right to say that he answers for himself alone. . . . We asked him to answer for Unitarianism; and we deny that he can do that without going to the collective utterances of the Unitarian denomination. By these utterances and acts alone must Unitarianism be judged."

If, then, THE INDEX is devoted to Free Religion, by the utterances and acts alone of the Free Religious Association should it be judged. And if I read the F. R. A.'s constitution understandingly, each individual should be allowed to interpret those utterances for himself.

The mere heading "Demands of Liberalism," in a paper devoted to Free Religion, is enough to lead one to suppose that Liberalism is only another name for Free Religion, which view may or may not be correct, according as the two terms are defined.

Hoping that I have this time made myself more fully understood, I am

Yours for justice and equality,

MARCUS T. JAMES.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., March 16, 1875.

[It is a matter of regret that we could not notice this article before; but we do so at our earliest opportunity, with necessary conciseness.

1. To legislate that the Bible shall be excluded from the schools, on the ground that its being there is a violation of the equal rights of the citizens, is perfectly consistent with the principle that there shall be no legislation on the subject of religion; for such a step would be simply maintaining justice between man and man, which (we are sorry to say) is no part of religion as popularly construed, but is the well-understood function of purely civil government.

The Bible, when read "without note or comment," as is now required in our schools, has absolutely no "historical value." It has historical value only when accompanied with such notes and comments as no Bible-believer would wish it subjected to. Further, the common schools are no place for the "scientific study of theology," which is far above the comprehension of school children.

2. The seventh "Demand" is already as clear as the English language can make it, within the limits of our power of expression; and we must rely upon the general intelligence not to throw out of it as meaningless the sufficient "qualification" already there.

3. Governors and Presidents, in their official action, represent the whole people. If they officially appoint or recommend Christian fasts or festivals, the whole people appoints or recommends them. But for the agent to do what his principal protests against is wrong; and a part of the people, at least, protests against any official recognition of Christianity by their executive agents. Such recognition by them is a recognition by the whole people; and therefore, when the Governor takes off his official hat to Christianity by appointing a Christian fast, he takes off Mr. James' hat, and our hat, and everybody's hat, to the idol of only a part of the population. There is far less "imagination" in this comparison than bald and prosaic fact. We object to being thus compelled, through official action by which every citizen is committed, to pay homage to what we consider superstition.

4. Is not Christianity a fact of some two thousand years' standing? How then is it possible not to "go back into the past" for a definition of it? But if Mr. James prefers to invent on the spot a brand-new definition of the fact, without the slightest reference to the fact itself, and to confine himself to the present exclusively, we inquire whether he or the present Christian Church has the better right to say what Christianity is? We think it fairer to take the Church's definition of it, whether it comes from the

past or not; and, in propounding his newly-invented definition, we respectfully suggest that it is he, and not we, who would impose on the great public a "private dictionary" of his own. Could anything be plainer?

5. Mr. James is mistaken in thinking we gave an "evasive answer" to any question he put. We may be in error, and undoubtedly are at times; but we never evade. His question was this: "Are not such Demands more likely to create a feeling of antagonism than to convince any one of the truth of your position?" This was our reply: "It is our duty to make sure of the truth of our position, and to let 'feelings' take care of themselves." We meant to be understood, and supposed we should be understood, in this terse answer, as saying substantially that we are not at all solicitous as to what "feeling" the Demands may create; that we cannot tell what "feeling" they may create; that we have no means of knowing or supposing that the "feeling" will be uniform on the subject; that very likely some will "feel" one way, and others another way; that what we are solicitous about is to make the Demands express exactly the requirements of justice and truth, and then leave them without concern to produce such effect as may be natural or inevitable; that we never waste our thought on calculating what effect our words may produce, but devote it all to making them express the truth, in the best form we can achieve with sole reference to the truth itself. All this was boiled down into two lines in the answer complained of as "evasive"; but condensation is not evasion.

Now to the question above we say that what we "care" about is whether we do "fairly represent the cause of Liberalism"; and we "do not care" what people think on that subject, except as what they think is deserved. If we have succeeded in "fairly representing" this cause, and people find that out for themselves, we are exceedingly glad; but if they fail to find it out, and misjudge us accordingly, our sorrow is very moderate. We have been misjudged and misunderstood too much not to have learned how to endure such calamities. By no means are we indifferent to "other people's feelings"; but, if the truth itself hurts them, that is no reason for toning down or shading off. The rarity of conscientious truth-telling comes mainly, we believe, from a tenderness for prejudices which is practical cruelty in the long run; and the wisest benevolence dictates to speak all truth that is needed in the clearest and most direct matter possible.

6. The "Demands of Liberalism" represent nobody's view but our own and that of those who may approve them. The "explanatory note" was omitted through the necessity of saving space, but was there so long that it can hardly be forgotten yet; its substance is still implied in the standing headings of the editorial pages.

Has THE INDEX ever published any "Demands of Free Religion"? Wait, at least, till it does, before holding it responsible to the Free Religious Association—of which it is not a member. The network of inferences above ingeniously woven is too loose to hold the bird; it flies through the meshes without grazing a feather.

7. We have patiently met Mr. James's points one by one, and at greater length than we could do again. In return, we now repeat the question which we put to him before, and to which he has made no answer whatever: "Is not the principle of the separation of Church and State the great bulwark of all our religious liberty?" If he replies in the affirmative, then we ask him to point out a single one of those Demands which is not absolutely, logically, and evidently required by that principle.—ED.]

THERE IS NOT a joyful boy or innocent girl, buoyant with fine purposes of duty, in all the street full of eager and rosy faces, but a cynic can chill and dishearten with a single word. Despondency comes readily enough to the most sanguine people. The cynic has only to follow the hint with his bitter confirmation, and they go home with heavier step and premature age. They will themselves quickly enough give the hint he wants to the cold wretch. Which of them has not failed to please where they most wished to please? or blundered where they were most ambitious of success? or found themselves awkward, or tedious, or incapable of study, thought, or heroism, and only hoped by good sense and fidelity to do what they could and pass unblamed? And this wicked malefactor makes their little hope less with satire and scepticism, and slackens the springs of endeavor. Yes, this is easy; but to help the young soul, add energy, inspire hopes, and blow the coals into a useful flame; to redeem defeat by new thought, by firm action,—that is not easy, that is the work of divine men.—R. W. Emerson.

BUTLER'S *Analogy* shook, instead of strengthening, the religious faith of Pitt.

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FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

ABRAM WALTER STEVENS.

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

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W. J. POTTER, New Bedford, Mass.
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ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

RHODE ISLAND has \$4,117,200 of exempted church property.

THERE IS an unusual increase of dementia among the inmates of the Liverpool work-house, attributed to religious excitement. For particulars apply to Moody and Sankey.

DR. KENEALY lost his motion for a Royal Commission of Inquiry on the Tichborne case by a vote of 433 to 1, in the House of Commons. He and George Francis Train are kindred spirits.

THE Moral Education Association will hold a meeting at 3 Tremont Place on Friday, May 7, at 3 P. M. Paper by Mrs. K. T. Woods. Subject: "Mending the World." All cordially invited.

IT IS a matter for regret, on the part of all who admired the great philanthropy of Mr. James Lick last summer, that he should now attempt to revoke his trust-deed. Probably this cannot be done; and the attempt will only destroy the beauty of his act.

REV. MR. GOOSLEY, of South Carolina, has been voted \$300 by the House of Representatives in that State for praying "with credit to himself and satisfaction to this House." That is what used to be paid for a substitute by a single conscript in the war. The House got their substitute cheap.

"SPEECHES and songs in honor of the minute-men of a hundred years ago are very well in their way. But a dozen living minute-men in each State would be of more value than a catacomb of the dead bones of heroes." So says the New York Tribune of the Concord and Lexington Centennials. What religious radicalism wants just now is a "dozen living minute-men." They would find plenty of work to occupy their leisure with.

MR. JOHN FRANCIS SMITH, of Providence, R. I., who has contributed several notable articles to these columns, announces that he is prepared to lecture to "Free Religious and Free Thought Audiences" on "The Scientific Spirit" and "Labor Problems, and How to Solve Them." The former lecture "attempts to show (1) what the scientific spirit is not, (2) the causes of its absence, (3) what it is, and (4) that there can be no 'salvation' without it." The other "presents specific methods for insuring a more equitable distribution of the products of industry." We entertain no doubt that these lectures will prove able, instructive, and interesting.

MR. HOLYOAKE, in his "London Letter" of this week, considers Messrs. Moody and Sankey as unpromising representatives of American culture; and few of our readers will question his judgment. Mr. Varley, however, who is attempting to evangelize the Bostonians, misrepresents English culture with equally distinguished success. He told the story of King Uziah in Tremont Temple last week, who was smitten with leprosy in the forehead for "invading the priest's office," and declared that "the blight of leprosy upon the forehead indicated the effect of unbelief upon the intellects of young men." As Naaman was cured of his leprosy by bathing in Jordan, we expect that there will be a general rush this summer for the Charles River. What a blessing is the institution of free public baths!

CAN it be considered honorable, or even honest, journalism to clip out extracts from the sermons of distinguished preachers, write their names at the end with a recent date, and insert them in a paper as original contributions to its columns? Yet this is habitually done by the *Golden Age*, which also habitually omits to give credit for what it borrows. This may be good "Christianity," for which the *Golden Age* is a zealous pleader; but it would be very poor "Free Religion." It is a cause for wonder how a paper conducted on such principles could have ventured to publish the article on "Fraudulent Fame," which

appeared in the *Golden Age* of March 27, and which we copy elsewhere just as it appeared, signature and all, without asking whether "Conscience Plain-speech" really wrote it for the *Golden Age*.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Pall Mall Gazette* says of Moody and Sankey's revival in Great Britain: "I am willing to believe that this movement may produce some not altogether unwholesome effect among a very low class—if it reach them; that class possibly whose fixed tenacity of certain public institutions may perhaps interfere to some extent with their attendance upon Messrs. Moody and Sankey's ministrations. But even with that class the effect would be purchased at a certain cost to that self-respect which humanitarians inculcate. If reformation by the lash is undesirable, it is difficult to understand how reformation brought about by the dread of even more unpleasant bodily consequences can be quite healthy. The operation of the fear must be much the same in both cases, and if the whipping-post at Newgate is more directly present to the imagination of Bill Sykes than the fires of hell, any trifling defect in distance may well be compensated by difference of penalty."

MR. ELIZUR WRIGHT has succeeded in getting his new "Massachusetts Family Bank" incorporated, for the purpose of insuring lives under policies stipulating cash surrender values and of receiving and investing savings. The capital stock is fixed at half a million dollars, the shares at fifty dollars each, and the maximum annual interest at eight per cent. The special peculiarity of this bank is to furnish new facilities and inducements to poor men to insure their lives for the sake of their families, the deposits or such portions as are needed to pay the premiums being transferred annually from the savings bank account to the life insurance account. Of course any surplus is to be retained to the credit of the depositor. This plan seems to us to be one of the most genuinely useful and philanthropic that could be devised; for whatever induces or aids the poor to save their earnings tends to foster that thrift which is their supreme benefactor. The incorporators are Elizur Wright, William Claflin, F. W. Bird, Samuel E. Sewall, John Botume, Jr., and W. L. Burt. The project is one of the best "Boston notions" yet started, and will probably become popular all over the country.

THE New England Methodist Conference at Springfield, Mass., which was attended by nearly two hundred clergymen, and concluded its sessions on April 14, took action on two important public questions. With reference to church taxation, it adopted the following resolutions, which were to be forwarded to the Governor and the Taxation Commission:—

Resolved, That in a Commonwealth like Massachusetts, where the establishment and maintenance of churches, hospitals, and the higher institutions of learning are chiefly left to the spontaneous liberality of public-spirited citizens, a statute exempting from taxation the property used and occupied for religious, charitable, and educational purposes by corporations created by the State is right in principle and beneficial in its influence.

That, under existing circumstances in Massachusetts, the effect of a repeal of the exemption and an enforcement of taxation would be simply to lighten the just public burdens of the illiberal at the expense of the more generous and public-spirited; in other words, would be to change legislation which is directly promotive of beneficent public spirit for legislation repressive of it.

With reference to the Bible in the schools, the following was reported by the Committee on the Bible Cause:—

Resolved, That the reading of the Bible in our public schools, when enforced by legal sanction, is an obligation inconsistent with our republican form of government, the principles of our Protestant religion, and the teachings of the Bible itself.

What a muddle the Methodist mind must be in, to favor all these resolutions at the same time!

LIST OF LIBERAL LEAGUES.

ST. LOUIS, MO.—M. A. McCord, President; P. A. Lofgreen, L. La Grille, Secretaries.
 BOSTON, MASS.—F. E. Abbot, President; J. P. Titcomb, G. A. Bacon, Secretaries.
 JEFFERSON, OHIO.—W. H. Crowell, President; A. Giddings, Secretary.
 SAN JOSE, CAL.—A. J. Spencer, President; J. L. Hatch, Secretary.
 TOLEDO, IOWA.—J. Reedy, President; E. S. Beckley, Secretary.
 VINELAND, N. J.—John Gage, President; Sue M. Clute, Secretary.
 JUNCTIONVILLE, NEB.—J. W. Eastman, President; B. L. Easley, Secretary.
 OLATHE, KAN.—S. B. S. Wilson, President; H. A. Griffin, Secretary.
 DETROIT, MICH.—W. R. Hill, President; A. T. Garretson, Secretary.
 BREEDSVILLE, MICH.—A. G. Eastman, President; F. R. Knowles, Secretary.
 OSCEOLA, MO.—R. F. Thompson, President; M. Roderick, Secretary.
 BATH, ME.—F. G. Barker, President; C. Rhodes, Secretary.
 BERLIN, WIS.—President, J. D. Walter; Secretary, J. D. Kruschke.
 WASHINGTON, D.C.—George M. Wood, President; J. E. Crawford, Secretary.
 AUBURN, OHIO.—John Fish, President; G. W. Barnes, Treasurer.
 MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—S. C. Gale, President; S. G. Rollins, Secretary.
 NEW YORK, N.Y.—J. B. Brown, President; D. M. Bennett, Secretary.
 ST. JOSEPH, MO.—P. V. Wise, President; T. H. Kennedy, Secretary.
 EAU CLAIRE, WIS.—President, S. J. Dickson; Secretary, W. Kennedy.
 BALBEO, IND.—President, T. Gray; Secretary, W. Allen.
 NEW ORLEANS, LA.—President, E. Vorster; Secretary, J. E. Wallace.
 BAY CITY, MICH.—President, S. M. Green; Secretary, S. M. Johnson.
 CLEARFIELD, PA.—S. Widemire, President; H. Hoover, Secretary.
 SAUK CITY, WIS.—Chr. Spiehr, President; Robert Cunradi, Secretary.
 AUGUSTA, WIS.—Davis Jackson, President; George P. Vaux, Secretary.
 WATERTOWN, N.Y.—L. D. Olney, President; W. A. Howland, L. M. Delano, Secretaries.
 PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Isaac Rhen, President; Carrie S. Burnham, Secretary.
 MILWAUKEE.—Theodore Fritz, President; D. C. Zünig, Secretary.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

Buddhism Notwithstanding:

AN ATTEMPT TO INTERPRET BUDDHA FROM A BUDDHIST STANDPOINT.

AN ESSAY READ TO THE CHANNING CLUB, NORTHAMPTON, MASS., APRIL 8, 1875.

BY DYER D. LUM.

"My law is a law of grace for all," said Gôtama Buddha twenty-four centuries ago; and this law, then first made known to suffering humanity, has led countless millions to rise superior to the pains of existence, and to attain that rest for which we are ever aspiring—Nirwâna. This law knows no race, no sex; for it is the language of our higher nature, and commands itself to the artisan and the laborer in every land, as well as to the thinker and the seer; and has received the grateful homage of Aryan, Turanian, and Mongolian races. Believers in the efficacy of this law are flocking to your land, where they find its central truths already widely spread and adopted, and awaiting only recognition as such, offering a bountiful harvest to the missionaries who will yet spread a knowledge of them in the name of their great Expounder.

Professor Max Müller says: "What our great poet once said almost prophetically of languages may also be said of religions—'He who knows only one, knows none.'" But how are religions to be studied? Certainly not in the mere examination of their ceremonial rites and forms of worship, nor in a critical investigation of their doctrinal beliefs; these are but the outward coverings, the dry husks of religion, into the significance of which we can never penetrate, unless we understand the vital principle which they represent, and which animates and endears them to the hearts of their acceptors.

METHOD OF INQUIRY.

In endeavoring to set before you the vital principles of the religious system made known to the world by Gôtama, the hermit of the race of Sâkyas, I have a twofold object in view; to give you an outline of that religious philosophy as held by an intelligent Buddhist, and, in defending it as the true method of salvation, to set forth the reasons why I cannot accept even the "Liberal" form of Christianity which, you so earnestly insist, not only "touches Buddhism at all its good points, in all its truths, but to all this it adds—how much more!" supplementing its highest truths, you claim, with higher incentives to right-living and noble action.

The first Buddhist king, in the third century before Christ, had to remind the assembled priests at the great council which met to settle the Buddhist canon that: "What had been said by Buddha, that alone was well said"; and it is still more necessary to-day to recall our attention from the traditions which ecclesiasticism has collected about the person of the great Teacher, and already to discern the central truths which characterized his teachings. That we can, in a measure, distinguish between Buddhism and the personal teachings of its founder, as well as between Christianity and the doctrines taught by Christ, is now acknowledged by able Oriental scholars.

Niebuhr has said that, "Unless a boldness of divination, liable as it is to abuse, be permitted, all researches into the earlier history of nations must be abandoned." How much more important is it, where the origin of a religious system is concerned,

skillfully to discriminate between actual occurrences on the one hand, and the artificial setting on the other, in which loving but credulous minds have preserved them! Such investigations, however, will altogether fail of their purpose, if coldly conducted in a purely critical manner. While historical research should certainly be conducted with unimpassioned zeal, yet, to be earnest and effective, the heart must glow with sympathy towards the subject under investigation. To understand Buddha, we must bring to our task a mind fully in sympathy with his central ideas; within our breasts must glow the same sacred flame which, kindled on the altar of his soul, led him to that life of self-sacrificing devotion which stands out alone and unique in the world's history; we must be capable of grasping the lofty ideal that filled his mind, and actuated him in his life work. Having once firmly grasped these central principles, the words of the Teacher become luminous with new meanings; the ideas of the speaker being known, we are enabled to look through the words, as it were, and detect the very thought they were designed to express.

Whilst this "method of loving sympathy" may often enable us to read between the lines, and more fully set forth the cardinal ideas of the Teacher, we should carefully guard ourselves from the fatal error of constructing an ideal character into whose sentences we may interpolate the conceptions of a later and more advanced age, or the mistaken notion that we can draw a sharp line of demarcation between the established system of belief and the teachings of its founder, by regarding the organized church and its dogmas as something altogether independent of, and not derived from, the principles as first set forth.

We must not forget that the central ideas of the Teacher may carry with them in their logical development, not only what was not uttered by the speaker, but even what he would not have accepted; and yet to him must be accredited these results, however repugnant they would have been to his mind if foreseen. Legitimate deductions worked out in dogmas and creeds by succeeding generations, if palpably erroneous, are evidence not of apostasy from, but rather of weakness and error in, the cardinal teachings on which they were founded. In our attempt to compare the Buddhist and Christian religions, at the close of this essay, we shall find occasion to recall this truth. Sympathy, therefore, should never lead us to violate the rules of historical criticism, nor to attempt to supersede them. With these views, you will, I doubt not, heartily concur; and I hasten to present you with a brief sketch of Gôtama Buddha and his teachings.

WHO WAS BUDDHA?

I seek to draw your attention to the fundamental principles of Buddhism, to its underlying verities, the law made known by Buddha. Dismiss once for all from your minds the senseless charge of idolatry and "Joss-worship," and examine with me into its claim to present the only method of salvation of any practical value known to man. We must transport ourselves to Central India, where, in the sixth century before Christ, there lived a man whose exalted character and religious utterances have brought comfort and peace to millions of sorrowing hearts, and who to-day is nominally revered by nearly one-third of the inhabitants of the entire globe; whose magnificent protest against Brahminism, uttered in the name of religion, and in the interests of humanity, founded a system unique in the history of human thought, rendering his name as well as his thought imperishable wherever mental liberty is loved. Gôtama, or, as he is sometimes called, Sâkyas-Muni, the hermit of the race of Sâkyas,—the prince, philosopher, and saint, the founder of Buddhism, has never been surpassed as an original thinker; and his reflections on the secret of existence—man's destiny—still claim the careful attention of the thoughtful mind.

Brahminism, the religion of the Vedas, had already grown hoary with age, and in its logical development had succeeded in crushing out of the heart all feeling of the brotherhood of man by the growth of the caste-system. Starting from God, or spirit, as the first cause, there had logically resulted an ultra-spiritualism, or idealism, recognizing nothing but God: matter being but the illusive forms which spirit assumes. Brahminical speculations, therefore, centred entirely on Deity. God was all-in-all, absorption in the Divine the goal to which human destiny tended. Hence, religion consisted in the study of the Infinite, and the relations existing between the Infinite and the finite. From the very nature of their premise, the Brahmins necessarily lost sight of man. They soared in the clouds of metaphysical abstraction, and not only forgot, but ignored, the matter-of-fact duties of life. This being the logical result of their system, we are not surprised to find that the laws governing the organization of society received no humane amelioration from religion, but resulted in that rigorous and inflexible system of caste, never elsewhere so fully developed. Receiving no check from the Vedic religion, the influence of caste was supreme when Gôtama first sought to interpret the riddle of existence.

What humane impulse could originate in a system of religious belief which declared as fundamental dogmas such views as these:—

"God is concealed in all things." "He fills the all." "The Spirit is one and everlasting." "Divine, without form, is the Spirit, pervading the internal and external of beings; unborn, without breath, shining elevated above the highest and unalterable. Out of him comes the breath of life, the mind, and all senses." "The man who perceives in his own soul the supreme Soul present in all creatures acquires equanimity towards them all, and shall be absorbed

at last in the highest essence, even that of the Almighty himself."

Educated in this school of religious speculation lived Gôtama, the son of an Indian king, a member of the highest caste, surrounded with all the luxuries parental love and kingly power could provide, and carefully nurtured in the sciences and manly accomplishments of his age. Married to a young and beautiful princess, formally recognized as heir-apparent, he passed his days to all appearance free from care in honor, luxury, and comfort; yet beneath a quiet exterior great thoughts were agitating his mind. His intercourse with the outward world was not of a character to bring him into contact with vice or misery; yet, through the royal splendor and behind the obsequious lackeys ever surrounding his chariot, penetrating eyes were searching for realities. On one memorable occasion he beheld a wretched and decrepit old man, supporting his tottering, trembling body with a crutch; and it is narrated that "he was deeply moved at the sad sight."

Again he witnessed what was equally strange to his eyes, a man rolling in agony from a loathsome disease, and a decomposing corpse; "and his heart grew more and more sorrowful." While pondering on these scenes, he beheld a mendicant monk whose calm and peaceful demeanor was in striking contrast with the hideous forms he had looked upon. The *Siamese Life of Buddha* relates that, "reflecting on what he saw and heard, he said to himself, 'No being that is born can escape age, sickness, and death; happiest by far is the lot of a monk.'" This was the only escape from the cares and anxieties of life known to the age. The Hindus were familiar with instances of the power of ascetic penances; but in Gôtama's case the motives to take ascetic vows were markedly different from the spirit of the time. The great problem filling his mind was human suffering, the sorrow incident to age, sickness, and death. Being inevitable, must we tearfully submit, or could we surmount the sorrow thus entailed upon us? Yet to take the final step, to assume the garb of a mendicant monk, would involve the sacrifice of family, wealth, and power,—all that he had been accustomed to hold dear. While this struggle was passing in his mind, his wife gave birth to a son; but even this new tie could not divert his thoughts from the consideration of the four motives to pious reflections described in the memorable scenes which had filled his mind with anguish,—that is, age, disease, death, and religious life.

While the palace was filled with rejoicing, and all had given themselves over to pleasure, Gôtama determined to devote himself to religion. Carrying this resolution into speedy execution, he forsook parents, family, rank, and luxury. Leaving a kindly message by promising to return to "wipe away the tears of my family with the most excellent of ketches—the teachings of the true law," Gôtama fled to distant regions to attempt to solve the problem which had rendered life in idleness and luxury unbearable. For six years, from his twenty-ninth to his thirty-fifth year, he practised asceticism in accordance with established usage. So severe were the austerities undergone that disciples followed him with pious reverence, happy to minister to his simple wants.

"THE WHEEL OF THE LAW."

After six years of vain endeavor, Buddha renounced the system of mortification, and sought to regain his health. His disciples forsook him, and again he was alone with his questions unanswered. Were they indeed unanswerable? Awakened from his fond dream of perfection through penance and bodily mortification, he still sought with undiminished purpose to solve the problem of life; and, starting from a different stand-point, he arrived at definite conclusions. These conclusions, the fundamental dogmas of Buddhism, have been formulated as the "Four Sublime Truths," and are as follows:—

- "1st. That sorrow ever attends existence.
- "2d. That the cause of sorrow lies in the passions, or desires.
- "3d. That cessation of sorrow can be procured by the extinction of desire.
- "4th. That desire can be extinguished by holiness (literally, by entry into the paths)."

The method by which this conquest of sorrow is achieved is called the "Eightfold Path," and consists of—

1. Accuracy in doctrine.
2. Accuracy in thought, ending all doubt.
3. Accuracy in speaking, or use of words.
4. Accuracy in works, or conduct.
5. Accuracy in life, free from sin and ambition.
6. Accuracy in application.
7. Accuracy in memory.
8. Accuracy in meditation.

In this "law," Gôtama beheld emancipation from the bonds of sorrow. He believed that he had penetrated to realities; illusion and doubt disappeared; and he became the Buddha, that is, the enlightened, the awakened, HE WHO KNOWS. Let us examine this "creed," and endeavor to view it, not as a mere schedule of doctrinal affirmations, but to discover the thought of which they were the expression; to find the spirit which fills them and which has awakened an answering response in so many sorrow-laden hearts.

The promulgation of this law was a protest against the whole system which Brahminical thought had instituted; for it proclaimed man to be the sole object of thought, human perfection to be the aim of religion. Mr. Hodgson, a long and careful observer, says: "The one infallible diagnostic of Buddhism is a belief in the infinite capacity of the human intellect." The language of Buddhist writers is: "Man is capable of enlarging his faculties to infinity." This was the central thought in Buddha's mind, and herein he took a radical departure from the

Brahmanic system; for that, in affirming the metaphysical belief that the Infinite is all, had failed to realize the presence of the finite. Buddha, recognizing the finite as alone solvable, affirmed man as the sole object of thought. The first grand fact of existence he proclaimed to be sorrow; that is, discontent, unsatisfied aspirations. All existence is subject to change and decay. The laws of Nature are alone inflexible; to know these laws, and to place ourselves in unison with them, would lead to emancipation.

Buddha recognized two orders of existence, the phenomenal and its underlying reality, the material and what is termed the spiritual. How far could he penetrate toward their essence? The material he proclaimed to be illusory, impermanent; containing naught of permanency but the unknown force of which it is a manifestation. Man, being conditioned in finite existence, can know nothing of final causes, can form no conception of the underlying element of phenomenal existence. Huxley, in declaring that "every form is force visible," but restated the affirmation of Buddha that all existence was phenomenal. Matter is more illusory than a passing dream, ever shifting and changing. Nought is invariable in Nature but that which underlies all phenomena. That which perdures is eternal and immutable; and, while our knowledge of Nature is only of the phenomenal, it necessarily remains beyond the grasp of our faculties. Physical Nature, then, failing to reveal to us a knowledge of the real, shall we look for it in mind?

This led to the query, What is mind? What is that by which we realize the impermanency of material existence? Anticipating the results of modern research, he declared mind to be another form of manifestation of force. The substratum, or underlying element, of mind, is force; mental action but its phenomenal manifestation in finite existence. Mind cannot create ideas; it can merely combine, or transpose simple ideas, thereby forming complex conceptions. We deceive ourselves in fancying that we have an intuitive perception of outlying goodness, love, or virtue. "As far as language is concerned," says Max Müller, "an abstract word is nothing but an adjective raised into a substantive; but, in thought, the conception of a quality as a subject is a matter of extreme difficulty, and in strict logical parlance impossible." Buddha thoroughly analyzed the mental faculties, and saw that in none was the permanent realizable. He saw, to quote in the words of modern text-books, that "consciousness is a succession of changes combined and arranged in special ways." The real self, however, he declared to be something deeper and fuller than consciousness or personality; but in its essence, like the ground-work of material existence, it must remain unknown. Matter and mind, instead of being two opposite modes of existence, are in reality but two modes of manifestation of force. Mental action, like material existence, is phenomenal. Buddha fully realized the fact that consciousness is persistent; that mind, while giving out its own phenomena to all appearance, and consisting in successive states, perdures through all. There is something underlying phenomena, and a ground for it; a condition for mental action, not however in any sense peculiar to mind in man alone, but also in animal forms.

But, having reached this conclusion, had he authority for asserting that the aggregate of mental functions known as mind is an immortal entity? This power within and underlying all mental phenomena eludes our finite vision, and escapes the closest scrutiny. We behold but the continent of the power, and witness but its phenomenal effect. Attempting to define or to name it, and we annex it to the phenomenal. But does not this which perdures, while silent as to its essence and its origin, become pregnant with meaning when questioned as to its future? "Nothing can extend beyond its limits," is a trite axiom; but what are the limits to the mind's craving?

The mind is compelled by its own nature to be ever struggling, aspiring, striving for a higher condition, yet always conscious of its chains and limitations. How can sorrow be overcome, this ungratified craving be realized, while the mind remains subject to change and limitation? Sorrow, or this insatiable yearning of the mind, we recognize as an inheritance of existence; and escape from it, therefore, must be deliverance from the bonds of existence. What do the intuitions of the mind indicate? What is the lesson taught by the aspirations of the soul,—if we may so designate the unknown element? To the Brahmin this inherent discontent was evidence of our deficiency, the soul thereby proclaiming its divine origin in its efforts to be freed from a debasing connection. To the Christian, these aspirations, this ever-repeated struggle and ceaseless longings, are the glorious token of immortality, and the promise of an ever-upward flight in an endless duration, ever receiving and ever craving additional knowledge. But to Buddha aspiration did not stand out alone and unique in the universe, a promise never to be fulfilled, but always to be infinitely short of realization; a goad to be forever driving us on and on through the vistas of eternity toward illusory allurements of rest, peace, and knowledge.

These aspirations toward the Infinite, we are constantly assured by Christian divines, are peculiar to man. We are often reminded that it is a well-understood law of Nature that, for every form possessing life, there are natural provisions for the complete expression of that life; that its highest possible expression will be attained. In obedience to this law, the farmer sows his seed, believing that its life will find full expression and reach its ultimate in the ripened grain. Of all the beasts of the field we find none where the highest requirements of their being are not complied with. We are assured that they remain the same as in the past; that they come and go,

generation after generation, and that this sameness, this perpetual level, results from the fact that their highest aspirations are met, that the requirements of their being are fulfilled; but that in man alone have those deep aspirations overreached all earthly possibilities, and overleaped all earthly forms; and deduce from this they the conclusion that we are immortal. Poetically expressed:—

"Are there not aspirations in each heart
After a better, brighter world than this?
Longings for beings nobler in each part,
Things more exalted, steeped in deeper bliss?
Who gave us this? What are they? Soul, in thee
The bud is budding now for immortality!"

Such is the argument; but does an endless conscious existence meet the requirement? Our inherent aspirations are not for "worlds," or "beings," or "things," but for that of which we know not; and we have no right thus to confuse these aspirations with our imperfect and comparative definitions of them. Are they to receive complete expression in an infinite prolongation of the struggle? Buddha saw in the soul no will-o'-the-wisp, no mere *ignis fatuus*. The soul, or that algebraic *X*, the unknown factor expressing the basis of mind, was no huge interrogation point, still more to complicate the riddle of existence. He saw in these longings but another form of sorrow. Struggle, discontent, is the soul's inheritance; rest, peace, knowledge, is the soul's requirement, the true necessity of its nature. Necessarily antagonistic, we never see them harmoniously blended. How, then, obtain relief? Only by the attainment of that which the soul ever craves, the realization of its aspirations,—the infinite perfectibility of man." To attain this, recognized by each mind as its highest ambition, even aspiration must be overcome. But aspiration is the result of limitation, and limitation is the definition of conscious existence. To offer us an endless personality in immortal existence, however soothing and soporific to some minds the belief may be, does not meet the requirements of the case; as an answer to the problem it is merely an evasion, for it leaves the soul's requirements unfulfilled. To meet the demand is to extinguish aspiration. If the affirmations of the soul are to be trusted, the demand must be met. Buddha, with firm reliance on "these glorious instincts," declared that it would be met, that it was an imperative necessity from which there was no escape; consequently involving freedom from the circle of finite existence, that the "wheel" of personal existence must be broken.

While other races have feared death, the down-trodden people of the East feared life. To live was want, privation, struggle. Reflection convinced Buddha that this was the expression of mental life, independent of all circumstances. To live was unsatisfied desire, and denial of the soul's aspiration. To live was to confine the mind, to limit its powers. To live, though it were in a fabled Paradise under the approving smile of a God, would still be subjection to sorrow—the grand fact and inherent curse of existence.

The road to deliverance was not through outward observances or sacrificial offerings, but by obeying the laws hedging in the soul. Knowledge alone was the gate to rest, to complete emancipation, for the assertion of the poet that—

"Knowledge is but sorrow's spy"—

is not only baseless, but a gross blasphemy. To understand himself, the laws of his being in order to conform therewith, the nature of existence, and the true road to soul-rest—these were the chief objects of human thought. But how attained? How bring the demands of our nature in consonance with the laws of the universe, that, by obedience to and harmony with these methods or laws of Nature, the soul might attain its goal?

Obviously by moral training, a pure life, the subjection of the passions by asserting and maintaining the authority of the real over the transient. As ignorance is the chief cause of sorrow, so in knowledge we find its cure; for knowledge is not a mere intellectual process, but moral culture, the perfection of our whole nature.

"KARMA."

Buddha taught that every one's merit and demerit, called by Buddhists "Karma," is the shaper of his destiny. Of soul we know nothing; to Buddhists it is an empty word devoid of meaning; yet, whatever it may be, we may confidently assert that moral worth alone can benefit it. Karma is the law of consequences, every act carrying with it its own compensation, entailing results from which there is no escape. In the metaphysical system of modern Buddhism the doctrine of transmigration is based on Karma. Buddha is traditionally reported to have said: "Karma is the most essential property of all beings; it is inherited from previous births, it is the cause of all good and evil, and the reason why some are mean and some exalted when they come into the world. It is like the shadow which always accompanies the body."

In this, however, we behold a very familiar truth; modern science is equally explicit in affirming the same idea. Past Karma, premerit, heredity, is the mighty power that antecedently moulds our characters, "and which," to use the language of a living scientist, "not only assigns to individuals their position in the surrounding world, but also helps them to attain it." Not, however, as fate, but in strict accordance with the moral responsibility of man. While by our own acts we may largely direct the development of our minds, it still remains true that what we are on entering life is the result of Karma inherited from the past.

As science, in the discovery of the law of selection, "has finally broken with the notion of design, which hitherto invested the organic world with perfection

externally bestowed, and even in the province of intelligence and morality, where it is said with Schiller,

"So grows the Man as grows his greater aims,"

has secured admittance for the uniform method of natural science," so in Buddhism we find the same general conclusion reached by an opposite method. In the opening verses of the Dhammapada, containing the moral precepts of Buddha, it is said:—

"All that we are is the result of what we have thought; it is founded on our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with an evil thought, pain follows him, as the wheel follows the foot of him who draws the carriage."

"All that we are is the result of what we have thought; it is founded on our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with a pure thought, happiness follows him, like a shadow that never leaves him."

Ignoring final causes as beyond our ken, recognizing with modern science the limits of thought to lie in the "impossibility of comprehending the nature of matter and force," we find in Karma the supreme controller of destiny, no less obvious in the realm of moral relations than in the physical world. Moral power exists in will alone; but here we must not be misled into fancying that the word "will," the several processes of which we may analyze, affords us in its totality any explanation of the incomprehensible. Thought, under the guidance of will, not only can shape our destiny, but tell with untold effect upon succeeding generations. Merit and demerit, or Karma, in Buddhist thought, is of far wider application than to human actions alone; it pervades Nature, of which we are a part. In Karma, therefore, we recognize the supreme controlling power of the universe, giving us a moral government of the world, without a personal governor. This is not unintelligible to occidental forms of thought, for we find essentially the same idea in the words of the German Fichte: "The arrangement of moral sentiments and relations, that is, the moral order of the universe, is God."

But its value to us does not lie in its supposed definition of the moral order of the universe, but in its incentives to moral action. While its metaphysical side may be most justly expressed in the above words of Fichte, its practical worth is clearly given in these words of Emerson:—

"Fear not, then, thou child infirm,
There's no god dare wrong a worm.
Laurel crowns cleave to deserts,
And power to him who power exerts."

We cannot move but by the laws of our nature. The moral laws are channels of force as definable as physical laws, and our "innate consciousness of freedom" enables us to move with them, lest we be crushed in resisting them. This is the extent of our consciousness of freedom; it has no other. In a moral sense, "all that we are is the result of what we have thought," the result of Karma. From this there is but one escape—the emancipation attained only in "Nirwana."

"NIRWANA."

What is emancipation? Is it mere extinction, annihilation? Buddha termed the goal *Nirwana*. In the Buddhist Scriptures we find *Nirwana* characterized as follows:—

"The state that is peaceful, free from body, from passion, and from fear, where birth or death is not,—that is *Nirwana*." "*Nirwana* puts an end to coming and going, and there is no other happiness." "It is a calm wherein no wind blows." "There is no difference in *Nirwana*." "It is the annihilation of all the principles of existence." "*Nirwana* is the completion and opposite shore of existence, free from decay, tranquil, knowing no restraint, and of great blessedness." "*Nirwana* is unmixed satisfaction, entirely free from sorrow." "*Nirwana*, like space, is causeless, does not live nor die, and has no locality. It is the abode of those liberated from existence." "The wind cannot be squeezed in the hand, nor can its color be told. Yet the wind is. Even so *Nirwana* is, but its properties cannot be told." "*Nirwana* is not, except to the being who attains it."

Etymologically, *Nirwana* is free from *wana*, desire or thought. The Brahmins had shown the unreality of matter, and declared all things illusion and vanity, and found reality alone in spirit, Brahma. Buddha accepted the argument, and denied the reality of both, accepting the unreality of matter as the only existence. "NOTHING IS!" Emancipation, though consisting in the attainment of the endless void, is not annihilation. Not, as Baur states, "that all may attain unity with the original empty space, so as to unpeople the worlds," but the extinction of the transient, the liberation of the real, the complete antithesis of material existence. Nothing, that is no thing; the everlasting real, before which our imperfect tongues are speechless. It is no answer to call the future life spiritual, for spiritual is but an empty word, destitute of meaning. Notwithstanding all the speculations of Christian theologians carried on through the centuries, speculations conducted under "the glorious light of Christian revelation," the life to come remains to finite minds—nothing. What grander philosophical truth was ever uttered than that saying of Buddha: "To those who know the concatenation of causes and effects, there is neither being nor nothing."

We must ever bear in mind that Buddha's doctrine consisted of affirmations, not denials. We nowhere find him denying the multitudinous future worlds asserted by the Brahmins; he contented himself with asserting the inherent requirements of the soul. With his eye firmly fixed on its goal, all speculations on intermediate conditions were of no importance and unworthy of serious thought. Is it not true that aspiration is toward freedom, freedom from limitations hampering growth and entailing sorrow—toward the subjection of transient desires to the in-

finite realities of soul-life by obedience to the laws of the universe? Discontent comes through disobedience and ignorance; obedience to and harmony with law must bring rest. Emerson has said: "The soul knows only the soul; the rest of events is only the flowing robe in which all is clothed." To attain Nirwāna is but to give freedom to the soul, to remove the restrictions and limitations of phenomenal environments,—annihilation only of the "flowing robe," and the absolute liberation of the real and enduring. Life, past, present, and to come, involves personality, and personality is consciousness of limitation. We cannot even say that Nirwāna is "impersonal existence," for these words are mutually contradictory. Pain, suffering, agony, being inseparable from personality, we read in our own natures the glorious promise that even repentance for the past and aspirations for the future will be surmounted, and absolute rest, the soul's magnet, Nirwāna, be attained.

"The soul's deep longing for sublimer truth;
Its thirst for knowledge of itself beyond
The narrow fact of being; the desire
To grasp the infinite,"—

is not "for man's illusion given," but is in itself a pledge of infinite possibilities. We have, then, every reason to gird up our loins in the warfare of life, and seek to aid the soul's aspiration for truth and virtue, confident that the soul within will respond to the soul without, and rest will be attained. Rest! Not in "the absorption of a drop into the sea, but the dilatation of a drop to the sea; not in submission to Fate, but in conquering Fate, scaling the throne of the Infinite, content with nought less than absolute sovereignty.

"Tossed on the shoreless sea of life,
Where ceaseless roll the waves of strife,
The wearied eye discerns no land;
Yet held by Buddha's four-fold way,
We calmly watch the billows play,
Nor craven seek a helping hand.

"No more we plead with tearful eyes
Miraculous aid from brazen skies,
Within us lie far higher powers;
Though demons cursed and gods divine
Against us all their arts combine,
We heed them not—the victory's ours.

"Let weaklings bend the knee and fall
Prostrate in worship to the All;
The human mind, self-centred, free,
Must conquer e'en the Infinite
And o'er it claim a victor's right,
Then fade into eternity."

[TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

MORE OF THE "MAIN BUSINESS."

MY DEAR MR. EDITOR:—

I am loath, for several reasons, to continue a discussion that, like so many, in THE INDEX and out of it, appears from the first to be hopeless, by reason of diverse understandings of arguments and readings wide of the intention, on both sides. Yet, since you so strongly affirm the importance of the question which has now been raised, perhaps in a more definite form than hitherto, I venture, without the least anxiety as to the result of the argument for its own sake, to send you a second letter for the sake of what I believe to be a view worthy of clear and earnest statement. Would that those writers who are abundantly able to give it such statement might at present accept your challenge, now, as always, given in the name of Truth! Meanwhile, however it may fare with my own endeavors at some sort of expression of well-cherished opinions (well-cherished, but relinquishable enough on proper showing of reason), I confidently look to see the opinions themselves at length vindicated, alike by able peers and by the course of events.

I have often noted with admiration how rarely the editor of THE INDEX leaves in his writings any place assailable even by the keenest criticism. It is therefore not without some diffidence that I shall have to consider his present argument as vulnerable at several points, even to the most ordinary discernment.

Certain recent discussions in THE INDEX warn me by their lawless discursiveness to keep, if possible, close to the questions already raised; and I will therefore try to follow your order of numbering divisions.

Passing over the first point altogether, as being one that had better never have been brought forward at all, because such merely personal disputes, aside from their unpleasantness, tend to overslaugh the proper argument itself, I take up the second one.

2. Your second point refers mainly to objects and methods, the former of which, you say, not the latter, are your chief concern. But this discussion turns first upon the Liberal League, which I take to be a method of gaining objects, and simply object to as being neither feasible nor rational. As to objects, unlike you, I firmly believe the radicals of America have the right ones in view, however dimly, and are tolerably filled with the purpose to gain them. So far as THE INDEX is concerned, it has indeed attended to both objects and methods; but, in my judgment, your great emphasis has on the whole been laid upon the latter—which I think, too, is quite right, since methods must be had and emphasis is required to secure their adoption, while objects distinctly exist and emphasize themselves. The difference as to methods is not, to be sure, the only difference; but it is the special difference which appears in this discussion of the Liberal League. You seem to admit this where you speak of the Liberal League as a "mode."

As to the "main business of religious radicalism in this country," which I suppose is its chief object, you may say "it is to finish the task of separating Church and State." This is astonishing to me, who know how grand and comprehensive is your idea of religion; or rather it would be astonishing, were it anything but the latest of numerous illustrations

of the inconsistency between your idea of religion and of the work to be done in its name—the one broad and profound, the other by contrast narrow and superficial. If the radicalism stops anything short of the religion of Americans, it may as well be dropped at once. I should say that that which you call the main business is only one of the incidental and perplexing businesses which, always standing in the way of the main business, is never so much an obstacle as when put in place of this. The main business is something larger, more humane, more welcome and delightful than that! In truth, this question of main business is well called up, especially if we are to be made to think, unless we are very careful, that it consists in merely razing and carting away some old Puritan ruin, and not in planting the garden of Human Character. If the ancient ruin cumbers the ground, as it certainly does a large tract of it, it must of course be moved out of the way; the planting must be done at any rate. But, if we cannot yet come at the ruin over the intervening ground of rocks and wilderness, but must clear this first, then really it is easy to believe that faithful hands may be busy anywhere, working in the main business of making a well-planted garden of this country and this world.

I admit that what you call the main business will not keep itself in full view of Liberals as such, simply because to most of them it is nothing but an incidental and altogether subordinate business, which ought no more to be put for the other than the particular or the individual should be put for the universal.

It may be said that whatever stands in the way of a man, and keeps him from putting his hand to the task, is the thing that requires to be got out of the way, even though for the time being the general work must stop. Thus it may be said, "This disfranchising of a man here and there prevents him from casting his vote, and thereby restrains him from taking any part in the main business at all." If religion depended on the mere matter of voting, or on the exercise of any civil function, then this objection would have some weight; but since it does not so depend, it is clear that the disfranchised person may still be very religious, and a very efficient worker in the cause of universal religion. To say that the main business of religious radicalism is to remove political and sectarian abuses is no more true than to say that the main business of navigation is to remove dangerous rocks from the ocean, because now and then a vessel founders on them. In this case navigation itself is the main business; getting rid of rocks an incidental business, to get done as it can, while the other goes forward at all risks, and in spite of all hindrances. And the main business of religious radicalism is the furtherance of religion; this must be done at any rate,—can and may be done always and everywhere. Other things must get done if possible. And if only radicalism attends to this, its real work, it can afford to take with "sang-froid" "kicks and cuffs" from whatever quarter. "They deride thee, oh Diogenes!" "But I am not derided!" Plutarch tells us that, "when a hectoring and debauched young man rudely kicked Socrates, so that those in his company, being sorely offended, were ready to run after him and call him to account for it, 'What,' said he to them, 'if an ass had kicked me, would you think it handsomely done to kick him again?'"

The main business is not to answer "kicks and cuffs," but to work on with steady patience to diffuse a sort of character and manners which will themselves at last put such behavior out of fashion.

3. From what has been said it will appear that I cannot answer your "triple question as a whole," but must answer it in three parts. To the first part, "Do you not see that it is your main business to put an end to all outrages, little or great, upon the rights of American citizens because of their religious opinions?" I answer, according to the foregoing statement: No, that is not the main business at all, but only an incidental business. To the second part, as to "carrying the Demands of Liberalism and the Religious Freedom Amendment in some form or other," I answer: Yes, on the whole, I am aiming, and will aim, for that, with something more. And to the third part, "you cannot carry these measures without doing the work of the Liberal League, whether you choose to do it under that name or not," I reply: No, it is not yet so clearly the work of the Liberal League. If the Liberal League does this work, well and good; but it is the work of a larger than the Liberal League, and ought not to be identified with the less, but with the greater; namely, true American citizenship.

4. In your paragraph numbered 4, you resolve my argument into the opinion that "thought will do it all, without the aid of concerted action." This is not what I mean, nor what I said. I spoke of thought as the great agency, which you, of course, agree that it is; but I also spoke of it as having its messengers and means, through whose "action" it is clear that I meant its ends must be served. Not, however, "concerted," in the sense of being done under a specific name and ruler of organization.

After saying so much of the inadequacy of thought alone, which I fully agree with, you appear, strangely enough, to concede the contrary, which you wrongly represent me as affirming, for you tell us that "the Liberal League means nothing but thought." That this is not your meaning, however, is apparent from your further definition of the League, which is also an admirable definition of the much larger body of American Liberals, working in their independent ways, every one according to his several ability and circumstances, for the great objects dear alike to you and them: "A body of thinkers applying their intelligence methodically to the work of enlightening thoughtlessness on questions of profoundest import, and bringing about results in liberal legislation just as fast as they can win

over the people to liberal ideas;" "the most peaceable and justifiable of all agencies, relying on persuasion and argument, on practical work and moral appeal."

An admirable statement, I repeat, of the character and efforts of thousands who do not and never will countenance radical organization. Short of violence, and open resistance to bad laws, which nevertheless are laws, with soldiers behind them, why may not those in their unorganized capacity do as much as the best-regimented forces that can be mustered? They could not work much differently under organization, nor in any way more effectively, that I can see.

I know that you do not "counsel rant and rhodomontade," nor "fierce, bitter, inflammatory speech, or disorderly and riotous action"; but it does not follow, because you do not counsel these, that there would be no danger of their occurring after the adoption of the method you do advise. Some or all of them, I think, would be sure to ensue, as the consequence of aggressive organization for the objects set forth in the Demands of Liberalism, if not on the part of the Liberals, then on the side of their stern opponents. My "argument goes for nothing," unless it goes for the depreciation of this most likely result of Liberal Leagueism. Already you have given us in THE INDEX specimens enough from the Orthodox side, of what might fairly come under some of the above names. But those are only faint forest adornings of what would follow if your ideas of organization were to be fully carried out.

5. That "conspicuous cases of outrage on the rights of free thought" may "be of a specially liberalizing tendency," you admit is "in one sense true, though in another it is totally untrue." I was looking at it in the sense in which it is true. Nor do I see that the fact that an outrage "creates no powerful protest" is any proof that it does not do a far greater good than the creating of a protest. If it starts a question in Orthodox minds, that may be better than the loudest protest from liberal mouths. But, in fact, the most servicable protest is not always loud-voiced; sometimes not voiced at all.

That any real outrage ever was done without creating, if not a protest, something better than a protest, in the souls of genuinely earnest men and women, or even without stirring somewhat of nobler thought or feeling in the mournful mass too dull to be in earnest at all, I for one will not believe. If we too blindly and hopelessly judge mankind in this regard, we may already be in "the outrage business ourselves," without knowing it. Worse than the denial, by stupid bigotry, of any man's right to do the things of a man, is the denial or doubt, by intelligent liberalism, of humanity's tendency to own and fulfil the claims of humanity.

If "there are two kinds of radicalism, one content with thought alone, the other eager to apply thought to the rectification of wrongs," I am not acquainted with the first kind, but only with the second; which, in truth, I must be allowed to believe is the only kind in the world. At all events, if there is such another kind as you describe, I pay it no fealty.

As to the infliction of wrongs upon individuals, it appears to be an inevitable thing, always, with its inevitable and otherwise unprocurable uses. If we may quote Scripture here, "It must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!" Yea; woe for the present; blessing by-and-by, for offender and offended, both.

6. No doubt you are excusable for not perceiving the relevancy of the last part of my letter—which so little expected to be analyzed and numbered at all. The meaning I thought would be got out of it is simply this: The very Orthodox will protest against outrages upon the liberals, and at length right the wrong where it is done—unless the liberals, by a too impetuous onset, frighten them out of their half-conscious sense of justice, and drive them, through fear of the destruction of their cherished institutions, which they have a right to cherish, to fortify themselves with the injustice they were about to condemn, and which is not much cherished, nor very extensively or frequently employed by them at present. Orthodoxy at present is in a very hopeful way as to getting enlightened. A strong virtual alliance of ours is quietly at work in Orthodox harness, doing good service for freedom, even though it be as unconscious of the fruits of its doing as are most creatures that wear harness at all. Wise Liberalism will watch, will even wait for these results, as well as strive for those of its own peculiar kind. This is not quite "an argument for not saying a word against any but next-door evils," though it may serve as an argument against running away from next-door evils to antipodal ones. If we run with our engines at every cry of fire, we may sometime find, too late, that we and they were most of all needed at home just then. As for elsewhere, there are firemen and engines also there, as faithful and efficient as we.

Let us make the Orthodox our friends, and not our foes, if a little wisdom will do it without cost of principle. Then be sure they will prove stronger guardians of civil and religious liberty than we can be yet! I have faith in American citizenship, quite apart from a distinct body of radicals, which makes me entirely sanguine of gradual righting of wrongs and undoing of heavy burdens. To join in any Liberal-League method would seem to discredit, and might betray, this larger and serenier faith.

In conclusion, I come back with you, and would add my strong emphasis to yours, upon the question of "main business." It is upon this question that radicals are and will continue divided—let us hope not forever. You say, it is to complete the separation of Church and State. I say, it is to carry toward completion the work of religious progress, with its chief end in the improvement of human character. To this the separation of Church and State is indeed

necessary and important; but it is nevertheless, as I have said, altogether incidental, and not chief at all.

This is a question worth dividing over. Well may radicals hesitate, or refuse outright, to head any call which summons them to no larger work than the giving of the finishing-stroke to an already dying institution, neither more nor less than an obsolete remnant of what once seemed, and perhaps really was, an outgrowth of human necessity. Before you can rally your forces—though it may not be soon—under any name, the foe will have breathed its last, the corpse will have been buried, past all resurrection, beneath the mountain strongholds of American liberty.

It is because the Liberal League means the carrying of a single minor point, or, at most, a group of minor points, and not the main business at all, that radicals generally refuse to join or countenance it. They cannot undertake the prosecution of so small a main business as that! They have a something to construct which is of more importance than the destruction of anything. As for the foe of religious radicalism, like the foe of Cromwell, it is a "hydra." It was not Cromwell's main business to bruise any particular head of that hydra, but only his incidental business. His main business was to establish the Commonwealth in England. This he did, fighting the hydra as he could, as Carlyle has shown us.

American Liberalism has also hydra-heads to bruise, not a few. It must bruise them as it can. But its main business is the establishment of a Commonwealth of character. Let it attend to this, even though a comrade now and then (instead of a general killing and loss of the cause) falls a victim to the poisonous fangs of the monster adversary.

J. H. C.

NORTH ANDOVER, Mass., April 20, 1875.

[Our independent article of this week will be taken as a general reply to the above.]

If we at all misrepresented Mr. C. in "The 'Main Business' of Radicalism," in THE INDEX of April 15, we are extremely sorry; but we are perplexed to see how this was the case. When we "resolved his argument into the opinion that 'Thought will do it all, without the aid of concerted action,'" our chief emphasis, of course, was on the *concerted* (or organized) action. Mr. C. still opposes this, and thus justifies all we said. Further, in quoting what he calls our "further definition of the League," he misses all its point by not seeing that "body" meant *organized body*, and "methodically" meant *by methods which are impossible without organization*; the whole context shows this to have been our meaning. We intended, and intend, to declare that the public duties of radicalism cannot possibly be discharged without organization in some practical, efficient form.—ED.]

IS AN INFIDEL ENTITLED TO NATURALIZATION?

A correspondent in Philadelphia sends us the following statement from the *Sunday Times* of that city:

"Julius Nieland, residing at 410 North Tenth Street, made application to Judge Ludlow, in the Quarter Sessions yesterday, to be naturalized. His petition was filed up by a clerk in the court. F. Bulefeld made oath that Julius Nieland had been five years a resident of the United States, and one year of the State of Pennsylvania. Upon the parties appearing before Judge Ludlow, who was sitting in court room No. 2, he ascertained that the petitioner was an unbeliever, and endorsed upon the petition:—*'Refused on account of being an infidel.'*"

It thus appears that a foreigner, otherwise qualified to become a citizen of the United States, has been denied naturalization simply because he is an infidel. Let us inquire whether the action of the court was justifiable.

For this purpose we will assume the worst possible meaning for the word infidel, as used by the Judge in his endorsement upon the petition. The word has many significations, and we will give a number in order that the reader may select that which he esteems the most derogatory. According to Webster, an infidel is "one who is without faith or unfaithful; hence, a disbeliever; a free-thinker; especially, a heathen; a Mohammedan; one who disbelieves in Christ, or the divine origin and authority of Christianity." Now, is there any warrant of law for denying naturalization to a person merely because he happens to be included within one of these definitions?

The office of a State court in regard to naturalization is simply to apply the law of the United States upon the subject. Under the Federal Constitution, Congress is vested with power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization. This power has been exercised by the enactment of the existing naturalization laws, which constitute the courts of record in the several States the principal machinery to do the work of admitting aliens to citizenship. The national government lays down the rule, and confides its enforcement to the State tribunals, which, however, are bound strictly to follow it. No State law relating to religion, therefore, can properly affect the action of a State court upon an application for naturalization; that application must be determined exclusively according to the laws of the United States.

These laws provide that the applicant for naturalization must satisfy the court that during the required term of residence in the country and State "he has behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the

United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same." The court can exact no other or additional mental qualifications on the part of the applicant. He who possesses these, and is otherwise qualified in respect to residence, cannot lawfully be denied naturalization. If, however, the fact of being an infidel necessarily imports that the applicant has not behaved as a man of good moral character during the period specified in the statute, then there is some excuse for the remarkable action of the Pennsylvania Court of Quarter Sessions over which Judge Ludlow now presides.

But it imports nothing of the kind. The natural and clear meaning of the language of the statute is opposed to such a construction. Indeed, people commonly speak of moral character in contradistinction to religious character, and it would be extending words far beyond their meaning to say that, when Congress prescribes good moral character, it means good religious character. Besides, it is not within the power of Congress to require any religious character whatever in the applicant, and an intention to do so therefore cannot be presumed. The Constitution of the United States contains two provisions concerning religion. The sixth article provides that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States; and the first amendment forbids Congress from making any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. To require an alien who applies for naturalization to show that he is not an infidel, is to require affirmative evidence of at least some religious faith on his part; and if the uniform naturalization law enacted by Congress did this, it would establish the necessity of some sort of religion, to that extent, and would, therefore, be in violation of the first amendment. According to Story, this amendment excludes from the national government all power to act upon the subject of religion. "Thus, the whole power over the subject of religion," says that eminent jurist, "is left exclusively to the State governments, to be acted upon according to their own sense of justice and the State Constitutions; and the Catholic and the Protestant, the Calvinist and the Arminian, the Jew and the Infidel, may sit down at the common table of the national councils without any inquisition into their faith or mode of worship."

Whatever may be the State laws of Pennsylvania with respect to religious liberty, a Pennsylvania court acting as a tribunal of naturalization can administer only the federal law, which in no wise relates to religion; and it cannot deny a right claimed under the naturalization statutes of the United States except on account of some disqualification recognized by federal law. Religious infidelity is not such a disqualification. The action of Judge Ludlow was based on the contrary assumption, and cannot be justified under the law.

We have considered the Nieland case in its legal bearings, merely; but it is also politically prophetic. It is a foretaste of the judicial intolerance and bigotry which may be expected when an express declaration of belief in the existence of the Deity shall have been incorporated in the Constitution of the United States.—*New York Sun.*

FRAUDULENT FAME.

There is too much of fame obtained by false pretences in these days. Certain women who wish to be thought highly of by the world, and have not the talent and culture to do their own work, have an easy way of obtaining short-lived fame. They hire addresses written for them which they deliver as their own before such audiences as they can entice to hear them. Or they get some obliging friend to write stories or articles which they palm off on unsuspecting editors as their own. Of course, women who do such things cultivate what is known as "cheek" in inverse ratio to the attention they have given to their brains; but so long as the "cheek" helps them to win notice and applause they are satisfied. Some recent instances of the kinds I have mentioned are quite enough to fill the heart of a true woman with regret for her sex. The ambition to dazzle and the determination to shine at any rate, no matter at whose expense, are too much for the conscience of some of our would-be ladies.

This is an age of shams and frauds. The desire to seem rather than to be eats the heart out of our morality, and makes society a great masquerade. Notoriety is mistaken for fame, and is sought at the expense of self-respect, decency, and truth. If any young woman who reads these few lines is tempted, for so-called fame, or position, or even for livelihood, to act the lie of giving as her own, to audience or to editor, that which another has written, let her reflect that she sullies the whiteness of her soul, and injures both herself and her sisters struggling in the race. For the injury is not confined to the person in fault, though that is serious enough, but honest, earnest workers are hurt thereby. If a woman of slight culture and little talent gets a cultivated graduate of Edinburgh University, or Yale, or Harvard, to write articles or lectures for her that are beyond the scope of other women, she injures by so much the chances of women who have not had extraordinary opportunity, or are not uncommonly gifted, but who are conscientiously doing their own work as best they can; she foists herself into the place of her superiors, and sometimes above them into places they are honestly and laboriously striving for, but find it impossible to reach. The beautiful young woman, with soft, fine voice, who thrills audiences with a lecture on themes only an exceptionally educated woman of extraordinary experience could discuss, much less comprehend, may succeed in exciting wonder and admiration in the hall; but what must be her mortification when she is asked to

explain allusions and metaphors, and give her authorities for statements, when the brilliant performance is over? And more than one lecturer has drunk this bitter cup. It is wise to be safe, and safe to be true.

CONSCIENCE PLAINSPEECH.

NEW YORK, March 17, 1875.

—*Golden Age*, Mar. 27.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE FREE SPIRIT.

TWO MOODS.

I.

"The Truth shall bind," quoth he;
"No fetter else. Oh! free
My mind shall rove, and bring
Me home on buoyant wing
The boldest thought that flies:
Blest freedom else unknown.
All shorn the soul denies
All bounty thus to own."

II.

Then spake a voice in gentler strain,
Yet chanting still the high refrain:
"Nor rove will I to clip the wing
Of thoughts that fly and gaily sing.
Home, home I hie, all free to list
The silent song I ne'er resist."

S. H. MORSE.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 24.

Julius A. Zang, \$2; J. R. Hains, \$2; S. Case, \$2; David H. Hester, \$2; Jos. T. Weir, \$2; E. Steenrod, 75 cents; Thomas Foster, 75 cents; J. Wilson, 50 cents; Joseph Knight, \$3.20; Geo. McMurray, \$3.26; Z. Sisson, \$2; G. H. Parkhurst, \$2; G. M. Newhall, \$3.20; Alfred Rice, 25 cents; D. Thompson, \$3; Wm. M. Cheever, \$4.50; E. L. Crane, \$3.20; N. Little, Jr., \$5.70; Abram Rose, \$5; Thos. Evans, \$3; W. Ferguson, \$1.80; Kelley W. Frazer, \$5.20; Chas. Greaves, \$1; E. Case, 20 cents; T. L. Brockton, \$1.25; Thos. Davis, \$10; Cash, 75 cents; J. D. Stranahan, 45 cents; A. W. Kelsey, 75 cents; O. B. Squier, 25 cents; Wm. Blynstone, 15 cents; J. M. Overbaugh, \$2; N. E. News Co., \$35.46; S. S. Hunting, 25 cents; Minot Gage, \$2.50; Geo. W. Julian, \$4; T. C. Evans, \$1.50; A. M. Leslie, 25 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

RECEIVED.

Books.

PROBLEMS OF LIFE AND MIND. First Series. The Foundations of a Creed. Vol. II. By George Henry Lewes. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1875.
NATURE AND LIFE. Facts and Doctrines Relating to the Constitution of Matter, the New Dynamics, and the Philosophy of Nature. By Fernand Papillon. Translated from the Second French Edition by A. R. MacDonough. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.
THE CHEMISTRY OF LIGHT AND PHOTOGRAPHY. By Dr. Hermann Vogel, Professor in the Royal Industrial Academy of Berlin. With 100 Illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.
FUNGI: THEIR NATURE AND USES. By M. C. Cooke. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.
OUTLINE OF THE EVOLUTION PHILOSOPHY. By Dr. M. E. Cazelles. Translated from the French by the Rev. O. B. Frothingham. With an Appendix, by E. L. Youmans, M.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.
SCIENCE PRIMERS: Astronomy. By J. Norman Lockyer, F.R.S. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.
BOYS AND GIRLS IN BIOLOGY; or, Simple Studies of the Lower Forms of Life. Based upon the latest lectures of Prof. T. H. Huxley. By Sarah Hackett Stevenson. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.
SEX IN INDUSTRY: A Plea for the Working-Girl. By Azel Ames, Jr., M.D. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1875.
THE WORLD'S SIXTEEN CRUCIFIED SAVIORS; or, Christianity before Christ. By Kersey Graves. Boston: Colby & Rich. 1875.
THE STREETER METHOD OF VOICE BUILDING. By Dr. Horace R. Streeter. Boston: 1875.

Pamphlets and Periodicals.

SERMONS by O. B. Frothingham, at Lyric Hall, New York.—The Devout Life: Feb. 14, 1875.—The Dimensions of Life. SERMONS by the Rev. James C. Street, in Belfast, Ireland.—Science and Religion: Aug. 23, 1874.—Gratitude and Duty: Mar. 7, 1875.
SERMONS by the Rev. Charles Voysey, at St. George's Hall, London.—Theism the Religion for the Unlearned: Mar. 7, 1875.—The Bishops' Pastoral to the Clergy: Mar. 14.—Alienation between the Laity and the Clergy: Mar. 21.—The Gospel of Adversity: Mar. 28.
PUBLICATIONS of Thomas Scott, Esq., No. 11 The Terrace, Farquhar Road, Upper Norwood, London, S. E.—On This and The Other World. By Francis W. Newman.—Positive Religion: its Basis and Characteristics. By the late Rev. James Cranbrook.—Consequences. By Moncure D. Conway.—Signs of the Times. April, 1875.
REPORT of the Joint Special Committee on the Subject of "Property Liable to and Exempt from Taxation." State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. Providence: 1875.
AN OPEN LETTER to the Members of the Massachusetts Medical Society on the Nature of Disease. By Edward E. Denniston, M.D. Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1875.
BOSTON UNIVERSITY YEAR BOOK. Edited by the University Council. Vol. II. Boston: 20 Beacon St. 1875.
THE UNITARIAN REVIEW. April, 1875. Boston: L. C. Bowles. 1875.
THE SANITARIAN. May, 1875. New York: 234 Broadway.
THE HERALD OF HEALTH. May, 1875. New York: Wood & Holbrook.
THE WESTERN. April, 1875. St. Louis.
THE PENN MONTHLY. May, 1875. Philadelphia: 506 Walnut St.

The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 29, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
ABRAM WALTER STEVENS, Associate Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), PROF. FRANCIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), *Editorial Contributors.*

NOTICE.

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Index Association will be held in Toledo, Ohio, at No. 35 Monroe Street, on Saturday, June 5, 1875, at 2 o'clock P. M., in accordance with the articles of incorporation.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The eighth annual meeting of the Free Religious Association will be held in Boston as follows:—

May 27th, 7½ P. M. Session in Horticultural Hall (Lower) for business and for free discussion on the objects and work of the Association.

May 28th. Two sessions in Beethoven Hall (Washington Street, near Boylston), at 10 A. M. and 3 P. M. for essays and addresses. Essay at the morning session, by Wm. C. Gannett, on "Present Constructive Forces in Religion."

Essay at the afternoon session, by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion."

Addresses will follow each essay, the speakers to be announced hereafter.

Friday evening, May 28th, there will be a social festival in Parker Memorial Hall, Berkeley Street, for brief speeches, music, refreshments, conversation, and for subscription to the funds of the Association.

It is hoped that as many of the members and friends of the Association as possible will be present at this annual meeting. Members who cannot be present are hereby reminded of the annual subscription fee, which it is desired they should send to the Secretary, New Bedford, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER, *Secretary.*

ROBERTS BROTHERS have issued, in a very neat little book of 223 pages, Mr. William B. Weeden's studies on *The Morality of Prohibitory Liquor Laws*. He takes decided ground against such laws, and considers in successive chapters "Temperance and Abstinence," "The Working of Prohibition," "The Grounds of Prohibition," "Prohibition and Regulation," "Another System," and "Immoral Law-Making." All who are interested in this subject on either side ought to be acquainted with the views here so calmly yet forcibly presented.

THE APPLETONS have issued another volume of their valuable "International Scientific Series" in the *Doctrine of Descent and Darwinism*, by Prof. Oscar Schmidt, of Strasburg. It is marked with the explicitness—which might even be called bluntness—that distinguishes the Germans from the English in their treatment of the Darwinian theory. No doubt is left in the reader's mind that Prof. Schmidt believes in this theory; he extends it beyond Darwin; and his book is full of attraction and instruction for all who are not indisposed to learn the conclusions on which the radical German mind is fast settling down.

THREE volumes of D. Appleton & Co.'s new "Popular Science Library" have been already issued: *Health*, by Dr. Edward Smith, *The Natural History of Man*, by Prof. A. de Quatrefages, and *The Science of Music*, by Sedley Taylor, M. A. They are compact little works of the highest character on the subjects of which they treat, containing each nearly two hundred pages, and being admirably adapted for the use of the general public. P. S.—A fourth volume of this promising series is just received, the *Outline of the Evolution Philosophy*, by Dr. M. E. Cazzelles, of which Mr. Frothingham is the translator. The price of each volume is one dollar.

PUBLIC-SPIRITED RADICALISM.

The comprehensive object of all radicalism in religion is *enlightened fidelity to the ideal*.

The ideal is twofold, private and public. It concerns personal character and national character—duties as an individual and duties as a nation; and these are indissolubly connected. On the one hand, no personal character can be full and fine in a high sense which circumscribes itself by the narrow circle of self and selfish interests; it must be public-spirited, devoted to universal ends, alive to all the obligations of citizenship in the broadest meaning of the term, or it is miserably defective and petty. On the other hand, no national character can be independent of the personal characters of which it the fused or organized whole; the character of a nation is the aggregate character of its citizens, put into the form of permanent institutions and laws, general customs and collective acts.

Personal character, then, involves a great deal more than the manner in which the individual conducts himself in his private relations, for it takes in the entirety of these *plus* his relations to and influence on the nationality in which he plays a constituent part; he cannot rid himself of a certain degree of responsibility for the soundness of the civic life in which he is immersed—for the healthiness of the arterial circulation of the body politic in which he is a vital blood-disc. First as an organism with an independent action of his own, and secondly as a dependent part of a vaster organism whose life is yet partly his, the individual who takes in the remoter relations of his own existence knows how much is implied by *enlightened fidelity to the ideal*.

Religious radicalism, therefore, cannot without self-mutilation restrict itself to the small field of "human character" as this is customarily conceived; that is, solely to the right ordering of conduct in the private transactions which constitute our dealings man with man. It embraces this, most assuredly, but vastly more also; and the radicalism which does so restrict itself,—which is unconscious of its public obligations,—which has no fiery soul demanding rectitude and justice in all public as well as private transactions, and making it a part of personal virtue to be keenly sensitive to national dereliction or disgrace,—lives in the moral universe like an eyeless fish in the Mammoth Cave. It must not, on pain of imperilling every precious liberty that has been gained in the world's long struggle of the many against the few, be considered a reputable or even an innocent thing to be careless of the right or wrong of State policies, administrations, or acts. If America has one enemy more insidious than any other, or more likely than any other to accomplish the ruin of the republic, it is the individual citizen's disposition to wash his hands of all public concerns, and entrust the defence of the sheepfold to wolves in disguise. No matter what is his excuse for shirking his public responsibilities or denying his complicity in all public acts, the result is at last the same in general disaster and blotted public fame. If the citizens cannot scrape up interest enough, or time enough, or virtue enough, to attend to their citizen-duties, and so let the frequent commission of wrongs by public officials become a settled part of the conduct of public affairs, the practical treason they are guilty of by this neglect is not one whit palliated by the plea that they were attending with scrupulous fidelity all the while to their private duties; no, not even if they were cultivating their own characters with all the aids of the hothouse.

On every citizen lies a heavy burden of responsibility for the character of the laws and institutions he lives under; and the degree of success which he has achieved in cultivating his own character may be pretty accurately measured by the degree of interest he takes in the proper discharge of his public duties. Not until the private life broadens out into universal relations, and becomes conscious of its indissoluble connection with the life of the world, can it be otherwise than meagre in quantity and poor in quality. But when these universal relations are comprehended and felt, the highest welfare of all becomes straightway the supreme good of each, to be toiled for, sacrificed for, lived for, died for, if need be. He who indolently ignores, or fastidiously declines, or disdainfully denies the obligation of doing his utmost, whether little or great, to make the laws, institutions, and customs of his own country more pure and just, betrays a most serious defect of personal character, which cannot be repaired by any amount of assiduousness in the cultivation of individual virtues in other relations. Citizenship carries duties as well as rights, responsibilities as well as privileges, obliga-

tions as well as opportunities; and no man can be a good man in the highest meaning of the word who is insensible to or neglectful of these great and vital relations of citizenship.

It is on these general grounds that the objects of the Liberal League seem to us to be important public duties of all who intelligently cherish radical principles in religion. The existing connection of Church and State, unperceived by so many and disregarded by a large number of those who do perceive it, renders the general social environment, which acts so powerfully on every private character, a repressive rather than a developing influence in more ways than one. What is of more consequence than to encourage free thought on all religious questions, and the free expression of it? How else can the highest truth in these great matters be seen, felt, and acted on? If it is true, as we believe, that the evils against which the "Demands of Liberalism" and the "Religious Freedom Amendment" are directed operate to retard, in a great but unsuspected degree, the free movement of thought respecting the highest relations in which the individual is placed, is it not plain that the religious radical owes it to his race to attempt to remove them? How can it be to him a matter of indifference that the general intelligence is checked and hindered in its development by the continuance of the present semi-establishment of the Church in this republic? In themselves alone the various evils specified may seem trivial and scarcely worth removing; but in their aggregate influence they are a serious usurpation, against which every citizen who believes in purely secular government ought energetically to protest and labor. The Rights of Man are the very foundation of the republic; and the chief of these rights are infringed by any control exercised by the Church over the action or institutions of the State. To carry forward the development of the American idea of absolutely secular popular government seems to be the chief duty of the American citizen; and it was solely with this purpose that the Liberal League was proposed. It is not a small matter; it is not one towards which any radical citizen can be consistently indifferent. What the New York Tammany Ring was in politics, that is the quasi-established Church in religion—namely, a depraving public influence; and every wise patriot ought to interest himself in its removal. "True American citizenship" is bound to exert itself actively, and not only by individual but by combined action, to secure the complete fulfilment of the national ideal of a State absolutely free from the Church. Whatever covers up or conceals this high obligation ought to be profoundly regretted: and the time will surely come when the whole matter will be seen in its true light. Concerted action is indispensable to accomplish the end aimed at; but it is a great mistake to suppose that we would stickle for any special form of such concert. What is needed is simply a general appreciation of the value of the central object, and a general devotion to it; all else is subordinate. Instead of being unimportant and insignificant evils, the abuses pointed out by the "Demands of Liberalism" are imperilling the highest public interests, as even a careless eye may discern in the school question now looming up as a great public issue. Is it not time for radicals to shake off the *insouciance* which characterizes the majority of them to-day? Will they not, in some way approved by them (we care not what), take up the large duties imposed by their principles, and prove that Radicalism is not only intelligent but also public-spirited?

THE PLATFORM AND THE PARLOR.

Different periods of social progress make use of different methods and instrumentalities. The time was, in this country, when the people generally looked to the pulpit and the preacher for nearly all their instruction. Then, one minister served a whole township, and he was almost the sole magnate in that little realm. Not only on Sunday but at all times, not alone on religious but on nearly all subjects, the people of his parish went to him for counsel and advice. He was, *par excellence*, the learned man and the good man of the town. Old and young alike respected him, and sought his wise direction. The office which the good minister has performed in the social evolution of this country has been full of helpfulness and benefit, and none but the narrow-minded and prejudiced will fail to acknowledge it with all heartiness of respect and gratitude.

But the minister's day of preëminent usefulness in our civilization is going by. It may not entirely have

passed, but it is rapidly passing. The pulpit has been supplanted largely by the platform and the newspaper. The lecturer and the editor have pushed the preacher from his exclusive seat of supremacy, and won their own way to the appreciation and confidence of the people. The churches are empty now as compared with the halls where skilled speakers instruct large and attentive audiences upon almost every subject of popular interest; while the eyes that scan the newspapers for information are legion compared with the ears that are bent still to catch the utterances of the pulpit.

The lyceum has been an extraordinary civilizer of the American people. From the beginning, it has been wonderfully enterprising in utilizing the best talent of the land, and bringing it to bear upon the minds of the people in the way of solid instruction and diffusion of intelligence. What a galaxy of splendid names and fames it has presented in its long list of lecturers and speakers! Emerson stands at the head of that line; and, even from his present retirement, sheds lustre upon the whole history of the lyceum in this country. So great was his fame as essayist and lecturer, that England came and borrowed him of us, and took him admiringly to her own shores, where through all her large towns and cities he went up and down, scattering his pearls of wisdom. Parker, too, was another great name among lyceum lecturers, the light of whose magnificent learning poured itself out all over New England, and even over the Middle and Western States. And, like him, every other preacher of any considerable reputation the lyceum enticed away from the pulpit, giving him in its ample halls audiences larger, and of keener and more interested minds, than his own church afforded him. It has gone into the colleges, the newspaper sanctums, the private studies of literary and professional men, and taken the professor, the editor, the author, the eminent lawyer and doctor, and sent them all out in turn to tell the most and best they knew to all who would come and hear. To the popular lecturer and orator, as well as to the earnest preacher and the devoted minister, the future historian of American civilization will accord great honor and credit for the efficient service they have rendered in arousing, enlightening, and broadening the minds of our people. Of literature which is truly profound, catholic, and permanent, this country as yet can boast of having but a little; but Americans possess keen and wide-awake intellects, and as a rule are remarkably intelligent and serious-minded. For this they are indebted to their churches, their lyceums, their schools, their newspapers, and all those public and popular instrumentalities in the invention and support of which they excel all other peoples, and are the example and incitement of all others.

But another efficient instrumentality, at present less popular but more profound in its character, is coming into place in this country, which promises to do an incalculable work in promoting our highest civilization. I refer to parlor meetings, and private conversational clubs or circles.

In proportion as the life of a people grows vital, earnest, and deep, it grows from private and interior sources, and seeks expression in comparatively private and quiet ways. A shallow stream is a noisy one; but a deep current flows still and calm. Children are vociferous, clamorous, and eccentric in their demonstration; but as they grow mature they become sober, central, and self-poised. Just so it is with a nation. When it has passed out of its period of weakness and dependence, and become tremendously conscious of its lusty vigor, it manifests itself in all sorts of adventurous and spirited ways; and its civilization is functional and superficial rather than organic and vital. But, as the nation grows older and riper, its civilization strikes in as it were; it works more interiorly amongst the members, knitting all the joints of the social body together, coursing in nutritious fluids through all the arteries of society,—manifesting itself in a certain general *cultus*, in freer and richer thought, in finer and gentler manners, in higher and nobler lives among the people. Such a civilization dispenses with war and all its turbulent concomitants. It cultivates peace and every peaceful means of progress. It learns to disbelieve in all methods that are hasty, forceful, and defiant, and comes to adopt those that are gradual, persuasive, and educating. It aspires after ideas, and has faith in the winning might of truth. No longer it makes the continent to tremble under the tread of an army with banners, nor rends the air with sectarian cries or party declamation; but it sows the land with noble thoughts and beautiful

sentiments, and creates a genial climate with freedom, love, and good-will among men.

The platform is too popular an institution with the American people, and has been too useful to them in the past, to be readily given up. With the free press, it is an institution peculiarly fitted, under a republican or constitutional government, for the promotion of such causes as seek to create a public sentiment, and win the popular heart. But it is so purely public in its character and all its functions, and is so liable to be prostituted to the mere service of sect and party, and made the arena of noisy debate, profitless discussion, and tawdry eloquence, that it imperatively needs to be supplemented by some instrumentality far more private, unexciting, and modest. This is to be found in the parlor meeting, and the club or circle for quiet conversation. Such meetings and conversational circles, there is every reason to believe, are rapidly increasing in number throughout the Northern States; and they are serving the cause of free thought and true civilization in a remarkable degree. All the most momentous questions of the day are being considered here, and are receiving the attention of calm, earnest, and thoughtful minds. The genius for conversation is being wonderfully developed by such private gatherings, where the unpartisan spirit of truth is apt to preside, and "sweetness and light" to reign supreme. An *animus* is likely to be born in these quiet meetings, and counsels to come forth from them, which will go far with gentle might and wisdom in the solution and settlement of the vexing problems of our time. Such gatherings belong to and are a part of the better civilization that is dawning. They will be related to it both as cause and effect. While the platform and press shall still continue to do their needed work, let us hope that the parlor meeting and the conversational club will also be encouraged to do theirs; and that the men and women competent to lead and direct them shall become more numerous every year.

A. W. S.

FREE-THOUGHT NOTES.

BY A VETERAN ENGLISH FREE-THINKER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

You ought to be a proud people. The old country has an amazing regard for your new world. Things American have a genuine delight for us. You may be angry at us at times; and some of our aristocracy—insular and obtuse—say scornful words of you at incoherent moments; but the people of England have a natural affection for the people of America. What more proof can you want than that which we give now? Our churches have gone clean "daff" with Moody and Sankeyism. The clergy of the Church of England are as much moon-stricken with these vivacious revivalists as the clergy of the Dissenting churches. It is the affectation here to call the preachers of the Dissenters "ministers," and the church preachers "clergy." But I give the name of honor to the non-conformist preachers. If there be any virtue in the term clergy, they have the right to it. Non-conformity means thought, and thought means independence, and independence means originality, and originality means self-reliance, and self-reliance means progress, and progress means virtue in action, and virtue in action means goodness; and, though the goodness may be irregular and incomplete, it is better than the stagnation of authority, servility, fear, ignorance, and mental idleness. Therefore I call non-conformists clergymen.

But not alone dozens and grosses but hundreds of the self-satisfied clergy of the Established Church, mostly contemptuous of American things, have swelled the peripatetic court of the Moody and Sankey monarchs. My strength (which is returning now) has not permitted me to attend any evening meeting of these enterprising conversionists in London; but I have been to their morning prayer-meeting at Exeter Hall. A duller thing I have not seen for years. Exeter Hall is always dim by day, and Moody stood up like a dark post amid sombre trees; and it was only by aid of an opera-glass—most worldly and profane medium—that I could discover who was the "man of prayer."

If Moody were a spiritual artist, he would dress himself like the white Quakers, when he in his snowy calico would be obvious from afar. Certainly he is a model saint! A defiant jaw, a double chin, graces the fat believer, who discloses a smart eye, a voice that means a thing or two; altogether, Moody, the sinner-saver, is as sleek as a porpoise. No fasting, no penury, no care, no anxiety, no leanness, appears in that well-fed apostle. Such a placid contemplator of perdition we have not seen heretofore. Wesley

was white in the face; Chalmers was sad with great thought; Channing had care for progress marked upon him; Irving had a grand solemnity after the manner of his own classic eloquence. Moody and Sankey are bumptious and oleaginous in the epidermis. They give us the impression that they can put us up to a smart thing in salvation, if we will give heed to them.

They began in London by saying, "Let us thank God for what he is about to do in London," which made the *Spectator* think they thought, by discounting bills drawn upon the Deity, that he would feel bound to honor them, or seem shabby. We never had profanity in piety so pronounced as these spiritual adventurers show it. They tell the public that God will grant all things to those who put their trust in him. Moody has not done this, else the Holy Spirit had vouchsafed him a knowledge of grammar. If St. Peter has any culture, he will not admit the converts whom Moody and Sankey send to his gate. They tell us a story how General Grant captured Richmond by ordering a simultaneous advance upon the copperheads, and that the goodly people must do likewise; as though heaven were an enemy to be taken by storm. They teach that, if converts are in earnest, the Holy Spirit will give the talent. But the Holy Spirit appears not to be either pædagogues or professor, and expects converts to qualify themselves in these respects.

In Glasgow, some thirty or forty earnest youths were imposed upon by this easy, ignorant, and vulgar logic. After Moody and Sankey were gone, they went to the Presbytery and offered themselves to be led against the camps of Satan. The Scottish clergy had sat on the Sankey platform, and allowed the hope of triumphant illiterateness to be held out to the poor youths. When the time came to respond to the expectation of these foolish converts, the Presbytery referred them to the university, and told them to browse for two or four years on Pagan classics, as the devil was informed and shrewd, and could not be circumvented by uncultured and incoherent divines of the Moody order!

At a public meeting, when a tiresome speaker will not give over, a chairman is tolerated in pulling at his coat tail. Judge the consternation and laughter of London, when Moody was seen doing this to gentlemen at prayer, if they prayed too long! Heaven is surely the best judge whether it is bored, and knows, I suppose, how to silence the garrulous troubler. But Mr. Moody takes this matter into his own hands, and only allows God five minutes' supplication by the same person, as though he thought the ear of the Almighty wanted variety.

We hope that Mr. Varley, who has come up to convert you out of compliment to your sending Moody and Sankey to convert us, is a gentleman and a saint, conversant with Lindley Murray, or whoever your national grammarian may be. We count you a nation where popular schools prevail, and not like England, where the common people are kept ignorant by act of Parliament. We certainly expected that you would send ministers of heaven somewhat acquainted with the literature of the earth. However, as we are taught to give a certain person of very extreme reputation his due, I will be just to these singular visitors; though vulgar and flippant, though they make merry with gospel stories and put the prophets and apostles through their paces, make solemn things comic, and holiness amusing, they have a certain degree of merit. They are a superior kind of travelled Ranter. They appeal more to the love than the terror of God, which is an improvement upon Ranter policy. They make conversion gay, and sing the songs of salvation to lively tunes. They certainly correct the morbidity of converted sinners, and treat salvation as a matter of business. They thus break down a certain morose fanaticism from which gentlemen as a rule are free, and which mostly affects the poor. Wiser men than these (talker and singer) may therefore build some superstructure of decorous piety upon this strange foundation of familiarity. To my mind the questions supposed to pertain to God and to life, and time and death, have a certain degree of awe and reverence of their own, which should never be departed from. A cheerful, a genial piety, implying self-respect and deference of spirit, are wholesome to cultivate amongst the multitude; and all departures therefrom on the part of spiritual agitators are errors of ignorance or forgetfulness, and deprave rather than exalt the popular mind. It is worth noting that clergymen and noblemen, who have no genial word to say to political agitators, not only tolerate but embrace these spiritual agitators; for Moody and Sankey are

that and nothing more. They are the peripatetic demagogues of the gospel. They do not pray to God; they "interview" him. Much is to be forgiven to honest zeal, but zeal in these days is bound to educate itself a little, and keep within useful bounds.

In a former letter I mentioned that the late Thornton Hunt took steps to found an "Order of St. George," which should facilitate mental progress among the foremost-thinkers of that time. That period was 1853 and 1854, when the *Leader* newspaper was projected and conducted. Some time I may give an account of the distinguished men that attended the preliminary meetings, which bore the modest name of "The Work." The times in which we now live have more freedom. The precautions taken then are happily dispensable now. The circular inviting adherence I here subjoin. You will see it was in my handwriting; but the composition, nervous and "pact" (a phrase which Thornton Hunt delighted to apply to a cultivated style), was his. It ran as follows:—

"Most persons who have reflected freely and maturely on the vital questions of the day entertain opinions considerably in advance of those they avow, or are permitted to avow. The tyranny which keeps down the expression of opinion in our time, though less dangerous than it has been in times past, is more domesticated, more searching and constraining. The real opinions that exist, therefore, seldom come out, bear little fruit, and do not know their own strength. To fortify and develop such opinions, it has been proposed by a few to invite others to come together without exposing them to the action of that social tyranny described. The means offered is that of a simple and confidential combination. Some have already accepted the invitation, and united in the frankest and heartiest spirit.

"The combination already includes ministers of religion, men of action, of literature, of science and of art. Only persons of character, of ability, of discretion and frankness are invited. The organization is simple. The admission is arranged thus. Each person who is willing to engage in the work must be introduced by one already engaged, with the concurrence of the rest; his introducer undertaking to answer for his fitness, and thenceforth to acquaint him with any result that may at any time be arrived at in his absence.

"No records are kept in order that the confidence of the combination may not be broken by accident. The only agreement made by one joining is that of perfect frankness of speech, and of not mentioning conclusions in such way as to necessitate naming those with whom they were worked out. The occasional care that this observance imposes is the price of that exemption from the tyranny of social opinion, which is to be obtained in no other way. There is no compulsion to be exercised upon any one who engages; every man retains complete individual independence; he assumes no collective responsibility; and he is perfectly free to withdraw at any time without inconvenience of any kind."

Yours ever faithfully,
GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

Communications.

A COMPLAINT OF INJUSTICE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Dear Sir,—You must pardon me for saying that I quite fail to perceive what relation the remarks you have appended to my letter in THE INDEX of April 8 have to any portion of it, except possibly the first short paragraph.

I perfectly understand that the point at issue is the true relation between liberalism and Christianity; and, in the letter referred to, I put forward the idea that each man's relation is determined by the extent of his opposition to Christian dogmas, and that there is no use trying to get beyond that.

You say: "It is no mere matter of words to rouse the liberals to a perception of what they are doing, to show them that they cannot identify Christianity with science and civilization, &c." I doubt whether many liberals are in danger of identifying Christianity with science and civilization; but the practical question is whether your New Year's day thesis is precisely the thing to rouse them with. Judging by its effect upon myself, I should say it was more adapted to rouse them to a reaction against the principles of free-thought than to move them in the direction you desire. Its effect upon Mr. Morse would appear to have been somewhat similar.

Grant that Christianity is doing all the evil you speak of—and for my part I have no controversy with you on that point,—are you not far more likely to combat it successfully by exhibiting the evil in detail than by expending your strength upon semi-metaphysical discussions as to the essential relation between free-thought and Christian theology? If people do not sufficiently realize "where they are," show them the features of the landscape one by one until they can take their own bearings, and do not simply announce to them where, as the result of private reasonings of your own, you have determined that they must be. The latter method savors too much of impatience, and impatience is about the most hurtful thing that can be imported into work like yours.

Now let me ask you one direct question: Do you think it just to prejudice the minds of your readers against what a correspondent writes by placing at the head of his communication such a title as

"Words, Words, Words!" It seems to me it should be sufficient for every purpose to indicate in the heading simply the subject to which a letter refers, and to make any necessary criticisms afterwards. After labelling my communication as wordy, you pay a compliment to my "cultivation." The two things do not agree very well; a cultivation that leads only to wordiness is not worth congratulating anybody upon.

Sincerely yours,
WM. D. LESUEUR.

OTTAWA, 14 April, 1875.

[We answer the "direct question" above put with a direct no. We do not "think it just to prejudice the minds of our readers against what a correspondent writes by placing at the head of his communication" any title that should intimate we considered it to be mere "words." It may be proper to add in this connection that we have done nothing of the sort.

The gist of the first part of Mr. LeSueur's article was that we were uselessly "insisting upon a name"; and that this was a point of trivial importance. He therefore considered our whole discussion with Mr. Morse as merely verbal and of little consequence. To condense Mr. LeSueur's unfavorable verdict upon our carefully written articles into a phrase, and thus to help on his accusation of "wordiness" against ourself, we prefixed the title of "Words, Words, Words!" By that title we did not characterize Mr. LeSueur's communication at all, but, as the whole of our appended note demonstrates, meant to give it more pith and point as a charge of "wordiness" against ourself. And now he complains of us for doing what we did not do, but what he did do himself in substance!

There is no occasion to discuss here the "effect" of our "New Year's thesis"; that is not our affair. It is enough to say that we think more than ever that the article was true; and we leave it to work whatever effect it may or must. Free thought is, as Mr. LeSueur well understands, gradually destroying Christianity; we have only drawn the short inference that free thinkers are all anti-Christians. The sooner they all understand that, the better; and we are quite willing to be censured for telling a truth that is so plain, so important, and yet so constantly evaded. Time will vindicate us in the end.

It may be our misfortune to consider principles of more consequence than "details," and therefore to press home on reluctant ears the principle that freedom requires opposition to Christianity; but that is our work, and we must do it while we can. There are enough to do other work: it is our business to do our own. There is room enough for all to toil in their own way.—ED.

THE THEORY OF GOVERNMENT.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In your paper for February 11, the Hon. Rutger B. Miller, of Utica, N. Y., calls upon "political philosophers of theological or metaphysical tendencies" to furnish a new theory of government; or, as he expresses it in the rigmarole of the Positive Philosophy, "a scientific general theory and plan of operations as a basis of reorganization of our disorganized social system, in both its spiritual and temporal branches." Why any one capable of such clear and sound thinking, as Mr. Miller proves himself in this article upon Gerrit Smith, should leave simple common-sense to indulge in this empty rigmarole, thereby complicating questions otherwise easy of comprehension, is somewhat marvellous to me. I suppose fashion has much to do with it. It is a style of writing by which one barren of ideas is enabled to appear scholarly and scientific; but surely Mr. Miller does not need to use it for that end.

There is no new theory or "scientific organic doctrine" to be had. Old theories may be newly expounded, clothed in new phraseology to suit the fashion of the times,—this is all. And science can do nothing for us but shed new darkness upon the subject. The wisdom we need must spring from genius and inspiration. It cannot be fashioned out by square and rule. Statesmen, like poets, are born, not made. The anarchy of the times results more from the perversion of fundamental truths, than from their decadence and overthrow. The reconstruction we want, therefore, is simply a return to the old "organic doctrines" with their original and legitimate meanings.

Before proceeding to expound the old "organic doctrines," I wish to note two rather serious errors of Mr. Miller. First, he says that "slavery was the basis of union of the American colonies in 1776." Instead of this, equality of States, or freedom of each State to regulate its own domestic institutions, was the basis of union. "The policy of abolition," substituting pretended personal liberty for real political freedom, if persisted in, would surely enough land us in "anarchy and a de facto dictatorship." But the battle is not over yet, and it is quite too early to pronounce our "constitutional social system founded upon slavery (freedom) perished."

Again, Mr. Miller speaks of "the constitutional régime, based upon the metaphysical dogma of self-evident truths, as an organic doctrine." What a pompous array of words to express a simple ideal! And how they obscure the idea instead of rendering

it clearer by their precision! The self-evident truths alluded to, embodying the doctrine of equality, are in the Declaration of Independence. They were not used for a basis of any "constitutional régime," or government, as has been ignorantly supposed in these later days; but for a bomb-shell to explode government, and prove legitimacy on the side of secession and rebellion. The Declaration offers two good and sufficient reasons for itself; first, the abstract right of rebellion, covered by the doctrine of equality; second, the practical necessity of rebellion, covered by a long list of grievances, and manifold proofs of a design by parliament to reduce the colonists from free citizens, and sharers in the government, to mere subjects.

There are two opposite theories, one positive, the other negative, underlying all governments, whatever their form may be. The positive theory is theocratic, as it asserts the rights of God,—"divine right" of any kind. This theory is not a real truth, but is an apparent and practical truth, as every government must act upon it as true. It is implied and assumed in all the positive actions of government. The negative theory asserts the rights of man, and is democratic. Though practically false, as theory, it is really true. We call it an abstract, theoretical, or real truth. The province of this theory is not for government to act upon, but simply to limit and restrain the action of government. This doctrine must be fully understood by every one who would know anything at all of political philosophy. The reason we extend suffrage is not because anybody has a right to it, but because it sometimes becomes necessary, to prevent anarchy and preserve government. If government would honestly carry the doctrine of equality into practice, it must abdicate at once, and cease all interference with men's "pursuit of happiness." This would be a little more freedom than we desire. "If two men ride a horse, one must ride behind," as Dogberry says. To talk about equality as a practical question, is absurd and hypocritical. Some sympathize with the Southern negro; others with the Southern white men; others still would make both equally subject to themselves. To regard both equal to each other and to us, is an impossible feat of mind.

The two opposite theories we have been discussing may be expressed in simple terms, thus: Man is made for government and owes allegiance to government; government is made for man and owes allegiance to the people. The beauty and excellence of our scheme of government consisted in balancing these theories against each other in their legitimate order; using the practical truth as positive, and the theoretical truth as negative and restraining only. This we did until 1860. Our government was so framed as to act precisely like a government up to the full measure of the powers conceded to it, and yet not be a government in reality. The people who were parties to it were really free and self-governing. Our freedom was nothing but an abstraction which we all worshipped; and yet for this very reason, that it was a theoretical and negative truth, which at the last resort our government must be subject to, as we supposed; we exulted in the sense of perfect freedom. Government was but apparent, and because it was no more, we thought it the best of governments, honoring the constable above all the people of the earth.

The subversion of this beautiful scheme consisted in reversing the application of these fundamental truths; using the rights of man for a practical truth to emancipate slaves, and the divine right of government for a theoretical and real truth to suppress a nominal rebellion. There was a question whether our government had power to coerce States. If it had not, as everybody knows is the truth, then resistance to such coercion was not rebellion, but lawful resistance to usurpation. And whereas before, freedom was real, because a mere theory and abstraction, and government a semblance, because held in check by this theory, the effect of reversing the application of the two theories has been to make government real and absolute, and freedom nominal only,—a mere semblance and delusion.

Again, as to our Constitution establishing a consolidated government and nation, as has been claimed, the philosophy is the same. Certain national features were given to the government to facilitate its operation; but it was fully stipulated that it should be but a confederation in fact, by the reservation to the States and people of all powers not specifically granted to the government. With the doctrine of the rights of man recognized as theoretical truth, the framers of the government could not consolidate it so as to make their action binding upon their descendants, if they had so wished. The assumption of a national government, then, was an apparent and practical truth for government to act upon in the use of the powers conceded to it, while the doctrine of confederation was the theoretical and real truth, to restrain it from using doubtful powers.

There is an erroneous notion prevalent of some absolute truth which, if formulated and made the "organic doctrine" of society, will perfect its organization, and reduce all its evils to a minimum, if not banish them altogether. There is no such truth. All the institutions of society are necessarily based upon merely apparent and practical truths subject to limitation. All real truths are negative, and the most certain of all truths is that there is no such thing as truth. Reason gives us no truth, but simply shows us the delusiveness of the truths furnished by sense. We act upon our feelings, and use reason and the knowledge that our truths are but apparent, to modify our feelings and restrain action within appropriate bounds.

Quite too much is expected of organization in these days. The very "organic doctrines" sought

late to form more than to substance. All political powers are despotic in nature, and the minimum of all results from such a balance between opposing despotisms, that power will alternate from one to the other side; each restraining the other, and neither being able to secure a permanent preponderance and become absolute. The wisest political maxim ever uttered was that of Jefferson: "The best government is that which governs least."

It should be understood that our government was never intended to be altogether democratic in form, republican in theory. It was only formally republican, because its officers were not elective by the people directly, or by the whole people. It was only theoretically democratic, because while power was intended to be in the hands of the majority, the power was restricted, and every imaginable difficulty put in the way of the majority getting it. It was designed for a mixed government which should combine the advantages and avoid the evils peculiar to all the three forms—monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. One form of government is better adapted to particular circumstances than another; but it should not be supposed that any form is in itself superior to others. The substance of liberty may be reserved under any form. The republican form is adapted only to a people who are virtuous enough not to desire to rule others, and wise enough not to mistake the inability to do so as an equivalent to being ruled. If we would retain this form, we have only to get back to the old standard of intelligence and virtue.

WILLARD CLARK.

STATE PRISON, WETHERSFIELD, Conn.,
February 22, 1875.

[The above communication is certainly a fresh and independent one, and, however at variance with the usual tenor of THE INDEX, is provocative of useful thought. We particularly admire the audacity of its assertion: "The most certain of all truths is that there is no such thing as truth." This would be a valid premise for the conclusion that there is no truth in the above article.—ED.]

CHURCH-EXEMPTION.

EDITOR INDEX:—

While church people are defending the exemption of church property from taxation, on the score of the value and protection which society derives from its residence in the community, and doubtless are figuring the amounts which society pays for the moral effect of the church's owning high-priced corner-lots and productive real estate, as well as Boston's annual contribution for the Christianizing influences with which her million-dollar spire permeates the moral atmosphere of that sin-blighted city, and showing the possible or probable results of the rapid accumulation of wealth in ecclesiastical hands, the original scope and purpose of Christianity seems to be entirely lost sight of. Admitting that churches are a blessing to the community, pray tell us by what right principle unwilling contributions may be levied for their support, as is in effect done by taxation? The truths taught by Christ were to be had without money and without price; but modern Christians not only pay liberally themselves to have these same truths uttered beneath lofty domes and turreted roofs, and from gilded pulpits, but want to compel the whole community to pay something for the presumed benefit conferred by their gorgeous trappings. But churches (even without stores and offices connected) are not essential to Christianity, and not original factors in the plan of redemption. Their construction in imitation of the splendor of heathen temples furnishes the best evidence that those who worship in them have been successfully exemplifying theory exactly opposite to that taught by the founder of their faith, when he tells his followers, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth"—and further emphasized when he said, "Verily I say unto you, that a rich man shall hardly enter the kingdom of heaven," and "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God." The religion of Christ was pure and simple. Its attractiveness was in its purity and simplicity. Its utterance was not accompanied by bugles, drums, music by a string band, or singing by a fashionable quartette. It was all comprehended in the answer given by Christ to the Sadducee lawyer, who asked him, "Master, which is the great commandment of the law?" Jesus said unto him, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; this is the first and great commandment, and the second is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." In that memorable Sermon on the Mount, in the enumeration of those who were blessed to find a place for "the poor in spirit," "for those that mourn," "for the meek, for the merciful, for the poor in heart, for the peace-makers; but nowhere a blessing for those who erect costly meeting-houses, and support heavily salaried ministers, who "burlesque the penury, the fastings, the foot wanderings, and the preaching, of Christ and his first followers." And we claim, that no consideration can be justly given to church property on the score of its exerting Christianizing influence on society, because it is either essential to faith, worship, or morals, nor in sympathy with the teachings of the Founder of that faith.

The effect of these gorgeous structures is, to foster and encourage extravagant tastes and customs, entirely antagonistic to the genius of Christianity, and to make salvation in a fashionable church a luxury, to be enjoyed only by those who have accumulated a

competency of that which Christ expressly tells them will bar them from the kingdom.

Christians claim that their churches are not productive property,—therefore should not be taxed. This we believe to be an erroneous idea; for, whatever may be the theory of church people regarding the temporal possession of the church, the facts show them to be the basis of as much speculation (in the ratio of their value) as North Pacific or Erie Railroad bonds. A popular pastor gives an active demand for sittings, while a dull, prosy disciple depresses the value and drives pew-owners to the necessity of providing further attractions, or lose their dividends on investments. In every city and town, pews in churches are regularly bought and sold on speculation. It is also very productive in other ways. To one who desires to win popular applause, membership with some church and ownership in church property is worth more as a business investment than ten thousand dollars at interest. If, as Christians claim, churches are essential to Christianity, and redemption from sin can only be obtained through its provisions, then I submit that to them churches are immensely productive; and their owners can well afford to pay tribute in the treasure which perishes for the eternal wealth which awaits them on the tomorrow of life.

The whole trouble comes not from a non-understanding of or difficulty in administering the theory of taxation, but from trying to harmonize it with some theory of exemption, a sort of royal favoritism; so that certain classes of property may escape the cost of its protection. The maxim, "be just before you are generous," applies here. The State by its generosity works injustice to the people. Generosity is a noble trait of character; but it should be preceded by justice. There is no justice, short of universal taxation of all property, save such as the State or municipalities own. Exact justice between man and man demands this, and none need fear that the cause of true religion, which is the science of right living, will suffer by dealing justly with all.

J. T. CLARKSON.

AMESBURY, Mass.

"DIVINITY."

Mr. Frothingham's sturdy words on the "immorality of prayer" are exhilarating. One cannot but breathe more freely for sympathy, and hope that some poor enslaved soul may be made free, manly, and self-reliant by Mr. Frothingham's true and terse utterance.

I noticed a few months ago that the Rev. Charles Voysey criticised Mr. Frothingham, in a mild way, on the topic of Spiritualism, and desired a definition; as if Spiritualism for the last decade or more were not as well defined as rheumatism. In Mr. Voysey's letter (INDEX No. 270), God is portrayed as a personality, and referred to as "the Divine Mind." On this head Mr. Frothingham might retort on his London friend and ask for definitions. "Divine Mind"—what is it? Where is it? Is it mundane or extramundane? Does the London preacher know of any mind other than that presented by the intellect of man and animals? By hunting the universe over, can he find any other? This patient universe, by the tongue of science, tells us that, where there is mind, there is brain; where there is brain, there is body; where there is body, other bodies are found. So we ask, where is the divine brain—where the divine body, to harbor Mr. Voysey's "Divine Mind"?

Mr. Voysey speaks of "God's sympathy" towards mankind. Why not praise the North Star for its love and sympathy? Surely, the North Star, being sixty times larger than our beneficent sun, is worthy of adoration as a divine dignity. Why not bless it for its beams that shine so faithfully at night, when the fitful sun has (in anger for our sins) turned away from us? It is kind in that stellar orb to keep its frigid place over the door of the north—through which no one has passed—for our guidance, and particularly for the guidance in the past of the poor slaves of the South in their search for freedom. It should be honored as the star of freedom. It is the mariner's faithful friend; it "saves suicides" and prevents accidents. The Rev. Mr. J. S. Thomson says, "Every individual must have something greater than himself to worship." Here is such an object, for the matter of size. It is not a figment of faith nor a picture of the imagination, but a veritable heavenly object. "A. W. S." says, "Man is both a reasoner and worshipper." Query: Is he not more a liquor-lover than worshipper? Does not the power of tobacco and its equivalent move him in all climes to an extent that far exceeds that of worship? This human quality is calculated to lead him to pay his respects to the god Bacchus: call it worship or what not.

What is divinity? Who is divine? What is the difference between a divine truth and any other truth? God is said to be the father of man, and men are his children. As we know offspring are but repetitions of the parents, God must be a man, else we are no more his children than the fishes of the sea. Nature teaches that, where there is a father, there is likewise a mother. It teaches that among primordial beings the female or mother-existence takes priority over the male in the order of time. The male is a differentiation from a prior and more general form of female life. These primitive beings abound in the maternal, but have no paternal or father-side. Thus Nature propounds the female or mother type of life long before the male or paternal side is evolved: while theology sets up God as a Father, and takes no thought about God as a Mother. Here it is again! Women kept under! What wonder, then, that Theogenesis and Geo-genesis should irreconcilably conflict? One came by assumption, the other by obser-

vation; and the one which goes to the wall will prove the survivor to be the fittest. A. S. H.

OAKLAND, Cal., March 15, 1875.

[Though our own way of thinking is not that of the above article, it is a way that ought to be understood by us all, and has a right to presentation in THE INDEX.—ED.]

"DESIGN."

The arguments of theism from alleged marks of design in the universe may bear reconsideration in the light of modern achievement and speculation.

Darwin has shown how species progress: by excessive reproduction, consequent struggle for existence, and survival of the fittest. This process seems analogous to experiment, with failure and success, rather than the perfect planning of a benevolent Mind.

The spiritual essence which has been supposed to account for the powers of the human intellect has been by a few sympathetic men extended to the more intelligent lower animals,—the horse, dog, and elephant. But never has there been any quality ascribed to inorganic matter, oxygen, carbon, or iron; yet the philosophy of Evolution, daily growing in fulness, evidence, and probability, regards this world with all its varied beings as once "potential in a fiery cloud."

A comparison may be made between the extremes of experience, say a particle of iron and a human brain.

The particle shall be supposed to be suspended by a silken thread; it is attracted by gravity to the earth, and by the same force in minor and various degrees to every star and planet in the universe. The electric currents generated in the earth by its rotation around the sun, make the particle take a north and south direction; heat and light rays falling upon it are absorbed and reflected variously, distorting its shape. Slight air-currents develop friction and cause movements; so in still less degree do sounds. On all the sources of these motions, and other more minute, the particle reacts; and in its mass the different forces combine in many complex ways. All this complexity would be greatly increased by the adherence to the iron particle of a copper one, having its own different order of impressions and results.

A human brain is supplied with material for thought by the senses, which are impressed by external things, directly by touch, or indirectly by gentle waves of air or ether. These impressions the nerves carry to the brain, where they persist a longer or shorter time, and combine together, causing movements of the bodily parts.

There is much analogy between the particle and brain; each is affected by all else in the universe; both are susceptible of many kinds of persistent impression, and in both the impressions mutually affect each other and give rise to new motions. Each is a focus to which universal forces converge, and from which they diverge after modification.

The inheritance of mind in matter, even in its simplest forms, seems probable, as seen in the injured crystal repairing itself; a plant in a dark cavern growing toward the light, or spreading its roots near the surface of the ground, if that be unusually warm and moist; in vine tendrils finding and clinging to points of support.

It would seem that differences of degree have been mistaken for differences in kind, for all these examples resemble the running of water down the shortest and easiest channel. When a round stone is dropped into mud, nobody sees design in the concaving of the mud under the stone; yet the development of the eye with and by light is a fact of the same kind, accountable for on the same principle of the infinite correspondences between each part of the universe and every other, and mutual co-adaptations. J. G. H.

MONTREAL, Canada.

[The Darwinian law alluded to in the second paragraph of the above appears to state the only possible mode of improving species. If the improvement of species be an object worth securing, why is not the indispensable process at least harmonious with the supposition of "benevolent Mind"?—ED.]

TRIBUTE TO CARLYLE.—I am reminded of one among us, hoary, but still strong, whose prophetic voice some thirty years ago, far more than any other of this age, unlocked whatever of life and nobleness lay latent in its most gifted minds—one fit to stand beside Socrates or the Maccabean Eleazar, and to dare and suffer all they suffered and dared—fit, as he once said of Fichte, "to have been the teacher of the Stoas, and to have discoursed of beauty and virtue in the groves of Academe." With a capacity to grasp physical principles which his friend Goethe did not possess, and which even total lack of exercise has not been able to reduce to atrophy, it is the world's loss that he, in the vigor of his years, did not open his mind and sympathies to science, and make its conclusions a portion of his message to mankind. Marvellously endowed as he was—equally equipped on the side of the heart and of the understanding,—he might have done much toward teaching us how to reconcile the claims of both, and to enable them in coming time to dwell together in the unity of spirit and in the bond of peace.—Professor Tyndall.

A MISSIONARY related how he had converted a tribe of cannibals; but one day, being followed by some of his disciples, he heard them whispering to each other: "The black-frocked man has got fine calves." It became necessary to order them to the front, that they might be delivered from temptation.

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MAY 6, 1875.

WHOLE No. 280.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———. Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE
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ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

A SUBSCRIBER in Pennsylvania favors us with a copy of *Jack Shepherd's Gospel Trumpet*, which blows a faithful lunatic blast almost equal to Varley's.

PROF. WETHERELL will read an essay on "The Siege of Science on Religion" in Hospitaler Hall, 593 Washington Street, next Sunday, at 10½ A. M. To be followed by a discussion. All are invited.

THE *Investigator* comes out in handsomer style than ever, with a fine new vignette containing a representation of Paine Hall. All friends of this sturdy old champion of "Universal Mental Liberty" will rejoice at its evident prosperity.

THE ARGUMENT for woman suffrage based on the Fourteenth Amendment was recently overruled in the United States Supreme Court, in the case of Mrs. Virginia L. Minor, of St. Louis. The question is remanded to the separate States for settlement.

WE are sorry to say that we made a mistake last week in regard to the incorporation of the Massachusetts Family Bank. The bill passed the House, but was defeated in the Senate. But the project is too good to rest there, and will, undoubtedly, be revived.

VARLEY the revivalist related in Boston lately that a man once said to him that he (the interlocutor) thought pretty well of him as a man, but could not believe in his doctrine of a hell. Mr. Varley turned to him, and said: "Say that again, and I tell you that you call Jesus Christ a liar."

THE GERMANS complain that, although at least a seventh part of the whole number of Roman Catholics is German, yet they have only three out of fifty cardinals, and about twenty out of a thousand bishops. It is a grievance for which they should expect congratulation rather than condolence.

THE *Independent* very neatly puts the substance of Vicar-General Quinn's proposal to the New York Board of Education to saddle the Catholic parochial schools on the city: "The thing to be gained for these schools is the public money, and the thing not to be surrendered is their sectarian and Catholic character."

THE *Jewish Times* opposes the incorporation of the Catholic parochial schools with the public school system, so long as they still remain to any extent under Catholic control. "Unsectarian education," it says, "is one of the great achievements of American civilization, and we must watch with a jealous eye every attempt to deprive us of the precious boon."

THE *Examiner* and *Chronicle* says: "Mr. Frothingham's society has moved down town. It has changed its name from Unitarian to the First Liberal Society of New York." More accurate information on this subject is communicated by Mr. Frothingham himself in another column. It is unnecessary to state that the change, in our opinion, was well worth making.

THE contributions of Mrs. Annie Besant to the London *National Reformer*, under the signature of "Ajax," are admirable in every way. She is a thoroughly keen, vigorous, and well-stored mind, and evidently has a brilliant future before her, although her High Church husband has separated from her because of her extreme radicalism.

THE COMMON COUNCIL of Buffalo very properly rejected the Catholic parochial school project, and on right grounds, namely: "The common schools are neither Protestant nor Catholic; they are not established and maintained as nurseries of creeds; they are and ought to be sustained exclusively for the tuition of children in the studies which are recognized as essential to a good business education."

BARNUM'S HIPPODROME in New York has been the scene of many harlequin performances; but Mr.

Henry Varley, the revivalist, has eclipsed them all. When he dramatically inquired of his audience whether they "thought God a fool," and at the same time declared that "the hand of the Lord was in this movement," the question must have been a very embarrassing one for a sensible man to answer.

SPECIAL ATTENTION is invited to the "Liberal League Notice," on the editorial page. The proposal to hold a general delegate Convention of Liberal Leagues at the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, in 1876, is one that will undoubtedly be welcomed by all who believe in radical organization. We hope it will stimulate the formation of new Leagues all over the country, in order to secure for Liberalism a fitting representation on that great occasion. Let us have suggestions from all who favor this noble project. THE INDEX is heartily at the service of this movement and its friends.

A RIGHTEOUS bill has been introduced into the Massachusetts Legislature which would eventually put an end to the whole chaplain system, if its principle should be consistently carried out:—

SECT. 1. No inmate of any prison, jail, or house of correction in this Commonwealth shall be denied the free exercise of his religious belief, and liberty of worshipping God according to the dictates of his conscience, within the place where such inmate may be kept or confined, particularly on the Lord's day; and it shall be the duty of the officers and boards of officers having the management and direction of such places to make such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the intent and provisions of this act.

SECT. 2. Nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to impair the discipline of any prison so far as may be needful for the good government and safe custody of its inmates.

SECT. 3. This act shall take effect on its passage.

WITH great parade Cardinal McCloskey invested the new Archbishop Williams with the pallium, last Sunday. The capacity of the building is four thousand, but ten thousand were in waiting as early as 9 o'clock. The newly created metropolitan see consists of the dioceses of Boston, Hartford, Burlington, Portland, Springfield, and Providence; in all of which there is a Roman Catholic population of 863,000, or nearly one-fifth of the total population of four and a half millions. With a Prince Cardinal at its head, seated on a throne, and representing a foreign potentate, the Catholic Church in America is a formidable institution founded on a monarchical principle utterly hostile to the whole framework of American government and society; yet it only expresses in visible outwardness the interior principle of Christianity in all its forms. The "Lord" Jesus Christ must have his Vicar on earth; and the Pope's vast pretensions all grow logically out of the claim of Jesus to be the Messiah, or Vicar of God.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH's paper, the *National Reformer*, contains these comments by Mrs. Besant on Mr. Thorne's expulsion from the North Carolina Legislature: "It is very painful to hear such news as this from 'free America,' and to learn that a Theist was expelled from the House of Representatives of one of the States, because he did not hold all the Christian superstitions. We are bad enough in England, but we are not as bad as this. We regret also to see that it was a colored member who brought forward such a resolution. A man who had but lately won freedom, and who had, with his whole race, been kept in bondage by a Christian people, who padlocked the fetters on his limbs with iron wrought in Bible smithies, ought surely to have learnt that Christianity was his greatest foe, and ought to have been the last to use it as an engine of persecution against his neighbors. But it is the old story; an oppressed class always become oppressors if they get into power, and Mr. Harrison Hughes's fanatical bigotry is scarcely to be wondered at, however much it may be condemned."

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[For THE INDEX.]

Buddhism Notwithstanding:

AN ATTEMPT TO INTERPRET BUDDHA FROM A BUDDHIST STANDPOINT.

AN ESSAY READ TO THE CHANNING CLUB, NORTHAMPTON, MASS., APRIL 8, 1875.

BY DYER D. LUM.

[Concluded.]

THE ETHICS OF BUDDHISM.

Such, as I conceive it, was the religious philosophy made known to man by Buddha. With pleasure I now turn to his ethics. What are the moral obligations binding upon man? What have been the effects of Buddhism upon society? What relations exist between the central teachings of Buddha and Christ? These are the questions we have yet to consider.

"Self is the Lord of self," said Buddha; "who else could be the Lord? With self well subdued, a man finds a Lord such as few can find." In this brief statement we have the chief characteristics of the Buddhist religion. It affirms the infinite perfectibility of man's nature; and upon this affirmation is based the whole moral code. In the language of Tennyson, but with far deeper meaning:—

"Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
 These three alone lead life to sovereign power."

It is impossible to quote but a few of Buddha's moral precepts, and difficult to select from the wealth of material with which we are provided.

"He who would attain Nirwana must not trust to others, but exercise heroically and perseveringly his own judgment. The wagoner who leaves the right path, and enters into the untrodden wilderness, will bring about the destruction of his wagons, and endure much sorrow; so also he who leaves the appointed path and enters upon a course of evil comes to destruction and sorrow."

"A man in the practice of religion, who exercises charity from a feeling of necessary obligation, or from a feeling of partiality, does not obtain much merit."

"A man who foolishly does me wrong, I will return to him the protection of my ungrudging love; the more evil comes from him, the more good shall go from me; the fragrance of their good actions always redounding to me, the harm of the slanderous words returning to him."

"Hatred does not cease by hatred at any time; hatred ceases by love; this is an old rule."

"Reflection is the path of immortality, thoughtlessness the path to death. Those who reflect do not die. Those who are thoughtless are as if dead already."

"By rousing himself, by reflection, by restraint and control, the wise man may make for himself an island which no flood can overwhelm."

"An evil deed does not turn suddenly, like milk; smouldering, it follows the fool, like fire covered by ashes."

"If one man conquer in battle a thousand times thousand men, and if another conquer himself, he is the greatest of conquerors."

"Let each man make himself as he teaches others to be; he who is well subdued may subdue (others); one's own self is difficult to subdue."

"By oneself the evil is done, by oneself one suffers; by oneself evil is left undone, by oneself one is puri-

fied. Purity and impurity belong to oneself; no one can purify another."

"Not to commit any sins, to do good, and to purify one's mind, that is the teaching of the Awakened."

"Let us live happily, then, not hating those who hate us! let us dwell free from hatred, among men who hate!"

"There is no fire like passion; there is no unlucky die like hatred; there is no pain like this body; there is no happiness like rest."

"He who holds back rising anger like a rolling chariot, him I call a real driver; other people are but holding the reins. Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good; let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth."

"You yourself must make an effort. The Buddhas are only preachers."

"A man does not become a Brahmana by his platted hair, by his family, or by both; in whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brahmana. What is the use of platted hair, O fool! What of the raiment of goats' skins? Within thee there is ravening, but the outside thou makest clean."

"He who, after leaving all bondage to men, has risen above all bondage to the gods, who is free from every bondage, him I call indeed a Brahmana."

These are selections from that wonderful preaching which twenty-four centuries ago rang out in the ears of a priest-ridden people; samples from "heathendom," pure and undiluted from Christian influences. Though by birth a prince, and with a reputation acquired by severe asceticism, yet, despising both, Buddha sought to build only on truth and righteousness.

Buddha was no wonder-worker; when asked to perform a miracle, he replied:—

"I direct my disciples not to do wonders; I rather say to them: 'So live that you conceal your good actions and confess your sins.' He declared that there was no distinction between the body of a slave and that of a prince, and admitted women to be ranked as disciples and to the priesthood."

In India, we must continually bear in mind, that the caste system had built a wall of separation between men, permitting no communication whatever with a large portion of the community. Members of the lowest caste were not permitted to live near other people; they were forbidden to eat only from broken plates, and obliged to wear the dress of condemned criminals—not a social distinction alone, but under the solemn sanction of the popular religion, one extending through all eternity. To speak to, or to willingly look at, one of the hated caste involved loss of caste, entailing not social excommunication alone, but rebirth as the vilest insect. Social custom and religion had so hedged man in that we can hardly conceive the possibility of an hereditary prince deliberately abdicating rank, sacrificing wealth and luxury, and renouncing family ties, to assume the yellow robe of mendicancy, and mingle with the lowest caste. All conception of brotherhood had been crushed out; the social order was identified with divine order. In this age, notwithstanding the supposed necessity for "civil rights" enactments, we can form no just conception of the extent of caste influence and its iron grip. One man alone had penetrated to the realities of life, and, rising above all social environments, boldly attacked this despotic requirement. "The virtues do not ask about castes," said Buddha, thereby striking at the very root of Brahminism. When Ananda, his nephew and beloved disciple, accosted a woman of the lowest caste and requested a drink of water from the vessel she had just filled, she hurriedly told him her caste. Instead of a horrified look, she received a smile, and was told in reply: "My sister, I ask not for thy caste or thy family; I ask only for a draught of water." For the first time in the world's history salvation and redemption were freely proclaimed for all!

"All men, without regard to rank, birth, and nation," says Duncker, "form, according to Buddha's view, one great suffering association in this earthly vale of tears. Therefore the commandments of love, forbearance, patience, compassion, pity, brotherliness of all men."

"The people were deeply impressed," says Dunlap, "by the gentleness and humility which Buddha opposed to the haughtiness and pride of the Brahmins, and by the compassionate commiseration which he exhibited for the distress of the people, for all the wretched and laden. . . . Not one's own misfortune, but that of our fellow-men, is a ground of sadness."

The five commandments of Buddhism are: 1. Thou shalt not kill. 2. Thou shalt not steal. 3. Thou shalt not commit adultery, or any impurity. 4. Thou shalt not lie. 5. Thou shalt not intoxicate thyself with drink. "Besides the five great commandments," says Max Müller, "every shade of vice, hypocrisy, anger, pride, suspicion, greediness, gossiping, cruelty to animals, is guarded against by special precepts. Among the virtues recommended, we find not only reverence for parents, care for children, submission to authority, gratitude, moderation in time of prosperity, submission in time of trial, equanimity at all times, but virtues unknown in any heathen system of morality, such as the duty of forgiving insults, and not rewarding evil with evil. All virtues, we are told, spring from *Maitri*, and this *Maitri* can only be translated by *charity and love*."

While the key-note of Buddhism is human development, its assertion of Self as the prime fact, beside which all was transitory, cannot be regarded in the light of narrow selfishness. "Cut out the love of self, like an autumn lotus, with thy hand," said the teacher. "As every one," he said, "seeks to lessen for himself life's sufferings, so shall he also lessen the sorrows of his fellow-men." Not selfishness, but renunciation through love, is the characteristic feature of Buddhism. A beautiful relation has been

preserved admirably illustrating the importance of renunciation and love towards true self-development. A wealthy merchant, named Purna, who had left all to follow Buddha, determined in his enthusiastic devotion to win over a wild tribe to the knowledge of the new truths. Buddha, wishing to test his firmness, said the people were wild, fierce, cruel, and that he would suffer from insults and injuries. Purna answered: "Then I will still hold them for dear, good people, because they neither beat nor cast stones at me." "When, however, they do even this?" inquired Buddha. "Then I say still the same, for they could indeed wound me with weapons." "But this also will happen!" "Nay, they are dear, good people, in that they do not rob me of my life." Once more Buddha questioned him: "But if they kill thee?" Purna replied: "Then I thank their love and goodness that they free me with so little pain from this miserable body." "Go, Purna," said Buddha, "thyself redeemed, redeem others; thyself saved and consoled, save and console them. Lead thou, thyself perfected, them to perfection." As Purna really succeeded by his invincible mildness in converting the tribe, this instance well illustrates the fruits generally reaped by Buddhist missions.

"In the midst of oppressed peoples," says Duncker, "he showed how unavoidable evils could be patiently borne, how they could be mitigated by mutual help. It was the evangel of a peaceful life and the hope of a death without resurrection which opened the hearts of the people to Buddha's teachings."

THE TEST OF HISTORY.

We have next to consider the effect produced upon society by Buddha's doctrine. We have seen that the philosophy and the morality of Buddhism were alike based upon the cardinal idea of the perfectibility of man. The philosophy of Buddhism, the basis of its moral code, was the declaration that within and beneath all existence is the *real*, the *being*, from which all things spring. All life possesses a common root. Strip from self all that is phenomenal, the result of sentient existence, and that which remains may be called nothing, or the real; either or both. But at this point it takes its departure from the religious mysticism of Christian thought. Mysticism finds this common element, the root of all existence, in God; it seeks to recognize the universal element in individual forms. Buddha, starting from the finite, while asserting a common ground underlying all existence, refused to build theory on inference, lest, instead of infinite and finite, he should have two finites. To this common element he would give no name; the soul, or intellectual substratum, is termed in Buddhist Scriptures "the existing know-nothing." Buddha left it, as he found it, infinite, incomprehensible. While conditioned in Nature, escape could only be accomplished by harmony with Nature.

Mysticism, following the thought of identical essence, attempted to overleap the gulf between infinite and finite, and became lost in the unknowable. Buddha, following the same line of thought with clearer vision, penetrated deeper; exhausting the intuitive method, he found that progress could only result in the opposite direction, the brotherhood of man. The perfection of self required the subjection of passion, desire; consequently the purely selfish feelings were to be eradicated. Self-gratification is the chain which binds us to individuality; this chain must be broken, and but one course lay open, self-renunciation and love for man. This was the seed planted by Gôtama Buddha; what are its fruits?

In judging of the effect of this system of religion upon mankind, we have not only to consider the social system it supplanted, but must also bear in mind the caution laid down in our introductory remark, that, while recalling attention to the central ideas of a religious teacher for a correct estimate of the system bearing his name, we must not forget the complementary truth that mankind, in adopting these ideas, may logically deduce consequences or dogmas unforeseen by him who first taught them. It is to history that we must appeal in all such cases to determine the applicability of the ideas to social life; to obtain a correct estimate of the accuracy of the thought upon which we are so confidently assured we alone can build. Applying this test to Buddha's teachings, what is the verdict?

I have endeavored to show that Buddhism was a catholic rather than an ethnic or race religion, based on the inherent requirements of our nature, or what you would term the spiritual laws of the universe. It sent its missionaries out in every direction, to far-off nations, no matter what their race or language, to make known to human souls through the baptism of renunciation the method of attaining that absolute rest of which they each contained the promise. Two hundred and seventeen years before Christ, Buddhists appeared in China, and sixty-one years after Christ Buddhism was openly recognized. Weber says that Buddhist missionaries must have come into the Persian lands two or three centuries before Christ, and probably penetrated into the west as far as Asia Minor. Dunlap remarks: "It is not probable that Judaea, with its knowledge of Babylon and Persia, could have been even a century without hearing of Buddhistic doctrines taught five hundred years before Christ." In the third century before Christ it had extended to Cashmere. Nepal, Tibet, Birmah, Ceylon, Siam, Japan, were all taught Buddha's law and moral code long before the world had heard the disputes of Christian sectaries. In the seventh century of the Christian era Buddhism was overpowered and its profession prohibited; yet the very edict of exile redounds to its merit. "Let those who SLAY NOT be slain; the old man among the Buddhas and the babe."

So markedly beneficial have been the results of

Buddhism, that scholars vie with each other in extolling the virtues of this religion. From disinterested, or Christian, writers the strongest testimony can be adduced; and you will pardon me if I call them into the witness stand. Blaproth, a German Professor of Oriental Languages, says, with pious reservation: "Next to Christianity, no religion has contributed more to ennoble the human race than Buddhism." M. Laboulaye, a member of the French Academy, states: "It is difficult to comprehend how men not assisted by revelation could have soared so high, and approached so near the truth." Malcom, the Baptist missionary, says it is "the best form of religion invented by man." St. Hilaire defines the Buddhist morality as one of endurance, patience, submission and abstinence, rather than of action, energy, enterprise. Rev. Spence Hardy admits that a collection might be made from their Scriptures which, in the purity of its ethics, could hardly be equalled from any other heathen author. The Roman Catholic Bishop Bigandet admits that he could not be deemed rash in asserting that most of the moral truths taught by the Gospel are to be met with in the Buddhist Scriptures. Professor Max Müller tells us: "It has been the peculiar fate of the religion of Buddha, that, among all the so-called false or heathenish religions, it almost alone has been praised by all and everybody for its elevated, pure, and humanizing character. One hardly trusts one's eyes on seeing Catholic and Protestant missionaries vie with each other in their praises of the Buddha; and even the attention of those who are indifferent to all that concerns religion must be arrested for a moment, when they learn from statistical accounts that no religion, not even the Christian, has exercised so powerful an influence on the diminution of crime as the old, simple doctrine of the Ascetic of Kapilastu."

In conclusion, permit me to add yet another to this "cloud of witnesses"—James Freeman Clarke, who thus admirably sums up the effect produced by Buddhism upon the world:—

"Buddhism has made all its conquests honorably, by a process of rational appeal to the human mind. It was never propagated by force, even when it had the power of imperial rajahs to support it. Certainly it is a very encouraging fact in the history of man, that the two religions which have made more converts than any other, Buddhism and Christianity, have not depended for their success on the sword of the conqueror or the frauds of priestcraft, but have gained their victories in the fair conflict of reason with reason. We grant that Buddhism has not been without its superstitions and its errors; but it has not deceived, and it has not persecuted. In this respect it can teach Christians a lesson. Buddhism has no prejudices against those who confess another faith. The Buddhists have founded no Inquisition; they have combined the zeal which converted kingdoms with a toleration almost inexplicable to our Western experience. Only one religious war has darkened their peaceful history during twenty-three centuries,—that which took place in Thibet, but of which we know little. A Siamese told Crawford that he believed all the religions of the world to be branches of the true religion. A Buddhist in Ceylon sent his son to a Christian school, and told the astonished missionary, 'I respect Christianity as much as Buddhism, for I regard it as a help to Buddhism.' MM. Huc and Gabet converted no Buddhist in Tartary and Thibet, but they partially converted one, bringing him so far as to say that he considered himself at the same time a good Christian and a good Buddhist."

BUDDHA OR CHRIST?

Last, we have to consider the statement that Christianity supplements Buddhist truths with grander incentives and a nobler ideal. Applying the same method to Christianity which I have adopted towards Buddhism, the essential differences of the two religions will be clearly shown.

What is Christianity? You tell me that it is not a system, but a life; not a creed, but a spirit, "constantly feeding the life of man at its roots by fresh supplies of faith in God and faith in man." You inform me that the essential elements of Christianity are to be found in the central teachings of Jesus, who contributed to the world a vital impulse toward a truer and more adequate realization of ideal perfection. The central thought of Jesus you assert to consist in his basing religion on the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; that love of God and love of man is not alone the corner-stone, but the essential fact of Christianity, that which distinguishes it from all previous religions; and that "so all-inclusive is this ideal that the grandest imagination of the world can only dream along the line of its realization in the ever-advancing perfection of humanity." Some of you freely admit that Jesus had but an imperfect conception of the grandeur of the thought which he was so ardently endeavoring to impress upon the minds of his countrymen; that he may never have contemplated the applicability of his teachings to men except within the narrow limits which he believed God had clearly defined in the selection of the Jewish race as his peculiar and chosen people; that even his brightest dreams of their realization were indicated by his evident belief in the speedy establishment of his Father's kingdom in the Holy City, Jerusalem. Nevertheless, in spite of these limitations, the result of human imperfection, the adoption of these principles, and their application to the Gentile world, under the more genial influence of Hellenic thought, in a larger and more catholic sense by that band of believers gathered at Antioch, justly entitled them to the name of Christians.

To this definition, as far as it goes, I yield a ready assent, basing my objection on the ground that the conception of the fatherhood of God and the brother-

hood of man, resulting in love of God and man, as a basis of religion, is false in theory, evil in tendency, and destructive to religion in its logical development. The peasant rabbi of Galilee was undoubtedly actuated by the purest motives in his mission; yet it is the principles rather than the motives which require examination and criticism. His conception of God as a Father involves all that is included in a parental relation. We are God's children, subjects of his government; blessedness, rest, peace, the instinctive aspiration of every mind, requires that we as children should recognize the authority of the Father, and bring our minds into a cheerful and willing unison with his will. Christ's love for man was founded, not so much upon the conception of universal brotherhood in itself, as of sonship; that is, the brotherhood of man resulted from the fact that God was our Father. Christ's love for man was dictated by his desire to bring man at one with God, to a willing acknowledgment of God as a personal father. The dominant thought, to which all else was secondary, was, God is a loving father who pitieth his children. With this is logically connected the idea of man's relations to God; but these relations were at no time accurately defined. As far as we can gather from the detached remains of his teachings he conceived that our relation to God was that of loving, trusting obedience, implicitly following his guiding hand; that God was an ever-present help to whom our thirsting souls instinctively turned as the needle to the pole. That he was not alone the author of our physical existence, not an undefined First Cause, but the author of our spiritual natures, and that through our immortal spiritual faculties he is to be apprehended and his will communicated.

We find ample illustration in the foregoing summary that Christianity is "not a system but a spirit of life;" not based so much on thought as on feeling; an emotional rather than an intellectual conception; that is, a dim perception through confused and imperfect thought, involving inconsistencies and delusions. Knowledge must admit of system, or it becomes a medley of inordinate and irreconcilable elements, more generally defined as ignorance. If you admit a system of thought, but insist that Christianity is more, being the life of the system, I must still inquire how is God, the source of this life, apprehended? By sentiment, intuition, a moral faculty? Through the emotions rather than the intellect? What is sentiment, intuition, or whatever may be the name of this mysterious faculty, save an ambiguous expression indicating a form of thought? Modern science, in declaring that "man and the higher animals have the same senses, intuitions, and sensations—similar passions, affections, and emotions, even the more complex ones," has thereby struck a blow at the very foundation of Christianity, inasmuch as it dispels the delusion of a special faculty by which the mind apprehends the "loving Father."

Jesus, unlike Gótama, did not feel the need of any logical process of thought; to his mind, a personal God, exercising parental authority, was the one great fact requiring no proof. It was not the scientific conception of force, nor the probable God of "natural theology," but a divine presence intuitively perceived by the wondrous "entity," mind, or by that still more undefinable entity, or faculty, *soul*. In God alone was life, from whom by some mystical and never defined process the soul receives that divine life by which perfection alone is to be realized. Trustfulness, faith, is therefore man's highest virtue under Christianity; not so much subjection as a "sweet submission" to the Father. So completely was the Galilean teacher filled with this "fulness of life," that trust in our Father's guidance requires of us to take no thought for body or raiment, "for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things." Faith was a "central thought" in Christ's mind, and ever since has been one of the characteristic features of Christianity; taught by Christ, formulated in dogma by the Church, and regarded to-day its chief glory. This essential Christian sentiment is truthfully reflected in these lines:—

"O restful, blissful ignorance! 'Tis blessed not to know!
It keeps me quiet in those arms which will not let me go,
And hushes my soul to rest on the bosom which loves me so!

"So I go on, not knowing! I would not if I might;
I would rather walk in the dark with God, than go alone in the light;
I would rather walk with him by faith, than walk alone by sight."

The nature of man's relation to God having never been logically formulated by Christ, we are not surprised to find that the Church has ever been at war with itself in attempting to define the utterances of its Head. The one inevitable deduction the Church saw was that authority primarily rested in God; how that authority was communicated to man was a question which legitimately fell to the Church to determine. Jesus had asserted himself to be the Saviour foretold by the prophets. In him, the Gospels relate, were fulfilled the ancient predictions. Jesus claimed divine authority, and whatever may be the nature of that authority, his claim logically resulted from his central idea—the fatherhood of God. The Church realizing the folly of attempting to formulate the relations between the infinite and the finite, under the logical development of this central idea, were unable to maintain a distinction between God and his anointed, and very early centred this authority in Christ.

The idea of authority as external (or, if manifested in the mind, still a conferred authority) is necessarily bound up with Christ's conception of a personal God; and whether this authority be supposed to manifest itself through the organized church, the written revelation, or the individual conscience, to the Buddhist is alike objectionable. It is not the nature of the authority, but the hypothetical source

of authority against which we protest, as an idea containing the twin errors, Faith and Authority, which we regard as the one weak spot in Christ's teachings; from which, through its logical development, have resulted the terrible stains which disfigure the historic pages of the Christian centuries.

I am told that this *faith* is the sense of unseen things, a quick and sympathetic consciousness of a Divine Presence, and that failure to understand this state but argues our inability to rise above the perceptions of sense; that the moral sense, by faith, is uplifted so as to render our recognition of the divine presence more vivid and constant. Buddha submitted his intuitions to a rigorous analysis, instead of blindly following them, and saw a distinction between our ability to think that the Infinite is, and the assumption that we may be influenced by, and commune with, the Infinite. Buddha recognized the fact that the Infinite is, and based his whole system on this clear intuition; on the other hand he saw that matter and mind were but phenomenal; that man, conditioned in the finite, could not approach, or be approached by, the Infinite, and sought to reconcile these two propositions by proclaiming the infinite perfectibility of man. Expressed in terms of a later philosopher, "I think, therefore I am." Whatever it is that constitutes this wondrous Ego, I know not. Like Nirwāna, Self is and is not; attempt to define it, to give it attributes, faculties, and you destroy it, for you thereby render it finite, illusory. In terms of speech, it has no existence; yet it is. The apparent contradiction is but the consequence of attempting to define the undefinable. It is not a question of a higher or a lower plane; it is a question of fact. Whether the "loving Father" be an objective reality, or the prolongation of subjective self into objectivity, is a question for the intellect, not the sentiments; calling for the exercise of thought, not of faith.

Human development is the key-note of Buddhism, faith in man is its grand idea; but underlying this and clearly expressed is the claim that "man is capable of enlarging his faculties to infinity." Consequently we are not surprised to find the charge of atheism freely used by those who have failed to penetrate the sublime depths of Buddha's thought. The Buddha made no hasty and ill-advised plunge into denial of a Deity. The conception of man's infinite perfectibility, it is true, logically excludes Deity from that intimate relation with the finite mind asserted by Christ; and herein lies the radical difference between the two religions. After years of profound meditation and anxious thought, the Buddha came to the same conclusion as thousands of other thinking minds have since, that a religion cannot proclaim the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man without inevitably giving an undue predominance to the first, logically resulting in the subordination of the second; that the ability to grasp and hold the conception of God and man, the infinite and finite, the eternal and the temporal, has ever been not alone a failure, but resulting in such complete subordination of the lesser to the greater as to render brotherhood impossible, and tightened the clasp of the chains with which the mind has so long been fettered. The brotherhood of man resulting from sonship has ever been hampered with the dead weight of Divine Authority, resulting in a divided allegiance, recognizing man's rights so far as they do not conflict with parental requirements; unfilial conduct annulling all rights.

Granting that Christianity is a "spirit of life" and not a system, still the central ideas must become systemized; it is inevitable, a system of thought must result. Christ's thought, great as you may conceive it to be, can claim no especial exemption from the lot of all ideas; otherwise there never could have been a Christian church, nor would the influence of Christ's teachings have extended beyond the generation who heard him. If every attempt to systematize his thought has invariably resulted in destroying it, it is because the thought is in itself contradictory and illogical. If Christianity as a "spirit of life" is manifest in the individual, and becomes lost when formulated, what does it add to the moral life inculcated by Buddha? If Buddhist life is Christian, wherein does Christianity supplement it? Buddha taught the highest morality without a conscious recognition of a "Divine Presence." If this Presence is unconsciously felt by the Buddhist, then the supplementary truth of Christianity is its intellectual perception. Christ and the Church agree in asserting that this recognition is essential. Buddha's analytic mind perceived the logical consequences involved in this claim, and the history of the Christian centuries tends to confirm Buddha's conclusions. The two conceptions are mutually antagonistic, and repel each other. And it is as true to-day with us, as it was then in India, that they who assume best to understand the workings of the "Infinite Mind," who through faith have the most vivid and constant recognition of the divine presence, are the least able to understand the needs of the finite mind; and that in inverse ratio with our knowledge of His ways are we enabled to comprehend the lessons of life and profit from them. Tested by appeal to history, we find that the idea of a personal God has ever thrown a screen between man and his brother, and lifted not a feather from the weight of human misery, which still presses as heavily as ever, except as relieved from purely secular, or Buddhist, motives.

Christianity may be a life, but it is a life based on erroneous foundations, neutralizing the human element contained in Christ's teachings. This fact has been unconsciously perceived from the days of the Evangelist Luke to the present, and attempts made to offset it by assertions that a future world would reverse the order of this, that the rich and poor would then and there change conditions, and sorrow here be atoned there by becoming the recipient of infinite

pity! The art of living a good life? If Christianity be this, it is a failure, for the principles on which it is based contain contradictory elements which inevitably will become manifest. Christianity even as a life, with all its pretensions to "perfect freedom," must logically exclude those who deny its fundamental ideas, for it is dependent upon *Christian thought*, based upon the affirmation of the following so-called "active principles of the religious nature of man":—

"1. Belief in some supernatural being—or beings.
"2. Belief in accountability, or relationship to that being in such measure as for good or evil to come from it.

"3. Belief in immortality, and the continuance of this relation after death.

"4. The instinct of prayer, as a means of establishing relations with this being.

"5. The instinct of worship, including the emotion of veneration and its expression."

So fundamental are these deemed that to deny them, we are told, is to assert our religious nature a mockery; yet to these principles, each and several, Buddhism protests in the name of religion,—a protest toward which all the lines of scientific thought are rapidly converging in the name of reason,—averring that our high instincts point to different conclusions; conclusions adapted to awaken the noblest faculties of our being, prompting man to look the everlasting reality in its face and defy its mythical power to excite love or fear. To the principles quoted above no Buddhist can yield acquiescence, while no Christian can remain a Christian, however pure his life, if Buddha's law be accepted. Buddhism and Christianity are irreconcilable, based on radically opposite ideas, and leading to the development of essentially different forms of character in their historical evolution.

Buddhist life culminates in absolute renunciation of self for the interest of others; subordination of self-interest to the general welfare. Christian life tends to a temporary renunciation of self for the glory of God; subordination of self-interest here to be repaid with interest in the future.

Buddhism, as the religion of reason, subordinates the emotions to the intellect; keeping sentiment, or feeling, ever under the dominion of will. Christianity, on the contrary, sacrificing reason on the altar of the passions, and consuming it with carefully fanned flames.

Desire, passion, weigh down the mind, Buddhism asserts, alluring it by phantom forms from the attainment of its goal, the real, to attachment to the transitory. Desire, passion, maintains Christianity, becomes the wings of the soul, lifting it above the petty concerns of life to forever renew the struggle in other scenes.

Buddhism develops aspiration, Christianity prayer; aspiration being the welling up of an exhaustless fountain, prayer but a means for filling the fountain from an external source. The reservoir of spiritual force being within us, aspiration is its natural overflow, fertilizing human character; in Christian thought prayer constitutes the service pipes by which Christian life is supplied with draughts of heavenly moisture, doled out to it as it may need. Aspiration leads to manly self-reliance, prayer to intellectual enervation; the one calculated to develop the highest civilization that race and climate will permit, the other a clog to all material prosperity, ever thwarting our humanitarian instincts by projecting across the pathway of human life the ominous shadow of a personal will. One gives us humanity, the other piety, as the characteristic feature of its life. In one word, man, according to Christianity, is *theosophic*, or divinely illuminated, from without instead from within; while, according to Buddhism, he is *entheastic*, having the energy of God, inherent in his nature.

When modern science shall have cut the connections by which Christian life is fed, in showing the unreality of its affirmed source, driving out the idea by a clearer knowledge of man's psychological nature, Christian life will wither and die; but the religious nature of man will be left, and in its continued efforts to elevate humanity and remove misery we have left *Buddhism notwithstanding*.

And if a more accurate knowledge of mind should show a future life of immortal existence to be the fond dream of the imagination misinterpreting a natural instinct, it cannot take from us the great beating heart of humanity; and again we have left *Buddhism notwithstanding*.

And though all relation between Infinite and finite should become generally accepted as delusion, the aspirations of the mind will remain to hint to us of the limit of all thought; enabling us to fearlessly second all research, and still keep *Buddhism notwithstanding*.

CIVIL RIGHTS.—"Brother Smith, what does this mean?"

"What does what mean?"

"Bringing a nigger to this church?"

"The pew is my own."

"Your own! Is that any reason why you should insult the whole congregation?"

"But he is intelligent and well educated."

"Who cares for that? he is a nigger."

"But he is a friend of mine."

"What of that? Must you therefore insult the whole congregation?"

"But he is a Christian, and belongs to the same denomination."

"What do I care for that? Let him go and worship with his fellow-niggers."

"But he is worth five million dollars," said the merchant.

"Worth what?"

"Five million dollars."

"Worth five million dollars! Jerusalem! Worth five million dollars! Brother Smith, introduce me."

[FOR THE INDEX.]

DR. HILL ON THE STRUGGLES OF SCIENCE.

The Rev. Dr. Hill, of Portland, has an interesting article in the April number of the *Unitarian Review*, reviewing Dr. Draper's book on the *Conflict between Religion and Science*. The article is especially interesting, however, as illustrating what Herbert Spencer in his late work on the *Study of Sociology* denominates the "theological bias." In its whole breadth and scope it exemplifies how great an obstacle to the introduction of new ideas, in any direction, is the traditional and professional view that any powerful class shall take of them; and shows that for any independent, unbiased opinion of any movement we must look to those whose class interests or associations are not affected thereby. Indeed, the doctor himself seems aware of this objection, in advance, and "warmly resents the imputation" that theological prejudice, or theological training, or even a marked ancestral descent from families where the "theological bias" had for generations undergone a system of "breeding in and in," could influence the judgment. The fervor with which he meets the cool, clear presentation of historical facts in Dr. Draper's work reminds one of that of his constant friend and example, Agassiz, in a similar direction, when he nervously exclaimed that "God would go out of the universe as fast as Darwinism came in." He distinctly intimates that the New York professor, "who abstains from naming his chair," had better confine himself to his chemistry and spectrum analysis, leaving "higher and more difficult metaphysical themes" to those who have more information. He quotes from Dr. Draper's last page his remark that the man of science, "conscious of his own strength, will no longer submit to the dictation and tyranny that for centuries repressed all thought and progress," with the inquiry, What does Dr. Draper "propose to do about it"? and sarcastically asks in what the "strength" referred to consists—whether in strength of intellect or of passion, or in the physical strength that would adopt that ancient promoter of religion, the inquisition. The good doctor might form some idea of this strength from the fact that, on the day his article was published, the thirteenth thousand of Dr. Draper's book had been issued in this country alone, and that, too, within four months of its first publication. Dr. Draper's answer to this question is in the words of Esdras: "The truth that endureth and is always strong."

Dr. Hill, however, hardly does himself justice in his desire to be sarcastic at the author's expense. The remark quoted follows an eloquent summary of the position of Christian Rome, in the past and in the present; of its hatred towards civil and mental freedom; of its denunciation of the "impudence" of those who would subordinate the authority of the Church to that of the State; of its antagonism to the forces of progress embodied in modern society; and of its intolerance. It was a description of that Rome which holds, in the words of the oath of its most powerful order, that "no allegiance is due to Protestants, or obedience to any of their inferior magistrates or officers," and that their "doctrine is damnable, and they themselves are damned, and to be damned, that will not forsake the same." In closing this vivid review, Dr. Draper asks: "Can any one doubt as to the issue of the coming conflict" with this power? The answer is obvious: "Institutions that organize impostures and spread delusions must show what right they have to exist. Religion must relinquish her domineering position so long maintained against science, and the ecclesiastical cease to tyrannize over the philosopher." Could a more appropriate answer have been given? Is it not consistent with the historical fact that the Roman church has always sided with despotism? If it applies in a milder sense to the Protestant church, we think neither Dr. Hill, nor the many times thirteen thousand readers of Dr. Draper, will fail to see its point.

Dr. Hill briefly criticises the construction of Draper's work, and fails to find from it that any conflict of science and religion ever existed. We think he can hardly have read the book with his usual critical analysis. Dr. Draper says that, in speaking of Christianity, he refers generally to the Roman church as representing the majority of Christendom, and because the Protestant church has never occupied so imperious a position. In his argument he recites the origin of modern science; the rise of Christianity and its attainment of imperial power; its early suppression of science in Alexandria, and its later suppression of the learning brought into Europe by the Arabs; its opposition to the intellectual development of which Galileo was the pioneer; the movement towards mental freedom made by Luther; and the antagonism displayed by the Roman church and theology generally towards modern science in its every department. The thread of the argument is not difficult to find. It is a simple record of historical facts from which the reader is left mainly to draw his own deductions.

The reviewer says that the only conflict that ever existed with science was that of a "corrupted church," which was equally hostile to religion. He would make religion an ideal, instead of the actuality that the world knows. We must take it as history shows it in the past and our own experience in the present. The "corrupted church" of eighteen hundred years is the only church Christendom knows. It was the representative of religion, and was always "corrupt," because it was always "a cloak for political ambition and intolerant pride." If there was "no conflict" between Christianity and science in the first fourteen centuries of this era, it was simply because the life of science was so nearly crushed out by ecclesiasticism as to be incapable of resistance; because all learning was confined to the clergy, and the only authorized text book of science was the Bible;

because all thought was stagnant, and moral as well as physical uncleanness pervaded all Europe. For fifteen centuries Christendom had not a single astronomer. There was no literature but the vapid and inane writings of the fathers of the Church, who occupied whole volumes hunting for concealed meanings, or dwelling upon the magic essence of single words of Scripture texts. There was mental degradation everywhere. Theology held that all principles were from God and not to be scrutinized, and facts must yield to principles. "Adore and tremble before mystery and majesty" was the rescript that solved all scientific outreaching. The discovery of the telescope by Galileo was the first rebellion against the Church. Against it was at once arrayed the whole power of the Christian church to quench the gleam of scientific light. Surely the whole history of the struggle from 1610 till the present time is familiar enough.

A late theological reviewer of Draper sneers at Galileo as "that bold recanter whose courage was so far beyond that of any Christian hero." Dr. Hill, too, refers to the thousand martyrs of religion slain by Rome, compared with the single examples of the martyrs of science. But the truths of science need no martyrs to prove them. They were facts not to be controverted or permanently suppressed. The martyrs of faith were sacrificed to their own fanaticism, to the enthusiasm of ideas, to the excitement induced by immense moral machinery. There is no glory in martyrdom, but there is the sure indication of the existence of bigotry, tyranny, and ignorance.

Dr. Hill gives several ingenious and learned illustrations of the difficulty that attends the introduction of new practical truths into the world, to show that the "traditional faith" that resists may not always be religious faith,—which, however, may be passed by as having no bearing on the subject of the book. It certainly does not affect Dr. Draper's argument, that there has been opposition in the United States to the adoption of the French metrical system of money in preference to our own decimal system; or that the English-speaking people have been unwilling to adopt phonetic orthography instead of the present method. Perhaps the time will come when even these improvements will prevail. Experience will certainly warrant us in attributing their introduction, should it come, to science rather than to religion.

One of the most singular statements made in this article is that "foreign trade has been one of the two great curses of the earth"—Dr. Hill coupling it with war in its influence to retard civilization. He says there is "nothing in the theological absurdities of the Roman church more sad" than the sight of a certain able, pure-minded editor who had been so misled as to advocate "democracy and free trade"! It may be true that the discovery of America, which opened a new world to commerce and to freedom, enlarging the little circle of civilization that fringed the shores of the Mediterranean Sea to one that compassed the whole earth,—that the invention of the steam engine and of the electric telegraph, those mighty instruments of commerce and free thought that carry civilization with them around the world,—have all wrought mischief in the world and retarded human progress; but the world will be as slow to believe it, as it is now to believe that the first chapter of Genesis (as is the doctor's opinion in a late sermon) "contains a knowledge of all subsequent speculations in philosophy, religion, and science, and of all atheistic speculations, including Positivism, Transcendentalism, Spencerism, and what not."

Dr. Hill takes exceptions to Draper's ninth chapter, which treats of Providence and general law. He says the author oversteps his province in assuming belief in law inconsistent with belief in Providence and prayer. He finds a fallacy in Hamilton's solution by experience of Zeno's paradox of motion, in consequence of Hamilton's lack of a little "geometrical imagination"; but contents himself with accepting Hamilton's argument of experience in refutation of the "modern Zeno's (Draper's) paradox concerning prayer and Providence." The man who believes in law, he says, still is conscious of liberty, can plead, ask and give; therefore existence of law cannot be inconsistent with asking and giving, either with man or God. But he stops too soon with his experience. Why not extend it a little farther in a practical, common-sense way? The child asks its father for an apple, and receives it. If it asks for the Goddess of Liberty from the dome of the Capitol, it does not receive it. If the prayer to deity is within the limits of experience, as for the sun to rise in the morning, or for pleasant weather after a storm, it will be granted; but all the prayers of Europe at the command of the pope did not scare away Halley's comet in 1456. A bishop of the Episcopal church lately prayed for rain on his people at Albany, and congratulated himself on his success; though the same rain caused immense destruction of property and life all over the rest of the country. How can experience, common sense attribute such results as answers to prayer? "Old Probabilities" can give some very good hints as to when and where to pray for rain, so as to be in accord with "experience."

Draper's arraignment of the Latin church, and his prediction of its overthrow, the reviewer is not inclined "to quarrel with." He even calls in the aid of St. John and the thirteenth chapter of Revelation, with his "number of the beast" and of the man—the magical 666. He relates as "a very significant circumstance" that, on the day that France declared war against Prussia, the pope announced his own infallibility, wearing upon his head his peculiar title VICARIVS FILII DEI—the sum of the numerical value of the letters of which is 666. Consequently the pope must be the "beast." But there may be nothing supernatural even in this. St. John's Revelation was never heard of for some

hundreds of years after Christ's death. The church of Rome, doubtless, had its "peculiar title" then as now, and within the knowledge of the revelator, and the Roman numerals were as visibly equal to 666 then as now. Certainly history shows that about those days the pope was a good deal more of a "beast" than the kind-hearted old Pontiff Pius IX. As St. John says, "Here is wisdom." There is a greater significance in the German astronomer Bode's curious relation that seemed to control the distance of the planets from the sun.

But space will not admit of further comment. The subject of science and religion just now is a fruitful one. We find the phrase, "science and religion," in such frequent use that we may suppose them to have formed a copartnership. Artemus Ward dryly remarked that "B. Franklin was born twins in Boston." Perhaps "science and religion" have just been born twins, and we may hope for a more harmonious future for them. P.

PORTLAND, Me., April 8, 1875.

THE CATHOLIC CLERGY AND THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT.

The controversy which Mr. Gladstone has been carrying on with the Catholic clergy in England, and which may be said to have been closed by his recent rejoinder, if it has done nothing else, has brought out very distinctly two important facts. One is, that no promise, or engagement, or declaration, made or entered into by Catholic bishops with regard to the policy, or opinions, or beliefs of the Church, or with regard to its relations to the State, has any binding force or effect, or possesses any value whatever, as long as it has not received the approval of the Roman curia. Another is, that whether the dogma of infallibility has been really adopted or not—about which Catholic theologians are divided,—there is no means accessible either to clergy or laity of ascertaining whether in any particular case the Pope has spoken infallibly—or, as it is technically called, "*ex-cathedra*"—or not. In fact, according to Dr. Newman, there is no problem in theology more difficult than the decision of the precise character of the Pope's utterances, and the only body in the world competent to undertake it is the "Schola Theologorum" at Rome, which attacks it with the aid of a highly artificial and very complex system of interpretation, which it takes the study of a lifetime to master. For all practical purposes, therefore, the new powers of the Pope are of little value to the mass of mankind, though their value to the Pope may prove very great. He and the Schola will always know whether he has spoken as the oracle of God, or only as a man, and whether the matter on which he has passed lies within the domain of faith and morals or not; but nobody else will. In fact, he may extend the domain of "faith and morals" in any direction he pleases without let or hindrance, because the public will never know what he is doing until he pleases to tell it. He will thus be able to issue mandates which will cause great confusion among his flock, and which they will consider of divine authority; and afterwards, if their operation does not please him, deny their infallibility. The advantage of this in his conflicts with secular governments does not need to be explained.

Mr. Gladstone has also shown conclusively that the pretence which some of his clerical opponents have put forward, that the Pope no longer arrogates to himself the power of suspending the operation of State laws when he does not approve of them, or believes they infringe upon the prerogatives of the Church, is really unfounded. In 1855 the present Pope declared null and void all acts of the Piedmontese government which he considered prejudicial to the Church or to religion, and particularly those suppressing the monasteries as civil corporations. In the same year he annulled the acts of the Spanish government which provided for the toleration of Protestantism and the secularization of ecclesiastical property. In 1862 he declared null and void the Austrian legislation establishing freedom of the press, and of worship, and secularized marriage. In these cases, it is true, there were concordats in existence on the violation of which he might (though he did not) have rested his decrees; but Mr. Gladstone cites three other cases in which there were no concordats, and in which he annulled the legislation of Sardinia, of Mexico, and of New Granada, on similar grounds, and shows that by the constitution *Apostolica Sedis* of 1869 he excommunicates all persons who imprison or persecute bishops, thus attempting to raise these prelates above the law of their domicile; all who interfere with any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as, for instance, any one who should sue out a *habeas corpus* for a priest or a monk or nun imprisoned by ecclesiastical authority; all who impede the officers of the Inquisition in the execution of their duties; and all who secularize or purchase church property without the Pope's permission. Moreover, just after the appearance of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, the German bishops were thunderstruck by the receipt of an Encyclical, annulling the Falk laws in Germany, which, however, they have not as yet dared to publish in their dioceses, fearing it would increase the rigor of the pursuit with which Bismarck is pressing them.

One has only to state these facts to make apparent the futility of the objections which a portion of the English press is making to the severity of the treatment which the German government is inflicting on the Catholic clergy. The history of the relations of the Catholic Church with the State everywhere shows that it graduates its pretensions and behavior according to the treatment it receives. A century of repressive and indeed cruel legislation in England and Ireland made the clergy the most submissive and humble-minded Christians that ever knelt before a

throne. They solemnly repudiated before their emancipation Papal supremacy and Papal infallibility in as strong terms as any Protestant could use, and were never tired of proclaiming the indivisibility of their allegiance. In Poland, fifty years of despotism have made one of the proudest prelates in the world one of the humblest and most patient. In fact, experience has shown that while the Church, when exposed to persecution which really assails its freedom of worship, or the peaceable profession of its faith on an equality with other denominations, shows great courage and constancy, it abandons its arrogance and claims to universal dominion, and to jurisdiction over civil rulers, and to the supervision of education, and takes its place quietly by the side of the Methodists and Congregationalists and other sects, before determined resistance on the part of the State; and in that place it can be kept by stern and unremitted watchfulness on the part of the State, but in no other way.

In Germany, it has for ages been allowed to hold the position of an *imperium in imperio*, or, in other words, to retain the practices and powers built up in the Middle Ages, after the State has been completely transformed and modernized. The position of the Church in modern Germany was an anomaly with which Bismarck would have been compelled to deal, as one of the features of the old *régime*, even if the declaration of infallibility had never been made. Its relegation to a position of complete subordination to the State was, in fact, a necessary part of the revolution, and would have been necessary even if the Pope had never enlarged his pretensions, and doubly necessary in a country in which the State claims so great control over the citizen's life as it claims in Prussia. The question for the Germans is not simply a religious one; it is a question whether two sets of functionaries shall be tolerated within the empire—one obeying orders from a foreign potentate, which may direct him, under the most awful sanctions, to disobey the sovereign to whom he pays his taxes. To apply the term persecution to the solution of such a problem is an abuse of language. What the German government says to the bishops through recent legislation is substantially this: "I do not care what creed you profess; worship what, or how, or where you will. I will see that you are protected in doing so. But no German citizen shall be compelled to remain in your communion longer than he pleases; if he chooses to leave you, he shall not suffer for it in mind, body, or estate, but may set up another church if he likes, which in my eyes shall be as sacred and respectable as yours. If any member of your church makes himself amenable to church discipline, the penalties inflicted on him must be purely ecclesiastical—that is, you must not, in seeking to punish him, seek to injure him in his local and political relations. If any priest offends his bishop, you may still fine or rebuke him, or you may fine or imprison him, but not unless the priest chooses to submit; and no penalty of this character may be inflicted until the civil authorities have approved of it, and a priest may always appeal to the local courts when the ecclesiastical courts have not done him justice." The only other point on which the Church has complained is the requirement of a university training from the candidates for orders before their entrance to the Catholic divinity school; but there are two answers to her on this point. In the first place, this requirement is not new. It has already prevailed in Austria and all the rest of Germany, and was enforced in Austria so long ago as the time of Joseph II., and the universities all have Catholic theological chairs, which the bishops control and which the student may attend if he pleases. In fact, this feature in the Falk laws has been in force in Prussia ever since 1848, and has been applicable to the clergy of all denominations; but since 1855 the Catholic clergy have managed to evade it, so that the recent enactment is only to bring them back to their obedience, under altered circumstances which make that obedience more necessary than ever.

Of the final issue of the struggle there is nothing in the history of the Church to cause any doubt. Bismarck cannot reduce the number of Catholic believers, or really invade the domain of conscience, properly so-called, by any legislation he could resort to; but he can compel Catholic priests and laymen to discharge the same duties towards the State as the rest of the community, or to refrain from all acts and omissions which would place them in a different category, politically, from their fellow-citizens; and he asks nothing now which both priests and laymen have not in other countries cheerfully submitted to when they found there was no help for it. There is, in fact, a wide tract of debatable ground in the matter of discipline which the Church reserves for purposes of compromise and negotiation, and on which she keeps all she can, but yields what she must. If the State is weak and pliant, she calls God to witness that she needs every inch of it for the proper discharge of her lofty functions, and that she is ready to suffer for it, if need be, as she has suffered in the days of Domitian and Diocletian. But when threats and debates have proved fruitless, and she sees that the police are coming to remove her baggage, she smiles blandly, and declares that the matter is of small consequence; that she has never flourished more than when the clergy had to hide in caves, and the Pope was in jail, and that if the State chooses to be exacting she will resign herself and hope for better days.—*Nation*.

THE *Manufacturer and Builder* details the results of some curious experiments as to the destructive influence of molecular action on buildings. The experiments were suggested by phenomena noticed by Prof. Horsford in connection with the dropping of a pendulum from the centre of the top to the floor of

Bunker Hill Monument; the plummet indicating an inclination to the west in the morning, to the north at noon, and to the east in the afternoon. These movements were, it was observed, most strongly marked on sunshiny days, and were traced to the expansion of the side of the structure affected by the sun's heat. Guided by these observations, tests have been recently applied to measure the influence of molecular action on the dome of the Capitol at Washington; and the variations of a plummet suspended from the centre of the dome or rotunda were noted. The instrument was found to describe a daily elliptical curve from west to east, of which the longest diameter varied with the intensity of the heat, but was at its maximum half a foot. The variations of Bunker Hill Monument were not noticed accurately, but must have been less than at the dome of the Capitol, as the latter is composed of iron, which expands more than stone with the heat. Professor Henry, of the Smithsonian Institute, finds in this molecular action one of the most destructive agencies of time; but the facts are principally of importance to New Yorkers, in proving that buildings of mixed iron and stone (or brick)—that is with iron fronts and brick party walls—cannot be regarded as durable, owing to the difference in expansion by heat which subsists between the two materials.

Dr. L., of St. Louis, who is something of a wag, called on a colored Baptist minister, and propounded a few puzzling questions. "Why is it," said he, "that you are not able to do the miracles that the apostles did? They were protected against poisons, and all kinds of perils. How is it that you are not protected in the same way?" The colored brother responded promptly, "Don't know about that, Doctor. I s'pect I is. I have taken a mity sight of strong medicine from you doctors, and I is alive yet."

GOETHE said that man might as well seek to escape from his own shadow as superstition. Nevertheless, let us try.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE OLD GRAVEYARD:

DUNNOTAR, SCOTLAND.

BY GEN. D. C. MCCALLUM.

Fareweel, ye auld kirk wi' your graveyard a' roun,
Whaur for centuries lang, the deid hae slept soun,
Their Feuds are a' ended, the gay an' the sad,
Wi' little to tell wha was guid or wha bad.

There are covenant martyrs, laid a' in ae' grave,
The wark o' man's creeds, that can naebody save,
As history aye tells, frae ae' time tae anither,
That man for his creed, maun gang killin' his brither.

Nae religion in this, burnin' shame to them a',
Wha mak devils o' men, at the creed sticklers ca',
But God canna bless it, come from whaur it may,
The deil's i' the van, whate'er preachers may say.

We'er a' sinners at best, though they flaunt the black coat,
Wi' shinin' white neckercher round their plump throat,
Wi' theology's whip they would lash you and me,
But wha' gied them the richt? let them tell and we'll see.

Wi' a' their pretensions, they're only but men,
(That they a' hae their failins we vera weel ken),
I'll no say they're warse than the rest o' mankind,
But count their numbers an' fauts, they'll no fa' behind.

It's a' nonsense to talk o' salvation and grace,
Wi' red marks o' the deil on their hauns and their face;
They may just as weel tell us that dark is aye licht,
That the rays o' the sun are the blackness o' nicht.

The Maister has warned us tae shed nae man's blud,
His followers aye to be loving and guid,
For his law it is mercy, and vengeance aye wrang,
Aye protectin' the weak wi' the airm o' the strang.

O what folly it is to be fechten for creeds,
Maukin deils o' us a', for what naebody needs.
Love God and your neebor, be brither to a',
And what's mair than that, ye may fling tae the wa'.

My dear fellow-sinners, tak' thaov' words no amiss,
When conscience peeps out, ye'll surely find this,
That your wrangles are food for sly infidel sneers,
That should mak' angels weep—drench religion in tears.

All hail, pure religion! we bow at thy shrine,
For thou art unsullied, eternal, divine.
Though mortals have scarred thee with stain upon stain,
The soul's brightest hope, thou must ever remain.

To defend thee 'gainst those, who assume thy bright star,
As mere cover to envy, contention, and war,
Can never defame thee, this is said to their shame
Who neglect thy deep counsils, and sully thy name.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 1.

Orrin Cornish, 75 cents; E. P. Wilder, \$2.10; R. S. Perrin, \$3; Henry E. Möring, \$3; Mary P. Rhoades, \$3; S. S. Blitz, \$5; W. L. Heberling, \$1.50; T. B. Collins, \$3; Joseph Barnes, \$1; S. E. Sewall, \$6.20; M. E. Morse, \$3.20; Wm. Rotch, \$20; Emil Braeckman, 40 cents; Lyman Clarke, 25 cents; J. G. Whyte, \$1; D. F. Henderson, \$2; H. F. Butterfield, 25 cents; Samuel Fieldon, 35 cents; Eliza Wright, \$100; W. T. Lewis, \$1.15; S. R. Honey, 60 cents; R. M. Sherman, 75 cents; J. J. Vertrees, 80 cents; F. E. Abbot, \$100; A. K. Loring, 20 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, MAY, 6, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. Toledo Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
ABRAM WALTER STEVENS, Associate Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E.
D. CHENEY, Rev. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRANK
W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
England, Editorial Contributors.

NOTICE.

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Index Association will be held in Toledo, Ohio, at No. 35 Monroe Street, on Saturday, June 5, 1875, at 2 o'clock P. M., in accordance with the articles of incorporation.

LIBERAL LEAGUE NOTICE.

A public meeting of the Boston Liberal League will be held at Investigator Hall (Paine Memorial Building), Friday evening, May 7, at 7:30 P. M., for the annual election of officers, and for the consideration of a proposal made by the Philadelphia Liberal League, to join in holding a delegate Convention of all existing Liberal Leagues in that city, at the Centennial Exhibition in 1876—a proposal which will doubtless excite great interest among liberals all over the country. Good speakers are expected to address the meeting on Friday evening, and a large attendance is earnestly desired.

Per order of the Executive Committee:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, President.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The eighth annual meeting of the Free Religious Association will be held in Boston as follows:—

May 27th, 7½ P. M. Session in Horticultural Hall (Lower) for business and for free discussion on the objects and work of the Association.

May 28th. Two sessions in Beethoven Hall (Washington Street, near Boylston), at 10 A. M. and 3 P. M. for essays and addresses. Essay at the morning session, by Wm. C. Gannett, on "Present Constructive Forces in Religion."

Essay at the afternoon session, by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion."

Addresses will follow each essay, the speakers to be announced hereafter.

Friday evening, May 28th, there will be a social festival in Parker Memorial Hall, Berkeley Street, for brief speeches, music, refreshments, conversation, and for subscription to the funds of the Association.

It is hoped that as many of the members and friends of the Association as possible will be present at this annual meeting. Members who cannot be present are hereby reminded of the annual subscription fee, which it is desired they should send to the Secretary, New Bedford, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

IN THE article of J. H. C. on "More of the 'Main Business,'" in last week's INDEX, last line but one of the section numbered "4," a comical typographical error occurred which it would be cruel not to correct—"faint forest adornings" for "faint foreshadowings"! No doubt the reader got lost in the woods at that point.

A MINNESOTA correspondent calls our attention to the fact that the *Sunday School Advocate*, the *North-Western Christian Advocate*, and the *Berean Question Book*, all issued with the sanction and authority of the Methodist Episcopal Church, publish scriptural selections for daily use under a false order of the days of the week, which is calculated to make Sunday appear as the seventh day instead of the first, and thus indirectly foster the false belief that the Sabbatical passages of the Bible apply to Sunday. This uncandid misplacement of the day, as our correspondent intimates with caustic wit, was made "on the Oakes Ames plan of placing it where they thought it would 'do the most good.'"

SHOOTING ROUND A CORNER.

The exchanges which come to THE INDEX office accumulate so rapidly that they do not get attended to very regularly; and large piles of them often collect before we can get an opportunity even to glance them over. In this way articles not infrequently escape notice in these columns that would otherwise promptly receive it. One of these is the following from the *Golden Age* of March 27, which nevertheless calls for comment:—

A stockholder in the Index Association, who is also an active member of the Free Religious Association, writes to us: "I think you are quite right in maintaining that THE INDEX has been anything but a benefit to the Free Religious Association, however much good it may have done in other ways. The weekly appearance of the paper has arrested public attention far more than the occasional conventions of the Association; and hence the Association has had fixed upon it an anti-Christian attitude which it never assumed for itself. It was surely intended to be wider, not narrower, than other organizations, and to include the liberal men of all communions. It is but fair to say that any misconception is not, however, due to Mr. Abbot, who has been consistent in his course, and has endeavored to be fair. It is rather due to the mistake made by the other leaders of the Free Religious Association, who should have foreseen that he would not prove a suitable man to represent the breadth of the movement, however well he might represent its force and energy. Such a task required a man of broad sympathies and judicial habit of mind, able and desirous to recognize and represent the varying shades of opinion, without sacrificing his own individuality. Such an attitude is not only foreign to the whole nature of the editor of THE INDEX, but it awakens his distrust and suspicion. He is a John Knox or Jean Ziska, born, unluckily for him, in an era of good feeling and growing toleration. He is obliged to choose between rowing with the current of toleration or looking for an eddy to row against. In the proposed 'Christian Amendment' he finds the eddy, so he rows with desperate vigor against it, hugging the shore, and mourning over the cowardice of those who 'prefer to pull with the main stream.'"

Although the authorship of these criticisms is not given by the *Golden Age*, we propose to consider them here. But we regret that their author, whoever he or she may be, should have shrunk from sending them directly to these columns for publication, where they properly belong, and should have preferred to address them to the alien audience of a paper which has no concern whatever with the question whether THE INDEX helps or hurts the Free Religious Association,—being unfriendly to them both. There was no cause for any such timidity; and we do our best to rectify the mistake by giving these strictures prominence before the constituency to which we are responsible. Whatever faults we may fall into in the conduct of this journal, we have no wish to hide them from our readers; let them be pointed out and rebuked here, with such severity as they may deserve, in the very columns where they have been committed. It is a singular proceeding to bring an indictment against us in *Kamschatka*; let the case be tried before the Index Association and THE INDEX constituency, which alone can exercise moral jurisdiction in the premises. If we have so conducted the journal which they have entrusted to our discretion and conscientiousness as to injure the cause of Free Religion to which it is devoted, then we are directly responsible to them; and it was not a very brave or manly thing to bring this suit before any other court—anonously at that—where we cannot be heard in self-defence.

Now for the facts.

1. THE INDEX was originally proposed and started by two public-spirited gentlemen of Toledo, who were not members of the Free Religious Association, and made no reference to it whatever when they requested us to edit the new journal. The latter was put into our hands without any restrictions or directions, to make of it the best organ we could for such truth as we had to utter. Such noble confidence commanded fidelity. Being one of the original founders of the Free Religious Association, which we loved and cherished as a most important agency for the dissemination of Free Religion, and being now charged with the conduct of a weekly journal as another and independent agency for the dissemination of Free Religion, we proposed to put one page of the paper under the absolute editorial control of the Secretary of the Association, Mr. Potter; and this proposal was accepted by the Executive Committee, if we remember aright. The arrangement continued for a year, when it was unanimously considered advisable to dissolve the official connection, for the sake of adopting a better plan. Many of the officers of the Association became editorial contributors, on the express understanding that they were to be as absolutely free as the editor

to utter their own individual thought, without any revision or censorship whatever on his part; and this arrangement has continued to the present day,—certainly with entire satisfaction on our part, and we believe also on theirs. It is thus plain that the Free Religious Association and THE INDEX have always been independent institutions established for the furtherance of a common cause,—neither of them presuming to exercise the least control over the other, or pretending to have been established for the "benefit" of the other. Whatever mistakes either may have made, the other has not the slightest responsibility for them. Yet there has always been the most cordial coöperation between these two independent institutions in the effort to advance their kindred objects; and THE INDEX is under the greatest obligation to the officers of the Free Religious Association, as individuals, for long-continued, unremunerated, and most valuable editorial assistance.

We repel, therefore, as intensely unjust to these generous friends of THE INDEX, the insinuation that they have been guilty of any possible "mistake," no matter what unwisdom, narrowness, or Quixotism we may personally be chargeable with. "Should have foreseen"! Perhaps they did foresee that some other editor would do much better; they certainly never told us they did not. But what could they have done about it? The Free Religious Association is not responsible for the editorship of THE INDEX; that is the affair of the Index Association. Ought the former, in its "foresight," to have ousted us—served an injunction on us, like the Supreme Court of New Hampshire? Ought it to have tinkered the defective mechanism of our brain, in order to fill THE INDEX with the soft-custard of "broad sympathies" instead of with the strong meat of *broad ideas*? The only "mistake" that the contributing officers of the Free Religious Association—Frothingham, Higginson, Potter, Hallowell, Mrs. Cheney—could possibly have made was that of contributing to these columns at all; and we do not see how their omission to contribute would have prevented the "weekly appearance of the paper," to which our anonymous critic attributes the mischief he deplors. We should certainly have lost support that has been of priceless value and encouragement to us; but THE INDEX would still have been devoted to Free Religion—still have been avowedly anti-Christian—and still (worst of all) have appeared once a week! And we protest against the shallowness, the rapidity, the injustice of this charge against our friends that they are directly or indirectly responsible for any evil that we have done, or have been guilty of any "mistake" whatever in not placing some other steersman at the helm of THE INDEX—a duty which does not devolve on the Free Religious Association. Let any injurious "misconception" be charged directly home upon our own "narrowness," or what not; but the absurdity and wrongfulness of laying the blame of our sins on the shoulders of those who could not possibly prevent them are too glaring to be passed over without notice.

2. But THE INDEX, we maintain, is a thousand times broader than it could be on the plan above suggested. To represent the "breadth of the movement," THE INDEX gives the fairest of all opportunities for each "varying shade of opinion" to represent itself; which is infinitely more broad and generous than for an editorial chameleon, attempting himself to represent all opinions, to be "all things by turns and nothing long." If any opinion goes unrepresented in this journal, let the disgrace of that fact rest on those who are too sluggish or too little interested to defend their own convictions: we decline to bear a particle of it.

Providence, we notice, is on the side of the strongest arguments, as well as the strongest battalions. Unless the anti-Christian is the true attitude of Free Religion, all the weeklies and all the dailies in Christendom cannot make it long appear so. There is no use in whining over a supposed "anti-Christian attitude fixed upon the Association" by words of ours; we must fail and are whistling against the wind, if our words are false. Prove the truth by stronger words, if we are in the wrong; or else be ashamed to utter childish and frivolous complaints because we obey the higher law to utter what we believe, without trying to "represent" opinions which have not vitality or vigor enough to represent themselves. It is *breadth of ideas* that is wanted above all else; the only way to make a journal represent any movement broadly is to make it represent all its ideas; and the only way to make it represent all its ideas is to give them free scope to represent themselves. Ideas which flit like bats between night and day, and refuse to come out into the sunlight of

open conference, are not *truths* but *confusions*; and the world soon finds that out. When THE INDEX offers a "fair field and no favor" for all opinions, it makes itself the broadest possible representative of the Free Religious movement; the visionary phantom of an editor who should gush impartially in all directions, with a magnificent effusion of "broad sympathies" that signified nothing but narrow and confused ideas, is as "broad" as a sea-fog—and as thin.

Suppose THE INDEX should undertake to prove that Free Religion was an improved species of Ritualism, or any other thesis as untrue: would it be able to "fix a Ritualistic attitude on the Free Religious Association," even if it should be published, not once a week, but once in every five minutes? Of course not. If an "anti-Christian attitude" either is or can be "fixed on the Free Religious Association," we counsel the discontented to hunt for its cause, not in any supposed influence of THE INDEX, but in the very nature of the principles which the Free Religious Association represents by its Constitution—*Freedom and Fellowship in Religion*. Whatever "broad sympathies" come in the train of Truth, we would greet with delight and cherish with joy; but all such as would thrust themselves in the way of Truth or hinder her triumphant advance, we would treat as Ulysses treated the Syrens, and stop our ears to their melodious but destructive lullabies. That "breadth" is shallowness and superficiality itself which builds on an attempt to deny or conceal the natural and ineradicable differences of things, or on a sentimental yearning to cry "peace, peace" between Christianity and Free Religion when Truth sternly declares that there is *no peace*.

3. One short word about the Christian Amendment "eddy." Whoever imagines that it is our being's end and aim merely to oppose this fanatical project has read THE INDEX with a sealed eye and dormant understanding. It is our aim, so far, as the public work of Radicalism is concerned, to sow the seeds of a general popular movement to fulfil the great American ideal of a *Republic absolutely free from the Church*; and, as a means to this end, to familiarize the public mind with the just "Demands of Liberalism" and the catholic "Religious Freedom Amendment." In this effort we are "pulling with the main stream" of all American history,—nay, of all modern progress; and, it is sheer obtuseness to confound this effort with any "eddy" whatever. It is our work to "pull with the main stream," and not, as our anonymous critic would apparently do, lie on our oars and float idly upon it.

4. It is the foundation principle of the Free Religious Association, without which it could not exist a day, that each member shall speak for himself or herself alone, be uncommitted by the utterances of any other member, and be responsible neither to the Association nor to its individual members for anything that he or she may say. This principle we have been scrupulously faithful to, as all our readers will bear witness, disclaiming all pretence or wish to represent the Association in any position of our own, and protecting all its members with even superfluous care from all responsibility for what we may say or do. But the author of these anonymous criticisms shows all through them that he neither understands nor trusts this principle. He (or she) assumes that individual words or deeds of ours can compromise or commit the Association as such, and give it a reputation it does not deserve. If this is true, it ought to disband to-morrow, being built on an impracticable idea. If it cannot permit us, or any other member, to plead our individual convictions with all the force and by all the means at our command, without being itself compromised a particle thereby,—if it has not confidence enough in the great principle of individual freedom which it guarantees by its Constitution to remain serene and self-poised, no matter what may be said individually by its members either on or off its platform,—if there is no protection for some of its members against being dragged into false positions by other members who have only spoken their individual thought in public,—then the Free Religious Association is a total failure, and does but cumber the ground. But all this is quite otherwise. There is no need of these complaints. THE INDEX and its editor might commit blunders, advocate follies, and talk nonsense till doomsday, without affecting the Free Religious Association in the least degree. That Association will be held to take no position not manifestly expressed or implied in its own Constitution; and it would be wise for all the members to rest peacefully in that conclusion.

In fine, if there is anything in this article which is not true and unanswerable, we hereby invite our anonymous critic to drop his or her disguise, and

publish a refutation of it in these columns. Whatever may be sent shall appear here in good faith, without change of a word. And with this invitation we rest our case.

CALLING THINGS BY THE RIGHT NAME.

The members of the "Third Congregational (Unitarian) Church," of New York City, signalized their occupation of a new, spacious, and beautiful hall by a unanimous vote, passed on the 14th of April, to change their corporate title to that of the "Independent Liberal Church": the word church being retained as descriptive of a religious, in distinction from a political, philosophical, or philanthropic society. The church was organized in 1860, and incorporated under the name "Unitarian" in deference to the wishes of the majority of its friends, who, being affiliated with Unitarianism and desirous of Unitarian support, were opposed to the adoption of the less denominational name "Liberal Christian," which was advocated by the minority. The adopted name was never descriptive of the theological position of the society. The preacher paid no regard to it whatever; the old members outgrew it; new members did not so much as know what it was. For several years the sign announcing the services, at the doorway to Lyric Hall, has borne the inscription, "Independent Society"; and the Sunday advertisements have kept before the public eye the same designation. The original name was covered and put out of sight by the avowed opinions of the people.

Soon after the organization of the National Conference of Unitarian churches, at the formation of the local conferences, the pastor formally withdrew from the sectarian connection, on the ground that he could not sympathize with it in its views, purposes, or operations; could not ask his society to participate in devices and actions he did not approve of, and could not pretend, even by silence, to belong to a body he could not work with. His name, however, was allowed to stand in the list of Unitarian ministers, partly on account of pleasant associations, partly on account of the real breadth of Unitarian fellowship, which was personally as warm and wide as could be desired; and partly that this breadth of fellowship might be preserved, perhaps increased. Discourteous hints and innuendoes, charges of inconsistency and even of hypocrisy made by Unitarian organs compelled him at length, about a year ago, to request that his name should be erased from the ministerial list, which was done. But the society was still, and properly too, reckoned among the Unitarian churches of New York; and might have remained so still, had not the new departure rendered necessary a new statement of principles for the information of strangers who might be attracted to the place of worship for the first time.

The recent vote removes all inconsistencies, and places the society where it belongs, making its name correspond with its spirit. Henceforth, it is no more responsible for Unitarianism; and, what seems to me of quite as much importance, Unitarianism is no more responsible for it. All is done that can be done to relieve ministers and churches from the reproach of unpopular opinions, to clear our fame of all suspicions of dishonesty, and to secure our own absolute independence. The new name not only relieves the society from sectarian limits as these are commonly understood, but also from formal associations with any special religion, and commits it to the broadest conceivable fellowship with religious people of whatever denomination. The name embodies the ideas of Free Religion in their full scope and spirit: a point that would probably never have been reached, had the name "Liberal Christian" been assumed at the outset.

There is a great deal in a name. Names are things. In spite of all efforts to the contrary, the name "Unitarian," like the pea which the "real princess" felt through the seven mattresses and seven featherbeds, caused perpetual irritation, and disturbed our intellectual content. The spectres that haunted other minds flitted about, to mar our peace. The necessity of keeping an ear half open to the inquiries or complaints of captious people interfered with the close attention our principles demanded. Now we can call ourselves what we are, and can become what we call ourselves. And if our ideas do not prevail, the fault cannot be ascribed to false colors.

O. B. F.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—Mrs. E. D. Cheney's letter in THE INDEX of March 18 on "The Religious Condition of the Negro" leads me to make a few observations upon this sub-

ject, as I have lived much among the negroes in Jamaica. I witnessed their final emancipation in 1838, and about twenty years afterwards I worked among them in my clerical capacity.

I can heartily indorse what Mrs. Cheney says of their capacity to receive and understand the simple truths of rational religion, and their readiness to accept the teaching of any one who has gained their confidence by kind and upright treatment of them.

But, whatever the negro may hereafter develop into, at present he is in the condition (mentally) of a child. He is, in fact, far too receptive and too little sceptical to be treated as a full-grown man; and those to whom his religious and other education is intrusted incur a perilous responsibility, inasmuch as he will swallow anything and everything set before him as spiritual food with a childlike greediness.

On this ground, the negro is especially exposed to the influences of superstition, which has for him a far greater attraction than for the average European.

I remember how the negroes delighted in being manipulated by the clergy. If a woman by chance dropped off her wedding-ring, she must needs come to the parson to have it put on again. They would come up over and over again for confirmation, if they could do so without detection; and it required a sharp eye to prevent them kneeling twice and three times at the same celebration to partake of the bread and wine. If by any pretext they could get the clergyman to "do something" to them or for them, they would chuckle and giggle over it with childish glee, believing in their superstitious fears that they were the recipients of a charm, and yet fairly tickled by the fun and excitement of the ceremony.

Except at a funeral I have never seen a negro weep in any religious service. Amusement seemed to me to be the uppermost feeling which it would excite. Yet they knew how to behave, and were quite like gentlemen in their outward respect for the solemnity of the occasion. The signs of glee were with difficulty and with manifest effort suppressed.

Never can it be too deeply regretted that the poor African, on leaving his native forests peopled with demons and devils, was brought at once into contact with the Christian religion, which was only a step or two in advance of his own, and which had, in its own doctrine of devils, the counterpart of the horrible demonology in which he had been reared.

The negroes, naturally timid, because in a state of mental childhood, had all their fears aggravated, and not relieved and pacified, by the Christian dogmas relating to everlasting fire, and the devil and his angels; and I do not hesitate to say that the prevailing cowardice of the negro character has been immensely developed by the religion on which he has been fed—or poisoned—by the races which have made him their slave.

But such is their sweet native simplicity and trustfulness that they will gladly believe better things on the authority of those whom they love and revere. I will give you an anecdote which is typical, and which I could repeatedly match.

I was living at the bottom of a gorge in St. Andrew's Parish in Jamaica, and the "road" up out of it to the town was little better than a goat-track through a dense wood, exceedingly precipitous, and so dangerous for even horsemen to ascend, that my English friends who sometimes wanted to take the short cut would call at my house to beg for a lantern and a guide. Of course to the negro there was no more peril in it than to the four-footed denizens of the forest. A very pressing bit of business compelled me to send a letter to the bishop at the town above us; and it so chanced that my man-servant and boy were away, and my horse had long since been turned loose for the night and was grazing a mile or two off in the wood. There was nothing for it but to send one of the maids, whose own home was in the town, and who knew every inch of the way in total darkness.

On asking her to take the letter to the bishop there and then, about 8.30 P. M., she trembled all over and turned as pale as negroes can with manifest fear. I said, "What is the matter? Are you afraid of losing your way? Are you afraid of meeting any one to harm you? Are you afraid of falling over the cliff?" etcetera, all of which were possible dangers. After a great deal of hesitation, the poor girl said, "Massa, me 'fraid ob de debil."

You may be sure I did not laugh, feeling much more ready to cry, or to swear [with indignation against her teachers. I spoke thus: "Elizabeth, my good girl, look at me. I will tell you no lie. Assure as I believe in God above, I know there is no devil anywhere. The only spirit you will ever meet is a good spirit, and God will take care of you. The story

of the devil is a wicked lie. I don't care where you read it, it is false, and there is nothing in the wood to harm you but snakes and wild cats; and you are not afraid of these, I suppose?" The poor girl laughed through her tears, and said she would go. She went alone, and in the dark, refusing a lantern, and brought me back the needed reply. She bounded in with a smiling face, and said she had not been a bit afraid, and that she would never believe in the devil again.

But this was because she had unbounded confidence in me, and thought I spoke for God. I shudder at the cruelty which has resulted, and may yet result, from the abuse of this awful power over the minds and hearts of our fellow-creatures.

I fear it will be long enough before the negro can dispense with his clerical guide and director, and rise to the dignity of manhood and think for himself.

Meanwhile, it behooves all who love the race to rush in between them and their false teachers, and, assuming for once the prophetic fire, denounce in God's name the lying myths which beget and deepen fear, and speak peace to their afflicted souls.

They need so manifestly both guidance and control that, if we do not give it them, they must fall an easy prey before the Roman Catholic system, which, with all its faults, nevertheless consistently does its duty, and makes its bondage a reality and not a mere idle pretence.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S. E., April 12, 1875.

Literary Notices.

THE STREETER METHOD OF VOICE BUILDING. By Dr. Horace R. Streeter. Boston: 1875.

Radicalism extends itself through all departments of life, and is to be found in the different methods for musical instruction as well as in religious and scientific works.

Contradictory assertions from numerous authorities prove to us that accurate statements are needed, and that a more logical method of voice-building is imperatively demanded. While these authorities have honestly advocated their opinions, it is impossible that all their deductions can be correct; and, when we reflect that this is preëminently an age of revolution, we can be sure that this subject will prove no exception. Taking absolute, demonstrable mechanical law as a foundation, this method leads pupils logically and practically to form and develop the human voice as an instrument.

The act of singing is not usually one of intelligence on the part of vocalists; they being governed more by intuition than by the intelligent direction of the organs employed in singing. False intonation, disagreeable tones, and erratic movements result from this lack of knowledge. Dr. Streeter does not propose, in this work, to teach the art of singing, but explains how to develop and acquire the mechanical movements of breathing, sounding, locating, and articulating for singing or elocutionary purposes.

Perhaps the most radical claim to be found in this work is that there are not different registers in the human voice. Molineux asserted that there were three registers in every voice. Lablache taught that "the female voice has three registers, while the male voice has but two; and that bass voices should be developed through one register only." Bassini taught that "male voices, without exception, should be cultivated through one register," etc., etc. Dr. Streeter states that "quality of tone is independent of pitch, and this conclusion at once destroys the assumption that the human voice, as an instrument, breaks into a greater or less number of parts, or that there are any number of registers in that instrument."

So new a position as this creates antagonism or favor, as the case may be; but facts and an experience of more than thirty years with the application of known mechanical law enable the author to prove satisfactorily that which he claims as the correct method.

Progressive exercises are given, simple but comprehensive, for the location of tones, increase of compass and power, etc. A careful reading of this book suggests much that is new, and appeals to the reason; and we would urge all who are interested in musical progress to devote time and thought to the original position which is assumed by Dr. Streeter, and which he illustrates in a clear, concise, scientific, and practical form.

C.

"COME and hear me preach," said Bishop Horsley to Thurlow. "No," returned the Lord Chancellor, with his usual expletives; "no; I hear you talk nonsense enough in the House, where I can contradict you, and I do; but I'll be—(insert any participle you please) if I come and listen to you where I can't." In fact if there be any position in the world which gives a man unlimited temporary authority over the ears of his fellow-creatures, it is the occupation of a pulpit.

COLERIDGE says, "He who begins by loving Christianity better than truth, will proceed by loving his own sect or church better than Christianity, and end by loving himself better than all."

Communications.

SOUTHERN NOTES.

TAXING CHURCH PROPERTY.

The official journal of this State and city, the *New Orleans Republican*, is as earnest a champion for "Equal Taxation and No Exemption" as THE INDEX itself. Its occasional editorials on the subject are directly to the point, and will, I trust, ere long educate the people up to some action.

In its last reference to the subject the *Republican* says:—

The exemption of church property from taxation leads to the aggrandizement of the Church, which is not desirable in this country. Too much of that is seen in Italy, where the Church grows continually richer and the people poorer. The plea of benevolence is not a good one. Even if a church could be considered benevolent, its property should not escape tax for such a reason. The principle applied to individual cases would exempt any charitable man or woman from paying taxes. A church may go on always begging, buying, and building, never selling. It has no deaths or successions to divide and waste its substance. It comes in competition, to its own advantage, with real estate owners struggling under the burden of assessments, and trying to do the fair thing. It can rent cheaper because it pays nothing; and, because it pays nothing, it adds to the amount which liberal men must pay, because they are not charitable corporations. It also makes a vast difference to the poor, whose taxes are not their greatest grief. There could be better schools, and more money for improvements, and that is education and employment for all. The poor church in a fifteen-hundred dollar building would be all the richer if it paid a tax and made the Church occupying a cathedral worth a quarter of a million pay taxes also. The fact is, that all property should receive the protection and benefit of government and laws, and all property should be taxed for the maintenance of the safeguards. If any privileges accrue to realty owners in having or holding property, they should be shared according to values; the burdens of government should also be equitably divided, that they may more easily be borne. In any case, there is no reason why church property should be exempt from taxation.

There is a large Catholic element in this city and State, representing millions of dollars in property exempt from taxation.

A year ago, when some of this property was offered for rent for secular purposes, real estate owners seemed to wake up a little. For the first time some of them began to realize the unequal competition they were forced to meet. And, with the present rate of taxation, they are quite willing to look at a subject they formerly ignored.

"COMPULSORY EDUCATION."

A bill to this effect passed the Senate of this State a little more than a year ago by a vote of eighteen to ten, but failed to reach the House. The bill was bitterly assailed by the Democratic press of this State at the time, the Republican journals alone defending it. The bill was similar in its provisions to the one which passed the New York Legislature. The people here cannot say they do not understand the subject, for it has been ably presented by the Republican press. Mr. Hawkins' paper of a year ago was republished here, and last Sunday the larger portion of his address on "Our Sick Man" appeared in the *Republican*. Yet I regret to say that the Southern element as a whole do not take kindly to the free-school system.

Doubtless the Catholic element (largely conservative) contributes greatly to this feeling. They have several parochial schools, and of course protest against taxation for public schools. Senator Stewart's proposed amendment, referred to in Mr. Hawkins' last paper, is a move in the right direction.

School Superintendent Brown's report for 1874 shows 280,387 educable children in the State between six and twenty-one years of age, white and colored. The number enrolled in the public schools is 74,309. Cost per child per annum for tuition eleven dollars. In 1861 the number of educable children, all white, was 96,522, with 39,590 enrolled in the public schools. Cost per child then fifteen and one half dollars. Although there has been a gain in enrolment of nearly 17,000 children the past year, yet the above record shows that there are still over 200,000 children to be enrolled.

LIBERAL CHRISTIANS.

It may interest THE INDEX readers to hear a Southern definition of Liberal Christianity. I know not the author, but some one, over the signature "Observer," contributed the following to the *New Orleans Bulletin* a week or two ago:—

LIBERAL CHRISTIANS.

The views of the above-named class of Christians being very generally misunderstood, a few remarks in explanation thereof may probably prove serviceable. They recognize Jesus as the long-expected Messiah, confidently believing in the divinity of his mission and the infallible truth of all his declarations. They contend that he was eminently capable of furnishing all the information concerning the attributes of God and the duties of man that was needed, and did impart, most unqualifiedly, all such knowledge. Hence they claim that it would be absurd for them to heed certain conclusions presented by a body of men who were not his contemporaries, having been born in a subsequent century, and who were in every respect immeasurably inferior to him.

To recognize as reliable the dogmas emanating from the latter would, Liberal Christians think, be equivalent to an admission that those men were better qualified to elucidate truth than Jesus was. Those dogmas are not, however, rejected solely on account of their uselessness, but also, and no less emphatically, on the ground of being palpably subversive of the teachings of the Savior. While, however, entertaining the above-named convictions, Liberal Christians fully recognize the right and the duty of all holding different opinions, to retain or abandon them in obedience to the dictates of their own consciences.

The writer then refers to the organization here which consists principally of the old Unitarian society founded years ago by that sterling pioneer, Theodore Clapp.

"Observer" leaves us in doubt how far one can hold "different opinions" and still be accepted as a Liberal Christian. I think, at least, he might have

told us whether the *Year Book* gauge had become sufficiently "nationalized" to apply South!

This society has a commodious building, called the "Church of the Messiah" (often called "Octagon Church," on account of its octagon shape), located in the central part of the city. Rev. D. M. Reed is their present pastor.

"THE NEW ORLEANS MONTHLY REVIEW."

Certainly the reviews of the land ought to be one of the educators of the people, and they are, in a great measure, when well conducted.

The following from the *New Orleans Monthly Review* will probably set the Boston and New York magazines all right, and make the latter ashamed of themselves that they have so long been in the fog of the subject of treason:—

The act of withdrawal of the seceding States was as solemn, formal, and voluntary, in every respect, as was their original accession to the Union; and, in both instances, was accomplished by virtue of their sovereignty, which has never, even to this moment, been surrendered. The result of their secession was not only that the Union of the States was sundered, but the government overthrown, and the constitution rendered inoperative, and ceased to be obligatory upon any of the States. Congress could no longer legally convene under the provisions of that instrument; its war-making power and all its functions were gone, and no United States, with its executive, legislative, and judicial departments of government any longer existed against which treason, the offence under consideration, could be committed.

The truth is, the late war was a war between the masses of people who composed the Northern States on one side, acting without right and without the authority of a legitimately organized government, and the Confederate States, with a regular government, against which as sovereign power treason could be committed on the other side. The object of the war was to overthrow the sovereignty of the Southern States and reduce them to the condition of conquered provinces, which the assailants were able to accomplish against all principles of American right by the force of overwhelming numbers. This was treason to the Southern States, and a violation of their rights as sovereign communities; nor was the treason diminished by the fact that in consequence of their defeat they were unable to punish the treason.

The moral is clear: "The North mustn't do it again."

A Western paper, commenting upon the article, says in substance that Mr. Whitaker, the editor of this *Review*, is a native of Massachusetts; but that, having apologized for his inadvertent birth in that State, his constituency have concluded to hold him blameless by reason of his minority at that period! How very considerate to this antediluvian carpet-bagger from Massachusetts! By the way, has the old Bay State any more of the above type to send down here? There is a class here who like that kind of logic; but how it is to add to their prosperity, or the growth of the State, I cannot yet see. But it should not be forgotten that there are two species of carpet-baggers in this State. One class having been sufficiently ventilated by the press, I thought it no more than fair to give the other an honorable mention.

W. F. P.

NEW ORLEANS La., March 30, 1875.

[The constant arrival of more guests than can squeeze into the little INDEX cottage at one time must be our apology for so many of them being a little late at table. These interesting "Southern Notes," however, are too good not to get a generous mouthful of public attention before going to bed in the garret!—Ed.]

THE "FREIE GEMEINDEN" CONVENTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—The last remark with which you accompany my communication, in your issue of April 22, regarding the proposed convention of the Freie Gemeinden at Philadelphia in 1876, induced me most emphatically to disavow in my own behalf, as well as in behalf of my co-religionists, any desire of maintaining or perpetuating any distinction of nationality among the co-workers for the cause of free humanity. No one can be more deeply impressed than we are with the conviction of the solidity of nations in the common contest against their oppressors in whatever guise; no one will be more willing or glad than we to merge our nationality as Germans into the brotherhood which ought to bind the various elements of this Union into one family, as soon as we shall see a possibility of so doing without sacrificing the leading idea for the realization of which we have associated, and the allegiance to which we could not well resign without renouncing the consciousness of our manhood; namely: "the practical assertion of the absolute supremacy of reason in all spheres of life, in contrast to the hitherto prevailing rule of dogmatism." But the necessity of organizing ourselves as Germans for the realization of this ideal was forced upon us by the fact of the isolated position in which we found ourselves with our convictions in this country of our adoption twenty years ago—a position which we held indeed as a forlorn hope even against the indifference of our German compatriots; in addition to which you must make some allowance for the practical difficulty involved in the difference of language which separates us from our Anglo-American countrymen.

Although, therefore, I for one would most heartily endorse your proposition of disregarding all distinction of nationality at the prospective Centennial Convention, yet I do not see how under present circumstances the practical difficulties for carrying out this proposition could be overcome. For this reason, and in order to make the Convention productive of the greatest possible good, and as a preparatory step toward laying the firm foundation of a comprehensive and enduring organization of all radical elements without distinction of nationality, I would bespeak some regard, on your part, as well as on the part of those who may take the initiative for preparing such

a convention, for the special wishes of our German co-workers, so as to bring about a preliminary understanding with them as to time, locality, and other particulars of organization which may present themselves as requiring a mutual agreement for the sake of insuring the most successful results.

In conclusion, I will state that the special committee designated by the Executive Committee of our Union for maturing the plans for our Convention consists of the following gentlemen: Mr. Fr. Schünnemann Pott, of San Francisco (P. O. Box 1021), one of the Vice-Presidents of the Free Religious Association; Mr. Ed. Shröter, of Sauk City, Wis., late President of our union; and Dr. Carl Lüdke, of St. Louis, Mo. Asking your pardon for thus intruding upon your space,

I am, yours very sincerely,
A. Loos.
PHILADELPHIA, April 25, 1875.

[Any communication from Prof. Loos is heartily welcome here, of course, and needs no apology whatever. If the liberal Germans prefer to organize by themselves, we have not the slightest right to object, however we may regret being thus excluded by the mere accident of birth from working with them for principles which are just as precious to American-born citizens as to them. But we see no reason for believing that these principles would be imperilled in the slightest degree by dropping the word "German" altogether, and making the principles themselves the sole basis of organization. Prof. Loos would think it very narrow and exclusive, if the Free Religious Association (of which we are glad to say he is a member) should by its name or constitution restrict its membership to liberals of American birth; and it is our duty to say frankly that it seems to us just as narrow and exclusive when the Germans restrict membership in their liberal organizations to liberals of German birth. Sects of race are just as wrong in principle as sects of dogma. By adopting this race-sect policy, the liberal Germans lose all influence on the American-born public, and stand squarely in the way of the very principles which they have organized to promote. It is a great mistake to suppose that the German rationalists in this country are even as numerous as American-born rationalists; and the cause of pure and unadulterated rationalism would be greatly advanced, if all who are devoted to it could be united in one generous and whole-souled fellowship for its promotion. These things are thought; the Germans had better hear them from a cordial and sincere friend rather than from bitter and unjust opponents, and we should be equally sorry and surprised if Prof. Loos should consider them as said now in any other than the friendliest spirit.—Ed.]

DEATH-BED CONVERSIONS.

I put the morning paper aside with a slightly triumphant feeling. I had read all the editorials, and had found myself at last, for the first time in weeks, able to understand their scope and meaning. The April sun shone radiantly into the apartment, and I drew my easy-chair near the window to bask in its strengthening beams, which no longer irritated but cheered and solaced me. I was in that happy frame of mind which all who, like me, have been "down to the gates of death" for a time, and have with difficulty fought their way back to a sense of life and strength again, can appreciate and understand. I knew, this bright promise-filled morning, that I was not only to live, but to grow strong and well, and therefore happy again.

But a little cloud soon arose in my serene sky, and I fear hovered on my brow. The door-bell rang, and I was not yet so far reconciled to life's duties as to feel equal to meeting and chatting with common-place callers, come to congratulate me in set words on a recovery in which I knew they had very little interest. The cloud left my brow, however, when I saw Christine and Gloriana enter. Dissimilar as they are to each other and to me, yet they never jar upon any of my moods. Gloriana clasped my hands, and kissed me with her usual impulsiveness. Christine held out her hand shyly, and with a doubting look in her clear eyes.

"Are you angry with me—Christine?" she said, "too angry to welcome me?"

"Why should I be angry with you?" I asked in surprise.

"Then you are not," she said, with a look of relief. "But really, you know, you answered me so sharply when, thinking you past all human aid and urged, dear, by my true regard for you, I ventured to ask if I might intercede with the dear Father in your behalf, that even thus at the eleventh hour you might be accepted, that I fancied I had angered you past forgiveness; and when Gloriana asked me to accompany her here this morning, I did so with many misgivings as to my reception."

As she spoke, there came to me a faint remembrance, like one dreamt out among the world of dreams in which I had lived for a few dark days, of the occasion to which she referred.

"What answer did I make you—for I cannot remember?" I asked. "Rest assured I did not mean to answer you so sharply as to make you doubt my friendship, Christine."

"Oh, it was not so much what you said as the tone in which you said it, the angry look that came into your eyes, which before looked dull and dim. You

seemed to rouse yourself out of your lethargic state by a strong effort of will, and spoke with a stronger, louder voice than I thought you capable of. You said, 'As I have lived, so will I die—don't dare to try to make me appear inconsistent. I want no Christian prayers.' And Christine's fair face flushed, as she repeated my words.

"Dear me, Amie!" laughed Gloriana, "but you must have been savage! Lucky for me I didn't offer you any religious consolation or advice! The thought did once or twice cross my mind that I ought to say something of the kind to you, as a sort of pious penance to myself—something to fall back upon in case that mythical day of judgment should ever actually occur; but, not being quite clear in my own mind as to what I did or did not believe, I couldn't see my way clear to talk to a pagan like you about what I didn't understand. If there is a heaven, even such a heaven as Miss Phelps faintly outlines in her *Gates Ajar*, I wanted to meet you as well as Christine there; and (will you believe it?) I comforted myself with the old doggerel rhyme:—

"Betwixt the saddle and the ground,
She mercy sought and mercy found."

I liked to think that in spite of your avowed unbelief some way would be devised by infinite wisdom by which you could be saved."

"And you, Christine?" I asked. "Did your stricter belief and better-defined theology give you any room for hope after that outburst of mine?"

"Don't ask me," she said, her serious face growing pale; "I knew God's mercy was great—but you shocked me beyond words by what I considered your dying disavowal of belief, and I was in great darkness. I can only thank God for his tender mercy in giving you a longer lease of life in which to become convinced of the error of your ways."

"Believe me, Christine, that it was not you against whom my ire was aroused in that which I felt to be my dying hour; it was rather against the proselytizing spirit of Orthodox Christianity, which has ever been on the alert to take advantage of the moments of supreme physical and intellectual weakness to entrap unwary minds into implied, if not outspoken, acceptance of its doctrines and dogmas, and in case of their death hold them up in triumph to the world as examples of the victory of Christianity over so-called false doctrines. Great stress is laid by the Christian church—wrongly, according to my view—upon the dying words of both saints and sinners, as if the death hour were usually the hour of greatest mental light and brilliance instead of being, as we know it to be in the majority of cases, the hour of greatest intellectual as well as physical weakness. I have always (always since I stepped outside of Christianity, at least) been afraid that advantage might be taken in this way of me, and I determined to guard against it if possible. So, when you asked me the question you did, I suppose that this fear came back to me with its full force, and I desperately gathered what little remnant of energy was left me to answer you emphatically, once for all, and in a manner which should leave no doubt as to my meaning."

"But why should you be 'afraid' to be made to appear to accept Christianity in your dying hour," asked Gloriana thoughtfully, "since you profess to be so well-grounded in your disbelief of its teachings? Excuse my plainness of speech, Amie, but that confession of 'fear' on your part looks to me, an earnest inquirer, like a tacit admittance that you have still some lurking doubt as to whether the Christian scheme of salvation may not after all be true; and your 'fear' is that you may be forced to confess it in the face of your protestations against it."

There was a triumphant, assured look in Christine's eyes that told me that Gloriana's question was also her thought.

"You are mistaken as to the source of my fear," I replied. "But I understand human weakness, and am conscious that I am not exempt from it. I do not forget that I was brought up in the strictest Orthodox faith, nor that the blood of Christian martyrs flows in my veins, transmitted through generations of rigid believers in the Christian faith; and my fear has been that my old habit of thought and my inborn Orthodoxy might, under temptation or dictation in case of great physical weakness, assert themselves in contradiction of my normal self, and so I might be led to acquiesce in, if not crave, the solaces and consolations which Christianity offers. I think it cruel and cowardly on the part of the Church that these death-bed conversions are not only sanctioned by it, but gloried in, and held up as its triumphs over infidelity."

"But you confess that Christianity has 'solaces and consolations' to offer at this hour," said Christine.

"What we have been taught to believe such, and what in the uncritical state to which a death-bed brings us might from force of habit be accepted as such; but in the full possession of my intellectual powers I cannot find much consolation or solace in them."

"But your bare Materialism, as I understand it, brings not even a shadow of solace or consolation in such an hour," remarked Gloriana. "Tell me, Amie, what then did give you courage in that hour when we thought you so near death—courage to throw from you all Christian sources of strength?"

"In my own individual case, as I have no doubt it is also with many others, I was too weak and suffering to care to cope with theologic questions. I was quite willing to drift into the Beyond, whatever came of it, so that I got rest. As I did not believe in the heaven or hell of Christianity, I had no fear of entering in upon the monotonous and tiresome glories of the one, nor feared the savage torments of the other. Death had no distinct fears for me. I dreaded only the pain of dying, and even in regard to that

I felt as Robert Browning expresses himself in his *Prospice*:—

"Fear Death? To feel the fog in my throat,
The mist in my face,
When the snows begin and the blasts denote
I am nearing the place,
The power of the night, the press of the storm,
The post of the foe
Where he stands, the Arch Fear, in a visible form,
Yet the strong man must go;
For the journey is done and the summit attained,
And the barriers fall,
Though a battle's to fight ere the guerdon be gained,
The reward of it all.
I was ever a fighter, so—one fight more,
The best and the last!
I would hate that death bandaged my eyes, and forbore,
And bade me creep past."

"Ah, well!" sighed Christine, as she rose to go, "if I may not pray with you, I can at least pray for you."

"Well, pray, then, that, if I am to be converted at all, it may be in strength and health; otherwise I, for one, shall have serious doubts in regard to the reality and sincerity of the change."

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

THORNDIKE, Mass.

DO WOMEN DESIRE THE BALLOT?

MR. ABBOT:—

A correspondent—"T. M. C."—in THE INDEX of March 25, essays a review of my article on woman suffrage which was printed in your columns of February 11. This critic has misread, certainly misunderstood, my argument. I quote from "T. M. C.":

"He tells us that men 'are almost to a man qualified to vote understandingly, and would speak, if at all, for good government and good morals. If women were voters, this class would ever be very much larger among them than among men. Thus the aggregate effect would be very bad.'"

This is a misstatement of my position, and not the only one in said review. Now let "T. M. C." please read my paper again, and carefully, and then criticize what I have said as sharply as he pleases,—it will not hurt, for we are all anxious to discover truth,—and may be he will convince me that I am in error. I will not ask for room in THE INDEX to specify all his mistakes in quoting and interpreting my language. Let him indicate the exact place to find that "most vital clause of the Constitution of our country—TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION." I do not find it in my copy of the Constitution, and I never before heard of its being in. Here is a chance for home missionary work, to enlighten a heathen who entertains such a "low estimate of the sex." Mistaken again. I assure you I feel too tenderly for the "sex" to drag them into the arena of politics against their will. It would come to this at last,—that women would generally recognize their duty to vote, for they would see the evils that must result from only a partial representation of their sex at the polls; but of course they would never vote so generally as men. Give woman the franchise, and we place a grievous burden on ten women because one considers it a "sacred personal duty" to vote. I sympathize with the one, but the ten have a stronger claim on my feelings.

"Taxation without representation." This is trite, but still to many plausible, decisive. Not so to me. Women are represented by their chosen proxies; it amounts to exactly this, as I see it. But representation is not the correlative of taxation. Because we are taxed, we are not therefore entitled to vote. If we were, a minor who pays taxes is unjustly deprived of the franchise; or, a minor who is not allowed to vote ought not to be taxed. Our taxes pay for the protection of our persons, and property, and the benefits of society. If all are alike protected and benefited, and pay equally for what they get, there is no injustice here. If a change in the laws governing the franchise is demanded, it must be on other grounds than this.

A case has recently been decided by the Supreme Court of the United States touching the right of women to vote. The case was appealed from a Missouri court, the question being whether under the fourteenth amendment a woman who is a citizen of the United States and of a State is a voter in the State notwithstanding the laws of the State restrict the franchise to men alone.

The Court decided, the Chief Justice delivering the opinion, that she is not. I quote a few sentences from the decision:—

"The right of suffrage is not made in terms one of the privileges of the citizen. The United States has no voters, and no one can vote for national, without being competent to vote for State officers. The elective officers of the United States are chosen directly or indirectly by the voters of the States. . . . Nor is the right of suffrage coextensive with the citizenship of the States. . . . The Court are unanimous in the opinion that the Constitution of the United States does not confer the right of suffrage upon any one."

Thus it will be seen the matter is left entirely to the States; and this question, often raised, is now settled and not likely ever to come up, in the only form possible, an amendment to the federal Constitution. Each State for itself will decide whether all its citizens shall vote, or suffrage be restricted.

F. H. G.

AVOCA, N. Y., April 5, 1875.

THE NEW YORK School Journal says: "No more truthful sentence was ever penned by man than the following, written by Chancellor Kent: 'The parent who sends his son into the world uneducated defrauds the community of a law-abiding citizen, and bequeaths to it a nuisance;' and adds: 'These words should be written in letters of gold over the entrance of every school in the land.'"

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MAY 13, 1875.

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2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT: PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

MR. R. H. RANNEY will speak on "The Relations of Science to the Religions of the World" at Hospitaler Hall, next Sunday, at 10½ A. M. To be followed by discussion.

FROM Liverpool papers it appears that the visit of the Holy Ghost to that city in the persons of Moody and Sankey cost the citizens £9,000; while the visit to London cannot cost less than £15,000. "Salvation is free!"

GEORGE WASHINGTON could not lie, and THE INDEX (unlike some of its contemporaries) cannot steal even a joke. It was the *Independent* that hinted that Cardinal McCloskey "will hereafter be among American citizens what the *Lobelia Cardinalis* is among our native weeds, and the cardinal bird among our feathered tribes."

BEFORE the scarlet beretta was conferred upon Cardinal McCloskey, he was required to take an oath which has been carefully concealed from the public. The Pope's letter to the Cardinal-elect contained these words: "It is our wish that, before you receive the beretta, you should take and subscribe with your own hand the oath which will be presented by the aforesaid, our beloved son, Cæsar Roncetti, and send it to us either by his hand or by any other." No one of the minute reports of the ceremonies has published this oath. What was it? Does any one doubt that it was an oath of allegiance to the Pope as supreme over all the civil authorities of the United States?

MR. S. S. JOHNSON, according to the *Boston Advertiser* of May 5, has just sued the town of Irasburg, Vt., for injuries received while travelling on the highway on Sunday. But he has lost his case, and been cheated out of the damages to which he would otherwise be entitled, merely because on that day it is lawful to travel only for purposes of "charity or necessity." Two precisely similar cases have occurred recently in Massachusetts. This mockery of justice is a result of Sabbatarianism in the laws. Is there no reason or right in the "Demands of Liberalism"? And is there no evident need of Liberal Leagues to reform laws which so glaringly frustrate the ends of justice and violate equal rights?

BISHOP MCQUAID, of Rochester, N. Y., in a letter to the *Democrat and Chronicle* of March 23, makes this surprising assertion, for which he would be "whaled" soundly, if the Pope should get wind of it: "The Pope has no right . . . to absolve bishops, priests, or people from allegiance to the lawfully constituted governments of the country in which they live." The only knot-hole he could creep out of would be a quibble on the word "lawfully," by which he might claim that no government could anywhere be "lawfully constituted" which did not humbly acknowledge the Pope's absolute supremacy over itself. Has not the Pope just absolved his clergy in Germany from all obligation to obey the Falk laws? And will Bishop McQuaid dare to say he had no "right" to do it?

REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, D. D., kindly permits the publication in THE INDEX of an essay of his which will be found on the next page. It is a criticism upon "A Recent Definition of Christianity," and the essay in next week's INDEX on "The Battle of Ideas at Syracuse" will be our reply to it. Dr. Clarke's long-established reputation as a Unitarian clergyman second to none in position and influence, as an author of many widely-read and highly-esteemed books, and as a man whose personal character commands the profound respect and love of all who are privileged to know him, renders it altogether superfluous to call attention to his essay in any other manner than by simply mentioning it as his production. But we hope for our own sake that it will be

carefully read, and due weight given to all its criticisms, to the end that our readers may judge intelligently where the truth lies in the important matters discussed in both Dr. Clarke's paper and our own.

SPECULATING on "The Position of Catholics" in this country, and the apprehensions vaguely felt by many that the rapid growth of the Catholic Church portends danger to our republican institutions, the *Boston Advertiser* whistles to keep its courage up. It sees "no reason to dread an assault on our liberties by the Catholic Church," and concludes that "the cloud as big as a man's hand has not yet appeared above the horizon." So long as a bit of blue can anywhere be discerned in the sky, the *Advertiser* may be confidently reckoned on to concentrate its gaze upon that particular spot. But others will find no great difficulty in perceiving a cloud on the horizon as big as a great many hands. That the Pope's authority as a disturbing and denationalizing power in politics is greatly dreaded in Europe, every day's telegraphic dispatches prove; and that this power is on the increase here is a patent fact. Let it be remembered that, whenever the Catholic Church begins in this country to exert political pressure, every time-serving politician will truckle to it for the sake of Catholic votes, and that the Church will find no iron-willed Bismarck here to oppose its machinations. There is no immediate danger of any such overt attempt as yet; but, unless natural laws are mutable in this climate, there will be by-and-by. The *Advertiser* fondles the tiger's cub, and swears it is only a kitten; and radicals can be found who opine that it will never grow into anything bigger than a cat. Meanwhile, the *Advertiser* and these optimistic free-thinkers unite in frowning on all active attempts to abolish the ecclesiastical privileges by which the young tiger is growing fat and strong. Well, the American people have their choice; they may either cage the animal in season, or they may wait till he cannot be caged without a desperate and perhaps sanguinary struggle. But the animal will grow.

REFERRING to the numerous signed protest in New York against the scheme of the Catholics to get their parochial schools supported by the public funds, the *Nation* says: "We suspect, without having any positive knowledge on the subject, that the Catholic clergy would agree to everything the Board of Education might require, if they could only have the appointment of the teachers. They made a proposal of a somewhat similar character some years ago to the School Trustees in New Haven, the fate of which we forget, in which they were willing to concede everything that might be required if they were only allowed to retain nuns, in the costume of their order, as teachers. In other words, they were willing to rely on the subtle influence of dress, manner, allusions, and so on, on the imagination of the children, in order to produce the results they aimed at. And then there are so many opportunities, if the teacher is sound, of introducing little and perhaps hardly noticeable innovations, of one sort or another, which, if they would not make conversions among Protestants, would at least remove prejudices or beget prepossessions. One of the cities in which the proposed plan has been tried, and it is said has succeeded, is Poughkeepsie, where it has been in operation for some time! There the Catholic schools have been handed over to the Board of Education, and its books and curriculum substituted for their own; but the Catholic teachers, being found qualified, were retained, and there is an understanding that in the appointment of teachers to these schools Catholic preferences are to be consulted. It may be taken for granted, however, that under any arrangement of this kind the Church will get the best of it in the long run, because it has a powerful and trained army of servants, whose sole business is to watch their opportunity, while their opponents are changeable, or indifferent, or preoccupied."

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(FOR THE INDEX.)

On a Recent Definition of Christianity.

AN ESSAY READ BEFORE A PRIVATE CLUB IN BOSTON, FEBRUARY 15, 1875.

BY REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, D.D.

IN THE INDEX for Sept. 24, 1874, is the following statement by the editor, Francis E. Abbot. He declares:—

"1. That the true definition of Christianity is the first point to be determined, and that the *consensus* of all organized Christian bodies, more particularly Orthodox Christian bodies, ought to determine it. That is, Christianity should be conceded to be what the great Christian Church as a whole declares it to be,—the conflicting views of the dissenting, small minority of 'heretics' not being entitled, on any just ground, to be taken as the definition of it.

"2. That, defined by this *consensus* of the Church, as a whole, Christianity rests on the principle of Authority, and consists in the system of faith and practice known from the beginning as Orthodoxy.

"3. That, notwithstanding all that is noble and beautiful in it, this Christian system has steadily opposed all mental and spiritual freedom which has not first submitted to its own authority; and therefore, by the inherent necessity of its nature, it has been one continuous crime against some of the most precious rights and interests of mankind."

On this statement I propose to make a few criticisms.

I. OUGHT OUR FAITH IN CHRISTIANITY TO DEPEND ON A DEFINITION?

Mr. Abbot says that the first point to be determined is "the true definition of Christianity." He does not complete his sentence; but we may assume that he means that this is the first point to be determined in order to decide whether or not we shall take sides with Christianity or against it. If this is his meaning, we think that he lays altogether too much stress on the value of a definition. There are many things which we know perfectly well, which we find it hard to define. It is difficult to define the feudal system, but we know very well what it was. We also can determine, without much difficulty, whether the influence of the feudal system was, on the whole, good or evil. If we were called upon to decide whether we approved the feudal system, whether we would support it or oppose it, the main point to be settled would not be to find a satisfactory definition. That would do very well for an abstract student; but in order to answer the practical question, "Shall we support the feudal system, or oppose it?" the first thing to be determined is this, "Is this method of organizing society a good one?"

In like manner we may say that whether we can define Christianity or not, we know very well what it is. A good definition may be a very good thing for speculative purposes; but the practical question in regard to Christianity is whether, on the whole, it is useful to society, or pernicious. If we believe that the influence of the churches, Catholic and Protestant, is in the main evil; that they tend to demoralize society; to confound right and wrong; to make men more worldly, sensual, and devilish—then we ought to oppose Christianity. But if we think that the churches, on the whole, tend to lift up society, to encourage education, to help benevolent institutions, to promote civilization, then we ought to cleave to them loyally. It is the thing itself, not what definition we may give it, which is most important. A

more ingenious man than Mr. Abbot may arrive tomorrow at a more satisfactory definition than his; or he himself may revise his own present definition, and so find Christianity to be a good thing, after all, and not a bad one. If, in consequence of the definition he now offers us, we abandon Christianity to-day; if we sell the churches, disband the congregations, give up public worship, and treat the Sunday like any other day; a new definition might make it necessary, to-morrow, to rebuild them all, and at some expense and with some difficulty recommence our Christian operations.

II. MR. ABBOT'S FORMER AND PRESENT DEFINITIONS OF CHRISTIANITY.

This is not altogether an imaginary supposition. At the Unitarian Conference held at Syracuse, in October, 1866, Mr. Abbot presented a definition of Christianity, quite different from that which he now holds. It was as follows, proposed by him as a substitute for the Preamble and first article of the Constitution, and so intended to make an essential part of the organic law. We may properly presume, then, that it was not proposed by him without careful consideration:—

"WHEREAS, The object of Christianity is the universal diffusion of love, righteousness, and truth; and the attainment of this object depends, under God, upon individual and collective Christian activity; and collective Christian activity, to be efficient, must be thoroughly organized; and

"WHEREAS, Perfect freedom of thought, which is at once the right and the duty of every human being, always leads to diversity of opinion, and is therefore hindered by common creeds or statements of faith; and

"WHEREAS, The only reconciliation of the duties of collective Christian activity and individual freedom of thought lies in an efficient organization for practical Christian work, based rather on unity of spirit than on uniformity of belief:

"ARTICLE I.—Therefore the churches here assembled, disregarding all sectarian or theological differences, and offering a cordial fellowship to all who will join with them in Christian work, unite themselves in a common body, to be known as THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF UNITARIAN AND INDEPENDENT CHURCHES."

At this time, it is clear, he had no objection to the Christian name, for he introduces it five times. He defines "the object of Christianity to be the universal diffusion of love, righteousness, and truth," a definition which the great majority of Christians, both Catholic and Protestant, Orthodox and Liberal, would readily accept. His second proposition concerns the means of accomplishing this object,—and here also the great majority of all Christian churches would agree with him. "The attainment of this object depends, under God, upon individual and collective Christian activity." His third proposition would also be acceptable to all those Christians, at least, who believe in the importance of churches. "Collective Christian activity to be efficient must be thoroughly organized."

This was the definition of Christianity given by Mr. Abbot a few years ago. He has now changed his mind. He now does not consider the object of Christianity to be "the universal diffusion of love, righteousness, and truth"; but instead, to destroy all mental and moral freedom by setting up personal authority over the human mind. Far from believing—as he did in 1866—that this "universal diffusion of love, righteousness, and truth" could only be accomplished by Christian activity, he now believes that it can only be accomplished by "anti-Christian" activity.

But Christianity itself in 1875 cannot have altered very materially from what it was in 1866. It has now the same merits, in the main, that it had then; it had then the same faults which it has now. The difference then is only in Mr. Abbot's mind. He has hit on a new definition. His former definition made of Christianity the great and almost the only motive power by which humanity can be elevated and improved; his present definition makes of it the great foe of human progress.

Hardly can our friend, in this short time, have discovered so many evils, which before were unnoticed by him, as to change him from the friend of Christianity to its foe. He has told us, indeed, that the course taken by the Syracuse Convention, in rejecting his amendment, and that similar proceedings on the part of the Unitarian Conferences, have satisfied him that he had little to expect from Christian churches. But certainly the action of a small denominational Conference does not furnish a sufficient basis for a deduction for or against so large a fact as the Christian religion. It cannot be any new observation of its real nature which has reversed his action; it is the discovery of a better definition. It would seem, therefore, a very serious mistake to base our Christianity, or anti-Christianity, on a definition, or on any purely logical process. It is to be settled, not by any deductive process, but by an induction from observed facts. This, surely, is the scientific method, which for a practical question is much better than the metaphysical one. We feel like applying here what Mr. Emerson has somewhere said, "If we could have any security against moods! If the profoundest prophet could be holden to his words, and the hearer who is ready to sell all and join the crusade could have any security that to-morrow his prophet shall not unsay his testimony! But the Truth sits veiled there on the bench, and never interposes an adamant syllable; and the most sincere and revolutionary doctrine, put as if the ark of God was to be carried forward some furlongs and planted there for the succor of the world, shall in a few weeks be coldly set aside, by the same speaker, as morbid. 'I thought I was right, but I was not,' and the same

immeasurable credulity demanded for new audacities."

III. SHALL WE ACCEPT A DEFINITION OF CHRISTIANITY ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH?

In deciding whether a religion is good or bad, to be adopted or rejected, the chief ground of action is, therefore, hardly to be found in a definition. We should rather observe the facts, and see whether an induction from those facts shows the spirit and influence of the system to be good or otherwise. To this point we shall presently return. But now let us examine Mr. Abbot's present definition of Christianity, and notice some of its consequences.

"The *consensus* of all organized Christian bodies, more particularly Orthodox Christian bodies, ought to determine it. That is, Christianity should be conceded to be what the great Christian Church, as a whole, declares it to be."

That is to say, in deciding a question of fact, we are told by Mr. Abbot that we are not to exercise our own reason, but to submit to the authority of the majority. He opposes Christianity because "it rests on the principle of authority," and then he accepts the authority of the majority as determining what is fact and what is truth. He renounces his own private judgment, and accepts the decision of the Church, with the humility of an ultramontane Catholic. In 1866, after having been a student and a preacher of Christianity during many years, his belief was that Christianity was a good thing; that it was not Orthodoxy, but a religion of love, truth, and righteousness. He now gives up this belief in deference to the opinions of a majority; he accepts blindly what the majority declares Christianity to be, though his own studies had brought him to an opposite conclusion. And all this he does, and recommends others to do, in the interest of Free Religion and spiritual liberty.

The majority of a church may have a right to decide what the belief of that majority is concerning Christianity. But Christianity itself is larger than all its denominations, all its churches, and all their creeds. It is a great system of thought and life which has existed during eighteen centuries; which has taken on and put off again many forms; which has adopted and relinquished many methods; which has created a remarkable civilization; which has united most of the great races of mankind into a common brotherhood of social and political life. To allow such a system to be defined authoritatively for us without appeal by the majority of its believers at any one period would be like accepting as a final statement concerning the hydrography of a great river the opinions of the sailors who happen to be navigating its stream. Christians do not make Christianity; Christianity makes Christians. They bear not the root; the root bears them.

This new dogma of Free Religion, which consists in accepting the authority of a majority in forming our opinions concerning a faith, would, of course, overthrow and discard all that Protestantism has accomplished by its principle of private judgment.

If the consent of the organized Church should be decisive as to what Christianity is, Martin Luther, instead of reforming the Christian Church, should have gone outside of Christianity. If he had done this, the Protestant Reformation would never have arrived,—which, if it has done nothing else, has, at least, enabled our brother Abbot to express his opinions without being burnt for doing so.

If the opinion of the majority determines what Christianity is, then Christianity is a different religion in different periods. In one century the Arians constituted the majority in the Church; then Christianity was an Arian religion, and the Church doctrine of the Trinity made no part of it. Until Protestantism arrived, the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome constituted an essential part of Christianity. If Protestants ever become the majority, it will cease to do so.

IV. THE REAL MEANING OF AUTHORITY IN CHRISTIANITY.

But perhaps Mr. Abbot may say that the only essential thing in Christianity which has always remained the same is the *principle of authority*—especially the authority of Jesus Christ,—and that this authority has always enslaved the human mind.

But if this be so, we would ask how it is that the human mind has been most free, and made its most successful attainments just when the Christian religion has prevailed. Outside of Christendom there is no science, art, literature, philosophy, to which any students would go to-day for instruction. If, at one time, Christians went to Mohammedan schools for instruction, we must inquire whether, strictly speaking, Islam is not a Christian heresy, an outside sect of Christendom. And why have all Mohammedan countries ceased to be sources of knowledge for mankind, while Christian countries are always advancing? If Christianity be mental slavery, why, we ask again, does mental freedom only thrive where Christianity is the prevailing religion?

And is it true that "the system of faith and practice known from the beginning as Orthodoxy" has always been the same? The history of doctrines shows that every doctrine now held in the Church as Orthodox, has at one time been regarded as heretical,—such as the doctrines of the Trinity, of the atonement, of total depravity, of the papal supremacy, of the mass, of the literal inspiration of the Bible. If this, therefore, be Christianity, there is no such thing as one permanent Christianity; but Christianity has been one thing in one century, and a wholly different thing in another. But in seeking a definition of a religion we must find something which will define it throughout its whole history. This definition therefore must be incorrect.

Is, then, the essence of Christianity "person-worship"? So our friend seems to assert in one of his

paragraphs. He seems to say that the slavery of the human mind has resulted from making the authority of Jesus Christ supreme over faith. No doubt the authority of Jesus, as an inspired teacher, makes a part of the creed of Christendom. He is accepted by all Christians not only as a teacher, but also a master. But so far from this authority of Christ producing spiritual slavery, it is, when rightly apprehended, a service which is perfect freedom, and is a source of mental and moral progress.

For we must distinguish between two kinds of authority,—of which the one enslaves, and the other emancipates. One is the authority of the letter, the other of the spirit. To repeat words on the authority of another; to accept a creed, whether we understand it or not; to receive and repeat blindly a verbal statement,—that is mental slavery. But to catch the inspiration of another's spirit; to feed our minds by the sight of the truth which he has seen before; to take him as guide, leader, teacher, master,—this is one method by which the human mind is set free. Every earnest seeker for truth has some such masters. Some take Shakespeare, Bacon, Plato, Socrates for their masters. Others take Channing, Parker, Emerson, Carlyle, Goethe, Herbert Spencer, Darwin, Tyndall, Huxley. If they follow these masters blindly, accepting all they say without examination, they are finally belittled and enslaved by them. They repeat by rote Emerson's sayings, and become his parrots. They may do the same with the sayings of Christ. Or they may go to these masters for inspiration and guidance, not blindly, but with an intelligent faith. They may say, "They have helped us wonderfully in the past, and therefore we trust in them. We go to their words with expectation and confidence—a confidence justified by our past experience. We read their books in faith, and that faith helps us to better insight."

Does it make any difference that Christians assume Christ to be an infallible teacher, while other masters are supposed to be fallible? Practically it makes no difference. We go to Emerson, to Plato, to any teacher, for truth, not for error. We go to them for knowledge. If what they say seems to us obscure, self contradictory, or false, we let it alone, and read on till we can find something which we can understand and believe. When we stop to criticize and find fault, we lose our teacher, and cease to be disciples. So long as we are learning truth from them, we continue in the attitude of faith. We believe all we can; as to what we cannot believe, we wait and consider. If we relinquish this attitude for a moment, in that moment we cease to be learners, and become critics.

All Christians, in studying the teachings of Jesus, are in this attitude. They are looking for truth, not for falsehood and error. They are not blindly accepting his statements, but they are studying them to find what they mean. If they find something they cannot understand, they wait till they can understand it. As it is impossible for the human mind to hold at the same time two propositions which are seen to be contradictory, we are just as much obliged to suspend our opinion in reading the words of Jesus as we are in reading those of Socrates. If what Jesus says in one place seems inconsistent with what we have learned from him elsewhere, or what we have learned in other ways, then we are compelled, by the law of our mind, to suspend our judgment till we are able either to reconcile the two opinions, or to decide between them. Not a single body of Christians teaches that we are blindly to accept and repeat the words of Jesus without seeing their reasonableness. Paul said that the letter of the New Testament killed, and that only its spirit gave life. We must always remember, too, that, admitting this authority of Christ to be a part of Christianity, the Church has held to entirely different methods of discovering its deliverances. Catholics say, "You must go to the Church to find what Christ teaches." Protestants say, "You must go to the Bible;" but then they claim that each man's judgment is to decide what the Bible teaches, and that according to the analogy of faith. All mystics, like the Swedenborgians and Quakers, say that Christ speaks to each man's soul through the spirit, and whatever each man sees to be true is true to him. Even Dr. Newman, the Catholic, has recently shown that a distinct declaration of the infallible pope will not be accepted by many Catholics till they have satisfied themselves that he was under no bad influence in giving it,—which leaves a broad margin for individual freedom.

The principle of authority, after all these reductions, would scarcely seem to amount to more than this: that Christ is an inexhaustible source of divine truth to the soul. What that truth is, must be decided by finding that which satisfies the reason, conscience, and heart. And this is the way in which we judge all truth to be true.

The essential thing in a religion, and the only essential thing, is that which was in it in the beginning, in its source and fountain, and which has continued in it ever since. The papacy does not belong to the essence of Christianity; for that did not appear until the Middle Ages. Orthodoxy in doctrine does not belong to the essence of Christianity, for that was unknown at first, and is not to be found in the earliest sources. The only essential points which remain, which were in the religion at first, and have continued in it ever since, are faith in Jesus as the Christ the Son of God, and the practical purpose of attaining that love to God and love to man of which he is the Mediator.

Perhaps, on some other occasion, I shall endeavor to show that this faith is not only not inconsistent with truth and freedom, but is the best source of both to mankind. No doubt vast numbers of Christians have been the slaves of a literal dogmatism. But it is so in all systems,—in science, art, philosophy.

phy. The majority of disciples, in all these, swear by the words of the Master, instead of penetrating his spirit. This is not the fault of Christianity, but of the human mind, in its imperfect development.

BISHOP FERRETTE'S RELIGIOUS LIBERTY PLATFORM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—You invite me to add some further elucidations to my letter to you which you published on April 15, and in which I developed the three last articles of my platform, which are as follows:—

4. No incorporation of sectarian societies.
5. All clauses, in private contracts, granting temporal advantages on sectarian conditions, to be null and void in the eyes of the law.
6. All property at present owned by sectarian societies to become, on a day to be fixed by law, the absolute civil property of the members of each such society, irrespective of religious conditions.

These three propositions, I am aware, embody a solution not yet proposed of a problem which has long been in the mind of advanced thinkers, and of the existence and importance of which the general public begins to become aware. But different from yours as these solutions may be, and novel as they may have appeared even to you, I expected nothing less from you than that you would find my arguments, as you show no reluctance to admit, "very cogent." I should have been more surprised, if it had been otherwise, than you seem to intimate that you would be if I could make them entirely convincing to you by removing a certain "difficulty." In truth you do not seem to me so dull-minded as to be unable to remove that difficulty for yourself unless I took the pen to help you. I am rather afraid that the compliments that you pay to my "ability," and that I might return, should make us appear to be in collusion, though this is not the case. The fact is that no praise is due to me for any agency in my arguments. If they are "cogent," they are so from the nature of the subject itself, and will appear so to any one who takes the trouble to become familiarized with it.

But first to remove any prejudice which might arise from our appearing to be in collusion, allow me to take the strongest objection to your finding, in the principle true enough that "sectarianism is immoral in its tendencies," a proof that "Christianity itself is so far immoral."

CHRISTIANITY UNSECTARIAN.

I entirely deny that Christianity is a sect. It is just the reverse of a sect; it is the transformation of Mosaism and Judaism, from literal sectarianism into spiritual symbolism. The Jewish nation, like all nations worthy of this title, had faith in its mission and its destiny, and, in the midst of its misfortunes, linked by hope the memory of past grandeur with the vision of future glories. Of these memories, of these hopes, the family of David was the centre, and Jesus of Nazareth, who, as a member of that family, was a legitimate candidate for the throne, lived at a time to which prophecies had pointed as that of the restoration of David's throne under a Christ; that is, an anointed king, who would deliver Israel from all its oppressors. The chief of these oppressors, however, were the Romans, a military and administrative power not to be trifled with, to levy war against which in the name of Jewish legitimism would have been about as frivolous at that time as it would be to-day for the Mormons to levy war against the United States. Jesus was too clear-headed not to see that; and, while it was impossible for a man of his stamp to feel himself the king of Israel and belie all the prophecies by doing nothing for his people at such a time, he resisted all the suggestions of those who wished to make him a political king. His anointing was to be purely spiritual, and his kingdom to consist in the spiritual influence of Israel, on condition that Israel should understand its mission, emancipate itself from pharisaic subtleties, and develop what in its law, in its prophecies, in its past history, in its present character, was really great, fecund, and catholic. He was misunderstood. He was killed. But though the three days of his entombment may be as long as the days of Creation, he will rise yet. His rising will be the justification of his character from all the misrepresentations of those who would conceive him, the incarnate Logos—that is, literally, the incarnate Reason, the incarnate Common-Sense—to have been the founder of a sect of Spiritualists, that is, of dupes and liars.

Christianity does not essentially consist in a set of propositions which may be true or false, but merely in grouping whatever truths may have been inherited, or may come to be developed or newly turn up, around the mere symbol of a Jewish royalty no more intended to be literal than Masonic emblems are meant for actual building purposes, or modern knighthood for Quixotic developments. Christianity is not a religious sect; it is a religious order which has particular symbols and particular methods, but no particular dogmas, its object being to discover and apply that religion which is absolute and universal. If Christianity is not a sect, it cannot be "so far immoral"; and as you do not say that it is immoral in any other sense, nothing requires me to prove that it is not.

UNITARIANISM AND FREE RELIGION BOTH UNSECTARIAN.

This point explained, I agree with you in your assertion that "there is no 'religion' but Free Religion which is not 'sectarian.'" I do it, however, in a broader sense than that which your known controversies with Unitarians would lead one to think that you have particularly in view. Unitarianism may have, in other times and in other countries, meant a monotheism as rigid and damatory as Jehovism or

Islamism. But here and now it means nothing but the most enlightened and charitable views imaginable: Free Religion taught, as a mere matter of method, in the name of Christ, with the Bible as a textbook, not as an authority, and, by a mere accident, with the outward forms of Protestant Congregationalism. It might be, however, under the legislation which I propose, a nice point for a jury to decide, whether the Unitarian Church be, in any sense, a sect or not. I see from here Unitarians smile and make some similar suggestion about Free Religion. I am myself perfectly willing to smile at any pleasantries in which Unitarians and Free Religionists may choose to indulge with regard to each other, provided that they on both parts agree in making my propositions their own, and in securing their introduction into the institutions of this country. This I want them to do, because the salvation and the well-being of the country require it, because to do it is to them a duty implied in their principles; not for the paltry consideration that they would retain their incorporation and have their religious property exempt from taxation while all sectarian societies would lose these privileges. In fact I would expect them absolutely to decline to take any temporal advantage of any distinction which the non-sectarian nature of their principles, and the wording of the law, might leave in their favor. Though they are not sects, I should expect them to demand to be treated by the law as if they were, in order to have an opportunity to show sects how sects ought honorably to behave: live on their present faith, and have the numbers of their membership and of their ministry determined by their apostolic zeal and by the strength of their controversial positions, not by the amount of their endowments, as the number of beggars that each Italian town should contain was determined until of late by the amount of soup that was daily distributed at the doors of its convents.

The opinions which I have expressed with regard to Christianity and Unitarianism have found place here, however, as a mere personal explanation on my part, in order to enable your readers to know on what different ground from yours I stand in this respect. But no opinions which I may to-day hold with regard to Christianity, or Unitarianism, or any particular sect, are any integral part of my argument against the incorporation of sectarian societies and the validity of sectarian clauses in contracts. In these two latter respects I held the same opinions as to-day when I was a zealous Romanist, when I was a zealous Protestant, and it is not in hostility to either party that I to-day advocate these opinions. I believe, on the contrary, that self-respect and interest, by which I mean spiritual, not soup, interest, should compel Roman Catholics, and all Protestant denominations, to surrender their civil corporate existence and property as sects, whether the law compel them to do it or not.

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS SPHERES DIFFERENT.

You admit this and more, when you recognize that sectarianism is immoral. I had merely said that sectarianism is a sin, which philosophically may mean the same, but in common acceptance does not. A sin is any departure from the absolute pattern of truth and holiness as it is in God, and may be inappreciable by any criterion which society possesses. An immorality is a sin so palpable and so gross that it shocks the *bonos mores*, that is, the righteous feeling which the community has or ought to have, as embodied in the social customs which exist or ought to exist. According to this distinction, I would say that to be, for example, a Papist or Calvinist, is a sin, but is not immoral. It is a sin because it is an error, a departure from the absolute standard of truth and righteousness which is in God. It is not immoral in the sense that I have defined, because it is not appreciable by any criterion which Society has, or ought to have, and either embodies in its manners or customs, or would embody in them if her state were more perfect than it is. On the contrary, the more perfect society will become, the more it will leave to individual conscience the question whether Presbyterianism and Papism be sins or not, and also the question whether they be virtues or not. Whether they be sins or virtues, their sinful or virtuous character belongs to a sphere of which it does not belong to the civil law to make itself cognizant so as to enforce or discourage them, or lend its strong arm to their being encouraged or discouraged by the enjoyment or loss of temporal advantages annexed to their profession, be it by legislative charters or by private contracts. Though in characterizing sectarianism I applied to it the word sinful, meaning by it merely a theological badness, and carefully avoiding the word immoral, I do not hesitate to characterize as immoral, both in a religious and a civil sense, all stipulations public or private whereby temporal advantages or penalties, pecuniary or other, are made the sanction of sectarian requirements. What an honorable man ought always to reserve to himself in all his stipulations, what the law ought always to reserve to all citizens in all its enactments, is the right to adopt or renounce any opinions in sectarian, that is, doubtful religious matters, without temporal advantage or loss.

This being a moral axiom which you do not contest, going only a little farther than I do, I will attempt neither to demonstrate, which would be impossible, nor to develop it. But your objection, which you hope I can remove, is that, regrettable as it may be that the law should have to lend its aid to immorality by giving to sects a corporate existence which is immoral, and by enforcing in private contracts immoral clauses stipulating temporal advantages on sectarian conditions, the law has to do it, however; otherwise it would discriminate against sects, "subject sectarianism to civil disabilities," which to do "even on the justifiable ground of immorality would

be in reality persecuting the sects, or at least seems to be."

IGNORING OF SECTS BY THE CIVIL POWER NO PERSECUTION OF SECTS.

The only arguments by which you, or to speak more fairly to you, the average opponent that you place before me, can come to the conclusion that my proposition would work such a discrimination, are the following ones:—

1. Whenever a charter of incorporation is demanded from a legislature by any society whatever, the legislature invariably grants that charter in the terms proposed, without making in it the least alteration, even when its stipulations are immoral. Therefore to treat otherwise sectarian societies which demand to be incorporated, would be to make against them an unusual discrimination.

2. In private contracts the law considers as valid, and enforces as such, all conditions whatever, whether immoral or not. Therefore for the law to refuse to enforce sectarian conditions in private contracts on the ground of their immorality would be to make in their case an unusual discrimination.

I entirely deny the antecedent of each of those two arguments.

1. It is simply not the fact that any legislature in the world feels bound to grant charters of incorporation to every society which applies for them, or to grant them without a careful revision of the text of such charters. No legislature ever grants a charter of incorporation to any society with any clause in it that it perceives to be immoral or contrary to public policy. No legislature would grant a charter to a railroad company with this clause in it, that season-ticket holders who, during the season, would change their religion, should forfeit their season ticket.

2. It is simply not the fact that the laws of the United States, or of any State, or of any country in the world, provide as a general rule that all conditions in private contracts, however derogatory to private or public morality or public policy, shall be enforced as valid by the courts. Suppose a man should, by contract, pledge himself under a certain penalty to successfully smuggle a parcel of goods into the country, or assassinate a man before a certain day, the law would not enforce either stipulation, because the one is contrary to public policy, and the other is immoral. In most countries, and especially in this and other Anglo-Saxon countries, a stipulation requires, besides being moral and in accordance with public policy, to be bilateral; that is, to be made for a valuable consideration.

As the character of immorality would be equally fatal to a charter demanded from a legislature, and to a clause the enforcement of which would be demanded at the hands of a court, and as you admit that sectarianism and sects and sectarian conditions are immoral, I have sufficiently disposed, were it on the ground of immorality alone, of the assertion that the refusal to incorporate sects or to enforce sectarian conditions would be an unjust discrimination, or any discrimination at all, against sectarianism. I will, however, out of many other arguments which I might bring, be content, before I terminate, to give sectarian incorporations and sectarian stipulations one argument each.

1.—INCORPORATION OF SECTS SUICIDAL ON THE PART OF THE STATE.

The incorporation of sectarian societies is not only immoral in all cases, it is, on the part of the State, in some cases suicidal, in so far as the State thus actually incorporates societies having among their objects the violation of the laws of the State. For example, a State, for purposes of self-preservation, passes a law compelling the youthful population to attend the public schools. At the same time the State incorporates a religious society, one of the objects of which is to punish, by spiritual penalties and by the withdrawal of the temporal emoluments which its incorporation guarantees, those among its members and ministers who send their children to the public schools or say that people may send them without going to hell. Very well. As long as a priest teaches that he would rather give the sacraments to a dog than to a Catholic who sends his children to the public schools, he is on good terms with his bishop, and has the quiet use of the church buildings, the parsonage, and perhaps the salary, secured on landed property, which the incorporation secures to him as the regular incumbent of that parish. But one day he begins to think that his parishioners had better send their children to the school after all, and he says that in his sermon. On this he falls into a conflict with his bishop, with the Pope, and is deposed from his position. He resists, he refuses to evacuate the parsonage. A court pronounces that, having lost his status in the church, as defined by the terms of its incorporation, he is no more entitled to its temporalities. The court orders the sheriff to execute the sentence, but he requires a *posse comitatus*. He just happens to find in the street the Governor of the State, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Superintendent of the Public Schools. He summons them, and with their help goes to violently turn out of his parsonage a priest who has deserved that punishment by no other crime than by his obedience to the laws which the Speaker declared carried, the Governor signed, and the Superintendent swore to enforce. Decidedly such things are too absurd, and when the German people are beginning to see it, it is time the people of the United States should.

2.—VALIDITY OF SECTARIAN STIPULATIONS CONTRARY TO ACKNOWLEDGED PRINCIPLES OF LAW.

The civil law, as I have shown, has no business to know and no means to determine whether Presbyterianism, or Papism, or any other ism, be sins or not; nor either whether they be virtues or not, or

whether they have any value at all, and therefore can constitute that valuable consideration which is required as a term to any contract which the law of a serious nation will enforce. In the age in which we live, the law will not enforce a contract by which I, the undersigned, bind myself to pay Mr. So-and-So the sum of \$—, value received in moonshine. In an age in which the same principles will be applied with only a little more logic, the law will refuse to enforce a stipulation wherein the value received is Presbyterianism or Papism, or the non-rotundity of the earth, or the primitive man having had a tail or not having had a tail, or any other proposition, the capacity of which to constitute a valuable consideration transcends the criteria of a sensible court, and therefore should be, to it, simply a nonentity. In fact, people who come before a court asking it to enforce such stipulations, insult the court, and should be arrested for contempt. Much more should people who come before a Legislature and ask it to make such a stipulation a part of the law of the State by embodying it in a charter, be arrested by the Sergeant-at-arms and brought to the bar of the house to be punished for their making light of the majesty of the house and of the State.

To my ninth and last article I add to-day no new developments, as the two preceding ones once admitted, it does not appear that you would consider it otherwise than as providing a simple and equitable method of transition from the old order of things to the new.

I remain, dear sir, truly yours,

JULIUS FERRETTE.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., May 3, 1875.

[It is quite superfluous to argue against a suspicion that we are in "collusion" with Bishop Ferrette for any purpose whatever; of course no such suspicion could possibly arise.

But, notwithstanding his courteous incredulity that we should be "so dull-minded as to be unable to remove that difficulty" without his aid, we must not only confess ourself unable to remove it *without* his aid, but also thus far unable to remove it *with* his aid.

The difficulty was that the United States Constitution guarantees the "free exercise" of religion; that the Christian religion is essentially sectarian; and that it is therefore impossible to abolish sectarianism in all contracts and corporations without thereby abolishing the Christian Church, and "prohibiting the free exercise" of the Christian religion. This is the difficulty, and Bishop Ferrette only meets it by "denying that Christianity is a sect." This, then, is the only point raised between us, and we pass by the arguments which he imagines us above to urge, but which are no arguments of ours in any sense.

Is not Christianity a sect? It is unnecessary, we think, in order to answer this question, to go into any speculations respecting Jesus or his purposes or his ideas; it seems quite sufficient to recognize that Christianity, Judaism, Mohammedanism, and so forth, bear precisely the same relation to *Humanity* which Presbyterianism, Episcopacy, Romanism, and so forth, bear to *Christianity*. That is, the various historical religions are restricted fellowships or sects (*secrete*) cut off from the universal fellowship of Man; just as the various Christian denominations are restricted fellowships or sects cut off from the larger fellowship of Christ. Their restriction of human fellowship seems to us to be of immoral tendency, as creative of jealousies and antagonisms which tend to evil of many kinds; yet it is a species of immorality which the law cannot deal with. Hence we see no possibility of striking out all sectarian clauses in contracts and charters of incorporation without being guilty of religious persecution and of violation of our fundamental law. To make Christianity really unsectarian would be in fact to make it unchristian, by destroying that "bond of Christian union" which unites all Christians in a sect as regards the whole human race. Unless Bishop Ferrette can obviate this real difficulty, the only one we raised, we must still be unconvinced of the justice of his "Platform."—ED.]

A PLEA FOR MORE ZEAL AND CO-OPERATION.

EDITOR INDEX:—

It is difficult for me to see the occasion for some of the strictures which appear in reference to THE INDEX and its editor. It was so of those of your Andover correspondent in a recent number. It is a singular fact that, whenever one shows conspicuous earnestness in behalf of an idea or principle which he deems true and important, he is liable to be accused of excited feeling or suspected of personal interests. It would seem, by the tenor of contributions which appear now and then in your columns, that radicals are not an exception to this. Are we so intensely intellectual that it is not proper we should quicken with emotion or warm with feeling? Must rationalism necessarily be divorced from enthusiasm? It is perhaps not wholly strange that such a view should be somewhat entertained in the region of Boston. Nevertheless I coincide sufficient-

ly with the great apostles to believe: "It is well to be zealously affected always in a good thing."

It has never appeared to me that your plan of Liberal Leagues and their associated programme of work is intended for an unconditional one. I have never supposed for a moment that you expected or sought to yoke all radicals to this team, or that your plan involved in the slightest degree the principle of the press-gang, or disregarded the right of an earnest radical to determine, according to his judgment and circumstances, how he can most effectually serve the general cause. Certainly no one who has been brought into direct relations with radicals will feel there is any reason for loss of sleep for fear they are in danger of excessive ardor and self-abnegation in behalf of their principles, or because the appeals to them are less mild or temperate than they should be.

That there is a work for radicalism, a distinctive work, and (as I believe) one that must be at present, for the most part, done outside of the Church, there is abundant evidence. It is also as evident that it will not do itself. Christians can believe that their conceptions of truth will be triumphant through their prayers, but radicals have no such excuse for remissness and indolence. There are unquestionably a great many independent minds in the country that are eager to do all they can for mental emancipation and the new truths of the time, and will do so under any circumstances in one way or another. But there is a very much larger class who profess radicalism, and yet do absolutely nothing for its advancement. I am satisfied, and have had a fair chance for an acquaintance with the facts of which I speak, that, if we except the general habit of non-conformity (which in the majority of instances costs hardly anything), there are none who, as a body, sacrifice so little for the ideas they represent, or of whom it may be so emphatically said, "They say, and do not." There are communities all over the country where those who discard the old religious theories and are in sympathy with rationalism outnumber those identified with the churches, and not unfrequently exceed them in wealth, and to some extent in personal influence; and yet the church organizations are the ruling power in these places. Liberals condemn without qualification the intolerance, bigotry, and superstition which prevail about them, but make no show of exertion or expenditure in any form to remove them, or to diffuse a superior enlightenment; indeed, in some instances, contribute to their support.

The hard pulling which such enterprises as the Paine Memorial Building experience among radicals, and the feeble support of our journals devoted to free thought, and the mere handful of Liberal Leagues and radical organizations of all descriptions, compared to what there ought to be, afford conclusive demonstration of this apathy.

The Liberal League is designed to be an agitator. Was any reform ever carried forward otherwise? It is designed to reach those whom our liberal papers do not reach, not only to wake up benighted Christian dreamers, but also to disturb the somnolence of radicals. It is designed to set before those of an earnest radical spirit, but whose apprehensions are indistinct in regard to the work to be done, a clearer view of it, and afford them an opportunity for more effective coöperation. The Liberal League means business. It is the summons of radicals to action. It is the trumpet-call and the marshalling of hosts for a contest of ideas and principles. Shall the answer to that summons be a nerveless and inefficient squad, or a resistless legion? According to that answer must be the issue between conservatism and progress, between mediævalism and the ideas and spirit of the nineteenth century.

Surely, in view of the unsparing devotion, the unflagging energy and unremitting perseverance of the Church party,—in view of Ecumenical Councils and papal Encyclical Letters, and conspiracies against free institutions on the one hand, and of Evangelical Alliances and the efforts of Protestant Christendom to effect an ecclesiastical solidarity on the other, against what is pronounced the "scepticism of the age" (which simply means modern knowledge and intelligence); in view of the manifest purpose of the Church party to pervert, if possible, the constitution and laws of this country to the interests of theology, to override the inalienable rights of American citizens; in view of continually recurring instances of intolerance, and these in particular to which the attention of readers of THE INDEX has recently been called; in view of the exaltation of supernaturalism above rationalism in every division of the Church, even the most liberal, and the indirect proscription that falls on whoever refuses to say amen, and the consequent injustice and narrowness of social sympathies that result from these things, and are witnessed in the common relations of life,—there is little excuse for inertia or silence. The persuasion that thought is all-powerful; that truth will get spoken through us, though we are dumb, does not justify us in such a case. It is a principle which may easily be stretched too far. It may very easily, perhaps unconsciously, become an excuse for egotism and selfishness. Is there not as much danger from the latter, when unpleasant and unpopular duties are before us, as of becoming over zealous? Let us remember that life is not only for thought, but also for action; that it is for both; that the one is as essential as the other to meet the demands of radicalism in this time.

D. H. C.

NEW MILFORD, Pa.

"Some men," said Douglas Jerrold, "never look with satisfaction at the new moon, out of respect for that venerable institution, the old one."

THE WORLD doesn't know its greatest men.—
Oliver Wendell Holmes.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOSTON LIBERAL LEAGUE.

SPECIALLY REPORTED FOR "THE INDEX."

The Second Annual Meeting of the Boston Liberal League was held in Paine Hall on Friday evening, May 7; the President, F. E. Abbot, in the chair. This meeting had apparently been called on insufficient notice, and the attendance was not large, nor enthusiastic in the ordinary manifestations of like gatherings; but those present seemed quietly in earnest, biding the time when they could do more efficient work. The acting secretary of the League read the minutes of the last quarterly meeting, and Mr. Abbot stated, in behalf of the Treasurer who was absent, that the League was not in debt; the treasury contained seven dollars and fifty cents. The League needed funds, and for that reason was greatly crippled in all of its endeavors to meet the emergencies continually arising. It was to be hoped that friends of the cause in the immediate neighborhood, who were supposed to have a real interest in the successful work of this League, would at once come forward and contribute according to their ability to that end. Surely the time was already ripe when the liberal men and women throughout the whole country should speak and act in no uncertain manner.

Mr. R. H. Ranney, Chairman of the Executive Committee, made a report of the special work the League had undertaken in the last two years. It had given particular attention to the question of equitable taxation. By hard work, aided by the liberal journals, INDEX, *Investigator*, *Banner of Light*, the Committee had been able to send in to the Legislature of the State a petition of nearly ten thousand names in behalf of taxing religious and educational institutions. The Legislature had given the subject considerable attention in the way of Joint Special Committee hearings on the subject, at which the League had been ably represented. Though progress had been made, no definite favorable action was to be expected from the Legislature this year. The Commission appointed by the governor and council had made a lengthy report in opposition, but there was a very favorable showing for the cause in both branches of the Legislature.

The President said that it was proposed a year ago to have a mass meeting at the present time in Faneuil Hall; but, failing to secure the desired speakers, the idea had been postponed, and in this connection he read an interesting letter from Wendell Phillips. He also read a similar letter from William Lloyd Garrison.

The President then called A. W. Stevens to the chair, read the "Appeal to the American People," signed by F. Bielefeld and J. Nieland [which will be found among the "Communications" on a subsequent page of this issue], and offered to the meeting a series of resolutions denouncing the recent refusal to grant Mr. Julius Nieland, of Philadelphia, his second naturalization papers. They were unanimously adopted, as follows:—

"WHEREAS, Julius Nieland, of Philadelphia, has been refused his second naturalization papers by Judges Pratt and Hare, and thereby denied the enjoyment of his political rights, avowedly and solely 'on account of being an infidel'; and

"WHEREAS, Mr. Nieland has publicly appealed to the American people for justice and for reparation of this great wrong; therefore

"Resolved, That the Boston Liberal League protest with indignation against this gross infringement of religious liberty, denounce the action of Judges Pratt and Hare as tyrannical and outrageous, and emphatically second the appeal of Mr. Nieland for redress.

"Resolved, That the recent occurrence of such outrages on the fundamental rights of freemen as the disfranchisement of Julius Nieland, the exclusion from the witness-stand of Joseph Treat, and the expulsion from the North Carolina Legislature of J. W. Thorne, avowedly because of their religious opinions, admonishes the American people that the safeguards of their religious liberty are incomplete, and need to be supplemented by more effectual provisions against such glaring violations of it.

"Resolved, That therefore the Boston Liberal League recommend to the thoughtful and serious attention of all liberal minds the 'Religious Freedom Amendment,' proposed in THE INDEX as a substitute for the First Amendment to the United States Constitution.

"Resolved, That the Secretary be instructed to transmit copies of these resolutions for publication to the various liberal journals of the country."

Resuming the chair, the President read a communication from the Liberal League of Philadelphia, inviting the Boston League and others to be represented at a special meeting to be held in September of this year, to make arrangements for a convention of liberals to be held sometime during the centennial celebration of 1876. Mr. Ranney then offered the following resolutions, which were adopted, after some considerable discussion as to whether the League ought to pay the expenses of its delegates:—

"Resolved, That we approve the proposal of the Philadelphia Liberal League to hold a meeting of delegates from all the Liberal Leagues of the country, as preparatory to a Convention to be held in that city in 1876; and that, in accordance with the suggestion of its Secretary, we recommend Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, September 17th, 18th, and 19th, as the time, and Philadelphia as the place, of this preparatory meeting.

"Resolved, That the President and Secretary of this League, and Messrs. A. Bronson Alcott, B. F. Underwood, and John Wetherbee, be appointed as delegates to this preparatory meeting, with power of substitution and authority to represent this League

in making all necessary arrangements for the Convention in 1876.

"Resolved, That the Secretary be instructed to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the Secretary of the Philadelphia Liberal League."

The chief point in the discussion on these resolutions is worthy of note. Mr. John Verity thought that, if the League had business at Philadelphia, it ought to bear the expenses of those whom it sent to attend to it. If it was too poor to send five delegates, send half that number. But Mr. John Wetherbee said the idea was something unheard of, at least in political customs. It was generally thought that the honor of going was sufficient recompense. But Mr. Smart came to Mr. Verity's defence, and urged that the League ought to make a reform of the political custom; that its delegates were supposed to act from a sense of duty, representing the League, not at their own expense wholly. Of course they would not expect pay for their time; but actual outlay in expenses ought to be provided for on democratic grounds, taxing all who were immediately represented. The President thought the delegates would insist on paying their own way; he, at least, would go on no other terms. He could not take his expenses from the League while its present poverty was a thing so patent to all. Mr. Ranney ended the discussion by saying that he would take up a contribution on his own responsibility, and use it as far as it went to pay expenses of those delegates who would accept it.

The choice of officers for the ensuing year was then made as follows:—

PRESIDENT—F. E. Abbot.

VICE-PRESIDENTS—Horace Seaver and Mrs. J. W. Smith.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY—George A. Bacon.

RECORDING SECRETARY—Mrs. E. D. Hapgood.

TREASURER—John Wetherbee.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—R. H. Ranney, Dr. H. B. Storer, H. S. Williams, M. T. Dole, Mrs. Etta Bullock, Mrs. Mary Albertson.

The President called on Mr. Stevens for remarks. Mr. Stevens responded at some length, saying that it was his first appearance at the League. He was a believer in the League, if it had anything to do. If there was vitality in the issues presented, it would manifest itself. Its very existence was proof that, in the minds of a few people at least, there was danger ahead, and especial vigilance needed. He did not think, however, that this fear was very general among liberal people. The great current of American life swept so strongly on away from intolerance, towards the widest possible religious liberty, he was, for one, quite inclined to regard the few recent manifestations of a contrary spirit as eddies in the stream. The spirit of the age was on the side of freedom. So far as he knew, all the great secular papers of the country, and many of the religious journals, had in strongest terms condemned these very outrages on religious freedom which the League condemned. There were large numbers in the Christian churches themselves who took the same liberal view, while the great secular life of the nation by its own force was steadily growing in the right direction. He did not anticipate the evils which some predicted; yet he would not throw cold water, or chill their ardor. If they saw a work to do, it was for them courageously to do it. There was the courage of action when one saw a work to do; there was also, where action is felt to be premature, the courage of waiting.

Mr. Verity remarked that he thought a practical work for the Liberal Leagues would be to subscribe funds to test the Philadelphia case in a higher court.

Mr. Seaver, who on account of illness had declined an earlier invitation to speak, felt called on to notice a portion of the remarks submitted by Mr. Stevens. He thought there was a great deal to do, and much reason for fear. Liberty has now as ever to fight its way, and perhaps that is the reason she is always represented as a warrior, with sword in hand. Eternal vigilance is her price. He would not trust the "Spirit of the Age." He put faith alone in liberal ideas. He was not so sure we had not already begun to go backward. What do we see? The religious party trying to murder the Constitution. Another, seeking to destroy the public school—that poor man's college,—which ought to be made and kept forever secular. Let Catholicism get in the ascendancy, as it threatens to do within the next century, and there is an end of free institutions. It would not be different with Protestantism. The same result either way—Catholic or Protestant: they would murder each other, and show liberals no quarter. We shall never be free until there is no sectarianism in our institutions throughout the land. There must be no taxation for religion in any form; Church and State must be separated as wide as the poles.

After short speeches by two or three others in a similar vein, the President announced that the hour of adjournment had arrived, and the meeting adjourned.

HOMAGE TO MR. SUMNER.—This reminds me of a little incident at Mount Auburn that I witnessed a few weeks ago. Our party were standing by the beautiful Chickering monument, when an elegant landau approached, and a handsome mulatto, leaning out, asked our driver to point out Sumner's grave. (His driver was a white man.) The simple marble slab, marking the great man's resting-place, was in full view; so the landau was driven very near; then a quartette of elegantly-attired colored people alighted, drew round the grave with reverent, sorrowful mien, knelt with bowed heads for a minute, then covered the sod with bouquets and wreaths of rarest flowers. Something choked me as I looked, and the tears dimmed my eyes while I thought how grand a champion those people had lost.—*Anna Dickinson.*

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

A WINTER WALK: CHRISTMAS.

BY JOHN ALBEE.

It is not often Sunday draws
Me to that house where good men come;
Yet worship I, and the same cause
Which sends them there keeps me at home.

But on one holy winter morn
I took an unaccustomed way
To church, to hear how Christ was born,—
In mangers then as now he lay.

I cheerful said, always some good
Falls in our way, however vex;
Though scarce a worshipper, I would,
If not a sermon, find a text.

O'er snow new-fallen, pure, and fine,
I walked the virgin world alone;
But soon a tiny trail crossed mine,
And near, a field-mouse dead as stone.

Clumsy with snow his little feet
Had borne him just across the road,
In search of food, or else to meet
Perchance more sheltered, safe abode.

There in an inch or two of snow
I found him in the morning sun;
His limbs were stiff, his head was low,
His work, whate'er it was, was done.

He held no backward-going pace,
But forward in his last track died;
"Tis well!" with staff I tried to trace
On th' unsoiled tablet by his side;

Musing—"Most choose the less, not more;
Or, chanting an old withered song,
Die at some inn where oft before
They lodged and lost themselves too long."

Thence onward slow my steps I paced
Beside the drooping evergreen,
Or where the bare oak interlaced
The sky that on it seemed to lean.

These beauties past, at length I near
The church steps with the goats and sheep;
A goodly flock, prepared to hear
The tale that eighteen centuries weep.

The preacher droned and canted well;
The men dozed off, the women stared;
Hurtled the dread words heaven and hell,
But no one heard and no one cared.

I not asleep, nor quite awake,
Numbered the nothings of the house,
Revolving which my text to make,
The living priest or that dead mouse.

But ere the sermon had its close,
And picked each dry bone of the feast,
The words reversed themselves, and rose—
The living mouse, the phantom priest!

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 8.

George Isles, 50 cents; D. H. Clark, 70 cents; Mrs. Alvah Lord, 10 cents; A. J. Davis & Co., \$4.85; H. L. Green, \$2; J. F. Clarkson, 50 cents; J. Hiatt, \$3; Noyes, Holmes & Co., 20 cents; Hall & Co., 20 cents; D. D. Lum, 50 cents; G. D. Hubbard, 60 cents; B. Rodman, 30 cents; American News Co., \$4.95; G. P. Putnam, \$2.25; Thos. J. Sizer, 25 cents; H. S. Rugg, 85 cents; Capt. Maxse, \$117.81; W. R. Cole, \$5.75; Jos. E. Peck, \$1.75; F. R. Johnson, 25 cents; S. A. Wood, \$3.20; Fred L. Sturgis, \$3.20; R. W. Taylor, \$3.20; Bennett Allen, 55 cents; Mrs. Alvah Lord, 75 cents; Jacob Beede, 20 cents; M. Loudsbury, \$3.20; J. C. Trowbridge, \$3.20; Mrs. S. M. Wetmore, \$3.20; L. L. Rose, \$3.75; Joseph Marsh, \$1; E. P. Gregory, \$3; D. R. Lamson, \$2; Emerson Bentley, \$2.20; Edw. H. Adams, \$2; Cash, \$3.20; J. W. Ross, \$1.50; George Chamberlin, \$6.20; W. E. Darwin, \$4; Dan'l Whitmore, 75 cents; E. R. Potter, \$3; S. F. Woodard, \$3.20; George Ramsden, \$3.20; Asa Fenn, \$3.20; R. L. Baker, \$3; Wm. Allen, \$2; Lawrence Tucker, \$3; Henry Nillard, \$3.20; G. A. Atwood, \$1; George H. Stevens, \$3; Benj. Breed, \$2.20; M. A. Blanchard, \$3.20; E. L. Seufit, \$2.25; O. H. Tennant, \$3; F. W. Brigham, \$3.20.

RECEIVED.

Books.

THE RELIGION OF HUMANITY. An Essay. By Octavius B. Frothingham. Third Edition. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1875. [Price \$1.50.]
WHAT YOUNG PEOPLE SHOULD KNOW. The Reproductive Function in Man and the Lower Animals. By Burt G. Wilder. With 26 Illustrations. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1875. [Price \$1.50.]
THE SOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY. By Thomas Lumisden Strange, late a Judge of the High Court of Madras. London: Trübner & Co. 1875.
BRIQ-A-BRAC SERIES. Personal Reminiscences by Cornelia Knight and Thomas Raikes. Edited by R. H. Stoddard. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1875.

Pamphlets and Periodicals.

THE GREAT HOPE. A Sermon by O. B. Frothingham. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1875.
REASONABLE RELIGION. A Sermon by O. B. Frothingham. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1875.
PUBLICATIONS of Thomas Scott, Esq., London.—Positive Religion: Its Basis and Characteristics. Lecture II. By the late Rev. James Cranbrook.—Toleration. By Charles Bray.—Reason, Religion, and Revelation. By Edw. Vansittart Neale.—Signs of the Times: May, 1875.
THE PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF W. H. Munier in Spirit Photography. Boston: Colby & Rich. 1875.
A CHECK TO FANATICISM. By Henry Heberling.
THE RIGHTS OF LABOR. An Essay on Political Reform. By Leonard Brown.
THE CANADIAN MONTHLY and National Review. April, 1875.
THE UNITARIAN REVIEW. May, 1875. Boston: L. C. Bowles.
THE COMPANION AND AMERICAN ODD FELLOW. May, 1875. Columbus, O.: M. C. Lilley & Co.

The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 13, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
ABRAM WALTER STEVENS, Associate Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E.
D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRANCIS
W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), Editorial Contributors.

NOTICE.

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Index Association will be held in Toledo, Ohio, at No. 35 Monroe Street, on Saturday, June 5, 1875, at 2 o'clock P. M., in accordance with the articles of incorporation.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The eighth annual meeting of the Free Religious Association will be held in Boston as follows:—

May 27th, 7½ P. M. Session in Horticultural Hall (Lower) for business and for free discussion on the objects and work of the Association.

May 28th. Two sessions in Beethoven Hall (Washington Street, near Boylston), at 10 A. M. and 3 P. M. for essays and addresses. Essay at the morning session, by Wm. C. Gannett, on "Present Constructive Forces in Religion."

Essay at the afternoon session, by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion."

Addresses will follow each essay, the speakers to be announced hereafter.

Friday evening, May 28th, there will be a social festival in Parker Memorial Hall, Berkeley Street, for brief speeches, music, refreshments, conversation, and for subscription to the funds of the Association.

It is hoped that as many of the members and friends of the Association as possible will be present at this annual meeting. Members who cannot be present are hereby reminded of the annual subscription fee, which it is desired they should send to the Secretary, New Bedford, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

THE NEW YORK *Graphic* argues that Shakspeare was not even a Christian, in reply to the *Spirit of the Times*, which held that he was a Catholic. But what he was nobody knows, or is likely to know.

A THIRD edition of Mr. Frothingham's *Religion of Humanity* has been called for, and G. P. Putnam's Sons (whose advertisement will be found elsewhere) have issued it in faultless style. Whoever wishes to read Mr. Frothingham at his best will find in this book his noblest thought. Surely no one can rise from reading these pages without a clearer insight into the real religion of this age, and a stronger purpose to lift conduct and character up to its high level.

THE SERIES of *Science Primers*, edited by Prof. Huxley, Roscoe, and Balfour, and published by D. Appleton & Co., is unrivalled for purposes of primary instruction in the sciences of which they treat. The latest issued is that on Astronomy, by J. Norman Lockyer, editor of *Nature*, and well-known by scientific men through his own independent scientific researches and discoveries. It contains numerous illustrations, and, like the other treatises of the same series, is written in the simplest and clearest style. The price is one dollar.

DR. AZEL AMES's *Sex in Industry*, just issued by J. R. Osgood & Co., is a mate for Dr. Clarke's *Sex in Education*, which made such a stir a year or so ago. Dr. Ames takes views quite analogous to Dr. Clarke's. He finds all forms of continuous industry to be injurious to women's health, and thinks it imperatively necessary that they should be permitted a "periodical absence without pecuniary loss." There is a vehement difference of opinion on this point between most physicians and most reformers, and a vehement perplexity in the minds of a great many others; but there can be no question that such books as this are sure to do good by calling attention to a very important subject.

NOW IS THE TIME TO ENLIST!

The Boston Liberal League, as will be seen by the special report on another page, held its second annual meeting last Friday night, elected its officers, and passed resolutions which will receive, it is hoped, the earnest attention of all our readers. The following letters, from men whose toils and triumphs are written imperishably in the records of humanity's long struggle for liberty and equal rights, were read to the meeting by the President, and received with the applause which every passing year does but deepen and widen at the mention of their honored names:—

MR. PHILLIPS' LETTER.

[BOSTON], 12 April, 1875.

DEAR SIR:—

Excuse me for not writing earlier. My wife's illness and other things that demanded my attention wholly prevented correspondence. I have just found time to read your close, clear, and most exhaustive statements of the case. They seem to leave nothing to be said. Of course you see I am entirely with you in your views [on the church-exemption question]—cannot see how Eliot and the rest fail to see their soundness.

But as to speaking, I am wholly unable to coöperate with you now. I have not been able, with one exception, to leave my house of an evening for seven months, and during the day cannot promise to-day to do anything at a fixed hour to-morrow.

This forces me to refuse all invitations to speak. Hence I must ask to be excused.

Yours truly,

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

F. E. ABBOT.

MR. GARRISON'S LETTER.

ROXBURY, May 2, 1875.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Circumstances oblige me to decline the invitation extended to me, in behalf of the Boston Liberal League, to participate in the proceedings at the next meeting of the League on the evening of the 7th inst.; but I am heartily with that organization for repealing the exemption of church property from taxation, excluding the Bible from our common schools, and making the separation between Church and State wide as the poles asunder. Religion, under whatever form or however technically designated, must stand or fall upon its own merits.

Yours for equal rights,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

The proposal by the Philadelphia Liberal League to commence immediately preparations for a general gathering of all the Leagues at that city in the Centennial Year, and its appointment of a Committee for that purpose consisting of Damon Y. Kilgore, Mary Pratt, and J. B. Beam, at least open the way for important practical work. The Boston League has now voted its approval of the plan, and elected five delegates to the preliminary meeting of next September; namely, A. Bronson Alcott, B. F. Underwood, John Wetherbee, George A. Bacon, F. E. Abbot. There are nearly thirty Leagues which have reported their formation to THE INDEX, and probably many others which have neglected to do so; and if all of these should also elect five delegates apiece, a very respectable conference in point of number might be assembled to draw up an effective plan for holding a great Convention in 1876. They might prepare and issue a combined appeal to the country to take up this great reform, to institute new Leagues all over the country, and to make the growing demand of American intelligence and patriotism for a more completely and consistently secularized Republic heard, and heard respectfully, from Maine to California.

The plan of proceedings now proposed to secure these great results is perfectly democratic and free from all objections. No self-constituted junta or ring have got together in a back-room, laid their wires, and cut-and-dried the whole movement so as to keep control of it and secure the offices for themselves. But Philadelphia publicly invites the radicals of the country to meet in fair and open conference, each League sending five delegates to represent it, and the whole assembly thus being untrammelled in its entire action. Boston responds to this invitation, elects her delegates, and hopes that her sister cities and towns will do the same. Never was a more favorable opportunity than now for effectual union of the liberal forces for a bold and vigorous campaign. Let every American community, large or small, where a dozen or twenty-five liberals can be found, organize a Liberal League forthwith, elect the best delegates they can, and make the great gathering of 1876 memorable forever in the history of free thought by the grand results that shall grow out of it.

For mark: *the Liberal League is not for talk, but ACTION.* If five hundred or a thousand Leagues should be represented in 1876 (and there is no reason why they may not, if you only do your part to-day),

a plan of combined action can be determined on by the Convention which shall ultimately put an end for all time to the constant humiliations and insults and outrages to which free thought is still exposed in this country in the name of Law.

For one, I chafe with irrepressible indignation at these wrongs; they are committed against every man who thinks and dares to speak his honest thought. If Paul was willing to be "reckoned a fool for Christ's sake," I am willing to be reckoned a fool for Freedom's sake; and therefore I appeal to all you radicals who have the pride of freemen and the enthusiasm of liberty burning in your souls, to close ranks, forward march, and meet at Philadelphia in 1876!

Yours, if you are Freedom's,

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP.

Perhaps no two words could be chosen that would better express the main ideas of the Free Religious movement than the words *Freedom* and *Fellowship*.

That movement is conditioned on the right of every individual mind to entire freedom of inquiry and opinion. Liberty of thought in matters of religion, even though the thought should run counter to all the old theological claims, is perhaps the most vital impulse of the movement. In this respect the movement is the logical ultimatum of the old Protestant principle of individual judgment in the reading and interpretation of the Bible. The principle of mental freedom was but partially stated, indeed, by the Protestant Reformers, yet it was the real life of the Reformation; and the right of individual inquiry and judgment, being once allowed, soon became a power that broke through the illogical bounds by which it was at first attempted to limit it. The power that was to sit in judgment in reading the Bible and determining its meaning began soon to question some things that were in the Bible. Then it began to be asked whether the power that was qualified to interpret an oracle might not have been equal to giving the oracle; and finally came the declaration of absolute mental liberty in religion, unrestricted by the claims of any book or church or specific religion or special religious teacher: and this is the central impulse of the Free Religious movement.

But this principle alone would not explain the movement. At least, when the Free Religious Association came, which was an attempt to give expression to the movement by a simple form of organization, another principle besides that of mental liberty showed its vitality. And this was the impulse of fellowship. It had begun to be felt that freedom need not necessarily separate; that the fullest recognition of the right of individual inquiry and judgment need not of necessity lead to individual isolation; that free thought, if it were worth anything, if it were really the human mind emancipated from artificial and unnatural thralldom, ought to be affirmative, positive, constructive; and that there should be in a body of people thus mentally emancipated such large and trustful acknowledgment of the sacredness of individual thought as to draw them into active sympathy and cooperation with each other. In fine, it had begun to be felt that there might be real fellowship in religion, genuine coöperation in spirit and in aim, on the basis of perfect individual liberty of thought. Heretofore religious fellowships had rested on the basis of a dogma or on the intellectual acceptance of a common faith. They were fellowships of the "brethren" of a sect or a church, the very terms of the bond of union excluding and disfellowshipping vastly more than were included. But why should there not be fellowship on the basis of trust in rational thought? The opinions to which reason may lead individuals may be various; but in reason itself, to which they all appeal, is a common bond of union. Individual consciences may differ and conflict; but in the common recognition of a law of right they may come together on one platform. On the answers to the questions, "What is true?" or "What is right?" men will divide and dispute; but in the aspiration after truth and right are elements as universal as the human race. And people are beginning to see that religious fellowship may more securely rest on common mental aspirations, trusts, impulses that naturally inhere in the human mind, than on any dogmas or systems of theological faith at which any individual minds or particular sects may have arrived. Where there is the most genuine freedom, not only claimed but respected, there may be also the closest and most abiding fellowship.

These remarks have been suggested by the title of a book, *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion*, which has been prepared by a Committee of the Free Religious Association, and which is about to be published.

by the well-known publishers, Roberts Brothers. It is a compilation of Essays and Addresses by different writers and speakers, representing various phases of liberal religious thought, both speculative and practical. In itself it well illustrates its title; and its title well embodies the two characteristics which best describe the most vital religious tendencies of our time.

W. J. P.

TOO MUCH GOVERNMENT.

It is Thomas Jefferson, I believe, who is credited with the remark that "that country is governed best which is governed least." Our fathers seemed to be of this opinion when they resisted the too-much governing propensity of George the Third, and established the independence of the United States upon a form of government as simple as it was wise. Their idea was to decentralize the governing power, and to distribute it as widely as possible; instead of lodging it in one man's hands, or in one parliament, they sought to put it into the hands of every citizen. This was in substance and effect to diminish government quantitatively, and to increase it qualitatively; to divest it of political and invest it with moral significance. Thus the New World got less government, and better. Thus it got a government in which there was less of will and more of conscience; a government located, not where the throne was, but where the individual, responsible citizen was.

The Jeffersonian maxim, above quoted, obtained a good statement and a good illustration in the original form of government adopted by the first United States. The grand idea of local self-government was announced, and the grander one of individual sovereignty plainly suggested. The world was astonished at the audacious assertion of the capacity of man to govern himself, and of the needlessness of kings, of titled aristocracies, and unpopular parliaments. It was astonished, and yet delighted; for the unspoiled heart of humanity is always ready to receive a nobler ideal, though it grope and stumble long and wearily to realize it.

Even the American people have faltered in the carrying out of the idea that inspired their independence. The federal government of these United States is not to-day so liberal and democratic, either in form or in spirit, as it was in the beginning. The new Constitution of 1787, which superseded the original articles of confederation, surrendered somewhat of the idea of local self-government and individual sovereignty, and embodied a more centralized form of government, which assumed not only to control the action of the several States but of the people of the States. This retrogressive step in the history of American liberty was taken, it is true, in obedience to what was thought to be the stern necessity of the time; but it was vigorously contested by some of the noblest and wisest spirits among the revolutionary fathers, who believed that the conferring of such extraordinary powers upon the central government was dangerous to the liberties of the people. Then and there this nation reclothed itself with political instead of moral significance; then and there it laid the foundation for the division of the people into two great political parties—one striving for, the other against, the enlargement of the powers of the central government—and set in motion the whole train of strifes and corruptions which have characterized American politics from that day to this.

From that day to this, the federal government has been growing in self-consciousness, and gathering into its hands increase of power. More and more it has made its influence felt throughout the States, and encouraged the habit among the people of looking to and depending upon its edicts and its action. Especially has this tendency to centralization increased since the civil war, during the whole period of which the federal government was well nigh omnipotent, and the States hardly more than dependencies upon it. In a superstitious reverence for the Union, which that war engendered, the old doctrine of State sovereignty and local self-government has been greatly overshadowed, and in not a few cases ruthlessly sacrificed. Not only by its military but by its civil arm does the central government make its power felt in every part of the land. The army of federal office-holders is immense; and, scattered as they are throughout the length and breadth of the nation, they are able to and do exercise a most potent influence in controlling local elections and local legislation. Thus the people are actually ruled by a horde of politicians who take their cue directly or indirectly from the central government; we have little or no political existence that is not shaped by its

ambitious hand, and all our civilization is tainted by corrupting influences that flow from national politics.

It is to be hoped that this tendency to depend upon a strong, centralized government will have soon its culmination in this country, and that then we shall return to the simple and pure democracy with which our fathers started,—trying again to prove how true it is that when a people are governed least they are governed best, because the individual conscience is developed, and the sense of individual responsibility brought to bear upon the life of each and all. Both from our national and State governments we need less interference with personal and private affairs. If by both congress and the local legislature fewer laws were passed to regulate those concerns which the people in their individual and social capacity could much more wisely attend to, it would be far better for us all. As it is, we are perfectly enmeshed in a chaos of acts and statutes which all the lawyers and courts in the land are kept busy quarrelling over and trying to explain. Considering how hasty and foolish most of our legislation is, and how corrupt our national and State politics are, would it not be better if we had fewer and shorter sessions of congress and the legislature? Suppose congress were to meet but once in four years (every time a new Administration were chosen), and each State legislature but once in three years, does any one imagine that the real interests of the people would be neglected thereby? Indeed, I think that all except politicians would feel relieved and rejoiced greatly by such an arrangement. Possibly we might thus the sooner find that we could afford to abolish the State house and the capitol altogether, and depend alone upon the schoolhouse and the town-house, the occasional congress of social science and of inter-national arbitration.

The disposition which we Americans have to hasten into politics with every matter that concerns our social welfare, and to settle all such questions by party voting, I can but think is one we too much indulge in. Whatever momentous issue we so strive to settle generally contrives soon to get unsettled again. What is voted up to-day may be voted down to-morrow. A written law determines nothing permanently, any more than a written creed. Besides, both may prove very embarrassing to a larger thought and a better deed. Public opinion is stronger than any law; private conscience is often truer. What you can build by freedom, and on the basis of actual public and private morality, that you are entitled to build; nothing more. Anything which invokes force or provokes it, this may establish things temporarily, but not permanently. *Only the calm and slow-working power of truth and love can create and ordain that which shall last forever.*

A. W. S.

A LESSON FROM LEXINGTON:

APRIL 19, 1875.

At this first centennial anniversary of the "glorious morning," as Samuel Adams called it, when was "fired the shot heard round the world," one feels like celebrating the event (though he cannot put his foot on to the sacred ground) by some commemorative ceremony. Every American whose heart beats true to liberty must honor the men who fought for it, and will recall with patriotic pride the day that inaugurated a war which issued in our national independence.

But our whole duty does not consist in defending a liberty which our forefathers won. We have a liberty to win for ourselves, an inalienable right to a religious independence which they could not bequeath to us. There is now going on a revolution in habits of thought and in religious convictions, which is as significant and far-reaching in its influence as the political Revolution of 1775. There is a war of religious ideas in every community, fought without bayonet of steel and bloodshed, but just as true and fierce a struggle of ideas as that which occurred at Lexington a century ago.

Our forefathers rebelled against "taxation without representation." We are protesting and rebelling against taxation of the mind with all sorts of superstitions, vulgarities, religious nonsense, and pious fraud, which, in our opinion, sap the mind of its vigor, suppress originality, confine the sympathies, cramp the reason, and impoverish the mind, more than the three-penny tax on the tea hurt the pockets of our grandsires. Like them, we are contending for a democratic idea, a republican principle. They protested against the doctrine of the "divine right" of kings to rule in State; we protest against the divine right of kings in Church. We carry into religion what they carried out in government.

Republicanism in State in 1775 meant exactly what

Radicalism in religion means in 1875—the right of the individual to think for himself, act for himself, and rule himself, in opposition to the claims of kings and traditionary laws. The American Revolution settled this question, that we shall not bow down to a king in government; and we are now in the midst of a revolution to decide the question whether we shall bow down to these spiritual kings, the Catholic pope or the Protestant Bible, interpreted by little popes called preachers. One fought for political liberty, justice, equality, and progress; the other is a struggle for religious liberty, equality, and progress.

However long and severe may be the battle of ideas, we cannot doubt the issue will be the overthrow of all kinds of spiritual kings, and the establishment of the right of man to use his reason and common-sense, and rule himself in religion as he does in politics. Already, with many of us, the battle is won. We have had our Lexington and Yorktown; but thousands of others stand wavering, doubtful whether to endure taxation and remain a tory son and defender of the old king-faiths, or join the volunteers in the army of freedom.

What Republicanism has done for our government it will do, we believe, for our religion,—make it free, rational, and progressive. It will emancipate the mind from bondage to debasing superstition, traditional fear, idle ceremony, and spiritual tyranny, and make the religious slave a free man.

If you lack confidence in the principles of Free Religion, learn a lesson from the men of 1775. See how the men who fought for liberty were thrice-armed, because their quarrel was just. It certainly was confidence in the justice of their cause which sustained the patriots when they were retreating from Long Island, New York Island, Fort Washington, Philadelphia, and shivering with bleeding feet around their camp-fires at Valley Forge; and Washington himself almost despaired, and declared that, unless he had relief within ten days, he feared "the game was up." "One with God is a majority," said Frederick Douglass. Let every man who thinks he is right feel like that "one."

Another lesson we religious republicans can learn from our patriot sires is *fidelity to conviction*.

British gold bought Benedict Arnold, and his name is a hissing in our mouths. They tried to buy Gen. Joseph Reed by a proffer of £10,000; but the noble man replied, "I am not worth purchasing; but, such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to buy me." I do not know but some people to-day sell their interest in truth for a little interest in business. Like Judas, they betray their Master for a few pieces of silver. We need men in these times as much as they did a century ago—men of moral backbone, men who will stand by their principles like the soldier of 1775 by his guns. When the members of Congress came up to sign the Declaration of Independence, John Hancock, who headed it, said to the others: "We must be unanimous; there must be no pulling different ways; we must all hang together." Ben. Franklin replied, "Yes, we must all hang together, or else we shall hang separately."

The dreadful alternative of "hanging separately" doesn't stare us in the face; but if we desert our post, and turn traitor to duty, it would be about as well for humanity if we felt the shame and remorse of the betrayer of old, and went out and hanged ourselves.

Another lesson we may learn from our century fathers, and that is *self-sacrifice*. George Washington is said to have made the most eloquent speech of that generation, more eloquent even than Patrick Henry's famous speech in the Virginia Assembly. It was in a convention met just before the war to consider relief for Boston, laid under embargo by the hateful Port Bill. Washington arose, and quietly said: "I will raise one thousand men, and subsidize them at my own expense, and march myself at their head for the relief of Boston." And the orator sat down. Washington was rich, but unlike most of the rich men of that day, who were Tories, probably because they feared the shattering of their fortunes in the shock of war. They loved pounds better than principle.

Said Gen. Stark to his troops before Bennington: "There are the red-coats! Before night we must conquer them, or Molly Stark is a widow." Napoleon never made a more inspiring address to the Grand Army. Of course the Americans were victorious.

Now the times may not demand of us that we offer our fortune, like Washington, or our life, like Stark, for liberty; but it does appeal to every radical that he give a *part* of his fortune and his life to establishing and defending on this continent the principles of republicanism in religion.

The idea that some radicals entertain and advo-

cate, if they have force enough to speak at all, that we must wait, sit still, fold hands, and let things "right themselves," is a moral paralysis that will effect about as much in the real work of reform as a dried-up mullein-stock in a sheep pasture. As well say that our forefathers would have won their independence by quietly paying for British stamps, and silently sipping British tea! "Freedom in the air"? Yes, because it got under the hair of their heads, and stirred their blood.

The "spirit of the age" fights no battles. It is a ghost, and cannot strike a blow for liberty unless it takes possession of you and me, and leads us out to Lexington.

W. H. S.

Communications.

APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE!

Is the liberty of conscience guaranteed inviolable by the Constitution of the United States a sham?

The signers of the following statement appeal to the American people for justice, for the fulfilment of sacred promises, and reparation for a foul insult perpetrated by two zealous Pennsylvania judges. Can the citizens of the Great Republic afford to have their liberties trampled under foot? And will they allow their country to be held up to the ridicule and scorn of the enlightened world?

Citizens of the Republic, read this!

PHILADELPHIA, March 11, 1875.

On Friday, March 5, 1875, the undersigned accompanied Mr. Julius Nieland on his way to procure his second naturalization papers; Mr. Nieland had his "first papers" with him, duly made out two years and two days previously. The certificate of citizenship was filled out for him, whereupon we were told to go into any court to take the oath. Court room No. 2 being less thronged than the other court rooms, we entered there and applied to one of the two judges present. Immediately an official handed us a Bible, which remained in our hands, the said clerk having left us very quickly and there being no table near by. The judge began to read the oath, when we told him that we wished to "affirm." Upon a sign by the judge the clerk took the Bible away from us, asking us in a rude manner, "Why did you take it?" We answered, "Because you gave it to us." Then the judge asked, "Have you a reason for not wanting to swear by the Bible?" We evaded the direct answer by simply repeating our wish to "affirm," and asked why we should not be allowed to do so. The judge repeating his question, we admitted that we had a reason. He then asked us whether we did not believe in the doctrines of the Bible. We answered that we believed in morality, but not in "revelations"; Mr. Nieland here said he was an infidel. Thereupon the judge asked whether we believed in a supreme being. We did not enter upon this question, having neither time nor inclination to explain our views. The judge now refused to administer the oath (or affirmation), and told Mr. Nieland, *that, being an infidel, he could not become a citizen.* The other judge nodded his approval, ringing the bell at the same time to announce the adjournment of the court. We asked him for his name and that of the other judge. Their names were Pratt and Hare.

The foregoing proves that, although we endeavored to prevent giving offence, the inquisitorial examination of the judge compelled us to profess a creed, and that the latter gave him a pretext for grossly violating the liberty of conscience guaranteed by the Constitution.

(Signed) F. BIELEFELD.

I certify to the correctness of the above statements.

(Signed) JULIUS NIELAND.

MORE ABOUT "WORDS, WORDS, WORDS!"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—If I thought that I had hastily and inconsiderately drawn the conclusion I did from the heading you prefixed to my letter on the "anti-Christian" controversy, I should tender you an immediate and ample apology for my haste and inconsiderateness. But knowing, as I do, that the only two persons besides myself here who (so far as I am aware) saw my letter in print were impressed in precisely the same way as I was, and that one of them spoke to me of the way you had headed it as an injustice before any other words were exchanged by us on the subject, I can but think that, if inconsiderateness there were, it was with you in taking a step so extremely open to misconstruction.

You say I did myself what I accused you of doing. Pardon me. What I complained of was that my case had been injured in advance by being labelled "Words, Words, Words!" My intervention in the controversy only occurred after your case had been fully stated; and then I confined myself to argument against it. I am extremely surprised at this attempted retort.

Yours truly,

WM. D. LESUEUR.

OTTAWA, May 1, 1875.

[If our correspondent had only taken the slight trouble of prefixing to his article such a heading as he would like, no misunderstanding could have arisen out of the necessity of supplying this deficiency. That any misunderstanding of the one we hurriedly prefixed might arise, we did not dream at the time; but of course we regret it very sincerely

now, inasmuch as our unfortunate selection has given quite unintended annoyance.

We only said that Mr. LeSueur had done "in substance" what he accused us of doing: the difference he points out above in the two cases is a real one, but not at all important. What was the "injury" he complained of? Simply that we had characterized his article (as he mistakenly construed the heading) as mere "words"; although a very little reflection on the note we appended should have undeceived him. But he did really characterize our own discussion with Mr. Morse as essentially mere verbiage. That is the *gravamen* of the charge in either case—a charge which we did not make, but one which Mr. LeSueur did make and has not withdrawn. Whether the charge was contained in a prefixed heading or in a subsequent criticism, is an utterly trivial circumstance of the case. In our turn we are "extremely surprised" that, if he considers a charge of useless verbiage offensive in a mere heading, he should consider it inoffensive when pressed deliberately in a main article; and that with his own view of the matter, when his attention has been called to the fact of his having made this charge himself, he should not hasten to withdraw it. But we do not even wish any such withdrawal on our own account; we took not the slightest offence at the accusation of having carried on a profitless discussion that turned on nothing but "names," but as cheerfully submitted to this criticism as we do to most other criticisms that seem to us unreasonable. More than "two persons" have expressed to us their astonishment at Mr. LeSueur's misapprehension of the heading complained of; and their astonishment will scarcely be less at his inability to perceive even now that he had really done himself what he merely imagined us to do.—Ed.]

"UNWORTHY MOTIVES."

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

"How can it be a matter of very great importance what name a man adopts, so long as he thoroughly understands the state of his own mind, and is not governed either in its adoption or rejection by an unworthy motive?"

The above is an extract from a communication by Mr. Wm. D. LeSueur to THE INDEX of April 8, upon which I desire briefly to comment. This extract is really the whole article in embryo. It is the root to which may be traced the branches, leaves, and blossoms of the entire vine. In it are compactly folded the ideas, the reasonings, and also the sophistries that are discernible through the whole communication. By his sophistical method of putting the question, Mr. LeSueur assumes to decide the very point at issue, which is: Can a man, unless governed by an unworthy motive, adopt a name that misrepresents his position, or reject one that correctly indicates it? Now I assume, Mr. Editor, that there is a class of reformers who are laboring to overthrow all there is in Christianity that gives it its name; such as the belief in miracles and all the absurd traditions of the Church, all superstitious veneration for its ceremonies and its books,—in short, everything about it of human device, and not elemental in all forms of faith.

It is these only that form what is called Christianity, for the utter eradication of which the Free Religionists are laboring. Now the question is: Can a man engaged in this reform, however thoroughly he may "understand the state of his own mind," refuse to be known as an anti-Christian, unless governed by an unworthy motive? I think he cannot. If he opposes Christianity, it is because he deems it an evil. Then why not hoist his true colors? How much headway would Garrison have made against slavery, had he been as gingerly towards his pro-slavery neighbors as Mr. LeSueur avows himself towards his Christian neighbors? Suppose Dr. Miner should call himself a *free-runist*, and decline to be called a prohibitionist on the ground that "the term would be understood in a very much wider sense than he attaches to it himself": what should we say of his motives, or sanity even? If men would keep in mind that in opposing Christianity they are literally doing Jesus' work over again, the name of anti-Christian would not be such a bugbear. But—"short articles from voluntary contributors." Z.

EAST SOMERVILLE, Mass., April 29.

[We owe it to Mr. LeSueur to say here that we do not think for a moment that he intended any "sophistries" whatever in the article alluded to, but that his view of the matter discussed is every whit as sincere as our own. And we owe it equally to many other radicals who differ from us, and who decline to call themselves anti-Christians, to say that no "unworthy motives" should be attributed to them at all. There is no need of any such derogatory imputations. So long as the existing confusion respecting Christianity prevails, there is nothing to wonder at in the fact that so many free thinkers fail to discern their own real relations to it. It is our whole object in this discussion to dissipate the fog that envelops the fact; to show clearly that all free thinkers are opposing Christianity the *thing*, whatever they may do with the *name*; and that the cause of free thought will be advantaged in every way, when the

actual state of the case is universally recognized. But let us avoid casting out insinuations against each other's integrity or honesty. We never mean to do this, though, if we should find occasion, we should not hesitate to make a bold, open charge. As it is, we regret the unconscious blindness of many who think they see; while we respect their motives all the same. The work of THE INDEX is that of an eye-opener; and, however some may be offended by it, we know that more are grateful for it. The chief foe of free thought is intellectual darkness, and not moral obliquity; that is why we aim chiefly at intellectual enlightenment, and bring no "railing accusations."—Ed.]

"SPIRITUALISM."

F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—I am much interested in the discussion carried on in your columns of the merits or demerits of "Spiritualism," and pleased with the attitude of the editors of THE INDEX. By your kind permission I would like to "communicate" with the materialistic portion of your readers.

Surrounded as we are by mysteries apparently impenetrable, and conscious how limited our real knowledge is, it seems to me that prudence would counsel moderation in the presence of the Unknown. Out of the jungle of conflicting assertions and opinions I see but one path; it is called "the scientific method." I would apply it to Spiritualism as well as all the problems of life, and calmly await the result instead of losing patience because "epidemic delusions" would not, like Banquo's, down at my bidding.

I detest humbugs as much as any of you can; I despise shams, and indignantly spurn them whenever they are proven to be such. But my experience does not enable me to say conclusively that Spiritualism is so proven. On the contrary, I am not quite certain that Spiritualism is not the answer to the question of the ages: "If a man die, shall he live again?" We all know how exceedingly natural it is to desire to extend this lease of life "beyond this vale of tears"; how prone we are to entertain "this pleasing thought, this longing after immortality." How agreeable to us it would be to be assured that "it is not all of life to live," and that we shall meet our beloved ones "beyond the veil"! I repeat, this is natural and desirable; yet I do not lose sight of the fact that that does not prove it to be true. The wish is often father to the thought. But of one thing I am pretty thoroughly convinced: if Spiritualism does not or cannot prove immortality (or at least a future life), then we may despair of its ever being proven or realized.

The importance, then, of Spiritualism is not to be overlooked by those who care for a future life—of whom I confess myself one. To such serene and self-poised souls as Holyoke, Mill, Strauss, and Lyell, a future state of existence may be an unimportant matter; inasmuch as they had each filled, and well filled, their appropriate niches in the great temple of Nature,—had each sounded full and clear as a note in the grand anthem of the universe. But for such half-finished and undeveloped natures as mine, another life is an absolute necessity, if I ever expect to pay the debt of Nature.

But, however desirable a future life may be, I am fully aware that the proof of its existence must rest on other grounds. Let us interrogate Nature to ascertain, if possible, what facts exist (if any) to render it probable that Spiritualism may be true.

I. What is spirit? Spiritualism, discarding the senseless distinction between matter and spirit, replies: "Matter is an exceedingly attenuated form." But the further question arises: "How is this known?" and the reply is, "Matter in some form or other is the only thing of which we can have any objective conception."

Again it may be asked: "What evidence have we that pure spirit exists independent of the body, when it does not or cannot manifest itself to any of the five senses?"

II. Before proceeding to answer the foregoing question, it might not be out of place to inquire whether our knowledge is confined to the evidence of the senses?

When we recollect that Laplace's Nebular theory, Newton's theory of Gravitation, and the Undulatory theory of Light are all based upon a pure assumption, the existence of an inter-stellar medium called ether, and that even the Atomic theory of Dalton is the fruit of a purely scientific imagination, we shall be prepared to comprehend how much we are indebted to the intellect alone for our knowledge.

It is not always safe to conclude that that which cannot be demonstrated to the senses does not exist. Our senses, in fact, are very limited in power and scope. There is a vast world of physical phenomena below the range of the senses, of which they take no cognizance, and an infinitude above them which they never reach. We will take but two examples. Hearing and Sight. The lowest note which the ear is able to detect is caused by a wave in the air of about 70 feet in length; and, as sound moves through the air, at 32 degs. Fahrenheit, 1090 feet per second, there would be about 16 waves or vibrations of the tympanum per second. The highest audible note or wave moves at the same velocity, but vibrates 38,000 times per second, and is less than one half inch in length.

This, it is true, is an ample range; but, if it were possible to invent such adventitious aids to the ear as the telescope and microscope are to the eye, a new world of sounds would be opened up to the astonished auditory nerves; sound compared to which the

hum of the mosquito's wing would resemble rolling thunder.

If we take the solar spectrum, we find that the waves of ether that produce the sensation we call red must follow each other in such quick succession that 37,640 of them would measure but an inch before they possess the power to stir the retina of the eye; while violet, at the other extreme of the spectrum, requires 60,000 waves per inch. This constitutes the range of vision; yet below the red is another set of invisible rays which constitute almost the entire heating power of the sunbeam, while above the violet is yet another band of invisible rays that furnish the actinic or chemical power of sunlight. It is these rays that act so important a part in the economy of Nature; yet they are never seen by the unaided eye.

The sense of sight alone utterly fails to picture to us waves of light following each other at the rate of 535,000,000,000,000 per second, and traversing space at the rate of 192,000 miles in the same short period of time. Yet this is a matter of scientific demonstration. When we take into consideration, also, how easily the senses are imposed upon, we ought to be cautious about condemning or approving anything on their testimony alone.

III. There are at present 63 simple or elementary substances known to chemistry whose protean combinations make up the visible world; amongst these we find a great diversity of qualities. Let us take for instance one only of these qualities—weight. Beginning with platinum, one of the heavier metals, let us gradually ascend the scale and we shall ultimately arrive at hydrogen gas, which is a quarter of a million times lighter than platinum; yet this exceedingly attenuated gas is one of the most powerful agents in Nature. Hydrogen constitutes, as it were, the highest note in the elementary scale. But the intellect refuses to stop here. By the pure force of a logical necessity, it rises to the conception of inter-stellar ether, of which Prof. Tyndall says: "It is almost infinitely more attenuated than any known gas." Yet he adds: "Of its reality most scientific men are as convinced as they are of the existence of the sun and moon."

Now let us candidly consider if it would be doing violence to the scientific imagination to ascend one step higher, and entertain the conception of a still more ethereal but still more potent substance, to which we give the name of spirit; or, if you prefer it, a medium through which the particular form of force called spirit acts or makes itself manifest? I confess the idea is not "unthinkable" to me; neither is it repugnant to my reason. If, then, it is possible for spirit to exist *per se*, I do not see the impossibility, or improbability of its independent existence after the death of the body; and, if its relations to the body while living are such as they are generally conceded to be, I fail to appreciate the incongruity of its being able to communicate with kindred spirit in the body after its independent existence is established.

IV. I am aware of the objections to the foregoing considerations that will naturally arise in the mind of a pupil of Du Bois Reymond or Büchner: i. e., mind is but a function of matter in an organized form, as secretion is the function of the liver, or digestion that of the stomach; and that function of course ceases with the destruction of the organ. But is it demonstrated that such is the case? I think not. I am not aware that Messrs. Büchner and Co. even claim to have done so; they simply find it a convenient assumption upon which to base an explanation of something otherwise deemed inexplicable. But I submit that, if the scientific materialist is permitted to use an assumption as a stepping stone to the solution of the mystery of mind, the scientific Spiritualist is equally at liberty to do so.

I must not here be understood as denying the Materialistic assumption, or affirming that of the Spiritualist. I simply claim that the Materialist, in the absence of positive knowledge on the subject, is hardly justifiable in dogmatically denying the existence of spirit *per se*, and even contemptuously reading the honest Spiritualist out of court. I must be permitted to say that I very much regret that such able and usually fair-minded men as Dr. Carpenter and Prof. Tyndall should so far forget themselves as unqualifiedly to condemn Spiritualism, apparently without its ever having occurred to them to apply to it their favorite scientific method. Dogmatism and intolerance do not lose their essential qualities by being transferred from the domain of theology to that of science.

V. There is another objection that may be fairly urged against my views of the nature of spirit. Although analogy may be relied upon to render it probable that spirit may exist separately *en masse*, yet it fails to account for it in the form of organized individualities, each a distinct entity, an ego.

To this I reply that there is nothing more absurd in the idea of spirit assuming the personal form than there is in the fact of the constituent elements of the body assuming such form. In fact, the further the analogy is pursued, the more complete it is; amounting almost to a demonstration of a personal *post mortem* existence.

VI. I suppose "the world will little note" whether I stand personally outside or inside of Spiritualism. Yet I deem it proper to say that I am not a Spiritualist; but at the same time I would not deem it wise to place myself under bonds not to become one. For fifteen years I have given the subject of Spiritualism such attention as my time and opportunities permitted; and, as the result of my investigations, I feel bound to declare that it is not to be disposed of by contemptuously pooch-pooching of the whole matter. After all the frauds, hoaxes, and swindles are eliminated, there still remains a solid residuum that cannot, like Othello's love, be "blown to heaven" with a puff of breath.

I freely grant that the opponents of Spiritualism

are entitled to the full benefit of the Katie King *exposé*; yet I think that the true searchers after truth will hesitate to pronounce such men as Professors Hare, Crookes, and Wallace silly dupes of bold imposters.

VII. To sum up in brief:—

1. I take it for granted that the living human body is animated by some thing which the dead one is not.
2. I call that something spirit.
3. I regard its *post mortem* existence as probable.
4. I see nothing to prevent spirit out of the body from communicating with spirit in the body.
5. I do not know that it actually does so communicate.

6. Whenever the evidence is satisfactory or conclusive, I shall become a Spiritualist. I will "adopt new views so soon as they are proven to be true views."

To forsake error and cleave to what appears to be truth is the duty of every conscientious and rational being. None the less is it our duty to investigate to the extent of our ability, before we either accept or reject.

We must not lose sight of the fact that Spiritualism is not, and never claimed to be, any form of Supernaturalism. It does not teach and lays no claim to the miraculous. Its votaries believe in "the self-existence, the eternity, and the sufficiency of Nature, and the universality and invariableness of natural law."

Until we have fully familiarized ourselves with the capabilities of Nature, and ascertained to a certainty what she can accomplish, I think we ought to be careful about making rash assertions as to what she cannot do.

When we are prepared to answer Pilate's question, "What is truth?" we shall be fully competent to decide adversely to the claims of Spiritualism.

Fraternalty yours, HARRY HOOVER.
{ CURWENSVILLE, Clearfield Co., Pa.,
{ April 14, 1875.

PRAYER.

As the agitation on the subject of prayer seems to have passed away, it is a good time for reviewing some of the doctrines of prayer which have been held. Until recently I thought that only Unitarians, and radical Unitarians at that, defined prayer as simply an acknowledgment of our dependence upon God for all things, the only effect of which is upon ourselves, not upon God. But I find that Dr. Blair and others of the Scotch Church held the same view, and that in the middle of the last century a Professor of Theology at Glasgow, being accused of heresy for holding the same opinion, was condemned by the Presbytery, but acquitted by the Synod, and that the General Assembly refused to reverse the decision of the Synod. [See Clarke's *Doctrine of Prayer*, p. 105.] If this were all that is meant by prayer, I should have no scruples against praying. I could also thank God for what I have received, for life itself, as I enjoy the merely animal act of living. I should not be willing, however, to use words in a very different signification from what I believe to be the ordinary one, unless the persons with whom I prayed understood my position precisely. But I believe that any one who without prejudice examines all the passages in the New Testament relating to prayer will find that the New Testament permits and enjoins, not only the humble acknowledgment of our dependence upon God, and the giving of thanks, but petition for temporal and spiritual gifts, with the promise that those who ask with faith and in the name of Jesus shall receive. James Freeman Clarke, in his work on Prayer, seems to delude himself with the belief that he is advocating just such prayer and the efficacy of it. He does appear to advocate special providences. But he thinks that "in the name of Christ" means "in the spirit of Christ;" that is, the spirit which says "Thy will be done," and desires nothing contrary to the will of God. But if God is omnipotent to execute his will, and answers our prayers only when they are in harmony with his will, then the same things will be done whether we pray or not; and I do not see wherein the efficacy of prayer consists. Again, Dr. Clarke believes in the freedom of the will. But, if God's will be free, then in any given case there is nothing to compel or to hinder his answering or not answering our prayer; and, as He is supposed to be omniscient, there is nothing to compel or hinder his giving us what we need without our praying for it.

I do not know whether F. W. Robertson has anywhere given his views on the subject of free-will and necessity explicitly; but other opinions of his imply a belief in freedom. He is still further consistent in holding that prayer has no effect on God. But he is unfortunate in the reasons given for his views on prayer. He admits that prayer was never commanded by Christ, and was taught only when asked by his disciples. But he says that, as we need sympathy, and in our deepest feelings recoil from cold, unsympathizing natures, prayer is a necessity of our nature; that in such an hour even the most resigned are not without the wish, "Let this cup pass"; that therefore we have the right of petition. If prayer be simply a wish without the least expectation of having it granted (e. g., the wish that we could fly up to the moon), and all the sympathy we expect is that of a God who knows what is best for us and will give it to us whether we desire it or not, I have no objection to this; though it seems to me to be something very different from petition. Again, he says that Christ prayed; therefore we may, though it may seem to us useless. But if Christ were God, how could prayer to himself have any meaning, and how could prayer to himself teach me to pray to a being who is not myself? If Christ were not God, then he was finite, finite in knowledge, imperfectly developed in his whole intellectual nature, as all finite intelli-

gences are, and must be eternally; and how could any action or all the actions of his life be an infallible rule for me?

Some would have us believe that the Christian, armed with prayer, is not only too strong for the devil and wicked men, but stronger than God himself; that prayer moves the arm that moves the universe. The stock argument against such a view of prayer (and Robertson has adopted it) is its supposed incompatibility with the fact that this universe is a system of laws; that "to heave a pebble on the seashore one yard higher up would change all antecedents from creation, and all consequents to the end of time." But, if I believed in the freedom of the human will, I should have no difficulty here. God could modify any natural force more easily than man; and, if he did, such divine interference would be subject to observation, and it would be found that prayer is a natural force acting like other natural forces according to a law of its own. Whether prayer is answered in this way, I cannot say. Some, with Robertson, say not; while those holding the opposite view are not wanting in number or intelligence. Such persons, while they hold that God does not answer such prayers as he sees are best unanswered, also hold that, in the very act of prayer, the power or absence of power to believe indicates whether God will answer the prayer. Still, in view of the foregoing considerations, I think it impossible on the hypothesis of free will that prayer should be answered. I think it equally evident that, on the hypothesis of necessity, prayer can have no effect on an omniscient God. For, although a very wise being is not necessarily a very good being, an infinitely wise being is necessarily an infinitely good being; and, the very best course for us and for the universe being ever present to his thought, he must adopt it irrespective of our prayers.

I am surprised to find Dr. Clarke asking, "But what reason have we to say that prayer cannot affect God? Is the Divine nature such that it is destitute of sympathy, or does the perfection of God consist in not being moved to feeling by the earnest cry of his child?" In like manner Robertson bases our right of petition on our privilege as children. Now I can understand how the prayer of a child may obtain the sympathy and help of its finite father. For I can suppose that the father is not aware of its suffering or need, until made cognizant of them through the cry of the child. But how is it possible that an omniscient God should not,—I will not say feel sympathy for and give aid to all his creatures as soon as they have need; but how is it possible that in view of such need he should not have made provision for it from all eternity? If, then, I have not fallen into error, prayer can be efficacious only on the hypothesis of necessity and of the finiteness of God's nature. I will not at present attempt to carry the discussion any farther.

W. J. LLOYD.
{ HARVARD DIVINITY SCHOOL,
{ Cambridge, Mass., April, 1875.

FEMALE SUFFRAGE.

HAVERHILL, Mass., Feb. 15, 1875.

MR. ABBOT:—

I read the article in THE INDEX of February 11 on "Woman and the Ballot"; and as the writer says there are two sides to the question, he certainly is on one side, and I on the other. Because nine of your correspondent's female friends do not want the ballot, is that a reason why the tenth should not have it, if she wishes it, and equal justice demands it? I never heard that any woman, in asking for the ballot, did it on the ground that all women must vote. I supposed we should have the same privilege the men have, to vote or not just as we pleased. Now no one will deny, that the best men in city and town rarely vote, or touch politics at all; the consequence of this is, the men who are the least fitted to vote *always* vote. On the other hand, the ablest women in the land ask for the right; that granted, they will go to the polls and vote conscientiously; leaving "F. H. G.'s" nine-tenths of all grades and conditions at home, until they feel the need of being something more than nonentities in regard to the laws that govern them.

Again, our friend says we are subject to the same laws as men, and our property is equally taxed. Three years ago my tax-bill was ten dollars more than it had ever been before, on the same amount of property. I asked the clerk why it was so. In a cold way he answered, "We voted to raise more money." Is the law just the same for women as it is for men? You can vote away your money and ours, and we must pay whatever you see fit to tax us. If you think we are subject to the same laws, put yourself in our place, and see if you would like a man, without a dollar to his name, voting away your money. Would you think you had all the rights you wanted? I say, women would vote conscientiously; I repeat it. The law of Temperance would be modified and enforced. No woman asking for the ballot would sell her vote for a glass of rum! What twelve men are fit to sit in judgment against a woman? Only a jury composed of both sexes is capable of rendering a just verdict. God speed the day when right will not be weighed with might or numbers, but ceded to all races alike, without regard to color or sex, simply because it is just.

Yours respectfully, E. J.

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MAY 20, 1875.

WHOLE NO. 282.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

REV. D. A. WASSON has returned from Europe. Many friends will bid him a most hearty welcome, in which we very cordially join.

THE WHISKEY RING exposure does immense credit to Gen. Bristow and his assistants. Honesty in office should be honored by the whole country.

IN THE fifty-eight years of its existence, the Bible Society has "issued 30,972,786 volumes of the Scriptures." What a lesson is taught by this zealous propagandism! Shall not the Liberals learn anything from it?

THE GOVERNOR of Missouri has appointed June 3 as a day of fasting and prayer, to avert the grasshopper plague. But who or what can avert the plague of superstitions, which seem to be thicker than grasshoppers in Missouri?

IT IS HOPED that all Liberal Leagues which wish to join in the Centennial Convention will elect their delegates to the preliminary September meeting promptly, and send their names to be published in THE INDEX. Time is short—but the roll should be long!

MISS CHARLOTTE CUSHMAN made her "last appearance on any stage" in Boston last Saturday night. A crowded house was present to bid her farewell after forty years of distinguished professional life; and a handsome testimonial was presented to her with an address by Mr. Curtis Guild.

A GENTLEMAN recently applauded the principle that Church and State should be totally separate, but condemned the specification in the "Demands of Liberalism" of the points wherein they are still united! This ludicrous view of the case is like that of the man who "approved the Maine Liquor Law, but was opposed to its execution."

THE PEOPLE are hard to scare now-a-days with stories of the fire that has no objection to water and the worm that does not need to get its life insured. They are like the sceptical youngster who, being told not to say naughty words or the two she-bears would be after him, reflected a moment, and then deliberately ejaculated—"Damn! Now bring on your bears!"

IN A genial call at THE INDEX office, Mr. Alcott expressed himself as pleased and "flattered" at being elected to represent the Boston Liberal League, next September, at the Convention in Philadelphia for making arrangements to hold a general Convention of the Leagues in 1876. He is not certain as to methods, but approves the main purpose of these organizations; namely, to effect a more thorough separation of Church and State in this country.

THE *Spiritual Scientist*, a Spiritualist paper published in this city, is making itself enemies in many quarters by its fearlessness in denouncing imposture. This sentence from its issue of March 25 is an example of courageous truth-telling worthy of all admiration, considering to whom it is addressed: "As for physical mediums, so-called, we do denounce one-half of them as perfect frauds, and, what is more, the Spiritualists of Boston are aware of it; but what steps do they take to remedy the evil?"

THIS comical story must be credited to the *Cleveland Plain-Dealer*: "A book-firm in Columbus sends out postal cards, asking postmasters to send names of Sunday-school scholars and preachers of the Gospel who will act as agents for its publications. The following *verbatim* reply by an Indiana postmaster to one of these is handed us for publication: 'I cannot give you the name of any Sunday School scholars for I don't know them since preachers of the gospel have acted so like hell & Damnation all over the country Sunday Schools and other regions tesching & modes of worship have gotten blow par in this section.'"

COL. HIGGINSON read the essay at the Radical Club meeting at Mrs. Sargent's last Monday. He is reported to have expressed himself in disapprobation of the Liberal League; and we hope that his objections to it will be given to the public in some way. If no better way offers, THE INDEX is of course always at his service; and our readers will agree with us that his opinions on this subject ought to be known to those who are candidly considering it. It is certainly a question of great interest to know why one who was so strong an anti-slavery agitator, and is still so strong an anti-male-monopoly agitator, should so strongly oppose the anti-church-usurpation agitation.

MR. WEISS has kindly promised for THE INDEX his scintillating lecture on "The Bible and Science," which made the fur fly over the head-and-heart question a few months ago at the Boston Radical Club. Some thought it frightfully "irreverent," while others thought that Mr. Weiss had merely punctured with the irresistible needle of his wit some big bubbles of superstition; and the "weight of the meeting" seemed to incline the balance in favor of the latter opinion. The paper will appear in these pages next week; and then our readers can decide for themselves exactly how wicked Mr. Weiss has been. Even if they should vote him "naughty, but nice," THE INDEX is too stout a ship to be afraid of any Jonah, and no passenger in it need fear being tossed overboard to the whale. Seriously, this lecture is a capital one, and will probably create an extra demand for the issue in which it will be published.

REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE's essay in last week's paper, together with the reply to it published this week, will be printed at once as a new Index Tract. As a statement of the Liberal Christian or Unitarian view of the manner in which Christianity is to be reconciled with freedom of thought, the catholic-spirited essay of this distinguished clergyman will undoubtedly be regarded as conclusive by the cultivated Christian denomination to which he belongs, and the influence of which is so potent in this "hub of the universe." The essay that accompanies it is as fair and considerate a counter-statement as we can make from THE INDEX point of view, and tells a bit of history which cannot be overlooked in tracing the development of free religious thought in New England. We cannot but think that the two papers together are worthy of careful and thoughtful consideration by all those who believe that Christianity in some liberalized form is destined to be the permanent religion of the most highly civilized races of mankind. The price of the tract is ten cents, and orders sent in at once will be filled as soon as it is printed.

PROF. C. C. EVERETT says, in the *Unitarian Review* for May, that Herbert Spencer "represents the extreme of rationalism." This cannot be true of any man who sets bounds to reason; as Spencer does by his doctrine of the "Unknowable." The representative rationalist is he who holds that reason has, and can have, no assignable bounds,—who admits the "Unknown," but denies the "Unknowable." To affirm an "Unknowable" is to affirm the known existence of that which it is declared impossible to know at all; and the exposure of this contradiction breaks to pieces, as with a rod of iron, the irrational "rationalism" which Spencer "represents." Why do not those who see nothing greater or broader than his defective philosophy meet this point without flinching? There is a "rationalism" far more searching and thorough-going than Spencer's—the rationalism which claims for reason an empire unbounded by any man's arbitrary limitations—the rationalism of Science, which quietly annexes province after province of the supposed "Unknowable" to its own domain, and steadfastly refuses to listen to these noisy proclamations of its own imbecility.

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[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Battle of Ideas at Syracuse.

AN ESSAY READ BEFORE A PRIVATE CLUB IN BOSTON, APRIL 26, 1875.

BY FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

The candid and catholic-spirited paper read at the February meeting of this Club by Dr. Clarke, "On a Recent Definition of Christianity," furnishes the most appropriate and timely topic on which I could address you this afternoon; and, without attempting to consider in detail the various points he raised, I would nevertheless ask your kindly attention to some further thought upon the same general subject—certainly the most important one which presents itself to students of modern religious tendencies.

DEFINITIONS.

Quoting a passage from THE INDEX which emphasized the importance of a "true definition of Christianity," Dr. Clarke understood me to assume that "this is the first point to be determined in order to decide whether or not we shall take sides with Christianity or against it." It is quite immaterial now whether the passage quoted was well or ill phrased; very likely the meaning he found in it might be naturally gathered from it, though such was not the meaning I intended. But I am glad to agree with him that our relations to Christianity cannot wisely be determined by a regard for mere words or forms of statement, since I do not lay the chief emphasis on any formula. It is the thing itself, and not the name, that is supremely important. Notwithstanding, I believe that the truth of our thoughts about things depends to a very large extent upon the exactness of the language we use concerning them; and if we cannot use names exactly, I more than doubt whether we know things correctly. When a teacher, in response to a question about the lesson, is told by his pupil, "I know the answer, but I cannot express myself," it would be a very foolish teacher who should be satisfied that the pupil really knew the answer as it ought to be known. Inexact, confused language is always, I believe, the result of inexact, confused thought; that is, of imperfect knowledge. Hence I believe it to be of the greatest consequence to possess an exact and truthful definition of Christianity—not at all for the sake of the definition as a mere string of words, but for the sake of the exact knowledge of the thing itself which it implies. To borrow Dr. Clarke's illustration, the man who could not tell exactly what the Feudal system was would be in no condition to decide whether he ought to uphold it or oppose it,—in no condition to decide whether that method of organizing society was a good or a bad one. He should know exactly what it was that he was going to uphold or oppose; and if he did know exactly, he could tell exactly. Men must often act, it is true, on very insufficient knowledge; but that is precisely the reason why they so often commit frightful mistakes. Whoever wants to act wisely must seek to know exactly; and whoever is determined to know exactly will soon discover the importance of exact definitions.

Let me, then, plead "not guilty" to the charge of over-valuing definitions for their own sake: it is only for the sake of the things they stand for that I value them at all. It is our *ideas* of the things that must determine our voluntary relations with them, and definitions are merely the symbols or verbal expressions of ideas. I am pleased, therefore, to be able to agree so heartily as I do with Dr. Clarke, when he says: "It is the thing itself, not what definition we

may give it, which is most important." Yet it still remains true that wrong definitions are misrepresentations of things, and misrepresentations of things often lead us into the gravest and most disastrous practical mistakes in life. "What is it?"—is a question that must precede the other—"What shall I do with it?" And to answer the question is to give a definition.

CHANGING DEFINITIONS.

Experience, then, will eventually control and shape the definitions that men adopt. Definitions must change as things change, on the one hand, and as men's knowledge of them changes, on the other hand. When Dr. Clarke refers, so pointedly and with so much emphasis, to what he calls my own "former and present definitions of Christianity,"—when he conveys the implication that, since "Christianity itself in 1875 cannot have altered very materially from what it was in 1866," and since "the difference is only in Mr. Abbot's mind," therefore I may hit to-morrow on a new definition, and deny all that I now maintain, I think you will pardon me for dwelling a little on the reasons of the change he truly points out; especially as these reasons so vitally concern great and growing movements of thought in which we are all deeply interested, in one way or in another.

In the first place, I must in all seriousness disown proprietorship of any sort in what Dr. Clarke designates as "Mr. Abbot's former and present definitions of Christianity." I am not aware of having at any time "hit on a new definition," whether it was really a hit or a miss. I was born and educated among Unitarians; I was admitted to the Unitarian ministry before Unitarianism had any organized sectarian existence, and before any of its organizations had authority to represent its churches in any general ecclesiastical manner. There was no denominational creed, and nothing that even looked like one in those days; there were plenty of individual statements of belief, many of them published by the American Unitarian Association, which, however, is a voluntary association of individuals, and not of churches. These individual statements were mostly conservative, but they committed only their authors; and every man was free to make and publish his own, without being liable to have it compared with any "Preamble" test of denominational Orthodoxy.

At the Autumnal Convention in Springfield, in 1863, the radicals seemed to be decidedly in the ascendant; the convention was not a delegate one, but attended by whosoever chose to go; and the buoyant, expansive sentiment of the occasion, all in favor of unlimited mental freedom and of unrestricted spiritual fellowship, shed a beautiful light in advance on the ministerial path on which I was just entering. Mr. Frothingham was the most admired and applauded of the speakers, and represented the prevailing spirit of the meeting; in fact, his brilliant success at Springfield gave the alarm to the conservative managers, and was, I believe, one of the reasons why that was the last Autumnal Convention ever held on the old non-ecclesiastical plan.

Now the definition of Christianity which Dr. Clarke alludes to as my "former definition" was in substance one of those which I had simply inherited: namely, "Christianity is a spirit and life, not a creed." I supposed that "the right of free inquiry" was unchallenged and uncurtailed; that every Unitarian would unhesitatingly concede it for others and affirm it for himself; that every Unitarian organization would be not only willing, but eager, to make it the very first plank of their platform. On this acknowledged and jealously-guarded principle I supposed that all Unitarians to a man stood with one accord; and that, this being what the conservative wing cherished as dearly as did the radical wing, both wings would also unite on the principle that "Christianity is a spirit and life, not a creed." These two principles I had always heard emphasized as distinctive of Unitarian Christianity; and I took them for granted by simple inheritance, until my own reflection led me to affirm them by independent conviction. The definition of Christianity as "a spirit and life, not a creed," was certainly no invention of mine; I do not know to this day who first invented it, but I know I received it second-hand, and afterwards affirmed it with intelligent conviction as a grand spiritual truth to which my very soul assented as divine.

With these views I was delighted with the proposal to "organize the Liberal Church of America," out of which ultimately grew the National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches. That wording of the call, I feel very confident, was contained in the first circular I received on the subject, though I have lost this and have never seen it since. "The Liberal Church of America!" What a magnificent idea! How it fired enthusiasm! How eager it made me to go myself, and to have my Dover church represented at the first convention at New York, in April, 1865! It was a great and noble convention that then assembled. It opened splendidly in the overwhelming rejection by the delegates, Dr. Bellows at their head, of the proposition by Mr. A. A. Low to adopt a stiff Unitarian creed. Then came the discussion, cut off summarily by the "previous question," on the famous Preamble, which contained an explicit avowal of faith in the Lordship and Kingship of Jesus Christ, but not a word on the "unlimited right of free inquiry" and "Christianity a spirit and life, not a creed." That Preamble was adopted without any adequate discussion of the profound issues involved in such action. Dr. Bellows, however, declared that enough had been done for the first year, and that "the Broad Church question must be postponed till next year." That more than half-promise partly consoled me for bitter disappointment at the adoption of that creed-like Preamble:

one chance still remained to fulfil the professions that had brought at least one obscure country minister to New York.

In 1866 came the Syracuse Conference. A substitute for the adopted Preamble was offered which affirmed three things: first, that "the object of Christianity is the universal diffusion of Love, Righteousness, and Truth," which is only a paraphrase of the familiar principle that "Christianity is a spirit and life, not a creed"; secondly, that "perfect freedom of thought is at once the right and duty of every human being," which is only a paraphrase of the familiar principle of the "unlimited right of free inquiry"; and, thirdly, that the basis of organization should be "unity of spirit rather than uniformity of belief." This, I thought, was the very essence of genuine Unitarian Christianity, the cornerstone of "the Liberal Church of America"; and I saw no reason why a Unitarian Christian Conference could not plant itself on this grand spiritual foundation. It was indeed the fork of the road, where two possible futures, wide as the poles apart in their religious character, opened before the most advanced, cultured, and intelligent, though one of the smallest, of all the Christian denominations. One branch of the road led to the camp of the old creed-bound sects, with a compact ecclesiastical organization that would slowly and insensibly tighten its grasp on every member and set an impassable limit to spiritual freedom. The other branch of the road led to the great host of those who were seeking in isolation to explore Truth's untried fields, with a free and hospitable fellowship that should welcome every truth-lover, and be an inspiration, a help, and a friend in his lonely search for ideal excellence.

Nay, more than this. Not only did the Unitarian denomination come to the turning-point of its own destiny, as a small but influential company of religious liberals; but CHRISTIANITY ITSELF WAS BROUGHT TO THE CRUCIAL TEST, in the decision that must be made between the principles of those two Preambles, the old and the new. Could it, as here represented by the intellectual and spiritual vanguard of its forces, reconcile itself to that absolute liberty of thought and speech which is the soul of science, of civilization, of modern progress in all its aspects; or must it, by the inherent law of its own innermost being, sacrifice this vital principle in order to keep flying the banner of the Lordship and Kingship of Jesus Christ? Here for the first time (I think also for the last time) was a clean issue made between the first of persons and the first of ideas; and as its choice was, so should its future be. If it could only prove itself compatible with modern progress by boldly taking the lead of it, and pledging itself to perfect spiritual freedom (which, dependent upon it, the world will have at any and every cost), then Christianity would indeed demonstrate its own imperishability, its own capacity of developing into Free Religion without the name. But if not, then the sceptre must pass out of its hand; it must fade slowly away before a successor greater than itself; it must make room for the religion of perfect freedom and universal fellowship; it must die, that Humanity might live. Christianity itself, I say, was brought to the crucial test in the issue made between those two Preambles; for if the Christianity of the freest of all Christian sects could not reconcile itself with perfect freedom, of course the Christianity of no other Christian body could do it. It was a great historic moment, and history will yet recognize its vast and as yet wholly unappreciated importance.

These, and no smaller or meaner ones, were the issues decided that bright October day in Samuel J. May's church in Syracuse. Never again, I believe in my very soul, will the conditions recur when that decision can be reconsidered.

The evening before the Conference met, I went to the Secretary, Rev. E. E. Hale, notified him of my intention to bring up this question, and asked when it could be considered. He named the second day of the only two days of the session; to which I of course offered no objection. But that same night I had several hundred copies of the "proposed substitute" for the Preamble printed, and the next morning had them distributed throughout the pews, to prevent beforehand any parliamentary suffocation of the movement in the business committee; for I was determined, if possible, to have that great question fairly and fully discussed by the Conference, and not choked off as it had been at New York. The attempt was successful. Finding that the distribution of the printed "substitutes" had brought the matter prominently before the whole convention, and that it could not be suppressed, Dr. F. H. Hedge took the bull by the horns, and moved that the question be taken up at once. This was done, and a whole day was spent in the discussion. Dr. Bellows rallied his hosts at noon, and late in the afternoon had won the victory. The new Preamble, with its old Unitarian principles of unlimited free inquiry and a purely spiritual Christianity, was rejected.

The most influential man in winning that victory, next perhaps to Dr. Bellows, was James Freeman Clarke. He said then that the Lordship of Jesus could not be taken out of the Preamble, *once being in it*; that, if the new Preamble had been first offered the previous year at New York, he thought it would have been adopted; but that, if adopted now, it would look like hauling down the Christian flag, and he could not vote for that. These arguments, more than all others, I believe, decided the mind of the Conference; and the new Preamble was voted down by a two-thirds vote. To one, at least, of that Assembly, when the night came, it was night indeed; the very sun of Unitarianism, the one great principle of Channing, the one glorious inspiration of Parker, the divine idea of *perfect spiritual freedom*, had set for it forever. I never went to bed a sadder man.

But for the adverse vote of that day, there would

have been no Free Religious Association, and no INDEX. Out of that apparent defeat the principles of perfect spiritual freedom and universal spiritual fellowship emerged unconquered, notwithstanding. They lived in too many hearts to be thus summarily extinguished. The Syracuse Conference might have secured the long-continued attachment of these many hearts by a different vote; but it spurned liberty in Christ's name, and one by one they began to leave. I, at least, should in all probability have lived and died a Unitarian Christian minister, and Dr. Clarke would never have written his not unkindly comments on my "change of definition." But I was taught by events; I got the first lessons of my anti-Christian education at Syracuse, and from Dr. Clarke.

When the smoke of the battle was over, I began to ponder intensely the real causes of that strange defeat. Why should Unitarians, in solemn council assembled, reject the ancient principles that had given the Unitarian name all its glory—the "unlimited right of free inquiry," and "Christianity a spirit and life, not a creed"? The answer was long in coming; but later events gave added lessons, and it came. At last I saw that I had no reason to wonder, still less to be displeased, at the action of that Conference. The members were most excellent and honest men—none better anywhere; they had doubtless voted under the influence of the highest motives; I must look deeper than to any personal causes for the true solution of the problem. I found it in the very nature of Christianity; Dr. Clarke showed me where. When this assemblage of Unitarian Christians were brought face to face with the alternatives, either to vote down the principles of perfect freedom and a purely impersonal Christianity, or else to "haul down the Christian flag" and seemingly deny their allegiance to their personal Lord, and Savior, and King, they could not, as Christians, do otherwise than they did. As thinkers, as men, they would have voted for freedom; as Christians, they could only vote for Christianity.

To Christianity, therefore, must I credit this point-blank rejection of liberty at Syracuse; and so, because I love liberty better than Christ, Dr. Clarke taught me the anti-Christianity which he now tries in vain to unteach. He has taught me himself that my "former definition" of Christianity, which I inherited from my early Unitarian education, is a false one; he himself helped to prove it false at Syracuse. Giving up that, therefore, I did not sit down to invent a new one; but, in the light of experience and Dr. Clarke's involuntary tuition, I have learned that history only repeated itself at Syracuse—that the Church has always and everywhere voted the same way, *against freedom in the name of its own Lord*; though never, I suppose, was the issue between freedom and Christianity made so clean as then. Such uniform action must have its cause in the very nature of the Christian religion. It is the Church, therefore, the universal Church of Christendom, that holds the secret of Christianity; and from the Church, therefore, I have simply taken the definition that it gives.

When, consequently, Dr. Clarke tells me, in his own fraternal way, that I once made a new definition of Christianity at Syracuse, that I make another new one to-day, and that I may yet make a third new one to-morrow, my answer is merely this: That at Syracuse I substantially adopted one of the definitions which Unitarianism itself invented a half-century ago; that to-day I substantially adopt the definition which the whole Christian Church has been making in the past two thousand years; and that, in the controversy between the new definition made by Unitarianism and the old definition made by the Church Universal, I now think the Church right where I once thought Unitarianism right. I have not, therefore, introduced a new one at all, and the ancient controversy respecting Christianity between Unitarianism and Orthodoxy is simply revived. The only difference is that Radicalism to-day holds that in this controversy touching the essence of Christianity Orthodoxy has the best of the argument; for the reason that Dr. Clarke and his friends, in order to remain Christian, were forced to surrender the liberal definition of Christianity at Syracuse, and plant themselves on the essence of the Orthodox definition as the only tenable Christian ground. Unitarian Christianity gave testimony against itself that day, and deprived Radicalism of all opportunity to defend it further.

What does this all prove? That I "changed my definition," and have changed my principles thereby? Not at all. But that the same principles of perfect spiritual freedom and universal spiritual fellowship for which I pleaded at Syracuse, with all the earnestness of intense conviction, in that name of Unitarianism which I inherited from my fathers, I still plead for to-day, but in the new name of Free Religion. Unitarianism itself has changed its principles, not I. It began with ideas it has been obliged to renounce by its own authoritative, collective voice, in order to save its Christian connection and name; and it can never rectify its great mistake except by repealing its present Preamble, and coming forward to Free Religion. The golden opportunity of identifying Christianity with Free Religion has been lost forever; and nothing now remains but either to side with Orthodoxy as essential Christianity, or to side with unlimited freedom and fellowship as essential Free Religion. It has made this issue itself; it has made its own children anti-Christian, as the only way to maintain fealty to the principles it taught them itself to stand for. Between fidelity to ideas and fidelity to names they have been forced by Unitarianism to choose; and therein consists all the "change" that Dr. Clarke can prove against me.

ACCEPTING DEFINITIONS ON AUTHORITY.

But Dr. Clarke considers that I submit to the very principle of authority which I disown, when I con-

sent to take the definition of Christianity offered by the Church itself as the only true one. This is not a point that need detain us long. The question is simply as to the competency of witnesses. The principle of freedom requires no man to determine questions of fact by appealing to his own consciousness; and what Christianity is is nothing but a question of fact. Whose testimony as to the fact is most trustworthy?

I find the Church Universal speaking out of its own experience and history of nearly nineteen centuries, and declaring that Orthodoxy is that Christian religion of which itself has been from the beginning the only custodian and natural exponent. I find the Unitarian denomination speaking out of its own brief life and career of some fifty years, and declaring that the Christian religion is its own transformed and modernized faith; that the ancient Orthodoxy of which it is itself only a recent offshoot is a mere corruption of the primal gospel; and that the great bulk of the Christian world, with its hundreds of millions of believers, is really in dense ignorance of its own religion! Dr. Clarke thinks one witness the more credible, and I the other; that is all the difference. Neither he nor I do more in this matter than accept the testimony of the best witness to a mere matter of fact. There is no "submission to authority" here in any sense that either of us objects to. What Christianity is, is only a question of fact; what authority it possesses, is more than a mere question of fact. Dr. Clarke holds that it does possess a vital authority over the intellect, the conscience, the will, the heart; and this no Radical can admit, certainly as he explains it.

THE "AUTHORITY" OF CHRISTIANITY.

What is the kind and degree of authority which Dr. Clarke claims for Christianity? He says that it "practically makes no difference" that "Christians assume Christ to be an infallible teacher, while other masters are supposed to be fallible." He says that we go to any teacher "for truth, not for error"; and, if we find what seems to us false, we skip it, and do not venture to criticise it. "When we stop to criticise," he says, "we lose our teacher, and cease to be disciples. . . . All Christians, in studying the teachings of Jesus, are in this attitude. They are looking for truth, not for falsehood and error," etc. And this, he thinks, is the way in which Radicals themselves receive the words of Socrates, Plato, Parker, Emerson. It surely needs little knowledge of Radicals to correct this misapprehension. Such mental submissiveness in the spirit of faith, such reverential assumption of unmixed truth, such total absence of critical discrimination, is possible to no one but a Christian. Imagination of a peculiarly vivacious kind is required to attribute these Christian characteristics to the habitual free-thinker; and any religion which claims authority of this sort is irreconcilable with the Radicalism that understands itself.

ESSENTIAL CHRISTIANITY.

That Dr. Clarke is far more near to Orthodoxy than he seems to suspect, must occur to every clear-thoughted reader of these explicit words: "The essential thing in a religion, and the only essential thing, is that which was in it in the beginning in its source and fountain, and which has continued in it ever since. . . . The only essential points which remain [in Christianity], which were in the religion at first and have continued in it ever since, are *faith in Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God*; and the practical purpose of attaining that love to God and love to man of which he is the Mediator."

This tells us in few words the whole story of the Syracuse Conference, and explains fully Dr. Clarke's speech and vote on that occasion. Here we have *fealty to the Christ*, and the attainment of love to God and man *through his mediation*, set forth as the only essentials of Christianity; but not a word about spiritual freedom or a spiritual Christianity independent of the personal Jesus. Now these essentials are indeed the foundation and essence of Orthodox Christianity, whose whole dogmatic and ecclesiastical system is built up out of the logical sequences of which these things are merely the premises. The great principles which Unitarianism early advocated, and which gave it all its greatness as distinguished from Orthodoxy, are completely thrown overboard by Dr. Clarke in his present statement of the essentials of Christianity; they were thrown overboard by the denomination at Syracuse; they have been abandoned to those who loved them enough to follow their fortunes in the outside world. Now, with profound esteem and admiration for Dr. Clarke, whose genial character wins all sympathy and disarms all personal criticism, I must not omit to point out that he himself, in the definition he now gives of essential Christianity, proves that I am right in identifying it substantially with Orthodoxy, and in opposing it openly as the only way of adhering faithfully to the *perfect spiritual freedom and spiritual, impersonal religion* which collective Unitarianism, by solemn official action, discarded forever at Syracuse. To all intents and purposes he justifies my "present definition" by his own, and justifies my anti-Christianity by still pushing aside, in the name of Christianity, the great ideas which imperatively command me to obedience in the name of Free Religion.

LIFE IS MADE up of little things. He who travels over a continent must go step by step. He who writes a book must do it sentence by sentence. He who learns a science must master it fact by fact and principle by principle. What is the happiness of our life made up of? Little courtesies, little kindnesses, pleasant words, genial smiles, a friendly letter, good wishes, and good deeds. One in a million may do, once in a life time, a heroic action; but the little things that make up our life come every day and every hour.

THE UNITARIAN CHURCH THE CHAMPION OF FREEDOM.

We claim for the Liberal Church of America that it is, and has been from the start, the champion among champions of civil and religious liberty. If it had no other title, it might wear this title proudly on its front. And when from out the Liberal Church we single that portion which is called Unitarian, we do not mean to cast dishonor or discredit on any other part; but only boldly claim for ourselves a position second to none. The liberty which the Unitarian Church proclaims is a *Christian* liberty, a liberty within the bounds of truth and goodness—limits by which the Immortal Maker of the worlds is himself, of his own nature, bound.

There is in this Unitarian Church not the spirit of apathy but the spirit of life. It seeks the light. It would harbor no deceptions. It would tolerate no blindness. It recoils from falsehood, but it never shuns the truth. It would shake itself free from all superstitions and all disguises, and go forward with clear eyes towards the morning. With courage and hope, with confidence and strength, it would go forward and ever forward.

This church sees and acknowledges the vast amount of existing evil in the world; but it is not afraid of it. It cringes before no evil power. It knows no devil. It knows God only and believes in him. It believes that he holds undivided authority over all worlds, and that he can and will overcome evil with his good. It trusts in itself as one of the chiefest among his many agents for the winning of this victory. It fights against sin steadily in all its forms; and it fights the good fight of which faith is at once the inspiration and the leader. It holds to Christ's revelation of God as the Universal Father, and so it sees all men as brethren. It wears forms easily, using them as helps rather than as hindrances; binding them to its service rather than being itself their slave. It reverences the truth in old and new alike. It welcomes the truth wherever found. Above all, it believes in the future. It knows no everlasting hell or final death. It looks forward to life unending. Death is the body's dissolution, and at the same time the assurance of the soul's continuance; and so is not to be dreaded, but is to be welcomed in its time. All things that are right and true have in them the elements of life. All falsehood and wrong shall finally disappear. And so the only things worth seeking, the only things worth living for, are the things that are right and true.

Again and again we have examined the foundations of other creeds, thinking that there might perchance be in them some hidden strength and truth which we had overlooked. But we have always come back, with a renewed conviction of its superiority, to this broad and generous faith, to this free Christian Church, as our only religious home. And it is marvellous, when one seriously considers it, how all the sects are dropping, little by little, their differing doctrines, and advancing, slowly but surely, to our essential position. The Unitarian Church may never become in name the national Church of America; but certain it is that the essential principles of that Church—call them by what name you will,—the central ideas of that Church regarding God and man, must finally become the prevailing principles and the dominant ideas of the people. Nothing less than a free gospel can long abide in this home of civil and religious liberty.

Let us lay aside, then, our apathy and our doubts, and drown our faint-heartedness in the rising tide of a new hope, and honor that which we have inherited from the fathers with an increased devotion, and take to ourselves, with a new meaning, the old prophetic words: "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee!"—*Christian Register*, May 1, 1875.

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY.

Is the office of the Christian minister consistent with perfect freedom of thought? The question in other words is this: Is a Christian minister supposed to have made up his mind on certain points before he accepts the office; and may it properly be understood that so long as he retains the office he retains also the belief which the acceptance of the office implied? The answer to these questions depends upon the answer made to a preliminary question: Are there any duties, or any primary conceptions of the nature and the destiny of human life, which reasonable men may desire to have taught, especially to the young? If there are no such duties, no such conceptions, there can be nothing to teach and no meaning in the Church.

The office of the Christian minister has always implied belief in three fundamental facts—God, Duty, and the Immortal Life. There have been in all churches ministers who have doubted or denied one or more of these fundamental doctrines of Christianity, but not without the consciousness that they were thereby acting against the just expectations of the world.

As we believe these three doctrines to be not only in themselves true and beneficent, but also essential parts of Christianity, we are now ready to say without qualification that the function of the Christian minister is inconsistent with absolute freedom. Just in so far as a man denies these doctrines, in so far he is disqualified for an office which implies belief in them.

Under all its cumbrous load of superstitions, dogmatisms, and irrational authority, the Church everywhere is striving to bring these three ideas to bear upon human life. If they should be surrendered, its reason for being would be gone. The fundamental question, then, Is a church desirable? is to be settled first. A contrast supposed to be unfavorable to

the Church is often drawn between it and associations of science. The parallel is not complete unless the scientific association be an institution established and endowed for a special, useful, scientific purpose. Is a professor of mathematics in a school of technology a free man? By no means. His acceptance of that office implies belief in the fundamental laws of mathematics. He must believe in the multiplication table, the rule of three, the binomial theorem, and several hundred more rules and applications. The nominating committee might ask him to write upon a blackboard the formulas for the hyperbola, the ellipse, and circle. If he should reply that he had lost faith in conic sections, that would probably settle the question of his appointment. Suppose a candidate for the Christian ministry were asking settlement in some Christian Church, and some doubt should arise whether he accepted the idea of duty and its binding obligations, and he should reply that the idea of duty was a tradition which he thought might be discredited; at any rate it was a subject upon which he could not speak with assurance,—would there be anything absurd in dropping that candidate without ceremony as one who had not the most remote idea of the meaning of the function he desired to exercise? Or suppose again that he accepted the idea of duty as the result of physical necessity, but did not believe it indicated any God to whom spiritual worship could properly be directed,—would it not be absurd to ask him to conduct services of worship? Or again, if he accepted these two ideas, but said that when he stood by an open grave it would be his duty to tell the sorrowing friends that this was the end of all things,—would it not be absurd to perform funeral rites?

We admit that in the constitution of the Christian Church there are certain ideas without which it cannot exist, and that to doubt and deny these principles is to shake the foundation of the institution.

The question then arises: Is it worth while to have an institution which is intended to influence the minds of the young in favor of a cheerful trust in God, a hope which can smile in the face of death, and a sense of obligation to do all noble things and abstain from all evil? If the answer is in the negative, the Church is an impertinence. If in the affirmative, the Church is a necessity. Now when so much depends upon impressions which are made in the earlier years of life, before a child can possibly comprehend the reasons for faith in God and goodness, it seems to be the clear right of parents to attempt by all legitimate means to spare the child the pain and sorrow of doubt and despair, and the liability to transgress the moral law before he is aware of its sanctions. To the majority of moral and religious people neglect of these matters would seem to be culpable, and therefore they attempt to provide against ignorance on these points. They desire to have the grounds of such belief presented as clearly and forcibly as possible, by one who believes them himself.

Therefore we deliberately say that a Christian minister is debarred from exercising the functions of his office if he doubts whether a bad life is not as praiseworthy as a good one, or if he denies the hope of immortal life and trust in God.

Is, then, the Christian minister not a man, that he is not allowed to deny what his hearers may? Are the executive officers of a republic, paid and pledged to the service of a republican form of government, at liberty to advocate secretly or openly the advantages of a monarchy? Is one less a man because he cannot hold his office and destroy it at the same time?

If society has the right to punish crimes which tend to its detriment, it certainly has also the right to provide for the advocacy and encouragement of whatever tends to its welfare. So that at last the question comes to this: Is a belief in God, Duty, and the Immortal Life of sufficient importance to society to justify the establishment of institutions devoted to the teaching and illustration of these views? If so, the Church is justified; if not, it must go to the wall. But meanwhile the Christian minister is not justified in defeating the main purpose for which he is supported.—*Liberal Christian*, March 27.

THE CARDINAL'S OATH.

We inquired a day or two ago into the nature of the mysterious oath which Cardinal McCloskey must have taken, but of which no report appeared in the New York papers. We are now able to answer the question, quoting the text from the copy furnished to Lord Palmerston, in 1850, by the British minister at Turin. It is as follows:—

"I, ———, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, do promise and swear that, from this time to my life's end, I will be faithful and obedient unto St. Peter, the Holy Apostolic Roman Church, and our most Holy Lord, the Pope, and his successors, canonically and lawfully elected; that I will give no advice, consent, or assistance against the Pontifical Majesty and person; that I will never knowingly and advisedly, to their injury or disgrace, make public the counsels entrusted to me by themselves, or by messengers, or letters (from them); also that I will give them any assistance in retaining, defending, and recovering the Roman Papacy and the Regalia of Peter with all my might and endeavor, so far as the rights and privileges of my order will allow it, and will defend against all their honor and state; that I will direct, and defend, with due form and honor, the legates, and nuncios of the Apostolic See, in the territories, churches, monasteries, and other benefices committed to my keeping; that I will cordially cooperate with them, and treat them with honor in their coming, abiding, and returning, and that I will resist unto blood all persons whatsoever who shall attempt anything against them; that I

will by every way and by every means strive to preserve, augment, and advance the rights, honors, privileges, the authority of the Holy Roman Bishop our Lord the Pope and his before-mentioned successors; and that at whatever time anything shall be decided to their prejudice, which it is out of my power to hinder, as soon as I shall know that any steps or measures have been taken (in the matter), I will make it known to the same our Lord, or his before-mentioned successors, or to some other person by whose means it may be brought to their knowledge. That I will keep and carry out, and cause others to keep and carry out, the rules of the Holy Father, the decrees, ordinances, dispensations, reservations, provisions, apostolic mandates, and constitutions of the Holy Pontiff Sixtus of happy memory, as to visiting the thresholds of the apostles at certain prescribed times, according to the tenor of that which I have just read through. That I will seek out and oppose, persecute and fight against [Latin—*omni conatu persecuturum et impugnaturum*] heretics, schismatics, against the same our Lord the Pope and his before-mentioned successors, with every possible effort."

The remainder of the oath provides in detail not to sell or give away or otherwise alienate any church property without due authority; to maintain the "constitution of the blessed Pius" of 1567; and the declarations of his successors, particularly those of Innocent IX., 1591, and those of Clement VIII., 1592. It also engages to maintain the papal claims to various Italian cities; and closes with the words: "I will not seek absolution from any of the foregoing articles, but reject it if it should be offered me (or in no way accept it if offered), so help me God and these most holy gospels." How any American citizen can reconcile honest allegiance to our national and State constitutions and laws with this complete and abject devotion to a foreign potentate, we cannot see. It is no mere theoretical obedience that is promised. On the contrary, should a band of devout Catholic filibusters, or a Spanish army, resolve to drive the government of Italy—a power with which our nation is at peace—from Rome, the cardinal would be pledged to give the assailants all the aid in his power. Should any legate or nuncio get into trouble with any government, the cardinal must defend them "unto blood." He must play the spy for the Holy See; must obey the mandates of the persecuting Pontiffs of the sixteenth century, and must use "every possible effort," even to persecuting and fighting against the heretics and schismatics who oppose the Pope reigning when the oath was taken, and his successors. Now, as the encyclical of Pius IX., of 1864, often quoted in our columns, clearly denounces as wicked freedom of religion, and other fundamental doctrines of our national Constitution, it follows that an American cardinal must actually pledge himself to overturn the government by which he is protected. If Cardinal McCloskey took any other oath than the one from which we have quoted, it would be satisfactory to see it in print.—*Cincinnati Gazette*.

CAPTAIN FREDERICK MAXSE, R.N.

The name of Captain Frederick Maxse requires no introduction to our readers. His writings, speeches, and public conduct have marked him as a man who has the cause of the people at heart, and who looks undeviatingly to the advancement of it as the one sure method of promoting the welfare of England.

Captain Maxse first became known to his countrymen by distinguished services in the Crimea. He is the son of James Maxse, Esq., whose father was a wealthy Bristol merchant, and of Lady Caroline Maxse, daughter of the fifth Earl of Berkeley. He entered the navy in his thirteenth year, was made lieutenant in 1852, and served in H.M. Sloop *Espiegle* in the West Indies, and subsequently as flag-lieutenant to Admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, and lieutenant of the *Agamemnon* in the Black Sea. Upon the disembarkation of the allied French and English troops in the Crimea, he was appointed naval aide-de-camp to Lord Raglan, the chief of our army. While serving in this capacity, he obtained promotion to the rank of Commander for the successful performance of a somewhat hazardous enterprise in conveying a message to the fleet across the head of the Bay of Sebastopol, riding over fifteen miles of unknown country, swarming with the enemy's defeated troops and Cossacks. He served on the Head-Quarter staff during the whole of that disheartening period which we remember in connection with the early months of the Siege of Sebastopol, was present at the Battle of Inkermann, and a witness of the charge of Balaklava, in which his brother, Colonel Fitzhardinge Maxse, was engaged as aide-de-camp to Lord Cardigan. On the death of Lord Raglan, he, with the other members of personal staff, accompanied the remains of his chief to England on board H.M.S. *Caradoc*, and was shortly afterwards appointed to the command of the *Ariel*, a steam corvette, on the Mediterranean station. From the *Ariel* he was promoted to the rank of post-captain; and, if he had continued afloat, he would have been now the youngest admiral in the service. His reputation in the navy was that of a smart officer, and he had doubtless a fine career before him; but experience of English life on shore from time to time, a growing perception of England as it is—not the fictitious England toasted at a Ward Room officers' banquet—began to trouble his mind with vexed social and political problems, and he became at last, in his efforts to amend some of the wrongs and evils afflicting the country, by working as a politician, gradually alienated from a career he had commenced with such high promise.

In abandoning it he did not love his profession less, but his country more. What, indeed, is the character of a naval officer's life in a time of peace? If his

mind is not bent on graver things he may very honorably continue the work of his profession afloat or on shore, but in a case where the political and social destinies press on the mind, this can hardly be possible; and with Captain Maxse the choice had to be made either to brood over the miserable state of the English poor without an effort to speak in their interest, or to destroy his personal prospects, and enter the unpopular side—unpopular in his class—in the field of politics, where, unhappily, the strife is incessant because oppression is permanent. Those who have followed him since his name has been established as one of the strenuous advocates of the weak, and an inflexible opponent of legislative wrong-doing, will acknowledge that a keen sense of justice, combined with a warm sympathy for his fellow-creatures, was the motive of his conduct. He is emphatically a Radical, radicalism being, according to his own definition, "rebellion against wrong, and the assertion of the utmost attainable justice." He believes the people of this country will never prosper until certain distinct evils, resulting directly from political institutions, have been dealt with at their source; and he has never wavered in his views. He began as a Radical, and he is a Radical now, differing herein from some who have started on a generous impulse, to repose, after a period, on the pillow of moderate Liberalism. Captain Maxse's radicalism is not of this quality. Sympathy and study formed it from the first; hard blows have stimulated, experience has strengthened it.

We have the clue to his original and confirmed convictions in a paragraph of one of his recently published speeches:—

"My profession," he says, "has been, as you are aware, that of a naval officer. I was brought up to the tune of 'Rule Britannia,' and 'Britons never shall be slaves.' Ignorant of politics when at sea, I was indifferent to politics. If I had been polled for my vote as a young lieutenant, I dare say I should have voted Conservative—indifferentism forming a main element of Conservatism. What made me an active politician was—when I came to live on shore—observing the condition of the English agricultural laborers. I found that a large number of Britons were slaves, slaves to artificial oppressive circumstances, for the maintenance of which the governing classes stood, in my eyes, responsible; and upon the discovery of this I determined that if, during the whole of my life, I should carry but a single handful of earth towards the foundation of a better state of society, that handful I would carry."

In 1868 he came forward as a candidate in the Liberal interest for the borough of Southampton, plainly declaring his Radical principles, and speaking mainly of the evils caused by the land system and want of national education. He was defeated. There are not many boroughs yet in England where a professed Radical, speaking from his conscience, will have much chance.

At the late general election he accepted an invitation on the part of the Tower Hamlets Radical Association to contest the borough. His candidature was, no doubt, the popular one. His meetings were the most successful ones, and his speeches were warmly applauded, full as they were of well-digested thought, not florid commonplaces. But at that election, out of 32,000 voters, scarcely 17,000 went to the poll; such was the amount of public interest evinced by a metropolitan constituency, said to be Radical, in the great questions of the day and in the earnest, thoughtful politician who appealed for support. It is true that the hours of polling are such as to disfranchise thousands of working-class voters, and various vexatious restrictions hamper their registration; but, nevertheless, some efforts and self-sacrifice should be forthcoming on the part of those who have so much to gain by the representation of progressive ideas. We have, however, lately seen East-end Londoners flocking in prodigious crowds to the sensational performances of Messrs. Moody and Sankey, for morbid spiritual excitement and the comforting illusions of "other worldliness"; and are, therefore, the less astonished at the result of the last Tower Hamlets election.

At this election, with one Tory and three Moderates against him, Captain Maxse was the solitary champion of Land Tenure Reform, Electoral Reform, Religious Equality, and the Laborers' Enfranchisement. He has repeatedly written and lectured on these questions. An article contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* upon "Our Uncultivated Lands" has become an authority on the subject. He has himself, as a landowner, carried his doctrine about waste land and the value of small cultivators into successful practice. He has reclaimed the common land near his estate in South Hants, and rented it solely to laborers. The comparison of this land with that of the neighboring enclosures of uncultivated heath which belong to other landowners is more eloquent than a volume of essays. He has also built a laborers' club on his property.

The little work by which Captain Maxse is best known to working-class politicians originally appeared as a lecture, which he delivered at St. George's Hall, London, and at several of the principal towns. "The Causes of Social Revolt" is, in the words of the *Westminster Review*, "a very bold and striking plea on behalf of democracy, free thought, and free speech." We commend it to our readers as containing in a small compass a remarkable impeachment of the true authors of social discontent and ultimate revolution, as well as a challenge to the non-politicians whose indifference to public affairs and periodic panics constitute an almost hopeless obstacle to social advance.

Politically, we may perhaps regard Captain Maxse as a disciple of John Stuart Mill. It is evident that he adopts many of the principles of this great and fearless writer, and he is never weary of paying him

homage; but there is one point at least upon which he takes independent ground; this is the question of Woman Suffrage. The telling speech that he made against the admission of women to the franchise at the Electoral Reform Conference, held in November last, will be doubtless in the recollection of many of our readers. He has just expressed himself further upon the same subject in a pamphlet under the title of "Whether the Minority of Electors should be Represented by a Majority in the House of Commons?"

Whether right or wrong in his view upon this point, Captain Maxse may be relied on never to trim a conviction in order to win success for himself, either in votes or applause. He will form his own conscientious judgment, and defend it without reserve, whatever may be the cost; and if we have here, as we may have, an explanation of the defeat of his attempts as yet to enter Parliament, it is a recommendation of him all the stronger to men who, because they have been much deceived, look around with some doubt for one in whom they can place their confidence. We should despair of the future of this country if we did not believe that the self-sacrificing spirit, high tone, and moral enthusiasm which Captain Maxse and others like him bring to politics will not some day receive a fitting response.—*The Bee-Hive (Eng.) of March 27, 1875.*

A RATIONALIST'S ROOM.

THE PRESIDENT AND HIS THEORIES—WHO ARE THE MEMBERS, AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS—FURNITURE OF THE RADICAL AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE CLUBS.

If a man is known by the company he keeps, he is known also by his books and his pictures—that is, if he buys them himself and makes them his companions. The finest private library in the State of Pennsylvania is owned in this vicinity, and the citizen for whom it was purchased knows as little of its contents as he knows of the laws of gravitation. A *Times* reporter yesterday visited the place of meeting of the Radical Club and of the Citizen's Suffrage Association, No. 333 Walnut Street. Mr. Edward M. Davis is President of both these associations. The former meets every Wednesday at three P. M.; the latter once a month. Both will meet to-day. Mr. Davis is rich and out of business, and is in favor of universal suffrage whether the voter wears crinoline or cassimere. Nearly all of them being Unitarians, the members also eschew tobacco and intoxicating drinks. The Bible they regard simply as a good book, but they are Unitarians to a man—or woman. The members of the Club residing in this city number at present from seventy to eighty.

The *Times* man found the President writing like a scrivener, for his correspondence extends all over the Union, and he subscribes regularly for no less than twenty-three newspapers. You could tell by the surroundings of the room where you were, even if you did not know that every Wednesday here you will meet the pure-hearted Lucretia Mott, in her garb of slate color, and are certain to encounter visitors such as Orvis, the lecturer of the Grange; C. C. Burleigh, with his flowing hair, and Friend Thorne, of the North Carolina Legislature. The late abuses in the House of Refuge were brought to light by this Club; and, though people may deplore their lack of Orthodoxy, it cannot be denied that all their purposes are benevolent. Their Club has no organization, no other officer than President, and their meetings are free to every one. From the wall opposite the entrance door Charles Sumner and Horace Greeley, side by side, look down on you with lithographic eyes, while beneath is represented Martin Luther, surrounded by a crowd of converts. The picture somewhat matches its *vis-à-vis*—a very rare steel-plate engraving made in England. It represents a slave mart in Africa, and, like everything else in this Radical and Rational Club room, stands out pure and simple for "liberty." John G. Whittier, of all Quaker poets the sweetest, smiles across the room upon the long-haired Charles C. Burleigh, and, to a fanciful view, exchanges looks with the founder of Quakerism, George Fox, whose physiognomy is portrayed opposite to it. The pictures of Toussaint, Robert Collyer, and John Brown of course are there; so is that of Hahnemann, the founder of the homœopathic system of medicine. To homœopathy the Radicals, as a rule, are inclined. The portrait of the beautiful actress Kate Field also adorns the walls of the Radical Club room. Those of William Lloyd Garrison and Benjamin Lundy face each other. (Benjamin was one of the pioneers of abolitionism). Robert Collyer, of Chicago, once a Methodist minister, converted to radicalism, faces Rev. Dr. Furness, of this city, from a frame. The renowned Passmore Williamson (white), who was imprisoned in Moyamensing by Judge Kane, and who suffered "for freedom," looks at the author of the "underground railroad," Mr. William Still (colored). A bust of Lucretia Mott is opposite to them. Wendell Phillips is represented in a splendid photograph presented to Mr. Davis, and beneath it he (Wendell Phillips) has written: "With the memory and gratitude of a life-long friendship." Edward Kellogg, in portrait, smiles out from a margin of black walnut. He is the author of *The Interchangeable Bond*. The officers of Camp William Penn, for colored troops, on the North Pennsylvania Railroad, during the late war, of which General Wagner was the commander, have left their portraits for the delectation of the Radical Club. More than eleven thousand men enlisted there, and the use of the ground was given to them by this same President of the Radical Club, when nobody else owning ground would permit the colored troops who fought so bravely to bivouac there. A picture of one, who headed the insurrection of the slaves up the Armistead, is a valuable one. Upon the wall, also, was noticed what is printed below, A

portrait of General Fremont is beneath it. As an autograph of General Fremont it is of interest. The President of this Club was his private secretary during his service in the war in Missouri. Jessie Benton Fremont gave to him the original MSS. of Fremont's Emancipation Proclamation, August 30, 1861. "The property of all persons, real and personal, in the State of Missouri, who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men." It is to be conceded to the ladies and gentlemen of the Radical Club that they are certainly in earnest, although the headway that they make on their various purposes and objects may be imperceptible. What they manifest is a very strong love of liberty—political and religious. The Radical Club rooms are sometimes a place where a great deal is to be learned. At other times the proceedings are boring. To-day they will probably have, for some people, especial interest.

The Radical Club "wrinkle" is this: It was not formed; it grew. "If you have the material—and I have no doubt every community has—form one," said one of its originators to a visitor from a distance. "Fix upon but few rules; make little effort to gather people; name the day and hour that you meet, so that all in your vicinity may know it; be punctual; only one speak at a time; be honest in your expressions; avoid merely intellectual controversy; do not be afraid of personality; it is sometimes well to say, as Nathan did, 'Thou art the man,' but let your spirit be fraternal; exclude no one; recognize occasional visitors as equal in rights to regular attendants; be unselfish; do not assume that you only are wise; cultivate self-control; respect heartily each one's rights; cherish those upon whom the world frowns; thus the good and true will be drawn to you, and you will grow wiser and better."—*Philadelphia Times*, April 21.

MEMORIAL DAY.

BRINY TEARS SHED AT SAMSON'S TOMB BY THE LIBERAL LEAGUE.—RESOLUTIONS TO BE FORWARDED TO HIS AFFLICTED FAMILY.

There was a large audience at Harrison Hall yesterday afternoon. The resolutions appended below were introduced, and elicited considerable discussion. They were finally adopted by a nearly unanimous vote:—

WHEREAS, Samson, the noted ruler and lawgiver, is dead, having been fatally injured by the tipping over of a public building where he was stopping, causing some surprise to his enemies and a great deal of trouble to his brethren, who travelled thirty-eight miles to bury him; and

WHEREAS, We do not expect to look upon his like again for some time to come; therefore,

Resolved, That the Liberal League joins this day with the Sunday-schools of the entire land, in celebrating and drawing lessons of wisdom from this high-toned worthy, whose pure and merciful life has been thus prematurely cut off.

Resolved, That the summary method of Judge Samson in deciding cases that came before his tribunal, denying all motions for a *supersedeas* or a change of venue, preventing the subterfuge of *habeas corpus* and forbidding a dilatory appeal to other courts, should be adopted by his successors to facilitate business and to discourage litigation.

Resolved, That the fact that seven of the miracles of our departed brother were wrought to obtain a wife, who finally got away from him, and the other five to circumvent the plots of his concubine, is an illustration of the principle that the course of true love never did run smooth.

Resolved, That the transaction of paying his lost bet with the plunder obtained from the bodies of thirty inhabitants whom he murdered for that purpose, shows the man of sagacity and resources whom no emergency could baffle.

Resolved, That the friends of Samson should be congratulated that this weapon with which he killed his thousand men, being at the rate of one a minute for seventeen hours, was a "new" jaw bone; otherwise the skull of the nine hundredth Philistine might have broken it, thus compelling Samson to slay the last hundred with his naked hand, as he did the lion.

Resolved, That, while we extol the valiant deeds of Samson, we cannot forbear to render some praise to this thousand Philistines who waited patiently and politely till their turn came to be knocked on the head by the hero of Israel with his osseous tomahawk.

Resolved, That a similar meed of partial approval is due to the three hundred foxes, which came and meekly backed up to him while he tied their tails together, and fastened firebrands thereto, for the desolation of the enemies of the Lord.

Resolved, That this affliction to his bereaved family and his fellow-citizens should be tempered by the reflection that Samson's faithful god, the successful rival of Dagon, for the most part stood by Samson through thick and thin, and would doubtless have saved Samson's life at the last if he could have possibly done so.—*Evening Mail (Minneapolis)*.

MR. CONWAY'S CHAPEL.

Mention has been made of the South Place Chapel, London, where our friend Moncreu D. Conway preaches. In his last letter Mr. Conway tells how it is to make the centre of a much larger influence than ever before. He says that ever since the famous address of Prof Tyndall at Belfast, there has been observable among men of science a tendency to popularize their work more than formerly. It is hardly consistent with the traditions of existing institutions that

lecturers in them should directly deal with questions plainly involving theological dogmas. Max Müller's lectures at the Royal Institution, on the "Science of Religion," carried the latitudinarian capabilities of the broadest of our institutions to their utmost limit, which was of very moderate extent when compared with the known opinions of its chief, Prof. Tyndall. Under these circumstances there has been felt the need of an institution to be the organ and creation of to-day, an institution without traditions or restrictions however palpable, which will invite and welcome such expressions of thought and fact as are elsewhere intimidated or at most tolerated. Such an institution is now being formed in the city of London by a number of educated people with substantial purses. It is called the "South Place Institute," the lectures to be given in South Place Chapel (Finsbury), near the Bank of England. This building seats nearly a thousand people, and has been renovated within, the pews having made way for modern seats, and the pulpit replaced by a neat platform and lecture-desk.

Those who have founded this new institution had thought there might be some difficulty in obtaining the consent of distinguished men of science and scholars to appear in a place so long notorious as the centre of heretical views as South Place Chapel. This is the jubilee year of that ancient fortress of free thought. Fifty years ago it was founded for the ministrations of the late W. J. Fox, M.P., whose work in London corresponded to that of Theodore Parker in Boston. From that time to this the chapel has not receded from the principles of its founder, though it must wait long for an equally eloquent expounder of them. It is true that there is a difference between South Place Chapel and the new South Place Institute, but it may easily be anticipated that the latter will hardly fail to inherit the notoriety of the former, especially as it will probably exceed the former in the radicalism of its ideas. Colonel Forney has, I see, described South Place as a "materialistic congregation," but the description is inexact, so far certainly as any ordinary interpretation of the word "materialism" is concerned. However, the founders of the new institution have found the chief men of science quite prepared for their movement. Prof. Huxley has consented to inaugurate it with a lecture, which will probably astonish even *blasé* London. Charles Darwin has expressed his warm sympathy with the institution, though he is unable, through ill-health, to lecture. Mr. John Morley, of the *Fortnightly Review*, Norman Lockyer, the astronomer, and Professor Clifford, of the University College, will follow Huxley in the first course, which will be opened, probably in March. It does not require a prophet to foresee an important career for the new institution, which will not merely have courses of general lectures, but regular classes taught every evening by competent professors in every branch of science and other studies.—*Golden Age*.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

NOBLENES.

'Tis easy growing cynical at men,
And pointing scorn at those we trusted dear,
And showing shame in those we counted near;
'Tis easy work to dip in gall the pen,
For all our hearts are rankled now and then;
We strive to do our best, to act the right,
We strive with willing love and generous might,
And those we serve return not thus again!
But scorn on him that dare not still pursue
The high-born love and impulse nobly sent,
That will not still his kindness oft renew,
And still preserve his manhood's fair intent;
For thus alone can we attain the true,
And show the world a soul on virtue bent!

WILLIAM BRUNTON.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

"THE UNDER MUST COME UP."

A tree was planted in a city street—
A slender sapling, neither strong nor tall;
Yet in its heart it bore the heart of all,
And what has life, must have conditions meet.
The tender, spongy roots began to grow;
The subtle sunshine and the summer rain
Leagued influence with the winter's needed pain,
And every hour brought greater strength; when lo,
A man who passed tripped o'er a loosened stone!
Life in the root, drawn from the fostering day,
Had slowly pushed the oppressive curb away.
So power brings always power unto its own:
From straitened souls to a frail acorn's cup,
Life shall find room—"the under must come up!"

MRS. M. F. BUTTS.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 15.

H. L. Green, \$2; Elmore Sharpe, 30 cents; W. M. Holloway, 25 cents; W. O. Mack, \$5; G. H. Williams, 20 cents; C. Whittaker, \$1.75; J. E. Peck, 10 cents; W. Hanford, 50 cents; James Eddy, \$50; A. G. Wheelock, 75 cents; J. H. Simpson, \$1.75; Roberts Brothers, \$3; Clara E. Aldrich, 15 cents; F. E. Abbot, \$50; Wilcox Wilson, \$3; F. H. Brown, \$3.20; O. W. Holmes, Jr., \$3.20; C. F. Folsom, \$3.20; Miss C. E. Watson, \$3.20; Geo. B. Drake, \$3.20; S. E. Brown, \$3.20; Frank B. Cotton, \$3.20; J. R. May, \$3.20; John Green, \$3.20; R. J. Trumbull, \$3.20; Thos. Tasker, \$3.20; E. H. Hopkins, \$3; L. Adams, \$2; J. H. Holly, \$3; E. C. Hyde, \$1; W. H. Young, \$3.20; Clemens Vonnegut, \$3.20; J. J. Byrne, 25 cents; Milan C. Edson, \$3; Leonard Beck \$3; Philip Hake, \$3; F. W. Vogel, \$3.20; Chas. B. Bowditch, \$3.20; Robert Willard, \$3.20; Saml. Brooke, \$2; Louis Liebmann \$3; Henry Damon, \$3.20; Mary W. Wellman, \$4; Chas. Goodridge, \$5.25; R. S. McIntosh, \$3; Kersch & Schies, \$3.20; Anna E. Thompson, \$3.20; Warren Emerson, \$1.20.

The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 20, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. Toledo Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
ABRAHAM WALTER STEVENS, Associate Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E.
D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOSEY (England), Prof. FRAN-
CIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), Editorial Contributors.

NOTICE.

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Index Association will be held in Toledo, Ohio, at No. 35 Monroe Street, on Saturday, June 5, 1875, at 2 o'clock P. M., in accordance with the articles of incorporation.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The eighth annual meeting of the Free Religious Association will be held in Boston as follows:—

May 27th, 7½ P. M. Session in Horticultural Hall (Lower) for business and for free discussion on the objects and work of the Association.

May 28th. Two sessions in Beethoven Hall (Washington Street, near Boylston), at 10 A. M. and 3 P. M. for essays and addresses. Essay at the morning session, by Wm. C. Gannett, on "Present Constructive Forces in Religion."

Essay at the afternoon session, by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion."

Addresses are expected at some one of the sessions from O. B. Frothingham, T. W. Higginson, Charles G. Ames, Miss Mary F. Eastman, M. J. Savage, E. W. Mundy, B. F. Underwood, S. P. Putnam, and (probably) Prof. Edward S. Morse.

Friday evening, May 28th, there will be a social festival in Parker Memorial Hall, Berkeley Street, for brief speeches, music, refreshments, conversation, and for subscription to the funds of the Association.

It is hoped that as many of the members and friends of the Association as possible will be present at this annual meeting. Members who cannot be present are hereby reminded of the annual subscription fee, which it is desired they should send to the Secretary, New Bedford, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

SIX hundred thousand people are reported to be supplied by the Boston meat market. One-fifth of the meat used is brought from the West. The necessity of some rigorous system of meat-inspection is sufficiently obvious, on the score of public health.

"It is of no use," exclaims the hard-hearted *Christian Union*, "to send us stamps for reply to queries, unless you have more stamps than you need. We never reply to queries by mail—it is impossible to do it." Well, THE INDEX is just as hard-hearted, and is glad to learn that it is not worse than a Christian for being so. Do our readers who ask such favors ever dream how sick an editor grows at the bare thought of a pen?

THE HISTORY of the Emma Mine Company, which the English Vice-Chancellor declares was "formed on delusive statements emanating from persons on the other side of the Atlantic," is a great mortification to every decent American. Who likes to see his country's name become a synonyme for fraud? The parties who thus disgrace a whole nation ought to smart bitterly under its merited indignation; and the *Nation* deserves thanks for pointing them out.

DR. HOLBROOK'S *Eating for Strength* (Wood & Holbrook) treats of "The Science of Eating," "Receipts for Wholesome Cookery," "Receipts for Wholesome Drinks," and "Answers to Ever-recurring Questions." Recipes for good, wholesome food will be found here in abundance, and directions for preparing various summer drinks of a strictly "temperance" description; also answers to questions of all sorts (some verging on extreme simplicity) on "practical dietetics."

THE NEW BOOK OF FREE RELIGION.

The Free Religious Association have just published through Roberts Brothers a volume of four hundred and twenty-four pages under the title—*Freedom and Fellowship in Religion*. It is a collection of elaborate essays by Wasson, Longfellow, Johnson, Weiss, Potter, Abbot, Frothingham, Chadwick, Higginson, and Mrs. Cheney; together with brief extracts, under the designation of "Voices from the Free Platform," by Potter, Emerson, Frothingham, Malcom, Mrs. Burleigh, Wasson, Longfellow, Mills, Abbot, Wise, Mrs. Howe, Bartol, Owen, Gannett, Higginson, Weiss, Mrs. Stone, Alcott, Sanborn, Phillips, Seaver, and Mrs. Mott. All these writers are either members of the Free Religious Association, or have occupied its platform. There is an introduction by Mr. Frothingham on "The Religious Outlook," and an "Explanatory Note" by Mr. Potter which says explicitly: "It will be perceived that the organization represents certain principles and tendencies, and not any new creed or jointly subscribed system of faith. These principles and tendencies are perhaps best suggested by the title of the book, *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion*.—Freedom of inquiry and opinion, and yet Fellowship in spirit and aim. And they are expressed in the two chief articles of the Constitution as follows:—

"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

It would be unbecoming to make any public criticisms of the separate papers among which one of our own is included. But the book as a whole has a meaning apart from that of its isolated component essays. It is designed, as its title implies, to express the one and only great idea which, by its Constitution and even by its bare existence, the Free Religious Association affirms collectively before the world. The entire moral and religious value of the Association, as an organized body distinguishable from the individuals that compose it, is contained in the one principle which the well-chosen title of this new book proclaims. The affirmation in words and the practical illustration in deeds of this great principle, as not only true and right in theory but possible and practicable in fact, sum up, constitute, and include the whole historic mission of the Free Religious Association. That every man and woman should be respected by all mankind in the exercise of the rights of absolutely untrammelled thought and utterance, and that the perfect spiritual liberty thus conceded as an inalienable individual right should be accompanied, beautified, and ennobled by profound sympathy and fellowship in the common love of truth,—these ideas constitute the total significance of the Free Religious Association, the entire pith and purport of its mission as an organized body in the history of religion. Any vacillation, inconsistency, or want of energy in the affirmation of these ideas, or any practical treachery to them in practice, would be the total failure, and the only possible failure, that could befall the Association in its great public work. So long as these ideas are faithfully served by it, it will be protected from all possible danger, whether from within or without; and no enemy can possess the slightest power to harm it, or to frustrate the magnificent truth it sets forth in a living embodiment before the world, who cannot tempt the Association itself to some actual unfaithfulness in the advocacy of its own glorious cause. Only by fidelity to its idea can it stand; only by infidelity to its idea can it fall.

The present volume, therefore, entirely apart from the intrinsic value of the papers it contains, possesses an ideal significance as a whole which alone throws real light on the nature of Free Religion, or which really answers the question, "What is the meaning of the Free Religious Association?" If the book exhibits, each in its fullest and strongest form, all the phases of thought represented in the Association's membership, it will be found to illustrate satisfactorily its *Freedom*; if it expresses in evident reality the close ties of brotherhood, mutual respect,

and reverence for individual liberty, which unite all the members in the free and common pursuit of the highest truth touching religion, then it will be found to illustrate satisfactorily its *Fellowship*. Failure in either of these respects would be so far failure of the book to answer the question it proposes to answer; and whether, thus judged, the book does actually fulfil its mission, it must be left for each reader to decide. All we wish to point out here is the large and grand object which was to be accomplished, without a full appreciation of which the chief value of this volume will be lost sight of. The magnificent idea on which the Free Religious Association is itself built furnishes the only just rule or criterion by which the success or failure of the book can be measured.

Now, in undertaking to represent the breadth of the Free Religious movement, the volume just issued could, of course, only follow the method adopted by the Association in holding its Conventions and arranging its Lecture Courses: namely, to offer a free platform on which invited speakers might represent each his own individual convictions, and thus to furnish an opportunity for each phase of free religious thought to represent itself through the utterance of some earnest believer in it. If the editing committee (of which, by the way, we were not a member) had undertaken to appoint some "suitable man to represent the breadth of the movement," as the anonymous critic of ours, quoted in these columns a fortnight ago, intimated ought to have been done with THE INDEX,—if they had entrusted to him the delicate task of interpreting to the world all the different types of thought and feeling embraced by it,—the result must have been failure, total and ignominious. No man, however gifted with "broad sympathies and judicial habit of mind," could possibly have done more than to caricature the views of some of those for whom he would have been presumptuous enough to speak. The committee fell into no such mischievous and irretrievable blunder. They have, on the contrary, adopted the method which the Free Religious Association and THE INDEX have both practised from the beginning; that is, they have simply offered a free platform, and invited each phase of thought to represent itself in the best way it could. The book they have published, therefore, is a chorus of many voices, by which alone the deep harmonies as well as the sweet melodies of Free Religion could have been brought out; and they did not invite any unfortunate "suitable man" to essay the ludicrous task of singing a chorus by himself. The result is a far "broader" representation of Free Religion than could possibly have been made by the ideal hippogriff editor of our anonymous critic—who reminds us of Lord Dunsyre's comment on the old proverb that "birds of a feather flock together": "Why, you don't suppose that any bird would be such a fool as to go off and flock all alone by itself in a corner!"

Both as a truly broad and catholic representative of the Free Religious Association as a whole, and as a collection of representative individual utterances of many of its best-known members and friends, *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion* is sent forth to the world to receive such welcome and hospitality as its merits may command. May it win at least the reward of being counted one of the sincerest and most earnest contributions yet made to the religious thought of our time!

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—Messrs. Moody and Sankey are in the full height of their London glory.

After weeks of uninterrupted success at the Agricultural Hall, in Islington, they have abundant means at command for the hire of Her Majesty's Theatre, to which crowds of five thousand persons flock every afternoon and evening. The carriages around the building are as numerous as on the best opera-nights, and duchesses and even princesses are to be seen patronizing the Gospel of an afternoon as they were wont to patronize Jenny Lind or Patti.

Mr. Moody, I trust, has not forgotten that memorable passage in his own sermon on "The Blood," in which he says: "The more the world assails me, the more thoroughly I am convinced that I am right. It is a good sign when the world assails us. It is an evidence that we are right."

If his mind is not changed by his matchless success, I should imagine that the amount of favor and flattery which "the world" is now pouring upon him will somewhat disturb his conscience and weaken his convictions that he is "right." Poor man! the world never felt less inclined to assail any one and

cannot even get up a pretence of opposition or put on a feigned attack, even to strengthen his assurance in his own infallibility. We must hope that this humiliating season of unheard-of popularity will have its blessed effects in self-examination and self-enlightenment.

Who knows but that this painful embarrassment through "the friendship of the world" may lead him to question his "friendship with God"?

But I leave the revivalists to their own thoughts on this matter, and will call attention to the fact that they are doing much more good than they think they are doing—and in a way very different indeed to their intentions. Their blind but honest purpose is to preach "the old, old story of Jesus and his love," and that in the most plain, straightforward, literal manner possible—a lost and doomed race trembling on the verge of eternal hell, and a Man-God dying on the cross and shedding his "Blood" to turn away the wrath of God, and thus deliver them from damnation.

Now it so happens that, if there is one view of the Gospel more than another which is showing signs of decay and death, it is this *literal* view of damnation and salvation. Even in its stronghold, the Evangelicals of churches and sects, it is being more and more modified and even ignored. The coarse and crude notion of God's curse against a fallen race has given way to a much milder method of describing our state of ruin and danger. The old hell-fire, with its flames of brimstone, is seldom depicted in sermons, lest people should be needlessly harrowed, or lest others should scoff. On every hand, ministers are trying to do away with the endlessness of hell-fire, and some of them substitute for it, as the true teaching of the Bible, annihilation of the wicked and unbelieving. The atonement by vicarious suffering is also more than questioned; it is openly condemned, and a milk-and-water theory of atonement by the pleasing aspect of the self-sacrifice of Jesus has taken its place. Thanks to Mr. Maurice, the atonement has got another squeak, and may survive in this emasculated form for some time to come. Such is the prevailing condition of mind among Evangelicals, though of course a faithful few still keep up the true old Puritan conception of it, in its integrity.

Among the High Church party, Purgatory is generally substituted for hell-fire. God's curse is all washed away in baptism, and, instead of the horrible doctrine of the "Blood," atonement is now made by a clean piece of white bread and a sip of pure wine. It is all neat and picturesque, and the ghastliness is gone.

Whatever changes have come over the aspect of the Gospel, they are in the very opposite direction to the retrograde views of Messrs. Moody and Sankey. But inasmuch as all the Christian churches and sects still believe in some doom or danger, from which Christ has delivered them, and therefore to all of them alike the name of Jesus is especially dear and sacred, "the old, old story of Jesus and his love" has some attraction for them, even when set in the rude and repulsive frame-work of the American revivalists.

I am therefore led to infer that one of two results must favor the wide-spread hearing of Messrs. Moody and Sankey: Either the Christians who have been slipping away from the old landmarks, and adopting a new interpretation of the Gospel events in place of the literal one, will be led by these preachers to go back to the old views which they had so lately renounced, and confess with humility and sorrow the error of having departed from the "simplicity of the Gospel"; or else they will be more than ever repelled by these preachers from the old literal view, presented as it is with marvellous warmth and earnestness, and almost forced into grotesque outlines bordering on caricature.

It is not difficult to foretell which alternative will be chosen. It is contrary to all human experience for a large number of persons who have unanimously decided against a particular view—and that after much controversy and heart-burnings—to take to it again suddenly and sincerely on a mere repetition of the "old, old story" by a popular preacher and a good singer of hymns.

The stream of religious thought has set the other way, and no number of revivalists of any qualifications can wholly turn the tide. Eddies they will make, of course, and many a straw will be wafted back by the disturbance; but the river of humanity will flow on and down, and seek the broad sea, and will not flow backwards and upwards to the springs from which it started. Therefore, as this revival cannot come and go without any results at all, it

must have the effect of hastening the decay and downfall of those very doctrines which the revivalists are endeavoring to reestablish.

Hence, Messrs. Moody and Sankey may be welcomed as doing our work and playing into our hands; actually encouraging scepticism by the very means which they hope to make effectual in crushing it. Their extravagant and idolatrous praises of Jesus will fall, in time, on the ears of those to whom "the Savior" used to be precious; and the reaction must be fatal to the claims made on his behalf upon the love and gratitude of mankind.

That Christianity has lasted so long is owing to the fact that its most objectionable and repulsive features have been veiled under ingenious interpretations or painted over with modern embellishments. That it is certain to be damaged hopelessly in the eyes of modern Christians by the removal of the paint and the rending of the veil, is a prospect too probable to require much discernment to see, or much daring to predict.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, April 24, 1875.

THE MAY FESTIVAL.

The Free Religious Association invite their friends to unite with them in a social donation festival to take place in Parker Memorial Hall, corner of Berkeley and Appleton Streets, Boston, on Friday evening, May 28, 1875.

The objects of our yearly festival are to strengthen the Association by binding closer ties of sympathy between all those who accept the principle of Religious Freedom, to promote that "Fellowship in the Spirit" which is one of the objects named in our Constitution, to increase our membership, and replenish our treasury. All persons, therefore, of every name, sect, or party, who sympathize with the spirit of the Free Religious Association, are invited to renew with us the pleasant time we have had at previous gatherings.

The evening will be devoted to conversation, music, and short speeches. Refreshments will be for sale from 6 till 10 P. M. Music and speaking will begin at 7.30.

This invitation, shown at the door, will be a sufficient pass to the festival, and those desiring invitations for themselves or their friends can obtain them by application to any of the Committee.

Membership-subscriptions and donations will be received at tables arranged for the purpose in the hall, or may be sent by letter to the Treasurer, Richard P. Halliwell, 139 Federal Street, Boston. We would remind friends that the year's work of the Association depends very largely on these contributions received at the festival.

The Committee will also be happy to receive flowers and supplies for the refreshment tables, at the Parker Memorial Hall, on the morning of the festival.

HELEN M. IRESON,
EDNAH D. CHENEY,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL,
JOHN T. SARGENT,
CHARLES K. WHIPPLE,
JOHN C. HAYNES,
W. C. GANNETT,

Committee on the Festival.

The Annual Meeting of the Association begins on Thursday evening, May 27th, at the Lower Horticultural Hall,—a business session, to which all interested are welcome. On Friday morning and afternoon, in Beethoven Hall (Washington Street, opposite the Globe Theatre), are held the two sessions for public addresses. In the evening, at the Parker Memorial Hall, this festival.

President.—Octavius B. Frothingham.

Vice-Presidents.—Ralph Waldo Emerson, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, Lydia Maria Child, Isaac M. Wise, George W. Curtis, Frederick Schünemann Pott, Edward L. Youmans, George Hoadly, Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

Secretary.—William J. Potter.

Assistant Secretary.—Hannah E. Stevenson.

Treasurer.—Richard P. Halliwell.

Directors.—John Weiss, Charles K. Whipple, Ednah D. Cheney, Helen M. Ireson, John T. Sargent, Francis E. Abbot, W. C. Gannett, John C. Haynes.

"I AM COME for my umbrella," said the lender of it on a rainy day to a friend. "Can't help that," said the borrower; "don't you see that I am going out with it?" "Well, yes," replied the lender, astonished at such outrageous impudence; "yes, but—what am I to do?" "Do!" said the other, as he opened the umbrella and walked off, "do as I did—borrow one."

Communications.

THE COMMISSIONERS' REPORT.

TIPPECANOE CITY, OHIO, May 1, 1875.

MR. EDITOR:—

To-day for the first time looking over THE INDEX for April 1 (the number had been mislaid) I was somewhat astonished at the report of the Commissioners on Taxation of Church Property—not astonished that they reported as they did, but because of the arguments used in support of their report. They lay down principles of government, as I think, diametrically in opposition to those on which our government is founded. They say: "When this self-surrender" [of the individual to the State] "is free and complete, there is nothing more to be desired, either on the part of the individuals or the State." This is assuming that the State is all in all, and individuals have no rights, except such as are mercifully granted by the State—as if the State was the prior being and individuals came afterwards! This does not sound like—"we the people make and ordain"—"that all governments derive their just powers from the people"—that the people, individuals acting in concert, can amend, alter, or abolish all governments—that individuals have certain "inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—that "governments are established to secure these ends"—and that "governments have no right to tax individuals only to protect them in the enjoyment of their rights." But the Commission do not talk as if they admitted the doctrine that the State should tax individuals only for the protection of individuals; they hold that it can tax for the good of the State, as if the State was not composed of individuals—as if they could tax for State purposes without any regard to the individual rights mentioned! Is it not plain the State has no right to do anything whatever except to secure to each individual his inalienable rights? When this is done, the State is rightly protected, being only an aggregate of individuals.

I am not trying to draw a line between what a State may tax for, and what it may not; I only wish to show the State has no right to tax the community to support religion, as it is taught by the different denominations which profess to teach it. All churches make a wide distinction between what they call religion and morals, holding that even morals are dangerous without religion. A question now naturally arises, What is the religion of the churches when separated from morality? Take first the Catholic Church. Its religion consists in what it teaches about God, his attributes, what he has done, how he has established the Catholic Church as the only true one, and condemns all others as false; how he has made the Pope infallible and given him the infallible wisdom and authority to utter the following: "To teach that liberty of conscience and worship is the personal right of every man, which ought to be protected by law, is insane nonsense,"—the "liberty of perdition." By the "authority of his Divine Master" the Pope declares he has "authority not only over individuals, but over nations, peoples, and their sovereign rulers." The Catholic religion further requires that you believe all this—submit yourself, and this "nation" too, to the dictation of the Pope, obey all his commands, and have full faith that all this comes from God, or suffer the pains of purgatory as long as the Pope might please to sentence you for! All this, and more of the same sort, the Commission finds it just and right to tax the people of Massachusetts to support!

Now what is the religion of the Protestant aside from his morality, which he too teaches is dangerous unless supplemented by his religion? The first part of it is that the Pope is a great imposter and humbug; so far, so good. The next is that the Scriptures were in a miraculous way dictated to man by God himself, and are infallible, and you are bound under penalty of hell to believe all they contain; and the Orthodox part of Protestantism say the Scriptures teach that God is composed of three distinct parts, the Father, Son, and Spirit, and "these are the same in substance, equal in power and glory." Yet the son is of the same age as the father, and born of a woman under circumstances not considered moral in these times. They also teach that man was created holy and with all his faculties entire, and from this "state of holiness" he fell into one of "sin and misery"; that for man's thus falling God was very wroth, and sorry, and, to satisfy his anger and allay his sorrow, sacrificed his son, a holy and perfect being, that he might have mercy on his creature man, and restore him to happiness. But, as we are now told, the whole plan is likely to fail, because before man can be saved he must first come to God, which he can't do unless God help him, and God will help only a few such as he determined to help before he made man at all; and we all know what is to be done with the balance. According to Orthodox Protestant teachings, a most implicit faith must be had in all this, or no one can be saved.

Even among the Orthodox Protestants the times was, if not now, when each thought of the others that there was not truth enough in their doctrines to save them. Now comes in the heterodox Protestants who have no faith, or not much, in all that preceded them. Then come the Jews, calling everything bosh but the Old Testament. Then come along the sceptics, infidels, Free Religionists, etc. All of these have consciences and rights; and, according to the foundation on which our government rests, we are bound to protect them all in the free exercise of these rights. How can we do this impartially, except by taxing alike all the property held by each for the propagation of his own religious views?

But it is said: "Religion is essential to good gov-

ernment." I have simply been telling what religion, separated from morality, consists of. Can any one think that the good of the State requires a belief in all this nonsense, and that we should trample under foot the very foundation of our government to build up such ideas? It is sound morality our State needs; is it impossible we should have that without this religious jargon? The opinions of the Commission appear to be founded on such an idea! They say: "The culture of the State, its freedom from crime, its social order, will rest ultimately upon the religion of its subjects." When all the trash now called religion is thrown out, and religion becomes love to God and man carried out in "doing to others as you would have others do to you," "visiting the widow and fatherless in their afflictions, and keeping unspotted from the world," then may it do for the State what the Commission thinks it may do. But this is morality, which our religionists think dangerous unless supplemented by their "insane nonsense" which they call religion.

But for the sake of the argument let us admit that the teaching of all these absurdities is necessary for the preservation of good government in some degree. Does it then follow as a matter of course the government should exempt their churches from taxation? If church property should go untaxed because the teachings in them conserved the morality of those who listened, then all property, when so used as to serve the same end, should also be exempt. Does not agriculture, the mechanical branches of business, manufacturing and mercantile occupations, have much more to do in conserving good morals than all the churches ten-fold? On the principle the Commissioners apply to churches, they should be exempt. The press at this day perhaps does more in this way than the same amount of property in any other occupation; on their principle it would come in for exemption.

The good and thoughtful all over the land saw and deplored the demoralizing effects of the stoppage of a few mechanical and manufacturing establishments which has taken place lately. According to the theory, our government should have sent the "tramps" to our religious houses of worship. But all know employment was the best means of securing good morals. Adopt the principle advocated, and we would have no property left for taxation.

E. L. CRANE.

LIBERALISM TRIUMPHANT IN SAN FRANCISCO.

SANTA CLARA, Cal., April 25, 1875.

DEAR ABBOT:—

The matter of religious exercises in the San Francisco public schools came up again before the City Board of Education last Tuesday evening. As I wrote you some weeks ago, the Board had decided that the Lord's Prayer and all religious exercises must be excluded from the schools as "sectarian," within the meaning of the prohibitory statute.

The Presbyterians and others protested that only the dogmas of special sects were properly to be considered sectarian, and petitioned the Board to rescind its late vote and order the Lord's Prayer to be recited, and the Psalms of David to be read or chanted in the schools.

On the other side, the enclosed counter petition [written by me at the request of San Francisco liberals, and read at the close of my address on the subject in Dashaway Hall last Sunday] was submitted, numerously signed, mostly by Americans and Germans, with some Jews and a few Catholics.

The petitions were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, who reported, last Tuesday evening, in favor of continuing to exclude all religious exercises whatever, and the Board voted accordingly.

This settles the matter for the present.

The San José Liberal League, at its April meeting, voted to petition the School Board of that city to prohibit all religious exercises in their schools. I will inform you of the result.

Yours, J. L. HATCH.

PETITION AGAINST RELIGIOUS EXERCISES IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

To the Honorable Board of Education of the City and County of San Francisco:—

The undersigned, your petitioners, desire to represent to your honorable body that we have been greatly pleased with the determination evinced by your recent action to carry out the spirit of our school law, and of our National and State Constitutions, by making our public schools truly and thoroughly unsectarian; and we earnestly hope and trust that you will continue to maintain that position, and take no backward step in this matter, whoever may desire it.

We observe that those who have petitioned you to reverse your late action, and to issue a positive order for the use of the Lord's Prayer and the reading of the Holy Scriptures as parts of the daily exercises of the schools, represent that the statute upon which you have founded your action "only forbids the preference of any one sect," and only requires "the exclusion of special dogmas of sects in religion."

It seems to us a sufficient answer to this that it must have been the intention of the Legislature to confine the State system of instruction within certain limits, corresponding strictly to those which our National and State Constitutions recognize as marking the legitimate and proper sphere of civil governments. This, as all the constitutional commentators agree, is *secular* and excludes religion from all consideration, except that of equal protection; not on the ground of its inutility, but from the conviction that the interests of religion as well as civil government would be better subserved by maintaining a strict independence and complete separation between them.

The late John C. Spencer, one of the most eminent of American jurists, has officially decided that "It is no part of our public school system to give religious instruction," and Rev. Dr. McVaine, a distinguished educator and Presbyterian divine, in endorsing his decision as the only honest interpretation of our Constitutions and laws says: "Even the reading of the Bible in these schools... is in palpable conflict with this idea of governmental neutrality in religion, under which it is the Constitutional right of the Romanist to object against the common version of the

Scriptures, of the Jew against the New Testament, and of the heathen and infidel against the whole."

Judge Taft, of Ohio (a State whose Constitutional guarantees of religious freedom are identical, in substance, with those of our own Constitution), in a published "opinion," which has been sustained by the Supreme Court of that State, says: "No sect can, because it includes a majority of the citizens of the State, claim any preference whatever. . . . Nor does it make the case any better if several sects agree in a certain degree and kind of religious instruction and worship, among themselves, though forming together a large majority of the community or State. So long as there are any who do not believe in, or approve of, their mode of religious worship or instruction, they cannot insist that it is not sectarian, or that any non-believing taxpayer shall be compelled to submit to it in the common schools."

We submit to your honorable Board that King James' version of the Bible is essentially a Protestant symbol, as the Douay version is a Catholic symbol; and so the former as well as the latter should be excluded from the schools. We further submit that the reciting, singing, or chanting the Lord's Prayer is as much an act of distinctive Protestant worship, as the making the sign of the cross is of Catholic worship; and therefore that the former can with no more propriety, under our Constitution and laws, be introduced into our public schools, than the latter.

Finally, we would remind you that when, in 1830, numerous petitions were presented to Congress to order the mails not to be transported, or the post-offices opened, on Sunday, upon the ground that it was the Christian Sabbath, counter petitions were presented opposing such legislation for the reason that it would be sectarian in character, and so unconstitutional; and this was the view taken by the Committee to whom the matter was referred, in their report, which view Congress endorsed by adopting the report. Now, if discrimination in favor of "the Christian Sabbath" be sectarian, is not discrimination in favor of "the Christian Scriptures" and the Lord's Prayer equally so? We cannot forbear quoting, in conclusion, a few words from that able report which has stood for thirty-five years as the deliberate sense of our National Legislature, not only on the particular matter of Sunday mails, but on the general issue of the complete religious impartiality or neutrality of our National and State Constitutions. It says: "The Constitution regards the conscience of the Jew as sacred as that of the Christian, and gives no more authority to adopt a measure affecting the conscience of a solitary individual than that of a whole community. That representative who would violate this principle would lose his delegated character and forfeit the confidence of his constituents. . . . If a solemn act of legislation shall, in one point, define the law of God, or point out to the citizen one religious duty, it may with equal propriety define every part of revelation and enforce every religious obligation, even to the forms and ceremonies of worship, the church and the support of the clergy."

These positions seem to us impregnable, and we are persuaded that a persistent disregard of the principles which they involve, by those to whom the interests of our public schools are intrusted, would inevitably result in their great injury and the final complete overthrow of our beneficent common school system.

Therefore we, your present petitioners, respectfully ask and earnestly entreat your honorable Board firmly to maintain the position you have assumed and the decision you have recently made in the matter of religious exercises in the schools under your care.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, etc.

NO FREEDOM BUT IN CHRISTIANITY.

MOST VALIANT INDEX:—

Considering how prone you "free-thinkers" are to claim for yourselves an attitude of positive freedom—a freedom that is ample for all needs, I am led to inquire concerning the actual realities of the case. We are all inclined, doubtless, to put on and wear the habit we fall into, with much complaisance,—sometimes, perhaps, with stilted airs of superiority; but in any case it is well enough to have the shelter behind which we dodge put to the test, that we may know if it will positively serve us in extremities of need. Bear with me, therefore, while I inquire if "Free Religion" makes that final advance requisite to justify the claim of its votaries. Is it a reality fully answering to present human needs? Or is it only an *ignis fatuus* that will carry the head into the realm of distressing fogs and vapors, and the feet into loathsome sloughs?

I grant, and affirm with all my might, the wrongs of authority on every hand, as administered to partial and private ends rather than with human intent; but my aversion to unregulated and mistaken freedom is hardly less than to undue authority. Hence what I now want to know is whether this "freedom" in breaking away from fetters and chains assumes conditions of freedom befitting the occasion; or does it only exhibit the spring of a natural reaction against galling oppression? Does it intelligently plant itself upon the central laws of life, and then unfold those laws as a sure guide to weary and worn seekers for the immutable; or does it merely break away from the thralldom of the conventional "rings" of Christendom, and find its jubilation inspired simply by the loose freedom of extreme self-poise? Freedom that has no definite law and appreciable form competent to make an immutable standard of action is a spirit without a body to embrace and operate it; a moving principle without a method adequate to assume true expression. Is the freedom of the new school more than this? If so, please let us see wherein. If this school holds and calls into use an intelligible system of law competent to organize its force upon undeviating grounds, let it be set forth accordingly. But if its boasted freedom ends in breaking old trammels, giving us no law of human freedom beyond the stale code of recognized ethics, I, for one, propose a Protestantism newer and more vital still; one that repudiates alike stagnating authority and disordered or riotous freedom. I protest in behalf of liberty and law—law that shall be found clear and constant, so satisfying the intellectual nature of man; and liberty positive and absolute for all occasions, so satisfying his emotional nature. Beyond authority and freedom as separate and controversial factors, let us have a reconciling term that will give us permanent authority and freedom as one—authority that is never a yoke, and freedom void of every taint of looseness. Freedom void of definite authority is fully as shocking as authority without freedom. Radical and Conservative, poised against each other in struggles for special ends, are alike partial and without promise of the ultimate and all-sufficing good. What

seems to me most needed to-day is not the intensifying of freedom against authority, but an adjusting term that shall give us perfect liberty in law and perfect law in liberty, thus ordering and reconciling opposites, keeping the full glory of both; just as the glaring beams of the full day, becoming suffused with the shades of night, give to the eye the matchless hues of sunset, before which mid-day lustre pales to insignificance. What, therefore, do you emancipationists propose as the regulative law of liberty?

For myself, I may say, I regard the Christian Gospel as the only clear affirmation of the principle of absolute freedom that has ever been made.

In a former communication I instanced mathematics and the relations of the human mind thereto as illustrative of the principles of relative and absolute freedom. As mere learner of the rules, laws, or principles that make any science, one must be tolerably free in his pursuits or investigations, while he is yet held to certain tutelar dictation by the instructor, and is under the sternest obligations constantly to abide the rule of the laws which make the theme a science. While a learner, one cannot escape tutelar pressures, nor the rigors of the immutable laws of science in the abstract. But the moment one is educated thoroughly therein—comes to such an understanding of the principles thereof as to need no further instruction,—then, for the first time, such one is duly empowered in positive or absolute freedom as to the subject in hand. And this power is not derived by nullifying law or authority, but by becoming perfected in the knowledge and use thereof. The master or freeman in mathematics is such master when he knows, and conforms to, the laws of mathematics. The law is not annulled in him, but is livingly fulfilled; and in that fulness alone are his freedom and delight assured. In that only is he master of the whole situation, and empowered to occupy and use without limit.

Now, this principle of full human freedom—of divine human mastery over all the obstructions and limitations incident to all stages of minority—was, to my mind, livingly revealed in the Christian Gospel; and nowhere else, to my knowledge. A scientific rendering of that principle will exhibit to the understanding the laws of creation, as a complete system—the full scale of cosmic evolution and organization. This rendering, clearly held by the intellect, will unfranchise thought and give the range of the whole field; while a strict application thereof to the affairs of life and experience will make mankind practically free and orderly in all respects—will "make free indeed."

Ever yours, THERON GRAY.

["We emancipationists" propose NATURE as the "regulative law of liberty," and SCIENCE as the knowledge of Nature. Since science includes (or will include) ethics just as much as chemistry, and is wholly based on the idea of immutable law, our correspondent need not become uneasy over the supposed absence of "law" in Free Religion. But the "Christian Gospel," which he propounds as the "only clear affirmation of the principle of absolute freedom that has ever been made," is an attempt to strain the universe of Nature through the uneducated mind of Jesus, and let only so much of it through this little sieve as shall favor his Messianic hallucination. The result is that no follower of Jesus knows what "absolute freedom" means; for it is the freedom of Science, and throws all sieves aside. There is something melancholy in the delusion which looks to Jesus for the ethical knowledge which can come only from science; and the wretched inadequacy of Christian morality is nowhere more evident than in its total contempt for the rights of the scientific intellect.—ED.]

IS "THE INDEX" UNJUST TO CHRISTIANITY?

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Some time ago a letter from Prof. Newman was published in THE INDEX, in which exceptions were taken to some of Mr. Abbot's views of Christianity. The statement differed from numerous others of a like character that have appeared, both in THE INDEX and out of it, in that several apparently strong points were made against the anti-Christian position. For this reason it seemed to me at the time that some direct explanation was due from the anti-Christian side; and, as this explanation has not yet been offered, I will venture to give a few thoughts of my own. THE INDEX can hardly afford to rest under the imputation of being unjust to the religion of the Bible. It certainly cannot afford to merit such an imputation. Every earnest and sagacious thinker who finds himself compelled to take a stand outside of Christianity will admit that it is better, from any point of view, freely to concede to that religion all that rightfully belongs to it. If, then, it should appear that the editor of THE INDEX fails in this, if his criticisms of the prevailing faith are uncandid or unfair, it follows that he so far forfeits his title to be regarded as a true representative of honest radical thought.

But is he thus unjust? I think not. My opportunities for becoming acquainted with Orthodox Christianity have been pretty good,—I having been brought up under strictly evangelical influences, though myself an "unbeliever" almost from my earliest recollection; and I do not hesitate to say that, if my observation and reflection are worth anything, Mr. Abbot's estimate of the religion of Jesus is, in the main, correct. Let me remark here, parenthetically, that I recognize no Christianity which is not

evangelical. There may be those who will say that the Orthodox doctrines of eternal punishment, salvation through faith in Christ alone, etc., have no warrant from Scripture; and that what is called Liberal Christianity is the only real Christianity. I should hardly take the trouble to dispute with them. It is enough to say that, if Jesus did not intend to teach these doctrines, and if he did intend to teach their opposite, he was most unfortunate in the selection of words; so that, in any case, Christianity is responsible for the doctrines.

Prof. Newman thinks THE INDEX unjust in imputing to Christian doctrine "the punishment of heresy as a crime." This is a matter, it seems to me, that ought to be easily disposed of. The real, underlying question is, whether, regarded from a purely Christian standpoint, false belief, or unbelief of any kind, is a crime. Does Christianity teach that those who deliberately reject its essential doctrines, either wholly or in part, are for that reason offenders in the sight of God? I see not how any intelligent man, with the facts before him, can deny that it does so teach. But it is not necessary to insist upon that. We have only to point to the indubitable fact that "Jesus and the apostles" seem to teach this, and that the effect of their recorded words upon the minds of their followers has been to make a vast majority of them believe it, in order to show that Christianity is responsible for the doctrine. Theologians—with excellent apparent reason, from their own standpoint—have been almost unanimous in the opinion that the deadliest of all offenses, the unpardonable sin, which shall not be forgiven in this world or in the world to come, is persistent unbelief. It is evident, then, that Christianity is responsible for the teaching and for all its fearful consequences. For who does not see that this doctrine, if true, affords a justification for all the persecutions that have engaged honest bigots since the Church began? If unbelief is so terrible an offense in the sight of God, it is clear that the man who promulgates infidel or heretical views (for heresy is only a form of unbelief) must be a very great sinner against his fellow-man; and the right to punish him follows as a matter of course. It is true that in this age, and especially in a Protestant country, there are numerous difficulties and objections that might be urged against a full practical enforcement of any such right; but the careful thinker will find that they are difficulties and objections which bear against Christianity itself, not against Mr. Abbot's conception of it.

What Protestants think or "how they feel" with reference to the criticisms of THE INDEX is a matter of very little importance, so far as the correctness of the editor's views is concerned. Let me illustrate from my own experience: I am a confirmed anti-Sabbatarian, and often put my principles in practice by engaging in secular employment on Sunday. This I can do with a clear conscience, and it is impossible for any one to be more strongly convinced that the practice is wrong than I am that it is perfectly innocent and proper. And yet for doing this I am liable under the Sunday Law to be at any time arrested and locked up like a common thief. Now if I know anything I know that this law is outrageously unjust; and I have sometimes so represented it to Protestant Christians. The first expression on their part has generally been one of surprise that I could possibly charge anything unjust or oppressive upon their religion. After that, the answer has always been, in substance, the same: "It is *you* who are wrong, and not Christianity. God has commanded you to keep holy the Sabbath day, and you have no right to disobey his command." And so on to the end. Now I believe this to be excellent Christian reasoning; but it is a kind of logic that would justify the worst outrages ever perpetrated in the name of religion. Jesus himself showed this same disregard for the rights of others, when he drove the traders out of the temple at Jerusalem. Supposing one of these astonished people had turned upon the "meek and lowly" Nazarene (I do not mean that he was not meek and lowly; but the devil of intolerance was too strong even for him)—suppose one of them had turned and said, "What right have you, sir, to interfere with us? We are harming nobody, but are engaged peaceably in trade. Our business is not in itself sinful, and we do not see that the mere fact of carrying it on in a church makes it so. We do not believe there is anything wrong about it." What answer do you suppose Jesus would have made? What answer could he have made, save that which religious intolerance makes always and everywhere: "You have no right to believe" thus and so. "God has instructed you differently," etc.?

It seems sufficiently clear that the spirit which eighteen hundred years ago prompted Jesus to this act of lawless violence, and which to-day, even in Protestant countries, makes the non-observance of religious days a criminal offence, is the same in kind with that which in almost every age and country has stained the page of religious history with blood.

To Mr. Abbot's charge that Christianity "deteriorates ethics by making an inspired book the test of morality," Prof. Newman returns the rather singular answer, "No inspired book was preached by Jesus and the apostles." Surely the gentleman has not examined this subject with his usual carefulness. If the teachings and commands of Jesus were authoritative, as from God (and this much he certainly claimed, if we know anything at all about the man); if they were to be followed and obeyed not only by his own immediate disciples but by Christians of all succeeding generations (and this may safely be assumed as a Christian view of the matter, otherwise there is no authorized church to-day),—does not an "inspired book," an "infallible church," or some such contrivance, become an absolute necessity? There are difficulties enough, to be sure, attending this view of the case; such, for example, as the fact

that, so far as we know, Jesus never took any pains to have his sayings collected and put into permanent form. But they are purely *Christian* difficulties, and do not at all affect Mr. Abbot's proposition.

I had intended to notice some other points in the same letter, but this communication is already too long. Perhaps enough has been said to show that the anti-Christian position is not so entirely unreasonable as many have seemed to suppose.

C. E. M.

"INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM."

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I read the article with the above caption, in THE INDEX of April 22, with great interest. It was evidently penned by a practised writer. Your correspondent has graphically portrayed the two opposite phases of society—the state of chaos and the state of high art; but she is not clear to my intelligence upon two or three important points. She says, for example:—

"Freedom—that means the opportunity to do as we like, as we think best; it means entire exemption from control. . . . With the gratification of self, action grows arrogant, personality magnifies rapidly, and very soon encroaches on the boundaries of other individuals, equally pretentious, and spreading at the same fast rate. Then whose freedom is to be respected? For one of the two will have to yield."

Here are three assumptions which I think open to criticism. First, "freedom means the opportunity to do as we like with entire exemption from control." Is that indeed what the Protestant world has been fighting for during the last three centuries? Have we simply been rebelling against legitimate "restraint," and clamoring for "license" that we may become abandoned to self-indulgence? The party of freedom would be loth to accept that as a fair definition of their principles and objects. Says John Stuart Mill in his work on *Liberty*: "The only part of the conduct of any one for which he is amenable to society is that which concerns others. In the part that merely concerns himself his independence is, of right, absolute." Herbert Spencer says (*First Principles*, page 8): "The freedom of the individual, limited only by the like freedom of other individuals, is sacred." For the most part, those who have spoken or written in the interest of freedom have invariably qualified it with conditions and limitations. They hold with Mill and Spencer that the individual is entitled to freedom without interference only so long as he refrains from encroaching upon the freedom of others; in other words, that the individual be allowed by society to participate in the privileges of freedom only on condition that he assume the cost of his personal acts. It may be granted there are thousands screaming for freedom who have no clearly defined notions regarding its proper limitations; but that does not justify the lumping of all those who preach the gospel of freedom as sore-heads clamoring for personal indulgence.

Secondly, your correspondent regards it as matter of course that self-assertion invariably coexists with arrogance and disregard of the rights and feelings of others. I submit that the attitude of the early Protestant Reformers, the heroism of Hampden and Sydney, and the noble self-sacrifice of the leading spirits in our own American Revolution, negatives such an implication.

Thirdly, the assumption that the freedom of one necessarily destroys the freedom of another is, I think, sufficiently answered by the formula, "Equal freedom of all." Your correspondent seems to have only in view the lawless freedom of the mob; but I protest that the definition is narrower than the term imports.

Your correspondent has delineated with a delicate appreciation the estate of a perfected society; delineated, too, with great fidelity, the conditions essential to high performance and noble living. But fortunately, or unfortunately, society has "neither the developed capacity nor the training essential to orchestration." The road between the actual and the ideal is long and difficult. How shall we traverse the route which leads through such an interminable wilderness? While your correspondent is evidently out of sorts with the manner in which Democrats and Republicans have deputed themselves, she fails to suggest any scientific method by which the transition from the Old to the New may be effected. And it is a canon of criticism, a knowledge of the natural laws, a perception of an adequate method, that the world needs to-day. Fourier saw with prophet eye the harmonious adjustment of society as it is to be; but he lacked a scientific method by which to train and conduct the world into social solidarity. Undoubtedly the major desires of men and women to-day tend toward better rather than toward worse society conditions. The need of the hour points quite as unmistakably toward a more perfect social science, as it does toward higher moral aims. Neither does it seem probable that the drift of the Western races toward self-assertion and individual freedom is either accidental or calamitous. There are possibly conditions and epochs in the career of nations when "obedience" is the requirement; and yet there are other periods when self-assertion, and even revolution, may be the only condition of progress.

I am not one of those who "cherish the expectation that by the removal of hindrances the world will rise immediately to its grandest proportions." The evolution of the race is slow. The advocates of freedom contemplate it only as one among many conditions of growth. Even after we have started upon a sound basis, and with correct methods, the upbuilding of the social structure will be a question of time.

E. WHIPPLE.

4 CONCORD SQUARE, Boston.]

"DO WOMEN DESIRE THE BALLOT?"

MR. EDITOR:—

This is a question about which your correspondent "F. H. G." seems to be in doubt, yet he intimates a knowledge that perhaps one in eleven may desire it, though he confesses that, while he sympathizes with the one, the ten have a stronger claim upon his feelings because of the "grievous burden" brought upon them by the action of the one.

Although I am one of the "ones" who do desire the ballot, yet I am ready to agree with "F. H. G." in his estimate of the number of women who at present desire or demand it. And yet, unlike "F. H. G.," my sympathies are not with the ten undesiring ones, for I fail to understand how a mere acquiescence in any wrong is ever going to make that wrong right. It is no new thing in the history of any reform to find the masses slow to follow, although glad to do so, when they can follow in crowds over the level road hewn out for them by the pioneer "ones." Herbert Spencer in his *Social Statics* remarks:—

"But the strangest peculiarity exhibited by those deficient in sense of rights—or rather that which looks the strangest to us—is their inability to recognize their own claims. We are told, for instance, by Lieutenant Bernard that, in the Portuguese settlements on the African coast, the free negroes are 'taunted by the slaves as having no white man to look after them, and see them righted when oppressed'; and it is said that in America the slaves themselves look down upon the free blacks and call them rubbish. Which anomalous-looking facts are, however, easily conceivable when we remember that here in England, in the nineteenth century, most women defend the state of servitude in which they are held by men."

I also agree with "F. H. G." in his opinion that "taxation without representation" is not the fundamental basis of woman's claim to the ballot. Whether women "desire" to vote or not makes no difference as to their right to do so. As one of the wrongfully disfranchised, I affirm that, back of the old barbaric idea that "might makes right," men have no just claim to arrogate to themselves the voting power as a purely masculine attribute or privilege. If I knew quite well that I should never care to cast a single vote into the ballot-box, I would still insist strenuously upon my right to do so if I chose.

So long as the elective franchise is allowed to remain the prerogative of the male sex, just so long is there a virtual admission that woman is the inferior and creature of man; and just so far is true progress hampered and hindered. And just so long as this invidious aristocracy of sex is kept up and believed in, just so long must there remain in the midst of our vaunted civilization an undoubted "relic of barbarism."

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

SO LONG as the towns remained small and homogeneous, this injustice was not possible. No measure could be passed, whether good or bad, which did not affect all equally. Even the old ecclesiastical laws, which would now be exceedingly tyrannical, were not so at the time they were passed; for they were based upon that which all alike professed, and were required for the good of the whole, not for the benefit of a part only. When the Quakers and Baptists were finally allowed to remain in Massachusetts, for example, the religious homogeneity of that State was forever at an end, and, gradually, everything connected with religious belief has been excluded from the province of legislation. Nothing of this once close connection now remains, with the exception of a few more or less atrophied strands, which are slowly snapping in obedience to the logic which first began their severance. While special ecclesiastical regulations are thus entirely abandoned, there still remain in force many general laws in which Baptist, Quaker, Puritan, and Infidel are alike interested—laws of restraint, of protection, of the maintenance of justice. In short, as religious variations were introduced, it became necessary to take religion out of the field of legislation, or, in other words, to make ecclesiastical laws as general as those which apply to all associations for special purposes. And this seems to indicate a simple principle of legislation; namely, as population becomes more varied, legislation must become more general, affecting equally the whole, and not any one portion of the people. More and more, therefore, will it become necessary to remove from legislation many things once admissible, until at last, as interests become more conflicting and population more heterogeneous, legislation will more and more tend to confine itself to the task of perfecting the laws of equity. Only when this principle is generally recognized will legislation, in town-meeting or anywhere else, be restricted to the limits within which it rightly belongs.—N. Y. Nation.

AN AMATEUR naturalist, writing of the fondness of cruelty for its own sake observable in the human species, says: "To refer to the striking similarity of this passion in man to that which is manifested by monkeys, is not of course to explain its origin; but I am quite sure that it is in the monkeys that this explanation is to be sought. Every one knows that these animals show the keenest delight in wantonly torturing others, but every one does not know how much trouble an average monkey will put himself to in order that he may gratify this taste. One example will suffice. A friend who has lived a long time in India tells me that he has not unfrequently seen monkeys feigning death for an hour or two at a time, for the express purpose of inducing crows and other carnivorous birds to approach within grasping distance; and when one of the latter was caught the delighted monkey would put it to all kinds of agonies, of which plucking alive seemed to be the favorite."

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VOLUME 6.

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2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSSES.

NOTHING should be dearer to an American citizen than the beneficent system of public schools. It is the foundation of all our liberties.

WE ARE sorry to learn from the report of the Building Committee of the Paine Memorial Hall that there is a debt of \$71,810.07 on the building. The friends of the enterprise should unite to lift off this embarrassing load.

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD kindly informs us that the Second Liberal League of Milwaukee was formed in that city at the close of his lecture on May 16. Mr. Robert C. Spencer was elected President, and Mr. Robert Boyd Secretary. The good movement is spreading.

IF EVER a sincere, and manly, and generous word was spoken, it was by O. B. Frothingham at the Bryant Commemorative Service. We republish it this week as a lesson in the humanities that is greatly needed; and we credit it to the *Golden Age*, in which we find it, though with well-grounded doubt whether that journal ought not itself to have credited it to some other journal.

REV. GEORGE S. BISHOP, of Orange, N. J., has been dismissed by his Presbyterian congregation because he "preached sound doctrines too faithfully." This would be a lesson to preach false doctrines and make-believe they are sound, were it not that one hundred and fifty other Presbyterians of the place, who like true-blue theology, forthwith organized a new society and gave Mr. Bishop a call.

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD was quite recently invited to lecture in the Unitarian church at Omaha, Nebraska, by the pastor, Rev. S. P. Putnam, who has often contributed to these columns. As a consequence, Mr. Putnam has been turned adrift by his society. We recommend this fact for comment to the *Christian Register*, which publishes the "Unitarian Church" as the "Champion of Freedom."

MR. FRANK J. MEAD, of Minneapolis, reports that the Liberal League of that place, on May 2, passed the following: "*Resolved*, That the Liberal League of Minneapolis cordially indorses the proposal for an international convention of advocates of free thought to be held in the city of Philadelphia during the summer of 1876, and recommends that some organized effort be made by Leagues throughout the United States to bring about such convention." Mr. Mead's letter will be published in full next week.

REV. J. D. DOHERTY, a Catholic priest of St. Louis, said in a report on the schools of the Annunciation Parish: "I believe it will come to *denominational education*." That is the objective point aimed at by the Catholics; to break up altogether the secular education system which has made the United States what they are, and substitute for it the wretched, inefficient, sectarian sham called the parochial system. They do not want education at all, unless it can be made education in subservience to the Pope and credulity towards the priests.

PROF. LOOS, of Philadelphia, has just written to us: "I was glad to see that the Liberal League of Boston have taken the first practical step towards a more general representation of Liberalism during the Centennial. I hope that at your September meeting the time of the proposed Convention may be so fixed as to enable us to fall in with you, and make the representation of Radicalism in 1876 as universal as possible. I wish the Free Religious Association, at its forthcoming anniversary, would likewise do something towards joining hands for that purpose."

HERR WINDTHORST declared in the Landtag lately that "no peace was possible" to the Germans until they "accepted the American system; namely, the complete separation of Church and State." If an

Ultramontane Catholic can see that, is it creditable that so many Americans cannot even yet see it—American liberals, too, who think it very outrageous that some of their number should press the "Demands of Liberalism"? But of course Windthorst could not have intended the full force of his words, for that would prove him not to be a thorough Catholic at all.

MRS. BESANT has given a most noble rebuke to the temporizing and timid policy of the Woman Suffrage Society of Great Britain. Her brilliant success as a lecturer and the great popular influence she is winning by her character and ability led the Society to offer her a handsome income, "on the condition that she should not give public expression to her radical, free-thinking views on religious matters." Mrs. Besant spurned the bribe, declaring that superstition is the tap-root of all oppressions, those of woman included. Woman-suffragists who defend Christianity in this country might well learn a lesson of insight, courage, and moral dignity from brave Mrs. Besant.

THE INDIAN CHIEFS who have travelled all the way to Washington from their reservations, to enter complaints against the officials in charge of Indian affairs, have been refused a hearing by the President, who coolly refers them back to the very officials against whom they complain! Moreover, the interpreters have cunningly falsified these complaints, turning them into praises! Such things are a burning disgrace to the Administration, no less than to the "Indian ring." Who wonders that the Indians are driven to desperate retaliation for their wrongs? Every honest American owes it to his country to rebuke such wickedness in its official servants, and to demand justice even for the despised and plundered savages.

THE PHILADELPHIA Radical Club, having called attention to "shocking cruelties perpetrated in the House of Refuge in that city," a Legislative Committee was sent to investigate, and found the facts reported to be true. When Radicalism shall everywhere wake up in this way to the great duties of humanity and begin to work, it will win respect and influence which are justly withheld from most of its present forms. A movement which never gets beyond talk will soon stop moving. We frankly confess to a daily lessening esteem for much that passes as Radicalism to-day, because it not only will not work itself, but cavils, and criticises, and turns up its nose when men in earnest take up the neglected business of the hour. Well may the world laugh at and deride the feebleness of what is only redeemed from absolute contempt by such useful work as that of the Philadelphia Club.

WE HOPE that no reader of THE INDEX will overlook the communication in this issue which we have entitled—"An Avowal of Faith in the Literal Truth of the Gospels." Rev. Jesse H. Jones, the writer, is a man of irreproachable character; and his letter is what Humboldt would have called a "psychological curiosity." He believes that "God was the infinite magnet which drew Jesus Christ up from the earth through the sky into heaven." As a pendant to Mr. Weiss's lecture on "The Bible and Science," Mr. Jones's article is exceedingly interesting reading. He narrates how he put directly to his congregation the question whether they believed in the miraculous birth of Jesus, and how the members joyfully and unanimously voted *Yes!* And he adds that "what was done here would, I am persuaded, be done under like circumstances in all our New England churches." As to what he intimates concerning the Free Religious Association, we are in total ignorance, and believe him to be laboring under a strange hallucination; but if he will forward the *Independent's* article he alludes to, with an explicit statement of what he means, we will publish both in these columns.

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[For THE INDEX.]

The Bible and Science.

AN ESSAY READ TO THE BOSTON RADICAL CLUB, JANUARY 18, 1875.

BY JOHN WEISS.

I wish to take notice of the latest argument pursued by the popular theology to protect its sacred book from scientific insinuation. It does not appear that scientific men think it worth while directly to attack those portions of the Bible which contain allusions to Nature, or to theories of the origin of things. But there is an attack that is none the less damaging because it is only implied; for it is one that is made through the silent recognition by the popular mind of scientific progress. Something must be done to recover authority for the Bible on all the topics which it treats, and to reimpose it on the people: for unless the book can make good the claim to be in all its parts of equal authority, the common people will soon learn to make it no more authoritative than their common sense may please. The leaders in this defence show no quality so striking as the power of unconscious evasion, the only one which seems to have been granted in supernatural degree to the human mind.

Dean Stanley, in his memorial sermon at the funeral of Sir Charles Lyell in Westminster Abbey, stated, with a noble fearlessness, the true relation which the Bible bears to modern investigation. It will be instructive to preserve some of his sentences. The text was the second verse of the first chapter of Genesis, and fitly introduced the theme. The sermon was, in fact, upon the religious aspect of geology. The Dean said:—

"It is well known that when the study of geology first arose it was involved in interminable schemes of reconciliation with the letter of Scripture. There were and are two modes of reconciliation which have each totally and deservedly failed. The one attempts to wrest the words of the Bible from their real meaning and force them to speak the language of science, and the other attempts to falsify science to meet the supposed requirements of the Bible. The 'Seventy' finding that the hare was described as chewing the cud inserted the word 'not'; and, on the other hand, the Jesuits in editing Newton's *Principia* announced in the preface that they were constrained to treat the theory of gravitation as a fictitious hypothesis, else it would conflict with the decrees of the popes against the motion of the earth. But there is another reconciliation of a higher kind, or rather not a reconciliation, but an acknowledgment of the affinity and identity which exist between the spirit of science and the spirit of the Bible. First, there is a likeness of the general spirit of the truths of science to the general spirit of the Bible truths; and secondly, there is a likeness in the methods. For instance, the geological truth which our illustrious student was the chief instrument in clearly setting forth and establishing was the doctrine, wrought out by careful, cautious inquiry in all parts of the world, that the frame of this earth was gradually brought into its present condition, not by sudden and violent convulsions, but by the slow and silent action of the same causes which we see now, but operating through a long succession of ages beyond the memory and imagination of man. There need be no question whether this doctrine agrees or not with the letter of the Bible. We do not expect it should. For, had there been no such scientific conclusions, we now know perfectly well, from

our increased insight into the nature and origin of the early biblical records, that they were not and could not be literal, prosaic, matter-of-fact descriptions of the beginning of the world, of which, as of its end, no man knoweth or can conceive except by figures or parallel.

"It is now clear to all students of the Bible that the first and second chapters of Genesis contain two narratives of the creation, side by side, differing from each other in almost every particular of time and place and order. It is now known that the vast epochs demanded by scientific observation are incompatible both with the six thousand years of the Mosaic chronology and the six days of the Mosaic creation. No one now infers from the Bible that the earth is fixed, that it cannot be moved, that the sun does literally go forth as a bridegroom from his chamber, or that the stars sang with an audible voice in the dawn of the creation. But when we rise to the spirit, the ideal, the general drift and purposes of the biblical accounts, we find ourselves in an atmosphere of moral elevation which meets the highest requirements philosophy can make. The discoveries of geology are found to fill up the old religious truths with a new life, and to derive from them in turn a hallowing glory. When the historian of our planet points out that the successive layers of the earth's surface were formed by such agencies as we know of now, by the constant action of wind and wave, of floating ice and rolling stones,—that there were not separate centres of creation, but one primeval law which formed and governed all things,—what is this but the echo of those voices which of old declared that in the beginning the heaven and earth were created, not by a thousand conflicting deities, but by One supreme and indivisible, and that he hath given all things a law that shall not be broken? And we may compare the vast infinities of time and space, that long ascending order, that gradual progress demanded by geology, with the words sublime in the 90th Psalm, read at the burial service: 'A thousand years in thy sight are but yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night.'

"Surely the view of the gradual preparation of the earth for mankind is grander than that which makes him coeval with the beasts which perish, and we ought to honor the archaeologist who by unhesitating, unrelenting research revealed in all its length and breadth the genealogy and the antiquity of man and of his habitation. He rent the veil and showed the long vista in the temple of the Most High not made with hands—'*Apparet domus intus, et atria longa patescunt.*' Not the limitation but the amplification of the idea of God is the result of the labor of such a student, and not the descent but the ascent of man is the outcome of his speculations."

But when Dean Stanley remarks, as above, that no one now draws the old inferences from the Bible, he imputes his own generous intelligence prematurely to the modern theologian. It will be salutary to appraise the popular mind of the tenacity with which the theologians cling to the antique view, and of the adroitness they expend, with motives, no doubt, of the highest sincerity, to keep their creed still respectable in the eyes of the people. And we shall see that in this process they are unwittingly guilty of an irreverence toward their sacred book which has never been surpassed for flippant puerility.

As it becomes more probable with every year that the theory of evolution, in some form or other, will prevail in all the departments of science, the theologians who are intelligent enough to anticipate this result, and to perceive that it must be due to the general reasonableness of the theory, are beginning to exercise their ingenuity in tracing evolution back to the Bible, in order to rescue its character as a book divinely inspired, and to defend it from the charge that it contradicts the facts of science. Pretty soon it will be difficult to find an Orthodox thinker who will not claim to be a disciple of Darwin, just as we have lived to hear the old-fashioned Whigs assert that they always were original Garrisonian abolitionists.

The more thoroughly the new facts obtain control of our modern intelligence, the more imperatively summoned it will feel to make its great authoritative religious book appear to harmonize with late investigations: for if any strong discrepancy between its utterances and those of science can be proved, its character as a book of complete authority will be damaged. Admit one radical discrepancy, and where will people stop? The first step is fatal. The first concession will concede the whole claim that it is a book of plenary inspiration. As a distinguished advocate of Orthodoxy lately said: 'If God declared a way of salvation and a cosmogony, the cosmogony would be as true as the way of salvation. If there is an error in the cosmogony, the way of salvation may be rightfully discredited. A man might be imagined as making a mistake in his physics and yet being true in his moral philosophy, but a God never. If he err anywhere he is no God.' Judge by this childish utterance how badly the religious world has been scared by Prof. Tyndall.

Therefore Orthodoxy is wonderfully moved to resist the mischief in the outset, to vindicate the claim afresh, and upon ground newly broken, to preserve the book, in the interest of Orthodox schemes of religion, as a still flawless and continuous word of God, "from title-page to closing line," to snatch it from the path of the scientific scoffer who kicks its Genesis with careless foot. So that we are invited to hear it proved that the Bible is not only sound upon every point of sacrificial theology, but sound on every point of geology, of the creative method, of the gradual development of organic forms; and not only sound, but prophetic, so that Darwin and the rest, if they had only been Bible-reading men and had loved to sit where good men go to church, would have been saved years of patient toil and experiment by finding

ready made for them the theory to which they have so laboriously arrived.

But it must seem wonderful to us that the theologians have so strictly kept this important knowledge to themselves. If Genesis has been Darwinian for so many thousand years why has not the Church proclaimed it? Has the civilized world just attained to a fitness to comprehend and embrace the great idea? Then why, in this fitness of time, was not the genuine gospel according to Genesis promulgated by its accredited keepers and spokesmen? It is just as bad for Orthodox assumption to have waited supinely and mute until these infidel men of science brought to light, without the aid of inspiration, the order of creation, as it is bad for it to find that the order refutes the sacred record on which Orthodoxy leans. Reticence on a point of such importance will be found more troublesome to account for by those who have so long sustained it, than any discrepancy that may appear between the record on the stone tables of the earth and the one on the page of Scripture. Orthodox men are not only called to make their choice between the two writings, but, are summoned more sternly than that, to give an account of their stewardship of a book, and to allege some reason for withholding the light of this knowledge from mankind.

But science can point to no discrepancy so great as the one which has just now declared itself between intelligence and faith, between the exigency of ideas and the constraint of tradition, between a desire to have the best mental method and a dread lest it cannot be had without the abandonment of cherished articles of belief. I fancy that the old punishment of being torn asunder by two horses was not so trying as this new torture of the mind that has truth pulling one way and superstition another. And it is a curious spectacle to which we are invited. Orthodox mutters in the ring, with lowered head and dangerous look, pestered by the agile picadores who shake the red rag of science at it, and plant their aggravating darts; while behind there waits the fatal matador of disbelief on peril of damnation. The facts are in front, the certain death behind. There is considerable excitement of a not disagreeable kind to the spectators, who, safely seated behind the barrier which the universe itself draws round them, can watch these baited souls trying to escape from a universe and rush back into the den of a book. But it is too late; the arena is wide open, and the gates are barred.

It will be instructive to notice by-and-by some of the stratagems which modern intelligence resorts to in its effort to escape. However, the difficulty is not one which peculiarly besets the modern mind. Ever since the canon of the Bible was established, its books printed and translated into the various languages of Christendom, and launched upon the tides of the human heart down the ways constructed by a scheme of salvation, the intellect of every age has found itself at variance with inherited emotions; the ignorance of every age has met the age's intellect at the sword's point; and the battle has been fought out upon some open page of the Bible. Its green meadows of morals and religion, sprinkled with the simple wild-flowers of human nature, which spring up amid the corn that yields righteous bread to man, have been selected for appointments for duels to the death between the past and the present. Every present has been obliged to bear a train, like a page, for some queen of the past, who issues from her ancestral halls to squander her smiles in proportion to the homage she receives; but the page is apt to advance so rapidly as to tread upon the train which he ought to be content to carry, and for which purpose he is kept in service; so that some affront between nature and custom is sure to occur.

No more fruitful cause of human tragedy has ever existed than this variance between intellect at rest and intellect in motion. Whoever happens to be at the point of contact is bruised and sorely treated. No passion has so often embossed history's page with the blood of heroic souls; not love itself, striving amid the fatalities of circumstance to vindicate Nature and possess its object; not ambition, throwing its shield far ahead into a sullen mob of malcontent events to fight clear through them and reclaim it, has ever more copiously endowed our sense of pathos with the bitter-sweet tears it sheds. All tragedy is the result of aversion, of irreconcilable pique and feud, between fate and wish, between love and hate, between policy and truth, between reality and tradition. Divine providence has tasted the hemlock of a Socrates many times since its creatures began to justify its own discontents. In every country, and from immemorial time, hands which have been stretched forth to bless or to defend, feet which have gone about with errands of redemption, have crumbled away from the anguish of the piercing nails; vinegar mingled with hyssop has drugged and palsied the tongues which vibrated with electric words to dispute the past, to dictate the volumes of the future. The fulfillers have been mistaken for the destroyers. It was said of Spinoza that he "spent the better part of his life in clearing his language of ambiguities," and we know that intellectual freedom was so dear to him that he refused pensions, legacies, money in many forms, and maintained himself with grinding glasses for optical instruments. Yes, he lived to make things clear, and furnish mankind with increased facilities of vision. But his contemporaries could not see him; they went right over the place where he stood, and the invisible spirit was hardly sustained against the disregard. When Galileo pried a flat and inert earth out of the page of Scripture where it lay embedded, rounded it, and set it spinning in a fair orbit to the tune of law, men looked at their Bible with dismay; an empty pit where the earth had rested on its pillars, and all around its edge were texts left as ragged as a crater;

the eccentric orb must be flattened into place again to restore the integrity of Scripture. And therestood Galileo, in the fatal nick of time, in the very spot where this readjusting process caught him, and neither God nor man could afford remorse at the spectacle. And all this happened because somebody in Joshua, exulting over a battle, said that the sun stood still until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. It must therefore previously have been in the habit of moving round a stationary earth. Now-a-days the credit of this miracle is saved at no expense except that of the common-sense of the divine, who said lately in its behalf, that, although there seems to be a slight astronomical difficulty in the case, there must have been an apparent stoppage of the sun, produced, no doubt, by refraction; at all events produced in some way, because the statement is unqualified. The same theologian will have it that the Bible recorded the fact of the asteroidal showers more than thirty centuries ago, when Deborah, singing of a battle, praises God for having pelted the enemy with meteors: "The stars in their courses fought against Sisera." He also claims divine inspiration for the text which speaks of the ant storing up its food, though it has been thought by naturalists that it only stores up its eggs; because, he says, "Col. Sykes discovered at Poonah a species of ant which regularly stores up the seeds of millet for its food in stormy weather." Wonderful scientific deity, considering the ways of that ant in India, mentioning them in confidence to Solomon, then waiting quietly for Col. Sykes. "Oh, star-eyed science, hast thou wandered there?" If such be the faculty which is sometimes called the handmaid of religion, we should prefer to see its domestic service restricted to ordinary chores. There was lately advertised a lot of paintings which are exhibited by means of a magic lantern; they represent the unconverted and converted state of man, "and are calculated to awaken the sinner and give strength to the Christian." Here is a legitimate opening for clerical enterprise; churches might be provided with apparatus to magnify their theology, and employ science in the work of saving souls. Scientific authority is also claimed for the Bible when it speaks of the ostrich's habit of abandoning its eggs; this has been denied; but "late researches have proved that the ostrich quits her eggs during the day, and abandons them altogether if there has been any intrusion upon them." Thus the text is saved to be a subsequent support to all other texts of religion, such as the Beatitudes, which cannot presumedly stand if the ostrich does not quit her eggs.

Dr. Dawson finds the doctrine of development in the first chapter of Genesis. The time which the science of geology shows to have been necessary to make the earth compels him to interpret the six creative days as six epochs; and he finds warrant for this freedom in the text which declares that a thousand years are as a day to God; the writer of the Psalm intending to have us infer that a day is many thousand. Then the doctor proceeds to force the geological succession into parallelism with the succession in Genesis. To do this he must ignore the fact that the original vaporous nebula was incandescent and luminous, for the book says that darkness was upon the face of the deep. He must slight, though he mentions, the fact that science knows nothing of a vegetation which preceded by a whole period the introduction of animals; for in the Mosaic account the land elevated above the waters is in the same creative day clothed with vegetation; and the Hebrew phrase includes not merely the lower and humbler groups of plants, but the higher phenagamous groups, having fruits and seeds, also trees as well as the herbaceous plants. But in fact land plants do not appear as fossils until a comparatively late geological period. He must ignore the fact that rain-marks have been found upon slabs of the earliest rocks which were once soft beaches of sand. The marks even indicate by the slant of the little pits made by the drops which way the wind was on that ancient day. But Genesis says that "the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth." He must ignore the fact that darkness is not an element of Nature, and that to Deity there can be no such thing as night. Yet Moses says that God divided the light from the darkness, calling the one day and the other night. He must ignore the fact that there cannot be any such object as a firmament to the Creator, whose universe, with all its moods, conditions, and objects, is comprised within himself, to whom, therefore, there can be no relation of place. He must ignore the fact that the sky was full of lights as soon as the first nebulous ocean shrank into rings and rounded into planets. Yet Genesis will have it that though light was made in the first creative day, the lights in the firmament of heaven were not made until the fourth day, and then with the object of dividing the day from the night; whereas we are told that the evening and the morning were the first day. But in a book which has lately appeared this discrepancy is turned to choice account, on the ground that the existence of light previous to sunlight could never have occurred to the unaided human reason, nor have been indulged as one of its cosmic speculations. Therefore the light of the first three days, before the lights were made, must have been a cosmic fact known only to the divine mind, and by it revealed.

But our review of the cosmogony in Genesis, as well as any speculations which we may indulge upon the original condition of the universe, are checked by the reflection that we are using the invention of language. Our finite words may not have had objects corresponding to them. The word light, for instance, denotes the impression which results from the vibrations of an æther when they touch the optic nerve. So the word sound denotes the effect of atmospheric

vibrations when they play upon the row of stems in the organ of hearing. Could Deity have said or reflected, "Let there be light," before he had developed a corresponding organ? In fact the eye is the creator of the light. The ethereal vibrations travel through space, strike innumerable objects, spill over them, and are lavished upon vacuity, or die away on the absence of a shore; and nowhere do they reach the estate of light unless there be a nerve to receive their far-travelled hint, and to translate it.

"How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank!
Here we will sit, and let the sounds of music
Creep in our ears; soft stillness, and the night,
Become the touches of sweet harmony.
Sit, Jessica; look how the floor of heaven
Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold;
There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st,
But in his motion like an angel sings,
Still quiring to the young-cy'd cherubims;
Such harmony is in immortal souls."

And such immortal words, too, which ripple on the coast-line where creation's ocean, that had been running so long without a tune, meets at length a human lip. The passage of Shakspeare is full of words which tell how human senses have arrived upon the cosmic scene, and furnished night and day, light and music to a creator who waited to be thus companioned. And we ask, What is the condition of this universe outside of the human eye and ear? We have invented a touchable, tastable, aromatic world, and flooded it with light and sound. What was the wild state of the Creator before we caught it to domesticate? What is it now where no nerves are on its trail to obtain subsistence for five senses? There are light-vibrations and tone-vibrations, both of them pitched in too high a tenor and too deep a bass for us to hear. Do I say tenor and bass? I mean them, and intend to go for them some day; but until then they are not extant. We may say they are still at large, primeval savages of a continent unadopted yet by a Columbus. They are unformed, untutored liabilities, and will not exist till we arrive. We may well admit that the world's infinite condition is ineffable, for language is but its local and suburban echo.

But to return; Mr. Dawson must ignore the fact that God is still the creator and sustainer of the world, because, according to the Mosaic account, on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day. But it ingeniously occurs to the doctor that *this* is the seventh day in which we live, when we ought to have entered on his rest, and should have done so if Adam by his fall had not set us sinning, and allowed the Lord no respite.

Such is the latest attempt, not four months old, at a reconciliation of the cosmogony of the Bible with the inexorable facts of science. Were piety, truth, and morals really involved, to live or die with the first chapter of Genesis, the above result is plainly equivalent to another Fall of Man. It is at any rate a fall of the seraphic intellect into "second childishness and mere oblivion."

At the beginning of the discovery of fossils in Europe, the Orthodox naturalists declared that those objects could never have been alive, because death was not introduced into the world till after the lapse of Adam. Therefore the fossils must be sacrificed to save the texts, which the trilobites suddenly made more fossil than themselves, though it took a generation of men to see it. In the mean time, here were the fossils, rapidly accumulating in every museum to petrify the faith of the common people; and they must be accounted for. There were three most notable theories, one by De Rougemont, one by Von Raumer, and one by Gosse. The former said that although in the Mosaic account animals were created on the fifth day and man on the sixth, it was easy to suppose that the animals lived their day, and lived over till man could arrive at years of discretion, introduce sin and death into the world, and give animals the benefit of those luxuries.

Von Raumer was appalled at these fossil evidences of death, so entirely irregular and unscriptural, before it was in order for death to occur. The whole plan of salvation was in danger from this apparent looseness of dying among primeval creatures, and their want of manners in forestalling Adam, so as to infringe upon his patent of precedence. The exigency called for the strongest draft which a learned man can make upon his unconscious fatuity. So he proved that those fossil forms were not the relics of plants and animals which ever lived; they could not, therefore, have ever died. They were arrested embryos which never reached a birth, counterfeits of beings, although provided throughout with a structure which might correspond to life. This theory enjoyed a plausible currency until it was demonstrated that the plants were found in all their various stages of bud, blossoming, and fruit; and the stomachs of fishes and reptiles still contained the half-digested matter of their last meal. Specimens were found which indicated every stage of life from youth to maturity, and snails and muscles whose shells, describing those convolutions which result from growth, described also when the growth had ceased.

But Gosse, undaunted at these difficulties, resolved to employ his reason and secure the safety of a book; so he proposed the idea that these fossils which mark unmeasured periods of time were the prelusions of Nature, who meditated live creatures, and conned them over to herself by means of these clay models, as a sculptor works towards his breathing image by setting up crude lumps and slowly moulding them toward his thought. These dead specimens, left lying around in Nature's workshop, show how she meant to finally attain to the felicity of a living creature; but they were merely studies looking toward the consummation of a being who might become capable of developing into a tendency to introduce wickedness and death to the

glory of God. Such are the shifts of intelligence under the imposition of a widely spread opinion that a Bible cannot err. Is it not something pathetic that these men sincerely imagined that they were using their reason in behalf of theories which have been found irrational? Let us pass, without further comment, for we may do the same.

The latest discoveries of relics of human life in the ancient caves which have been covered up by more recent deposits, have destroyed the Biblical chronology of the human race. Those implements of stone, those rudely carved plates of ivory, with scratchings of mammoth hunts, those bones of animals split longitudinally for their marrow, those hearths whose extinguished coals sparkle with notices of human life, those occasional skulls and skeletons of men that are found in places where no accidents of the modern period could have deposited them, are very afflicting to believers in the ordinary chronology. I heard of a distinguished mathematician, well known and esteemed by the best minds in America, who was much impressed by all these facts, and gave them the tribute of his conviction. But then the necessity occurred to him of making the conclusions harmonize with the Bible. Failure to do that was "the great doom's image" to his mind. So he seized upon the fact that plenty of celts, ornaments, and bones of animals have been discovered in the caves, but only one or two doubtful traces of the bones of men. Why not? Ah, there was the point; and a bright idea occurred to him, as he explained it to a friend, that he had hitherto thought that the rising of dead people at the time of the crucifixion was only local; that only those in the vicinity of Jerusalem came out of their graves. But he was now convinced that it had been a universal resurrection, including all bodies and skeletons of people who had died up to that time! Hence the absence of bones in the primeval caves, and the compatibility of this absence with the great antiquity of man! It seems to me that a person who is inspired by the vulgarest motive of unbelief might invent something like this to belittle that sublime sacrifice of a holy man. The irony of infidelity can be matched only by the irony of superstition.

This event of the crucifixion reminds me that a distinguished leader of the Reformed Protestant Episcopal Church sees a miracle in the account that the veil of the Temple was rent from top to bottom; man, he says, might have rent it from bottom to top, but only Deity could have got a purchase on the veil at the top. Is it possible that the reverend doctor, from his own point of view, can see no irreverence in this? And who, let us ask, is the more reverent person, the one who sets up such a ridiculous defence of miracle, or the one who exposes the defence to ridicule?

I have heard of another Episcopal clergyman who became profoundly convinced that some theory of Evolution must be true, after reading Darwin, Huxley, and the rest. And it occurred to him, too, that it would never do not to find the Bible in harmony. So he ingeniously made it out that the modern doctrine was clearly foreshadowed and implied in the following verses of a Psalm: "My substance was not hid from thee, when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth. Thine eyes did see my substance, yet being unperfect; and in thy book all my members were written, which in continuance were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them;" and he proposed to translate the original Hebrew thus: "My protoplasm was not hidden from Thee, when, while still undeveloped, I floated on the old Silurian Sea, a fringed and embroidered jelly-fish (Hebrew for 'curiously wrought'); thine eyes did see my sarcode, still unevolved; but in this germ all my members lay involved, so fashioned as to pass through continuance of evolution, while as yet there were none of them." Could King David have known of this, I doubt if he would have been content to cut off only the skirt of this Saul among the prophets.

The same gentleman informed a friend that the Hebrew word which is usually translated, *naked*, meant also *hairy*. So that the verse in Genesis: "And they were both naked, the man and his wife," should be Darwinized thus: "And they were both hairy, that is, anthropoid apes, and were not ashamed of it."

But enough of this. We are ashamed of it. How the Bible bursts the green withes of this criticism, like a mighty Samson, and slays the Philistine with his own jaw-bone! How we hurry to escape with the grand old book into its own landscapes of beauty, to consider the lilies in its meadows, to listen among its mountains to thunder that seems stricken with some distant awe; to go into its wildernesses and eat wild honey with the forerunners of righteousness; to claim under the shadows of its olive-trees the hand of a brother; to sit with Saul where David's harp can soothe us, or hang up our own by the willows of Babylon and hear them prolong the sighs of a dispersed people; to be smitten on the Temple-steps with the great antiphonies of the Levite's Psalm; to quiver in the denouncing breath of Isaiah's trumpet, and share his own dread of iniquity; to dance to Miriam's timbrel; to glean with Ruth, "amid the alien corn"; "to sit a guest with Daniel at his pulse"; to weep among the dolorous women; to share the visions of the haunted night with Job; to divide our oil with David, and hold his lamp as we go deep into the mystery of God's presence; and to find through all the moods and climates of the books everywhere pure nature that is so divine by being so human; to be so thrilled, as with the delight of a lover, at the touches of a kindred heart, compact with the fibres of our own emotion, our conscience, our piety. Nothing but simple human nature, in a rapture of abandonment to its own best impulses, could have

bequeathed those books to successive generations of its own breed. Anything that is distinct from the function and capacity of the human soul, any intruding supernature, would have hushed this sweet prattle of childhood and dispersed it; would have flayed this virility of righteousness and hurt its simplicity; would have turned this aspiration into ventriloquism; would have spoiled this awe with self-consciousness; would have made this piety the babbling echo of an unseen speaker. And nothing but this same human nature, set loose upon the earth with its capacity for wonder still untamed, and its tendency to search for causes still unexercised, could have dashed the flavor of mystery and legend through those pages, pretending that seas divide, that the sun puts back his dial, that trumpets rend battlements asunder, that the Nile runs blood, that the dead are raised and sit by hearths again. We would not manipulate a verse of it, nor expunge a line. Would we make an expurgated edition of the *Arabian Nights*; would we lift a finger against the saintly legend of the Holy Grail; would we grind up the marble gods of Greece for lime, deface the frieze of the Parthenon, send a newspaper man to interview the Sybil, or put a constable on the track of Ariel, and bid the fairy revellers of every age disperse? If the Bible did not contain the element of fable, I should suspect it. Youth cannot exist except on terms which the fancy dictates; and maturity cannot cure the children of the past or of the present of their dear delusions. Let them weave nests amid the budding branches of Maytime, and rear their wondrous brood.

It is torture to see these modern adapters at their work upon the cosmogonies and artless narratives of the old book, knowing that their dread is lest religion should come to grief, and that men should cease to worship in their Church. Can religion ever come to grief? Yes, when love can, the indestructible instinct of men and women, the perpetual sacrament of creation, the continuous resurrection of our human life. Yet these men affect to believe that the spiritual function of mankind depends upon their success in tinkering a cosmogony, and putting the Bible poetry ridiculously upon Darwinian stilts.

So long as a great Unknown is the womb of man, who emerges upon this little earth, and salutes its air with a feeble cry that soon becomes stouter and fuller with all the cries against injustice, evil and deformity which follow the sun around our upper and our nether world, while hymns which belong to the star-promise of the night temper them; so long as the man inhales this breath of time, and foresees another Unknown waiting to deprive him of it, Religion will be a great deal safer with us than the book of Genesis will be. For this migrating soul knows the cardinal points, and finds a compass-flower in every desert.

When the men who reel out the Atlantic cable lose it overboard in a gale of wind, a calculation depending on the heavenly bodies marks upon paper the spot where it fell through the ocean and left no dint. After the bad weather has subsided, the ship returns at her leisure, and pauses with unerring directness, on this waste of water, as if a stake marked the spot; and the truant is reclaimed. What a dramatic action of the mind this is!

The Soul makes a voyage to connect two shores, perpetually applying her electric test. She is often delayed by the bad weather of this world, and the clue is rudely snatched from her grasp. The loss inflicts a scar, but not upon an oblivious surface. What, then, is her resource? Hopelessly would she recall tradition, or summon the obsolete methods of another age; its books she need not consult, nor figure with her compasses upon imperfect charts. "By the sole bearing of a visible star," her immortal instinct recovers the lost thread and completes communication.

PROFESSIONAL JUDGMENTS.

A MEMORIAL SPOKEN AT THE BRYANT COMMEMORATIVE SERVICE, WEDNESDAY, APRIL, 28, 1875.

BY O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

I have been kindly invited to say a few words on this memorial occasion. Kindly invited I say; for in my regard it is a kindness to intrust a clergyman with such a service. It is not often that actors ask favors of preachers. It is not often that preachers offer favors to actors. The jealousy between them is old and bitter. They have dealt each other hard blows. On the whole, it is probable that actors have suffered more at the hands of preachers than preachers have at the hands of actors. Therefore the kindness on this occasion is the greater.

I am not asked to make an address; that, even if time allowed, would on such an occasion be out of season. A eulogy would not be in place, for the man who is dead was unknown to me. I never saw him except in his own theatre where, it is to be hoped, he did not look like the man he was. In reading the eulogies in the papers since his decease, I have wondered whether the testimony to his virtues was more strictly accurate than such testimony commonly is; but it was no concern of mine to raise questions, and it is now no concern of mine to suggest misgivings. I am better acquainted with my own sins than I am with his; so well acquainted, indeed, that even if I had a stone to throw, as I have not, there would not be in me the heart to throw it.

Certainly the last thought that could occur to me is the thought of bringing up against him the profession he belonged to. That profession is a very ancient one, and has, in ages in some respects nobler than our own, been cultivated by the greatest minds, and honored by the best. It has even been considered sacred; has been taken under the patronage of priests, and employed by them to commend high truth and impress important lessons on mankind.

There have been times when precisely such men as our deceased humorist would have been welcomed by ministers of religion, and valued for his power to move the popular heart to mirth. In all ages his calling has numbered among its professors a fair proportion of talented, refined, able, and excellent men and women; its fair proportion of geniuses and exemplars in virtue. All are not such; but all are not such anywhere. What calling includes in its membership none but saints? What calling does not include in its membership for the most part sinners? Every profession has its characteristic virtues and its characteristic vices. The theatrical profession has its share of the former; the clerical profession has its share of the latter. I am too deeply sensible of the failures of my own brotherhood to care to imagine what may be the failings of a brotherhood in which I have no part, and which, in some respects, stands at an opposite extreme to my own.

Standing on this stage, surrounded by men and women who have made the theatrical profession the study of their lives, and who have devoted to it an amount of energy, thought, and talent that would be acknowledged as brilliant in any other field of effort, haunted by the memory of a man whose name has been in all mouths, spoken in connection with innocent mirth, I seem to hear a voice that says: Let no individual, sect, or calling, judge another from the outside. "What man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man that is in him?" What profession knoweth the things of a profession, save the spirit of the profession which is in those that practise it? The clergyman complains of the criticism made on him by men of the world, who do not understand the conditions or penetrate the hidden motives of his calling. The lawyer complains of the fault-finding that preachers indulge in who, from the nature of the case, cannot comprehend the advocate's position. The physician complains of the coarse innuendoes that are flung at him by the mocking crowd whose diseases he has tried, but unsuccessfully, to alleviate. The merchant complains of the arbitrary censorship of the ideal moralist. Why should not the actor be justified in complaining of the judgment pronounced on him by people who, absolutely ignorant of the laws of his profession, its capacities, its limitations, the rules to which it must conform, and the conditions within which it must be exercised, hold it up to censure or to ridicule?

What is there in the profession, in any of its legitimate aspects, whether exhibited in the stately edifice that bears the respected name of Edwin Booth, or in the more modest temple, on the same street which is affectionately associated with Dan Bryant, that ought to subject it to animadversion or contempt, and fasten a suspicion of immorality upon all its members?

Shall we say with Rousseau, who said it most eloquently to our modern world, that the profession in its very nature implies insincerity; that its inmost heart is pretence; that the actor is one whose whole business is to seem what he is not, to wear robes that do not belong to him, to utter fine sentiments that are not his own, and simulate qualities to which nothing in his character responds?—an unreal person, living in an unreal world, devoted to an unreal pursuit, and encouraging the principle of sham which is altogether dishonorable in itself, and demoralizing to society? That is a matter the actor must answer for to himself. For the rest, are not all professions open to the same censure? Can the lawyer endure to be tried by the ideal standards of justice that he glorifies in the court room? Does not the preacher habitually preach above his own living, and pray above his own aspiring? Of the actor this much at least may be said, that he never pretends to be what he seems. He leaves his dress in the theatre, and claims no credit for the sentiments he has enunciated, or the qualities he has represented on the boards. He wears no mask on the street. Because he plays Joseph Surface, it is not to be inferred that he is a Joseph Surface. The Shaughraun is not found outside of the play-house. It is only in the drama that the particular Col. Sellers blows his radiant bubbles; it is only in the drama that Rip Van Winkle is a sot and a simpleton—that Kinchella is a ruffian, and Pistol a humbug. The people who *live their lies* are the demoralizing people who, at bedtime, hang their lies up in a wardrobe, and in the day are not ashamed to be known for what they are.

That the profession to which our brother belonged is beset with temptations and dangers peculiar to itself, need not be said. What profession is not? Twenty years ago a man very eminent in my own profession—as eminent for piety and humanity as for learning and eloquence—said to me, with tears in his eyes: "Frothingham, ours is a perilous profession." I have since learned but too well the truth of the words. But to say this feelingly is one thing; to say that the temptations are for the most part succumbed to, that the dangers are commonly neither resisted nor avoided, is a very different thing. To say that is to say what is not, what *cannot*, be true; for if it were, all professions would be rotten at the core, and society would come to an end.

Let me be pardoned for insisting so much on this point. We all feel, do we not, that it is vital; that it is the point of justice? For my own part, I am constrained to say that the average judgment on actors and actresses is unjustified and unjustifiable. My acquaintance with these people is not extensive or close; but I am happy to testify in my own place, and out of it, to qualities among them of delicate consideration and unselfish generosity, such as are nowhere too common, such as are everywhere beautiful and precious. Indeed, generosity, good-heartedness, compassion towards the unfortunate, sympathy with the suffering, seem to be at once a strong and a weak point of the profession.

The man whom we commemorate here, and for the

benefit of whose family all the theatres will to-morrow conspire in loving service, brought himself, I believe, by his kind-heartedness to the pass of needing this bounty. A "whole-souled," warm-natured man, with an open, friendly hand that could not shut even upon hard-earned money which, at the moment, a comrade needed more than he. There are greater virtues than generosity, but none are more winning. None make their possessor more beloved in fortune, in misfortune more pitied. It would be pleasant to think that I had ever done him as much good as he has done me. He was a benefactor in his way; and it was a very much needed way. In a world full of care, anxiety, depression of spirits and bitterness of heart, who has a right to be called a benefactor, if he has not who promotes harmless merriment? Nightly the people flocked to the pretty little theatre on Twenty-third Street; nightly the tears of mirth rolled down their cheeks, and side-shaking laughter "cleansed the stuffed bosom of that perilous stuff that weighs upon the heart." The mirth had no sting in it; none came away loving his neighbor less, or feeling less sweetly toward the Providence that appointed his lot. Long after the evening was passed, the cheer it had awakened revived and stimulated. Thousands never thought of him without a joyous emotion. Thousands will continue to think of him with gratitude—as of one who changed life's frown into smiles.

At the first performance of Mozart's "Don Giovanni" in Munich, Madame Lebrun sang the part of Donna Elvira with such pathos that the composer thanked her for interpreting to him his own song. That night the great singer, while kneeling at her devotions, burst a vessel in her over-charged heart, and died. On hearing in the morning of the death of the woman whose voice he felt had lifted up so high the note of his own flame, Mozart said: "The angels needed one voice more to interpret the Creator's Works." The songs of the dead minstrel were not of that seraphic quality. Mortals needed them more than immortals. Their music was "the still sad music of humanity," which touches and should touch us more than any strains from heaven.—*Golden Age*.

STATE AND CHURCH IN GERMANY.

A PAPER READ AT THE CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, DETROIT, MAY 11.

BY DAVID A. WASSON.

During the great debate of March 5, 1874, in the Austrian Parliament, the chief orator of the Ultramontanes talked continually of the "Apostolic Empire," which the heathenish modern State was seeking to supplant. In that phrase lay the whole secret of the Ultramontane creed. According to this, the Church is not simply nor characteristically a system of faith and worship, but an empire; a system of despotic government, supernatural in origin, having supernaturally authorized officers, and sustained supernaturally. The imperial head is a sacerdotal Caesar, more absolute in power than the Roman Augustus ever was, or any successor of Augustus. The bishops are prefects or satraps ruling absolutely in their dioceses save as subject to the Papal Shah; the parochial clergy are local magistrates, ruling also in their degree; the laity are subjects pure and simple, bound to obey implicitly in thought, in conscience, and in deed the "divine" authority set over them. The idea of religion, it is seen, disappears in that of government. Everything turns upon the acquisitive exercise of power. In the latter half of the eighteenth century the imperial pretensions of Rome had become little more than a reminiscence. Of all men in the world, those of '93 were to be the restorers of priestly imperialism. Robespierre did for Rome what Loyola, what the Society of Jesus, had been unable to accomplish—a lesson for all radicals and reformers. The wild, terrible years of overturn, war, conquest, and carnage wrought a total transformation in the temper of Europe. The outcast priesthood won sympathy by their sufferings, and were hardened in the school of affliction. The people harassed, beggared, decimated, lost hope in this world, and fled for a refuge from despair to the consolations of religion. Governments and statesmen, inspired with a supreme horror of revolution, saw its source in Jacobin unbelief, and security for the future only in a new "Union of Throne and Altar." So on all sides, in all ranks—here from a simple, impassioned impulse of religion, there from motives of class-interest or of political prudence,—there was a turning of eyes and desires to the Church. Meanwhile toward the Pope personally there was a new sentiment. He had been a brother in affliction, deprived of his lands, led captive from Italy, five years a prisoner, while as head of the Church he necessarily possessed a yet greater one, and the greatest of all possible virtues, that of being immutably conservative. What weighed even in Protestant eyes a small matter of theology against those supreme recommendations? Protestants could not zealously enough show that it weighed nothing. So Niebuhr was as zealous for Rome as a modern ultramontane, and utterly scorned all precautions against its power. And thus it came to pass that in 1814 Pius VII. returned in triumph to the Holy City, amid such a chorus of blessings as the divided confessions of Europe had scarce ever united in before.

It soon appeared that another spirit had come back with him. He had had his lesson, and had learned from it—to profit or otherwise. Among his very earliest exercises of power were the restoration of the Inquisition and of the index office, designed for the suppression of all knowledge not favorable to the doctrine and dignity of Rome. But before these, and his very first act, stood another, which told trumpet-tongued how the tide had turned. It was the recon-

stitution of the order of Jesuits after a dissolution of forty-one years. These restless agitators, these apostles of governing religion, these ever steadfast champions of the sacerdotal empire, were to be set again at work. It signified much. Against this ominous act Catholic Portugal, alone of all the powers, protested; the Protestant powers one and all looking on serene. But there were eminent Catholics who saw in it a sure prognostic of evil, and raised their voices in emphatic remonstrance. Wessenberg was one of them. "If," he wrote Metternich, "the order should gain a foothold in Germany, a long and violent contest of light with darkness may be foreseen, a contest that will be alike dangerous to the peace of the Church and the tranquillity of the State." The order did gain a foothold in Germany, and the prophecy has been fulfilled to the letter.

Another spirit had come, the Apostolic Empire was in the air. Everything favored the new turn. Those of the clergy whose culture dated from before the revolution, and who were often men of liberal sentiments, were already old; and, as they yielded to years, young men stepped into their places, who were children of the anti-revolutionary passion, not seldom of very imperfect culture, and bred in a period when minds were singularly concentrated upon the one thought of Force. To such men the new or newly revived religion of Empire was peculiarly congenial; and as their numbers grew, and as they began to feel one another by sympathetic contact, the set toward sacerdotal imperialism became strong. Succeeding revolutions of 1830 and 1848 brought new waves of reaction, upon whose crests this spirit rode. Then came a young doctrinaire liberalism to lend it slow phrases and play unwittingly into its hand. . . . Quickly after 1815, in the height of the reaction, the States of Germany—Bavaria, Hanover, Prussia, and the Upper Rhine Province, comprising Würtemberg, Baden, and a dozen more—entered into negotiations with Rome, with a view to a better establishment of the Catholic Church within their borders, and an amicable adjustment of their several relations with it. Protestant powers, mostly, they were eager to put the Church on a good footing, and expected at first to be met by the Curia with some recognition of their handsome intentions. Those expectations were quickly dissipated. They encountered at Rome a spirit which surprised and perplexed them. Genotta, the ambassador of Würtemberg, speedily remarked that the other party to the negotiation seemed vastly less intent upon "the interests of religion" in Germany than upon the interests of power in the Vatican. . . . Nevertheless, Prussia and the Pope came to an amicable understanding. Their affair was arranged without limit of time to the immediate satisfaction of both parties. In truth, Prussia purchased the agreement with a price. The Church, at that time, shattered and impoverished by the long years of war and revolution, was disordered, destitute, in distress. The Prussian government offered to restore and provide for it liberally on condition, first, that only such men should in future be chosen bishops as should be to itself acceptable; secondly, that all else should be passed by the Pope in silence, and Prussia be left to exercise at discretion all the powers with respect to the Church which were then in use. The terms were taken, and as the result the government of Prussia remained in unchallenged possession of rights and powers much more extensive than are embodied in those recent laws against which such a deluge of denunciation is poured out. For sixteen years, from 1821 to 1837, all that is now cried out upon as a barbarous, unheard-of assumption of civil supremacy over the Church of God was in use with free consent of a Pope—of a reactionary Pope, too,—and without one suggestion of protest or dissatisfaction on the part of his successors. Then came the Constitution of 1850, supported by the Liberals, which guaranteed what is called the "freedom of the Church." This phrase being the best weapon Romanism has acquired during the century, it merits a careful scrutiny. All just freedom of individuals is limited as subject to the restraints of law. The rightful liberty of each man, it is everywhere said, is founded by the like rightful liberty of every other, as by duty to the nation, and by obligation to support all that system of public order without which civilization could not exist. A liberty which rejects these limits is that of the thief, the swindler, the murderer. Now, that is the freedom which the Church demands in Germany—precisely this immunity from the restraints of civil law. It is to be absolutely independent of the State, and urges its freedom distinctly as against civil obligation.

What is the state of mind which can find in such laws a "barbarous persecution of the Church"? Surely it is one against which legal precautions are needed. . . . It is quite true that Prussia is in direct contradiction with the Roman Church—for the reason that modern civilization itself is so. Just at the points where modern civilization, or any State representing it, must maintain freedom, just there Rome must imperiously demand subjection. Freedom of religion, of intellect, of personal conscience, of science, research, discussion, communication of thought and knowledge—the State is barbarous which does not sustain these liberties yet that one which does sustain them is under the condemnation of Rome. The State, again, cannot undertake its proper functions, as having charge of the public order and welfare, without being from the same side declared a trespasser. It necessarily assumes authority in regard to marriage, but is imperiously warned off. "Civil marriage," Rome says, "is concubinage," while the Catholic Professor Stolz of Freiburg gently terms it "a sacrament of the devil." It undertakes a systematic education of the people, and again is warned off. "The school is an appanage of the Church." It offers equal and impartial pro-

tection to its citizens, without distinction of class, creed, or profession; and is met once more with the awful gesture of prohibition. There are classes of citizens—Catholic priests, professors in Catholic universities, teachers in Catholic schools, etc.—to whom, as against their ecclesiastical superiors, the State shall offer no protection. We are not here imagining cases, but touching upon actual points of collision in Germany. The contradiction exists, and is unextinguishable. Rome, however, that has seldom been wanting in craft, knows where to conceal and gloss it over, as in England and America; and where, as in Prussia, to insist upon it, and force a quarrel under pretence—for such is ever its strategy—of being itself invaded and assailed. Which of the two courses it will take in a given case depends upon the advice received. If the bishops of a country report that they are doing well under cover, but dare not as yet take the field openly, they are left under cover; if they report, on the contrary, that they are strong enough for open conflict, the conflict comes—always under the pretence that the Church is persecuted. And so it has come in Germany.

What is the result to be there? It will be asked. But who can tell? Who dares predict with confidence any immediate future? History is a series of surprises, especially in the complicated politics of Europe, so much may come or not come. Germany stands there alone, the one Protestant power, to be named a power, upon the Continent—stands resolute, asking peace, but a nation armed with lightnings, if lightened it must; yet combinations against her might be formed—and it will not be the fault of Ultramontanism if they are not formed—that would terribly test her strength. This, however, may be said: Rome as yet in direct struggle with Prussia makes simply no headway. It beats against the rights and liberties of the State, like a storm-driven sea against a shore-wall of mountain rock, with many a wild rush and thunderous shock that seem for a moment to crush all before them; yet ever as the blinding spray falls, the rock-firm State is there unshaken—it is the Roman billow which has broken in fury and foam. We have reason to hope that the barrier will still remain when the Ultramontane tempest shall have blown itself out, and that calm have come which will be at once the peace of Catholic religion and the liberty of modern civilization, to find its way and do its work without encountering at every step the warring pretensions of "the Apostolic Empire."—*New York Tribune*, May 12.

A LAY CATHOLIC ON THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

The importance of the school question, and present revival of the subject, makes me think that the experience I have had may interest such of your readers as give any thought to educational matters. My family is Catholic; and the head of it, possessing and knowing the advantages of education, quite naturally desired his son to be equally equipped for the journey of life. When we came to this city, eighteen or twenty years ago, one of the first things done was to enter the writer in public school number 5. I was then about eight years of age. At that time the only Catholic school in what is now the cathedral parish was held in the basement of St. Patrick's Church on the site of the present cathedral. The reputation of this school was not good, all ages being huddled in one room, and the principal, through fondness for the bottle, giving his pupils but an ill example. Even at that time the sectarian point was in argument, and Catholics were threatened with eternal woe who sent their children to the "godless" schools.

The Catholics were indeed in a dilemma. If they obeyed their spiritual superiors and sent their boys to "old M—n," they would have a tutor whose life was anything but exemplary; and if in defiance of ecclesiastical authority the boys were sent to the public school, anathemas were incurred from their own sect, while at school the children were taught prayers of Protestant composition, evangelical hymns, and directed in the way of salvation from a version of the Bible that all good Catholics repudiate and believe false. At the period I speak of it was the rule to kneel down to prayer in the public schools, and I distinctly remember compounding with my Catholic conscience, when kneeling to Protestant prayers, by sticking pins in my young comrades! It was a bad thing for me that the State authorities compelled me to sing their trashy hymns, and kneel to prayers I was taught to despise. If the schools had been totally "godless," I think I could thank the State of New York for a good education; for I had abundance of religious instruction at home, and I have no doubt that, if the State had not winked at the proselyting efforts of the school board, I would now know a great deal more than I do in secular matters, and be a not less worthy son of the Church. But the bigots on either side wrought me evil, and I was finally taken from number 5 under pretence that the railroad made it dangerous, and in truth it was dangerous, for two or three boys lost legs, one was killed, and I escaped decapitation by an ace, all within a few months!

When I was taken from number 5, I went to the school under the church, where a decent but simple old man had succeeded the former teacher; but it was still a poor excuse for a school. Children six or eight years old were mingled among hardened devils of twenty, proficient in every vice. Oh, it was a rare school! A deaf mute used to attend, and I have often seen him soundly thrashed because he could not pronounce A, B, C. One day "the bad boy" of the school was caught in some unusual deviltry, and was brought before the teacher, who in vain exhorted him to repentance and amendment. The culprit was contumacious; and the old man, after exhausting his rhetoric to no purpose, turned in despair and horror

to those who held the sinner, and exclaimed, "Take him away, take him away, he's possessed."

The absurdity of educating young people in such a place at last forced itself on the Catholics, and St. Patrick's Academy was built, and the Christian brothers given charge of it. If prayers without number and ceaseless inculcation of religious duty be agreeable to Heaven, this was certainly a godly school. When exercises began in the morning we knelt down and prayed for twenty minutes by the clock; classes were then heard, and at every quarter of an hour a gong sounded and a monitor called out, "Let us remember that we are in the holy presence of God." Then followed a momentary pause to carry out the injunction, and work was again resumed. At every hour a prayer of a few minutes duration was said, and before dismissing school at noon we prayed ten or fifteen minutes. In the afternoon we had religious exercises at the same intervals as in the morning, and at half-past 3 all secular studies were stopped and catechism was taught for half an hour. The above was the daily routine on week days; and on Sundays we had to go to church twice, and listen to religious instruction in the school for about two hours. We were also required to receive the sacraments of penance and eucharist (the latter I believe is called the Lord's Supper by Protestants) every six weeks. Scarcely any one would call such a school godless, and in a common way of thinking one would expect a marked improvement in its graduates over those of less religious institutions. The facts as far as my observation goes do not support the notion. On the contrary, among those of my acquaintance who have least respect for religion, if not morality, are graduates of St. Patrick's Academy, who went through all its drill. The deductions I draw from the foregoing facts are that the ecclesiastics of the Catholic Church are less anxious to have the children of their flock learned in worldly wisdom than in matters of faith. They believe in a literal acceptance of the saying, "Seek first the kingdom of God, and all things will be added to you." But when they do control the whole education of the young, the results are not so much better as to be noticeable. On the other side the public schools have been and are unfairly conducted as against the Catholics; their beliefs are openly or covertly attacked in text-books that have no right to be used in schools supported in part by the money of Catholics. The Catholic body is not fairly represented among the teachers of the public schools. For instance, there is not one Catholic principal in the twenty schools of this city. It is not in human nature to love such a system, nor can an unprejudiced person blame their warfare against such palpable oppression. I presume the extremists on neither side will regard my views as of any weight, but I do not doubt that many on both sides will concur with me in saying that, if the public school system is to survive, all just ground of complaint against it by lay Catholics must be eliminated. I say Catholics, because no Protestant sect to my knowledge has ever complained of the schools on religious grounds; and if the schools were purely secular most Catholics, who are not without sense, would see the folly of supporting a separate and costly system merely to teach certain doctrines that for all practical purposes can be learned well enough before and after school and on Sundays. PEDRO.

—*Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle*, Mch. 24.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

WAIFS.

BY S. H. MORSE.

Gird thee, gird thee, soldier strong!
Gird thee with the hate of wrong,—
Gird thee with a love that smites
Down the hate of him who fights!
Victory be his as thine,
Soldier strong, whose face doth shine!
Erring world, sweet Charity
Vileth all thy sins that be:
She forgives e'en darkest crime,
She, with vision reaching far,
Sees the land whose glories are
Fair fulfillments of all time.
God wists not to hear thee pray,
When thou'st somewhat wise to say;
Finite wisdom blocks the way.
Better far thou speak'st no word—
Only let thy heart be heard.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 22.

H. J. Fosnot, 10 cents; C. H. Peirce, \$10; H. L. Green, \$2; A. Williams & Co., \$3.72; B. C. Ward, \$2.15; F. G. Johnson, \$1.50; S. S. Bliz, \$5; B. Hallowell, \$1.6; Mary Adair, 25 cents; Geo. H. Briggs, \$5; Jas. W. Goodrich, \$5; T. H. Buchanan, \$5; K. T. Briggs, \$5; W. E. Darling, \$5; J. T. Clarkson, \$5; E. B. McKenzie, \$3.25; W. W. Sharpe, \$1.50; J. Dunn, 50 cents; W. L. Heberling, \$2.60; Miss Chase, \$1.60; A. Morrison, \$5; Jos. Bartman, 30 cents; Winthrop Butler, \$3.20; Asa Peirce, \$3; Chas. Oesting, \$6; Jereh Swift, Jr., \$3; Jas. N. Clark, \$3.20; J. W. Reyeroft, \$3; W. E. Boardman, \$3.20; Geo. B. Young, \$3.20; Maggie Dickey, \$3.20; Birney Mann, \$3.20; Henry Pratt, \$3.20; J. E. Follett, \$6; F. W. Hackett, \$3.20; G. H. Bixby, \$3.20; J. H. Senter, \$3.20; C. L. Palmer, \$3.20; J. T. Frey, \$6.20; Frank Lessman, 75 cents; Louis Haefel, \$3.20; L. J. Doyle, \$3.20; L. Lombard, \$3.20; L. Adams, \$1.20; W. H. Boughton, \$3; Lady Caroline Maxse, \$5.64; N. K. Chalteeja, \$3.47; Chas. Hazeltine, \$1.60; Hugh McHugh, \$1.60; C. Wilhelmus, \$3; Mary Shapton, \$6.40; Mrs. Lucius Booth, Sen., \$3.60; Hugh Calderwood, \$3.25; C. H. Green, \$1.60; L. H. Stockbridge, 75 cents; B. A. Ballou, \$4.20; J. C. Dexter, \$3.20; E. F. Ring, \$4.40; J. H. Deering, \$3.20; Thos. Smith, \$3.20; Jas. Blinn, \$3.20; Thos. Dana, 2d, \$3.45; Marion Mc. G. Noyes, \$3.20; Ed. Whicher, \$3.20; Tiffany Brockway, \$2.25; Giles H. Adams, \$3.20.

The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 27, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
ABRAM WALTER STEVENS, Associate Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E.
D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRAN-
CIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), Editorial Contributors.

NOTICE.

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Index Association will be held in Toledo, Ohio, at No. 35 Monroe Street, on Saturday, June 5, 1875, at 2 o'clock P. M., in accordance with the articles of incorporation.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The eighth annual meeting of the Free Religious Association will be held in Boston as follows:—

May 27th, 7½ P. M. Session in Horticultural Hall (Lower) for business and for free discussion on the objects and work of the Association.

May 28th. Two sessions in Beethoven Hall (Washington Street, near Boylston), at 10 A. M. and 3 P. M. for essays and addresses. Essay at the morning session, by Wm. C. Gannett, on "Present Constructive Forces in Religion."

Essay at the afternoon session, by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion."

Addresses are expected at some one of the sessions from O. B. Frothingham, T. W. Higginson, Charles G. Ames, Miss Mary F. Eastman, M. J. Savage, E. W. Mundy, B. F. Underwood, S. P. Putnam, and (probably) Prof. Edward S. Morse.

Friday evening, May 28th, there will be a social festival in Parker Memorial Hall, Berkeley Street, for brief speeches, music, refreshments, conversation, and for subscription to the funds of the Association.

It is hoped that as many of the members and friends of the Association as possible will be present at this annual meeting. Members who cannot be present are hereby reminded of the annual subscription fee, which it is desired they should send to the Secretary, New Bedford, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

BISHOP HAVEN, of Georgia, said at Springfield that "when the war broke out, the South was one vast house of ill-fame, so far as men were concerned, with but solitary exceptions."

MR. AXON, an English statistician, calculates that, in the year 2000, the British Isles will be inhabited by a population of 91,000,000, and the United States by a population of 546,000,000. What a jam there will be!

THE *Golden Age* is a little rusty in its knowledge of the classics. It says that "Free Religion sprung out of its [Boston's] thinking as Juno came from the brain of Jove." We have heard such a story of Minerva; but, if Juno was thus born, it must have been her "second birth."

THE SIXTH Annual Convention of the Boston Eight Hour League will be held in Wesleyan Hall, in this city, on May 28, beginning at 10:30 A. M. Addresses will be made by George E. McNeill, E. M. Chamberlin, E. R. Place, Henry Sevey, and others, and papers read by F. A. Hinckley and Ira Steward.

THE *Christian Union* of May 5 mentions "Herren, Behm and Wagner, the German statisticians," as if they constituted a trio! We are not intimately acquainted with the gentlemen, but suspect they only count up two. If the *Union* had introduced to an admiring public "Messrs. Beecher and Johnson" as an editorial trinity, we imagine that the analogy would be complete. The "German statisticians" should pass a vote of thanks to the *Union* for the Mr. Messrs whom it has added to their distinguished company. They certainly "owe it one."

THE OATH.

Nothing is more surprising than the manner in which Christendom professes to obey the precepts of Jesus, and yet is guilty of gross violations of them,—not merely as occasional sins which it repents and repudiates (for these would excite no surprise), but also as deliberate contradictions, incorporated in laws and institutions, of his most emphatic and explicit injunctions. The ethical doctrine he lays down respecting non-resistance, divorce, and so forth, is set aside totally in the legislation and constant practice of the nations which are currently classed as Christian; yet even the vast majority of Christian ministers and Christian church-members consider it vulgar fanaticism to point out these grave discrepancies between profession and practice, and especially to insist on conforming the latter to the former. It has been a purpose of ours for several years, which perhaps may yet be executed at some future time, to codify the ethical teachings of the gospels just as they stand, to compare the moral code thus drawn up with that embodied in the general jurisprudence of Christendom, and to point out how utterly at variance are the theoretical morality preached in the pulpits and the practical morality enforced by the courts. It would be a most instructive comparison, and would open the eyes of every intelligent person to the ineffable absurdity of supposing that so-called Christian nations pay more than a nominal homage to the system of morals which is attributed to Jesus in the New Testament. No better service could be rendered to the cause of Free Religion than to make this comparison thoroughly, methodically, and unflinchingly, with the requisite research and freedom from popular prejudices; but it would demand months, perhaps years, of severe labor and study.

Without entering at all on a task so far beyond our opportunities, we wish in this article to express merely a few thoughts respecting oath-taking, as one of the numerous points on which the profession and practice of Christendom are irreconcilable. What Jesus is reported to have taught on this subject is contained in the first gospel, in the familiar words of the Sermon on the Mount:—

"Again, ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, 'Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths.' But I say unto you, Swear not at all: neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is his footstool; neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King; neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black: but let your communication be Yea, yea, Nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil."

Without expressing unalloyed satisfaction with the reasons here given for not using the oath, it must surely be held that this is noble teaching. The moral dignity of the position assumed in the passage quoted is self-evident. Why the whole Christian world should not accept practically this part of the ethics of Jesus, but on the contrary should give it the lie direct by using and defending the use of the oath as a guarantee of veracity, it is difficult to understand. The fact is evident enough. Jesus explicitly condemns, in language admitting of no qualification or mental reservation, the practice of swearing to the truth of any statement or to the performance of any promise, as if an oath could add anything to the force of plain *yes* or *no*; he declares that whatever is more than these comes of evil. But the practice of Christian governments, sanctioned and indorsed by almost all Christian sects (the Quakers alone excepted, so far as we know), is to require oaths in countless cases, on the ground that plain *yes* or *no* is not enough. One would naturally think that so manifest a departure from the injunction of him who is taken to be the revealer of God's will in all matters he touches upon,—so audacious and undeniable a nullification of the law of the Most High God as amended under the "Christian dispensation" by the Second Person of the Trinity,—would disturb the consciences of those who profess to be his obedient disciples. How can they wink at such a patent abrogation of his most solemn and emphatic command? How can they dare to add anything to simple "Yea, yea, Nay, nay," when he declares that "WHATSOEVER is more than these cometh of evil"? Are Christians so simple as to be ignorant that the "So help me God!" which they add to *yes* or *no* is actually an addition? Yet by common consent Christian clergymen and Christian jurists are strenuously in favor of this glaring violation of the command of one they profess to believe in as God him-

self. When it is proposed by men with secular principles to adopt a course which shall simply be in strict conformity with the injunction of their own professed Lord, they raise the cry of "infidels," and declare the foundations of religion and morality and social order to be most dangerously shaken. It is such Christians as these who are willing even to deprive free thinkers of their political rights, as in Mr. Nieland's case, if they object to doing what Jesus himself teaches ought not to be done. We wish we could defend these covert repudiators of Jesus against the charge of hypocrisy in publicly professing themselves to be his followers; but we cannot. That would take more logic than we are master of. They must defend themselves as best they can.

With regard to non-resistance, divorce, and other things, we consider Jesus to have taught impractical, unjust, and irrational doctrine. But with regard to the oath, we consider him to have taught the only doctrine which is worthy of the dignity of human nature. These are some of the reasons why oath-taking as approved by Catholics and Protestants, and as practised in all so-called Christian nations, appears to us a custom "more honored in the breach than in the observance":—

1. To suppose that the oath adds anything intrinsically to the value of a man's bare word is superstition. If he has told the truth, he has told the truth. If he has perjured himself, he has lied. That is all. Although falsehood as such cannot be made in all cases a penal offence, it is perfectly right and proper that in some cases, when great interests hinge on the telling of the truth, heavy penalties should follow falsehood. Except as falsehood for which penalties are provided by civil enactment, there is no such thing as perjury. A lie is a lie—no more and no less. If any lie is a sin against God, all lies are equally so; they cannot be made more so by calling him to witness. But it is childish, superstitious, and inane to imagine that there can be special supernatural penalties for perjury. The fear of them doubtless urges many ignorant persons to tell the truth on oath who would lie, if unsworn; and this is the only imaginable defence of the oath on grounds of reason. But it is in accordance with sound morality to extort the truth by means of the oath, when the practice of extorting it by means of torture, which is more efficient still, has been condemned by the universal consent of civilized mankind? The oath is only a mental rack, an instrument of soul-torture. The State has no right to use spiritual thumb-screws, any more than to use physical thumb-screws. All its penalties should be of the earth, earthy; that is, they should be fine, imprisonment, or other ordinary and legitimate punishment. To employ superstitious fear of hell-fire as a part of the machinery for getting at truth is barbarous, and unworthy of an enlightened State.

2. The oath becomes ineffectual in proportion as men become intelligent. It may influence a superstitious man; but none other. On the contrary, it becomes an utterly tedious, ridiculous, and meaningless affair, as rattled off by glib officials who vulgarize it for all who have any decency of mind. Whoever cherishes any genuine reverence for God is simply disgusted at the fathomless irreverence for him which habitual oath-taking and oath-administering create.

3. The requisition of the oath by the State is a relic of the old connection of Church and State which ought to be totally dissolved on grounds of general principle. It is a stepping outside of the conceptions which are alone appropriate to civil affairs, and meddling with notions which belong to the Church alone. The gravest objections to the oath on public grounds are connected with this false position of the State, but we need not now enlarge on this familiar point.

4. The last reason for abolishing the oath which we wish to mention at present is that it is a degrading affront to a person of self-respect, whose bare word should carry all the weight of a sworn statement, to require him to take it. The requisition is tantamount to an intimation that, but for the oath, a falsehood might naturally be expected. One who holds his word of honor cheaply may not wisely be believed on oath; while he whose parole is always an affidavit should be spared the insult of official suspicion. It is not a light evil to turn the State into an instrument either of demoralization or of oppression; and these alternatives are presented to one who cherishes sufficient pride of character to resent the insinuation that his word of honor is not enough for credence. To submit and take the oath is to suppress a justifiable and necessary protest, which is demoralizing; to

refuse to take it may subject to penalties the very person who least deserves them, which is oppressive. In some of the United States, affirmation instead of the oath is permitted to any one who prefers it; and this provision, at least, should be extended to all the States. But the oath itself ought to be everywhere abolished; and the Christians ought first of all to insist on its abolition, in obedience to their now disregarded Lord.

DOCTRINE AND LIFE.

Jesus may have been mistaken as to a good many things which he roundly and somewhat dogmatically taught, but not infrequently he did hit the nail on the head, and gave us a profoundly wise and admirable maxim. One of his true and deep sayings, it seems to me, was this: "He that doeth the will shall know of the doctrine."

The merely sentimental interpretation of this maxim is wrong, albeit it is that which the Church usually gives of it. That distinguished and able Catholic, Father Hecker, once said to me that there was no illumination of the mind equal to that which came to a man when once he completely surrendered himself to the infallible direction of the Church. By this one act of obedience, he said, the mind was opened, and a flood of light admitted on many things that were dark before; so that for the first time the man could say truly that he was at once both free and enlightened. When a boy, my good Methodist friends again and again assured me that, if I would but entirely give myself up to Jesus, the light and joy and power of a believing mind would come to me: I should know the truth through such submission. The disciples of George Fox make substantially the same declaration about the miraculous illuminating power of the Holy Spirit upon the minds of those who passively submit to it.

But all these statements are wrong, in so far as they imply that mental illumination comes from mental subserviency or mental inaction. They are wrong, in so far as they imply that a religious man must necessarily know more and better of the truth than one who is not religious. The heart alone cannot make us wise. The mere exercise of the holiest emotions or the highest sentiments of the soul will not put us in possession of the truth about anything, if at the same time the intellect be sluggish, or the reasoning powers be held in abeyance. The mischievous and disobedient boy in school is often the brightest, the one who learns his lessons quickest, and who reaches higher in his attainments as a scholar than the steadiest-going and most exemplary boy in conduct. The veriest scamp not infrequently knows more than the veriest saint. The profoundest scholars and the most distinguished savans are not invariably religious men, men under the influence of the Holy Spirit, as the Church might phrase it, but quite the reverse. Good men do not appear to have any monopoly of the truth; but infidels and free thinkers, who refuse utterly to be subject to Christian doctrines and Christian influences, somehow contrive in many cases to be just about as knowing and wise as any of their neighbors.

And yet there is a certain deep sense in which the saying of Jesus is true. If the heart alone cannot make us wise, neither can the head. If the intuitions of themselves are not sufficient to grasp the truth, neither of itself is the logical understanding able to intrench us in the best fortified fastnesses of her wide domain. To know that a thing is true, we must in a certain sense feel it as well as think it. It is as necessary to experience the truth of things, as to arrive at it through the strict order of an intellectual process. When the intellect makes a careful and elaborate proposition of the truth upon any subject, no matter how well and strongly reasoned out its conclusion may be, unless the heart, the soul, also apprehend it, and send their warm life-blood to quicken the cold thought of the mind, there occurs in us no enthusiasm of what we call conviction; and the truth, like a still-born child, lies pulseless and lifeless in our hands. But, on the other hand, if the truth conceived by the intellect be adopted by the heart, and brooded over with the love and devotion of the soul, then the grand momentum of conviction seizes us and swings us into the very line of truth's purpose, and our whole being obeys her law.

A man cannot be said to know the truth very well until he has tried to live it,—until he has endeavored to translate it from speculation into practice, from word into deed, from thought into life. When we try to put our ideas and principles into practice, we get a new perception of their worth or their worthlessness; for life is a test of truth: it both enlarges

our vision of what is true, and helps us to eliminate error from our mental apprehension. The best way for young men or women just out of school, and wishing to test the value of their education, is to turn teachers themselves, and try to instruct others in what they have been instructed. This deepens and fastens in their own minds the knowledge which they have acquired, by leading them through the practical relations of what they have hitherto only theoretically considered. Tell a child that two and two make four, and he will probably believe it if he has confidence in you; but let him take two marbles, and put them with two other marbles, and possess the sum of them,—then he has experienced the certain truth of what before he only intellectually perceived. So, too, a man's belief in God and immortality is not worth a handful of peanuts, until he has striven in daily life to be a god himself, and to live into all the immortal truths and principles which he has been able to think and discover by the help of his reason. If he can be immortal here, then perhaps there is some chance that he may continue to be immortal hereafter. If he can find divinity in himself, then it is not at all unlikely that he may be able to discover the complete Godhead elsewhere. I observe that those who have been able to impress their beliefs most mightily upon men, invariably have been those who have carried the demonstration home by a life of illustration even as much as by intellectual arguments and formulas. And this because there is a certain great moral power of truth as well as mental.

I can but think that any association of men and women which aims to increase the knowledge of truth among mankind, and to promote a larger fellowship of the spirit, must make a great mistake if it confine itself to things that pertain to mere doctrine more than life. It may state and restate truth in intellectual forms never so clearly and cogently, but if it do not try to show how what is true in doctrine may be made true in life,—how truth can be made to apply to all social conditions, and be made to subserve the highest social welfare and happiness,—then very soon its hour of inspiration and of usefulness must pass, and it will come to take rank as an intellectual ornament of the times, rather than an instrumentality for practical good. The world always needs workers as well as thinkers; or rather, it always needs that the wisest thought of the wisest minds should be applied to the regulation and improvement of all the affairs of human life. This must not be done in any paltry or impertinent way; in no fussy, meddlesome, or captious spirit; but in a truly wise way, and in a spirit of large charity and deep foresight. Thus the true State, the State founded on truth and righteousness, will come to pass among men; and all in it shall be fellows and equals, inspired of wisdom and actuated by good will.

A. W. S.

AN IRREPARABLE LOSS.

The terrible disaster of the wreck of the Schiller, which has carried grief and agony to so many hundreds of hearts, brought to our own community, in the death of two young women, a thrill of grief and pain as great possibly as the death of any private persons could possibly produce; and it is the only consolation that remains to us that lives so rich and beautiful cannot be snatched suddenly away without leaving an influence of good upon their survivors. To deepen this influence and to continue their noble work is the privilege of those who have known and loved them, and whose hearts are heavy with their loss.

Susan Dimock, M. D., was first known to us as a student at the New England Hospital for Women and Children, where she at once won the respect and confidence of her teachers by her superior intellectual and moral qualities, by her love for the profession she had chosen, and her uncommon qualifications for it. After gaining all the benefit she could receive from instruction in this country, by the help of friends who believed that she would do signal honor to the profession she went to Zurich, where she attended the entire course of medical study, and graduated with high honors. On returning to America, she at once took the place long designed for her, as Resident Physician of the Hospital, and devoted herself to its duties with such zeal and skill, and so entirely to the satisfaction of the Board of Directors, that a year before the expiration of her term of service they asked her to extend it for three years longer. She consented to this, with the reservation of the privilege of five months leave of absence this summer for a proposed journey to Europe. The high reputation for so young a person, her winning

manners, and her attention to her patients, soon procured her a large private practice in addition to her work at the Hospital. She was especially skilful in surgery, and performed many difficult operations with a degree of skill and success which has called forth the admiration of our oldest and best practitioners. She managed the Training School for Nurses mainly herself, until within a few weeks of her departure, and succeeded in training a body of nurses who are confessedly superior to any who have ever before been educated for that profession in this country. With the best natural gifts, with the most thorough training for her work, and having disarmed the prejudices of those most opposed to her calling by her winning character and her thorough success, with health, hope, friends, and a wide field of usefulness before her, her life seemed a thing as precious as the sun looks down upon in his daily course. It is swept away in an hour. What remains to us of it—all that made it so precious and so noble—the devotion to the great and good work to which she had pledged her life, the conscientious training for her work, the love of humanity which kept her ever active in it, the sweetness and beauty of soul which ennobled it all—these qualities are undying. Like the ashes of the martyrs strown upon the waters, the wild waves will only bear them to every shore upon earth, and in a thousand hearts they will kindle anew the same spirit which has made her short life such a blessing and encouragement to us all.

Beside her in that dreadful hour was the beloved friend who had been with her in so many scenes of joy and sorrow, herself as fair and beloved and full of life; and who, with all that wealth, and position, and high culture, and the dearest love of friends could furnish her, had devoted herself to aiding her noble friend in her work of humanity by succoring the friendless mother, or the orphan child, whom her skill had restored to health and life. A friendship on so high a plane between such gifted souls was as beautiful as that of David and Jonathan. Truly, they were "lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided."

May the good Spirit which has guided their lives strengthen and support the hearts of all to whom they are dear; for in many a dark alley and poor home of suffering and poverty will life look harder, and earth seem more cold and friendless, for the passing away from it of these two angels of God's mercy and love.

E. D. C.

Literary Notices.

THE BRIC-A-BRAC SERIES. No. VI: Personal Reminiscences by Moore and Jordan. No. VII: Personal Reminiscences by Cornelia Knight and Thomas Raikes. Edited by Richard Henry Stoddard. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1875.

These are entertaining volumes to have at hand, to take up at odd moments of leisure in home life, or to serve as companions at mountain or seaside.

Moore's social intercourse with most of the distinguished literary persons of his day gave him good opportunity for anecdote respecting them; and the reader is, as it were, brought face to face, at dinners and parties, and sometimes privately at their own homes, with those whose names have been familiar to him as authors, and whose unrestrained conversation and private life have for him much interest. Jordan, though not a man of note now, as editor of the *Literary Gazette* was brought into relations with many literary celebrities of his time, which enabled him to relate interesting bits of their history.

Cornelia Knight was a familiar friend of Lord and Lady Hamilton, and was thus brought into acquaintance with Lord Nelson, whose victories she celebrated in verse. She was called by the naval officers of the time, "Nelson's poet laureate." She was seven years maid of honor to Queen Charlotte, wife of George III., and afterwards "lady companion" to the young Princess Charlotte. Her "Reminiscences," as also those of Thomas Raikes, chiefly concern persons of rank and station, both English and Continental.

In these volumes are introduced occasional portraits of celebrated persons mentioned.

A. H.

BOYS AND GIRLS IN BIOLOGY; or, Simple Studies of the Lower Forms of Life, based upon the Latest Lectures of Prof. T. H. Huxley, and published by his permission. By Sarah Hackett Stevenson. Illustrated by Miss M. A. I. Macomish. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

The object of this work is to interest children in the science of living things. Beginning with the yeast-plant, the lowest form of vegetable life, the author by means of characteristic samples carries her young readers through the three classes of plants—the Fungi, Green Plants, and Flowering Plants. She then introduces to their notice the lowest form of animal life, and, pursuing the same plan, carries them through the classes of Invertebrates; and she closes by intimating that in a future volume she may treat the classes of vertebrate animals in the same

manner. Miss Stevenson says the idea of this work occurred to her while listening to Prof. Huxley's lucid description of the yeast-plant, and that her outline of the plan received his entire approval.

The subject is treated in a manner adapted to the intelligence of children; and is fitted, not only to answer many of the thousand questionings which naturally arise in their minds, but also to stimulate farther inquiry into the wonderful things in Nature which are everywhere presented to their eyes. As an illustration of the attractive way in which the topics are presented to the mind of the child, the first paragraph of the book, preliminary to the study of vegetable life, is here given:—

"Upon the old stone hearth by the kitchen fireplace stood a quaint-looking earthen jar, whose outside, so often spattered with batter, told of the treasures within—the precious buckwheat-cakes." A. H.

Communications.

FROM GENEROUS FRIENDS.

AMESBURY, May 15, 1875.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Please accept for THE INDEX, from several of your subscribers in this place, the enclosed amount, thirty dollars, as an earnest of their desire for the long life of your paper. We find it much easier to voice the praise of THE INDEX than to express the same ideas in the currency of the "realm"; so this must be regarded as a very inadequate expression of our goodwill and wishes. If those who every Sunday enjoy the quickening which they receive from THE INDEX would contribute a tithe of what "Christians" do in support of their religion, the more than "forty-parson-power" of the paper would be as firmly entrenched, and as secure, as the most popular preachers of the land.

To this end we pass in our contribution.

Truly yours, J. T. CLARKSON.

P. S.—Please acknowledge in your usual column the receipt of \$5 each from Geo. H. Briggs, James W. Goodrich, T. H. Buchanan, R. T. Briggs, W. E. Darling, J. T. Clarkson. C.

[On behalf of The Index Association we return sincere thanks for this unsolicited contribution to its treasury. It is very encouraging to find that THE INDEX is so highly prized by its readers, and of this encouragement all who write for it are entitled to an equal share. No appeal for donations has been made, but we venture to ask the aid of all our subscribers in extending the circulation of the paper. We take this opportunity of thanking the many friends who have recently been making special efforts in this direction, one gentleman alone having sent in the names of eighteen new subscribers. This is the best possible way to strengthen the influence of THE INDEX, which we spare no pains to make worthy of the high demands of its own ideas and of the generous support of its friends.—Ed.]

THE "INTUITIONALISTS."

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In your article, "Drawing Lines," in THE INDEX of Jan. 23, you say that Intuitionists decline to submit the doctrines of God and immortality to the test of thought. Again, "The Intuitionist is imperfectly true to Free Religion until this reservation is given up."

Now I understand an Intuitionist to be one who takes heed to his emotions, and professes to learn something therefrom.

To me, my emotions are facts, a part of my nature; and I claim the right to analyze them, to read them, to profit by them. Does "Free Religion" deny me this right?

My emotions are not common property; they are my own; and I intend to hold them as such in unison with my reason and common-sense. But I will not attempt to force my conclusions on others, neither will I exclude others from fellowship for rejecting them.

But "people's emotions deceive them." Yes, and so do their eyes and their ears. If my eyes or ears deceive me, I will learn to take better heed how I see and how I hear; but I will not put out my eyes or stop my ears.

Does science claim the right to enter the sanctuary of my inner life, and read its lesson for me? Or shall I remain in possession of that citadel on my own responsibility? When science says the unseen is the unknowable, shall I cry Amen?

If every existing atom is instinct with the living possibilities of its own future development, then what of the human mind or soul?

If science can measure the capacity of the soul, and give us a correct estimate of its capabilities, then let the bound be set, and let it be said, "Here shall thy proud waves be stayed." Till this is done I will remain my own interpreter. Does Free Religion object? Then so much the worse for Free Religion.

Yours for all that is true and good—being free for all time and all eternity,
CANTON, Pa. HENRY PALPHIAMAND.

[We used, and use, the word "intuitionist" in no other sense than that of one who assumes the existence of God and the reality of a future life on the mere affirmation of an assumed faculty specially fitted to reveal these truths. It is this double assumption

to which we object. But we have no objection to "emotions," if they are not put forward in the place of reason as the discoverer of truth; any more than we would quarrel with hands or feet, eyes or ears, if they are not set to do work they cannot do. We are as anxious to "learn" from human emotions as Mr. Palphiamand can be; but we think that it is the function of reason, scientifically applied, to draw from them the lessons they have to teach respecting objective truth. Whoever reflects on them, or draws conclusions from them, can only do so by the exercise of reason; and this is the fact which we think the "Intuitionist" overlooks.—Ed.]

AN AVOWAL OF FAITH IN THE LITERAL TRUTH OF THE GOSPELS.

NORTH ABINGTON, Mass., March 11, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—My attention has been called to your reprint of the pamphlet entitled "The Divine Decree," in your issue of February 25; and I have read it carefully. I beg some space in your columns to comment upon it. The portions I would especially notice are on page 87, and first the paragraph beginning with "We conclude, then," and ending with "astounding marvel."

Now whether I shall be called a "man of sense and education," or not, I shall leave at present for you to decide. Both the editors of THE INDEX have some acquaintance in the case. But, regardless of any decision in that matter, I will venture to give my testimony on the point at issue.

The pamphlet says that we Christians do not really believe in their literal sense the affirmations of the creed. For one I do most literally believe them. I believe, with all my heart and mind, that on a literal day when the sun was shining, and the heavens lay blue above, and all Nature was in Galilee just what Nature in Galilee is now, there appeared to a woman named Mary, living in Nazareth, a pure and perfect virgin upon whom the shadow even of sex-sin had not fallen, a literal angel, a being of life and light from the innermost heaven where God dwells, bearing a message direct from God to her, and that that message was the one recorded in the Gospel of Luke, 1: 27-38.

I believe also that from the moment when she said, "Be it unto me according to thy word," the creative energy flowed directly down from God himself, caused to go forth by his explicit personal act, entered as a begetting power into her person, and caused her to begin to become a mother. And I not only religiously but scientifically believe it to have been. No one who knows me will think me a blind, bigoted devotee, or pietist. With my eyes wide open, and looking steadily right into all that science discloses, and never flinching from what she really demands; and seeing, moreover, (as I think) in a comprehensive view, the field of science in its relation to other fields of life and being, I do most earnestly declare that there is nothing in real science which conflicts with such an event. Nay, more, with Henry James in his *Secret of Swedenborg*, I declare that that event was a logical necessity for the scientific completion of the universe, as it was the highest possible physical event in it. If scientists only could receive it, in that event God gave to man the scientific clue to understanding the mystery of the evolution of types of being one after another. There was a time when there was no man on the globe. How came the first man and woman to be? Will scientists tell us that they grew spontaneously out of the soil? There was a first pair, and for all time before there was not a human being on all the globe. Every school of science teaches this. The mystery of the coming of that first pair is not greater than the mystery of the begetting of Jesus; and any Darwinianism, even, that solves the one solves the other. And I have a better ground than Darwin: for by a direct sight do I behold the interior and immanent God, and have a partial cognizance of the divine movements of power. With a partial view I interiorly behold the facts, of which science at its best can only take exterior and more partial view. Jesus was a new and higher order of human, differing in kind from any human more than any human does from the next lower animals. As out of the lower he, the higher, came into the world, so in all creation's epoch has God brought the higher out of the lower, each "after his kind." The first Adam was the human kind; the second Adam the divine human kind. Now all this is a matter to be discussed just as scientifically as protoplasm; and if any man can show why it is more difficult to believe that Jesus was directly begotten of God in the womb of the Virgin Mary, than that the human race was potentially present in protoplasm and grew out of it, I am all attention to learn the reasons.

So then I do with all my heart and mind believe that on a certain day, a day on which "the sun rose and set" just as it does on any other day, and on which "men went about their business just as they go about their business now, a child was born" in Bethlehem, and cradled in the low stone trough in the side of the wall where they were wont to feed the cattle, "who never had a human father, whom angels came visibly down from heaven to worship, and to whom a multitude of the heavenly host, in the hearing of common men . . . like ourselves, sang hymns of praise." Yea, and moreover I realize in a measure how they burst out through the ether into the upper air, and manifested themselves to the astonished and reverent shepherds; and how it seemed to the shepherds. Many a time have I lived the

scene over within myself, so that it is only less real than if I had experienced it.

So, also, with all my heart and mind do I believe that on a certain day Jesus Christ, the very man who was crucified, who died wholly dead, and who, being scientifically dead, did literally become alive again, and walk with his disciples on the earth,—that he in the presence of eleven of them "in bodily shape and substance . . . rose up from the earth and mounted visibly into the sky, in defiance of that unalterable law of gravitation," etc. Moreover, this is not only literally true, but it discloses a new law to which scientists would do well to give heed. I have seen bits of iron leap up through the air, drawn by the invisible power of the magnet. I say invisible magnetically, because no human being has ever seen that power, or can do anything more than to describe its effect. God was the infinite magnet which drew Jesus Christ up from the earth through the sky into heaven; and could we but become as pure as he was, we also would all be so drawn up into the interior spheres without any death, as we now know death; and such would have been the movement of all human kind but for sin. Thus to my entire belief in the literal truth of the Gospel narratives, and their harmony with all true science, I make this my solemn avowal. But I am not content with this.

The first Sabbath in March in the afternoon is our communion service; and so important did I consider the matter of the charge brought by your paper, that I made it the subject of the afternoon discourse, and brought it distinctly before the church. I read the paragraph I have now commented upon, and the one on miracles; and then in the fullest and most explicit manner I set forth my full belief in the literal truthfulness of the Bible story. With what power I could, and with what fairness I am capable of, I presented the whole subject, and told them I felt that it was an occasion for testimony. So, after the communion was over, I asked for a vote. I think every church-member present voted, and all in the affirmative; and joy to bear testimony in such a case fairly shone right out through the faces of some of the mothers in Israel, as by the uplifted hand they declared their faith in the spotless virginity of Mary, and that God was the literal and direct father of Jesus.

Now it is true that we are not a large church, much regarded by the world; and we may not be people "of sense." But such as we are, so far as I am acquainted, we are about like the average New England congregations; and what was done here would, I am persuaded, be done under like circumstances in all our New England churches.

Now I wish to turn to another matter. You have taken the position that, in short, "Christianity is bondage"; and Mr. Savage as a Unitarian is replying to you that "Freedom and Christianity are consistent." Now I am an old-school Orthodox minister, I am a "brimstone corner" Orthodox; and as such I wish to add a word. All my observation and experience unite in saying that Christianity is freedom; and I mean by freedom in part what you mean, but in part your meaning must be modified, for I believe in authority.

Freedom consists in the thinking, teaching, and doing whatever one will that does not tend to destroy the organism of which one is a member. This is all the freedom that is possible in society; and this is all the freedom there is in the Free Religious Association, as a historic fact will show.

At the May meeting for 1869, I, then an utter stranger in Boston, appeared on their platform and spoke freely what I believed to be true as a representative of Orthodoxy. I also regularly joined the Association, if I remember rightly, and was recognized as a member. But the following year a vital change was made in the organization for the express purpose of cutting me off, and the correspondent of the *Independent* was imprudent enough to tell them right out in so many words, and mention my name. When I read the account, I saw at once how free that Association is. It is free to those who agree with it, but closed to those who differ. Now that is just the freedom of the Christian Church.

But I do not hesitate to assert from personal experience that there is a far greater real freedom in the church to which I belong than there is in the Free Religious Association. How radically I differ from the churches in certain vital matters is well known, and yet I receive an amount of personal kindness which under the circumstances is large.

So, then, I return to my first statement, that freedom never grants more than what is consistent with the life of the organism. And I would add that the Free Religious Association has certain definite aims; it has as real conditions of membership as any church; its chief is to fight Orthodoxy; and its basis and scope are far narrower than that of the Christian churches with which I am connected.

Now I do not write this for the sake of contention, but for the sake of the facts. I love and certainly need freedom as much as most men. I have traversed considerable fields of thought; and have never turned away from any field because the Church or any branch of it had set up a sign warning people away or forbidding entrance. I have set my face with my eyes wide open resolutely towards every field of investigation that promised any points. And the above is my deliberate and carefully reached conviction. And yet to-day, or any other day, I will receive any light which Mr. Abbot or any other man can bring; and I think I have given the evidence by past conduct that I will follow that light wherever it leads and at whatever cost. If now Mr. Abbot is any freer than I am, or the Association of which he is a member is any freer than that vast one in which I am a mere speck, I still wait for the evidence that it is so, having never yet seen it.

JESSE H. JONES.

FREE RELIGION AT THE WEST.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I am just returned from an eight months' course of lectures and labors in Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois. It may interest some of your Western readers to know how my mission was appreciated; and what are present, or prospective, results.

I encountered your faithful and efficient agent, Mr. Green, in Chicago, and understood from him that the work of procuring subscribers to THE INDEX was rather discouraging. It must be so for a variety of reasons. The country teems with cheap literature, mostly sensational and pictorial, and cheap besides. Then in every large city there are Sunday journals, some of them very large and ably conducted of their kind; and these keep multitudes from the churches, and generally in better and wholesomer business than they would be in attending them.

And I think our more liberal congregations are also affected in similar manner. But there is this also to be said: Many of these journals are tuned to most of our advanced ideas and sentiments as to modern theologies, creeds, and worship. Every one, so far as I have seen, opposes the "God in the Constitution" conspiracy, the Bible in the public schools, and all exemption of religious property from taxation. Generally my congregations have been as large as others in proportion to populations and church attendance.

Truth compels me to say that organizations once existing, and vigorously working, are declining or have disappeared altogether; and many of the membership are now found in other associations of most irreputably sectarian and superstitious character.

The Spiritualists are badly scared and divided; in many places, have ceased all operations beyond home circles and séances, or a children's lyceum. These last are continued in some places with commendable zeal.

Half the Sundays of the autumn and winter months I spent in Battle Creek, Michigan. The liberal elements united there, and a good congregation was always in attendance, though many Sundays were sunless, and most inhospitably cold.

My services are already bespoken there for another season. In Toledo, I achieved no such success; though not, I trust, for want of my best effort, continued while hope remained.

The churches are reaping golden harvest all over the West. The modern revival machinery is in full and triumphant operation. Dissensions and discords are getting healed in churches; sectarianism is less violent than formerly; warlike and warring sects are burying the hatchet. All Methodist subdivisions are seeking restoration and union; the many-headed Presbyterian Church is proposing to fuse and weld all into one general assembly; and a mighty effort is already making to mould all evangelical religious faiths into one vast omnipotence, to tread down all opposition, and carry the world by storm.

To do this, there is of course much seeming charity and liberality among sects heretofore as rigid and unyielding as adamant.

All this the Free Religionists, Spiritualists, and other Liberalists of that type, with a most mysterious kindness and infatuation, construe into a gain to their side and their sentiment; and so excuse or justify an indifference towards their own mission of life in this world such have any mission more than dashrooms which die in sunshine), as disreputable to themselves as it must be destructive and ruinous to their cause.

Let all such beware of such softening and surrendering on religious dogma and doctrine. The Church and clergy know well what they are about.

PARKER PILLSBURY.

CONCORD, N. H.

THE UNTENABLE ASSUMPTION OF "REVELATION."

There can be no peace between science and theology until the latter abandon all dogmas founded upon the assumption of "revelation." Without this abandonment their reconciliation is forever impossible. The main trouble does not arise from the antagonism of their statements, but from the assumption that science, as an interpreter of the Supreme Will, can have a rival. As we hear very often from the pulpits, there is no quarrel between religion and science, and can be none; but religion is one thing and a theology based upon the Bible as a revelation from God entirely another thing, with which science can never affiliate. There is an "irrepressible conflict" between science and "revelation." The conflict is not between science and what is claimed to be revealed, but between science and the principle of revelation. It is a waste of time for ministers to attempt to reconcile their dogmas with the facts of science. The trouble is far deeper. We know science to be "God's word"; but revelation is hearsay, a kind of evidence not allowed against a chicken thief. Many free-thinkers are being misled by the attitude science has driven the Church into of modifying its interpretation of the Bible, so as to make it conform to demonstrated scientific facts. They would keep in mind that, so long as the foundation is false, the superstructure is unsafe; which false foundation is the assumption that God's laws are revealed through any other medium than the works of nature.

Any candid mind sufficiently intelligent to be interested on this subject will need no explanation as to what is meant here by the term revelation as contradistinguished from "the works of Nature." It is not incumbent on the free-thinker to show that the Bible to this age is mainly incredible. He should plant himself on easier ground. Indulge the sentimental veneration that claims for the Bible

"the embodiment of all wisdom"; but when "God spake" is quoted, "object" that it is not scientific.

The theology of science is within the comprehension of the most simple. The faith of its devotees is strengthened by every new discovery of truth. Contrary to the history of all other systems, scepticism in regard to it recedes as enlightenment advances. If men having a turn for religion (whatever it may mean to them) desire a reliable groundwork for their faith expressed in form of dogma, the great book of Nature, whose truths no new system of theology can invalidate, is ever within reach. Literally, there are no other truths than scientific truths. The Bible contains no other. A religious truth is scientific or nothing. Whatever truths are in the Bible were from science. God did speak, but only through science. I see in THE INDEX of May 13, now before me, an essay by James Freeman Clarke, in which he sanctions the dogma of Christ's supernaturalism. The severest strain my faith receives in the final triumph of free religion comes from the fact that men I know to be sincere, whose abilities I marvel at and admire, and whose very presence is a magnet to even a stranger's love, can give their support to dogmas founded on conceptions of Deity for which I can give no adequate indications of my contempt and abhorrence. How can men ever agree as to what is right whose differences spring from such a depth? But, Mr. Editor, do not let me discourage you. Z.

"TOO MUCH GOVERNMENT."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

If the writer of the article in THE INDEX of May 13, headed "Too Much Government," had meant by the phrase that the masses of the community are suffering from "too much government" in the sense that they are too much governed, I could readily agree with him. But if, as the article itself reveals, he meant that the people in their collective capacity have too much power, and in their individual capacity too little, I must dissent; and I ask the privilege of stating the reasons for my dissent.

The writer starts with the proposition, attributed to Jefferson, that "that country is governed best which is governed least." The statement appears to me to be a fallacy,—at all events when applied to a government that is the collective will of the people expressed through their representatives.

The theory of the American government is that it is "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people"; and I do not think that the writer of the article will dispute the principle of that theory.

The necessity for government at all lies in the fact that the community needs to be protected, not only from persons outside of the community, but from some of its individual members. Experience has shown, as every one will admit, that human nature possesses faculties and propensities necessary to be developed within certain limits, but injurious to the rest of the community when not directed or restricted by some authority.

In a democracy, that authority is public opinion which we call government. It is the first duty of government to secure to every member of the community the full possession of all his rights, and it involves the prevention of the encroachment of any member upon the rights of others.

This duty can only be performed by placing the power to govern within the hands of the government.

Now, in order to ascertain whether the evils of society are owing to too much power having been placed in the hands of the collective authority, we ought to decide what the ultimate governing power really is, and by whom it is possessed; because, if it should appear that the powers that govern society are not subject to collective authority, collective authority is not responsible for evils that it is too weak to prevent or to cure.

Can any one doubt that the supreme power in this community to-day is *wealth*—the national wealth? If it can be shown that the control of this wealth is exercised by the government, I will admit that we have "too much government"; but, if it can be shown that the ownership and control of the national wealth is in the hands of individuals and large corporations, then the responsibility for the evils complained of does not rest upon the government, but upon the community that has placed, or has allowed to remain, such vast powers in the hands of a few of its members.

In a nation where the control of the national wealth is subject to one man, the government is subservient to his will and pleasure, and is good or bad according to the character or ability of the despot.

In a nation where the control of such wealth is entirely in the hands of a landed aristocracy, the government is subservient to the interests and will of such aristocracy.

In a nation where the control of such wealth is in the hands of a small class of its citizens, that class possesses the governing power of such nation, and really controls all its public interests.

Is not the latter case that of the United States to-day?

Is it not patent to all observers that the power that controls elections, legislation, and public official appointments, is *wealth* in the hands of influential corporations and various private interests of comparatively few persons?

Is it not also evident that they use the power accompanying the possession and control of the national wealth to further their own interests, not those of the public, and to encroach still further, as opportunity offers, upon the rights and independence of their fellow-citizens?

But I fear that I have already occupied too much

of your space in endeavoring to establish only one point. Still it is an important one, and I think you will admit that, if the power that really governs is outside of the government and controls it, then the remedy may be, not in taking from, but in adding to, the government of the collective authority of the whole people. W. G. H. S.

WINE AND LAGER BEER vs. INTEMPERANCE AND CRIME.

The Santa Barbara (Cal.) Weekly Press says that there are a large number of breweries in that city, and that the American population have largely adopted the German habit of using lager beer and light wines in place of whiskey, "greatly to their advantage."

The same issue of the Press (April 17) contains the message of Mayor Richards, from which we learn that the city is remarkably free "from vice and crime of all kinds"—that "the Police Court has literally nothing to occupy it, and the city jail is almost continuously without a tenant. . . . Especially is the vice of drunkenness of small proportions, and seems likely to grow less in our midst."

These statements are respectfully commended to the attention of Dr. Miner and the editor of the National Temperance Advocate. Let them compare this state of things with those in another new city, in New England, where under Prohibitory law strong and bad liquors have been surreptitiously consumed instead of wine and beer, which the law has equally prohibited. Rev. Mr. Higgins, of Gloucester Mass., in a recent discourse in that city, published in the Gloucester Advertiser (March 19) represents that there are "two hundred dram-shops" in operation there, and that "gambling-dens and brothels abound," while vice, and crime, and poverty are correspondingly prevalent.

Let our teetotal and prohibition champions look on this picture, and then on that.

J. L. HATCH.

SANTA CLARA, Cal., April 25.

P. S.—Another new city is San José, Cal., of about the same population as Gloucester (15,000), where regulation instead of prohibition has ruled, and where, as in Santa Barbara, native wines and lager beer are largely used instead of whiskey; there are but eighty dram-shops (instead of two hundred); gambling-dens and brothels are very few; and drunkenness, poverty, and crime comparatively rare.

J. L. H.

BEFORE A MAN can be a king of business or a king of men, he must be monarch of himself. A great part of the secret of being able to control others is self-control. There is a great deal in merely being able to feel money in your pocket and not spend it. I must own that it is a very rare gift with the literary class. I have known a young writer on receiving \$30 for an article invite a friend to drive with him and order two bottles of \$6 wine. Such men, whatever their talents, usually remain drudges all their lives. The simple reason, in fact, why property, always and everywhere, gets into such enormous masses, is that it is the nature of the strong to husband their resources and themselves, and it is the nature of the weak to squander both. If you want to test a young man and see whether Nature made him for a king or a subject, give him a thousand dollars and see what he will do with it. If he is born to conquer and command, he will put it quietly away till he is ready to use it as opportunity offers. If he is born to serve, he will immediately begin to spend it in gratifying his ruling propensity. That propensity may be, usually is, perfectly innocent. In my youth, for example, books were my temptation, and many a fierce tussle I have had with myself, while standing before the window of a bookseller. The first time in my life that I ever had \$2 all at once, I instantly bought a Shakespeare with it. Knowing my weakness, I used to leave my money at home when I had any, in order not to be surprised into buying a book; but feeling that this was base cowardice, a contemptible avoidance of the enemy, I afterwards made it a point always to have money in my pocket. Often I have courted temptation, standing long before a window gazing upon some particular book that I had been longing to possess for many months, and then stalking away with a proud consciousness that I might have bought it, and didn't. But in my case this was not strength, but mere vulgar necessity. The strong are they who really might lawfully and properly indulge an expensive taste, and yet can wait till they can indulge it with absolute safety.—James Parton.

THE Advance, alluding to the objection of the Catholics, that the schools are "godless" because they do not give religious instruction, says:—

"There might be some force in this objection, if it were true that all the education which our children receive must be given during the school hours. But this is not so. The secular studies and methodical discipline of the school-room do not interfere in the slightest degree with appropriate religious instruction at home—nor yet with special religious instruction out of school hours by the priest or any other religious instructor. We are glad to see the necessity of religious culture urged, by whomsoever it is done; but our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens must not expect others to be influenced by the sophistry of the 'Godless schools' argument until, at least, we see the Romish priesthood telling parents they must not, under any circumstances, send their child to the meat-market, unless the butcher before delivering the package of sirloin or chop will see to it that the little fellow first recites a bit from the catechism, and an Ave or two to the Virgin Mary.

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1875.

WHOLE No. 284

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in:—

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures should be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

INDIGESTION being defined as the "remorse of the stomach," remorse is now defined as the "indigestion of the conscience."

KING GEORGE was got rid of by the Revolutionary War, King Cotton by the Civil War; but King Caucus still remains. Can we not break his sceptre without a war?

THE "Friends of Human Progress" hold their twenty-seventh Annual Meeting at Waterloo, N. Y., on the twelfth and thirteenth of June. Giles B. Stebbins, George W. Taylor, H. L. Green, C. D. B. Mills, and others, are expected to address the meeting.

REV. JAMES MCGLEW, a Catholic priest of Chelsea, Mass., has been sued for slander in the sum of \$2,000 by Robert C. Fanning, one of his congregation, because the reverend father denounced him as living in "mortal sin" on account of having been married by a civil magistrate, and not by himself. The priest has spoiled his own case in a Catholic point of view by admitting the validity of the marriage. If he had been pluckier, he would have denied it. The matter is not yet settled.

REV. PHILLIPS BROOKS said last week that "Christ was really at the root of all our modern commerce—its life and inspiration." It is well understood that Christ is at the root of the Church; but if he is at the root of "all our modern commerce," including the Whiskey Ring frauds, he ought to be extradited and sent to the penitentiary. In filching for Jesus all the glory of "modern commerce," Mr. Brooks is a trifle incautious; the argument he handles carries a sting in its tail, and may do him a mischief.

THE PARIS correspondent of the *Nation* said in a recent letter: "I could not have imagined a few years ago that the *rabies theologica* could have seized the men of my generation as it has done lately." And he adds that Bismarck "has so entangled the spiritual question with the ordinary rivalries of nations and races that the world may feel itself on the eve of a hundred-years war." There are finer senses of perception than are possessed by the complacent people who scout all warning words as "alarmism." The "era of good feeling" is never eternal, but precedes a storm that is sure to come.

THE BOSTON *Journal* of May 19 says: "The legislature has concluded that the report of the Commissioners on Taxation involved so many important principles, and affected so nearly many vital interests, that it would be wiser not to attempt any change in the law, but to allow the next legislature to consider the subject. It is doubtful whether that body will be any better qualified than the present to discuss this important question, and so we shall drift along. The mass of information collected by the Commissioners will always prove of the highest value, however, and something has been gained in this respect, as we have a starting point secured."

THE CATHOLIC Bishop McQuaid made this menacing declaration in a recent address at Cincinnati: "I stand here and say that, unless we bring this thing of the school taxes to the ballot box, we do not deserve the name of Catholics. It may not be necessary to bring it to the ballot-box; we may, by making a demand, effect a compromise; we may obtain a platform on which we can stand. Politicians will come to us. Irish, German and American Catholics will not be so patient as their fathers have been. The platform of the schools is not now for us. It is for Jews, for Infidels, for Protestants, but we are under it. Suppose we get strong enough to rise up. Remember, the platform is on us; where will the platform be then? Men will learn that we have something more to do than praying; we must vote, and the laymen must work."

REV. WILLIAM G. ELIOT, D. D., of St. Louis, has proved himself to be the Disraeli of American Unitarianism. Although one of the most determined of conservatives, he has by a sudden leap placed himself at the head of the radicals. At the recent meeting of the Western Unitarian Conference at Chicago, he introduced resolutions "deprecating and deploring the action of the American Unitarian Association in its effort to limit the fellowship of the Unitarian body," and demanding the "restoration" of Mr. Potter's name to the *Year Book* list of Unitarian ministers! The Conference passed these resolutions unanimously by a rising vote!!! The rupture between the two wings of the Unitarian denomination is fairly initiated by this action. The Western Conference now declares that the refusal of a Unitarian minister to accept the Christian name does not interfere with his right to be regarded as a Unitarian minister; and its vote is tantamount to throwing Christianity overboard—though it does not intend or perceive this result. But the Eastern Unitarians perceive it plainly enough, and will never accept it. A split is inevitable.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON read his lecture on "Eloquence" to an invited company at Mrs. Sargent's last Wednesday. It was a privilege indeed to listen once more to this venerated prophet of the new age, whose commanding character lends to every word he utters such weight as nothing else can give. Mr. Weiss well said that some young man will arise in the future to quote Mr. Emerson's own words as the best illustration of the subject of his present paper; and he instanced, with rare felicitousness, Mr. Emerson's characterization of the grand principles of the Declaration of Independence, which Rufus Choate had called "glittering generalities," as being on the contrary "blazing ubiquities." There is no other man living in America who so extorts the reverence of the forward-looking minds of the century,—not only by the majesty of his thought and spirit, but equally by the supreme purity and nobleness of his personality. At the recent Centennial at Concord on the nineteenth of April, which we attended chiefly to hear Emerson once more in public, the only word of his brief address which we caught in the confusion of that vast assembly was the one word—"Nature." How fitting, how characteristic! This is indeed a great priest of Nature, and the world that once derided now delights to do him honor.

HOW FAR OFF now seems the vast convulsion of the Civil War, which remorselessly swallowed up so many of the precious young lives of this people! Ten years of peace, bought by their blood, have rolled over the land; and once more the mighty nation pauses to lay a few quick-fading flowers on their graves. This is the sacred Communion Service of the Church of the Republic—a holy memorial hour of Freedom's martyrdoms, a hushed remembrance of great agony of spirit, a reverential cherishing of gratitude and love to the heroic dead, a tribute of the universal heart to the sanctity of a grief that is now subdued to tender melancholy, yet still is swift to tremble into tears. Look, O ye blind clamorers against the destructiveness of Free Religion, at this new "Lord's Supper,"—this exquisitely beautiful institution of DECORATION DAY, sprung fresh from the innermost soul of the Great Republic, as a new creation of that religiousness which abides eternally in the human heart, and now pours itself out in spontaneous worship and homage to the divine majesty of natural Humanity. By the green graves of their many saviors, the people celebrate the great rite of Free Religion with boundless and unutterable reverence for the high virtues begotten by the love of liberty in common men; they have found their church in the Republic, their Messiahs in the heroes that died for them, their Holy Eucharist in the new Sacrament of Flowers.

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Public Morals and Public Reforms.

WESTON SUPER MARE, April 12, 1875.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Mr. Abbot.—The time which must intervene, when I read anything in THE INDEX, before any remarks on it which I can make appear in the paper acts more powerfully than I could have expected against my impulse to write. I find it prevents my taking a natural place in the circle of debates. More immediate calls for utterance in many directions draw me off. Moreover, when I see the amplitude of the communications which press in and fill your columns, this also seems to cry aloud that I am not wanted.

Not but that, I confess, I am very often put into a pugnacious spirit by what I read in THE INDEX, alike from your pen and that of your co-editor, Mr. Stevens. Of Atheism I say nothing, nor of Spiritualism. If you will accept a few remarks as from a very friendly spirit, without imposing on me the duty of looking out in the back numbers and verifying as yours or his the judgments which I oppose, I have something to write on two topics.

I. Politically, the very weakest point of J. Stuart Mill's doctrine was his wish to disown or bring to a minimum the moral action of the State. This is precisely to play the game of popery. [I now say popery, not Catholicism.] The "Catholics," as they wish to be called, have no longer a shadow of right to complain if we never call them anything but papists. The English non-conformists have at last found this out. In my younger days the leading spirits among them went beyond J. S. Mill; for they deprecated national education, saying that it was only in harmony with a military monarchy like Prussia, which desired to indoctrinate a nation and keep it in leading strings. Education should be left to the discretion of private citizens and to the voluntary zeal of churches. The State should do nothing, but, according to Joseph Hume's favorite phrase, "protect persons and property." In short, the State was to set in action the policeman, the judge, the hangman, and the soldier; but not to train the intellect or care for the morals of a nation. When pressed with the argument, "Do you desire lotteries again to be made legal? Would you legalize gambling-houses?" they had a shabby reply, that clerks and shopmen were tempted by such opportunities to embezzle their employers' money, in foolish hope of being able to replace it by success; and that, where others would be ruined by a man's vice, the State was justified in interfering. I call this shabby, because it was only a money question which opened the eyes of the disputant; who ought to have known that not the vice of gambling only, but every great vice, ruins others besides the vicious man. When another topic was urged (if one had a quiet opportunity); namely, "Do you desire the laws against brothels and procurers to be repealed?" this, as far as I can attest, made religious persons aware that they were going too far in saying that the State had no moral duties.

I do not know, but I think, that J. S. Mill desired to have no marriage laws, and no restriction on the sale of a woman's person, by herself or by her agents, privately or publicly. The broad principle which he avowed, that "society" has no right even to stigmatize "immorality" by opinion, by exclusion from intimacy, by pulpit preachings, seems to carry with it *à fortiori* an intense disapproval of all State-action for morality as such. He resented it as a great impertinence of "society" that people were scandal-

ized, when he travelled and lodged in hotels with another man's wife, who at pleasure left her husband and stayed for days at his house. The admirers and disciples of such teaching are sure to carry out to its logical but worst extreme its weakest sides. But J. S. Mill himself, if he had been a despotic ruler (so deep a fund of real goodness was in him), I make no doubt, would have raised barriers of defence for minor girls against the league of avarice and lust, and have enacted such wise regulations for the equal reward of women's work to men's for the same service, as to remove the causes of our basest vices and direst evils. He had a wonderful reserve of exceptions and pleas for common sense, unforeseen by most who studied only his generalities. But to me his general statements are emphatically erroneous. Not only is "society" right in concerning itself with the moral conduct and moral principles of its members, but the right is one of self-defence, and vital to its existence. We of necessity are concerned to know whether our neighbors are sharpers and robbers, or honest and kindly men; whether, if allowed access to our families, they are safe companions for our children; whether they are admissible as suitors to our daughters; in short, what sort of intercourse between them and us is permitted by prudence. And if we find our neighbors to be (according to our standard) immoral, self-defence impels us to one or other course; either to migrate into some more congenial society, or labor as we best may to reform those around us,—thus indulging in what J. S. Mill calls impertinent criticism. Inaction will sink us towards the level of their immorality.

The considerations which induce each family privately to concern itself with the morals of its neighbors are equally efficacious on the State collectively. To understand the motives and the necessities, we must look to a small community,—say, in an island of the Pacific, in single tribes of American Indians, or in an ancient Greek city. The first business of such a State may be to defend the public crops from marauders, and the persons of the community from kidnappers. To defend the crops is beyond the power of individuals, and is almost identical with maintaining the frontiers unchanged. An aggressive neighbor pushes his own frontier forward by first plundering and desolating, making a margin of cultivation unsafe and useless, until he can seize it for himself. In this stage of things domestic police is of less importance than public defence: each head of a household must protect his family and its goods.

Does, then, Joseph Hume's maxim that the State must only care to defend persons and property really make the interference of the State in morals an impertinence? Nay, but in this stage its intrusion into morals is apt to be carried to its maximum. What is its measure of morals—*mos majorum*, "the custom of ancestors"? For eccentricity of opinion there can be little tolerance. Every grown man is counted on as a warrior liable to serve the public at call. He must submit to juvenile training in the use of weapons: he must learn obedience: he must keep his body in a fit military condition. His dress, or his no-dress and paint, are matters regulated for him. Liberty, when in actual involuntary service, there is none; and at other times less liberty than we now enjoy; for, in a little community to which every man is important, all are concerned to watch all. To the collective society, *i. e.*, to its supreme council, which guides the whole, it is highly important to know the moral qualities of individuals,—whether they are faithful, brave, just, steady, capable of exercising command beneficially; or on the contrary passionate, avaricious, volatile, fickle, and false. Even from a military point of view it is of intense interest to the State to have its citizens *virtuous*, taking the word virtue as men in that stage understand it: and, unless it embraces a large range, and more than we now succeed in securing, weak communities cannot hold together. Sensual vices, at which powerful States wink, are unendurable in the earlier stage. As drunkenness in a soldier, or gluttony which makes him sleepy, may endanger an army, such vice is not treated leniently. Habitual over-eating in time of peace, which makes the body unwieldy and unfit for war, is accounted to be a public offence, liable to be corrected by forcing the person to run races under the whip of bystanders, and thus thin down his fat. A little State is apt to be overwhelmed by its neighbors, if its population decay; hence it cannot but look earnestly to the growth of families and be displeased at bachelorhood, and at vices which lessen the number of its stout defenders. Laws of marriage and laws to promote marriage within suitable years, laws to forbid the birth of children without responsible and able parents, were regarded, and rightly regarded, as of prime necessity. Thus, even when the end proposed is simply the defence of a small community from pressing enemies, the nature of things forces the State to concern itself with the morals of the citizens.

When conquest has consolidated political communities into larger masses, the State, attaining robust existence, is no longer so obviously endangered by private vice; and it often happens that notorious vice indulged in by princes or high officers makes their punishment of the same in lower persons invidious. But this does not alter three facts, which remain immovable: (1.) that the comfort, safety, physical and moral welfare of each household, depends more on the morals of the surrounding community than on anything else: (2.) that laws and institutions, fundamentally bad, promote immorality too emphatically for anything to counteract, and, when good, lay the best and surest foundation for the ennoblement and general welfare of the nation: (3.) that private vices sap the strength of the strongest nation, and prepare its humiliation or destruction. Thus at every time, in every stage of national existence, the private citizen has an urgent in-

terest in the morals of those who surround him, and a direct just motive to claim from the State a solicitude for the public morals; and the State, whether in self-defence, or in wise concern for the people of whom it is the organ and representative, is bound to exercise such solicitude.

Why should such men as Joseph Hume or J. Stuart Mill ever have been jealous of this? Did they not know that freedom without morality is impossible? Did they fancy that virtue was slavery? No: but they unjustly took for granted, that a State which was anxious for virtue would set up a *sectarian* idea of virtue, perhaps dictated by some traditional church; and, under pretence of caring for virtue, would promote sacerdotal ambition. Under this fear they advanced a theory which practically aggrandizes the priest, and debases the statesman. English non-conformists have a century back applauded the idea, that to educate the people was the business of the churches, not of the State. "Moral teaching" (said many a Baptist or Independent minister to himself) "belongs to us: what can statesmen know about it? Let them keep to their own domain, to see that we are well paved, well drained, well lighted, and well guarded: let them arrest pickpockets, ride down highway robbery, and beat off foreign enemies: but let them not try to indoctrinate our people: leave that to us." So soon as Lord Grey's Reform of Parliament admitted Dissenters in mass to share the central organ of power, the new theory (soon called Puseyism) sprang up in the clergy, which regarded the State with alarm, desired the separate independence of the Church, and claimed the public education for the Church, as distinct from the State. Thenceforward for near forty years Church and Dissent struggled, which of the two should have the educating of the people. Each was very liberal, each taxed its own members by moral pressure. New schools arose on every side; new training-schools for masters were established by the State, which was ever increasingly lavish in its grants to voluntary schools of either side. But meanwhile the same State promoted drunkenness by a perpetual increase of drinking-shops, and experience has proved that the worst part of the population (the children of drinking parents) cannot be got into the schools. The non-conformists have at last been driven to confess that the State, as such, must conduct national education; but the Anglican Church, vehemently reinforced by the Catholics, calls this "godless," and contends for the principle that only a priest can or may teach morals. To hold Joseph Hume's maxim, I say, is to play the sacerdotal game. The papacy has regained its hold on France in seventy years, solely through the ambition of two Napoleons. The first Napoleon, to make himself an emperor, crowned by the Pope and marriageable to the old European dynasties, gave over the moral teaching of France to the Catholic priesthood, who (their French independence being confiscated) leaned on the Pope for support, and quickly became Ultramontane. Charles X. tried to commit the public instruction to the Jesuit Order, but was expelled from the throne for other offences before his schemes could bear fruit. The second Napoleon (who called himself the third) bought his election to the presidency by promises to the priesthood; and, when by his perfidy to his oath of office he had made the Republicans incapable, was constrained by his fears always to play for priestly support. Hence in his twenty years of power the papal party, in fact the Jesuits, educated France; and on France, Belgium, and Ireland now base their hopes for the future.

The cardinal idea of priesthood now is to indoctrinate the people with its own sectarian morals. Catholics who condescend to open to me their grievances complain of it bitterly as *persecution*, that Catholic children should pass many hours of the day in a school which has no pictures of the saints hung up on the walls. "Without this," they say, "tender minds cannot imbibe the peculiar reverence for saints which we regard as essential." But we need not appeal to extreme fantasies. If you want breadth of moral view, you must not appeal to any particular church as arbiter in morals. Each is apt to superadd specialties of its own; either by over-estimating some virtues and depressing others, or inventing fictitious virtue. Sometimes by the very force of its history, a church wholly omits one portion of moral teaching. The contest just now between Popery and governments is distinctly on this: "To whom do the children of a country belong?" The Pope says, "They are mine." "Nay," replies every statesman, in the name of his government, "They are ours;" ours to "educate, morally as well as industriously." If the papal policy prevail, England, the American Union, and Germany will be rent into churches as Turkey is; patriotism will take the form of zeal for one or other church; intermarriage will be confined within the limits of each ecclesiastical body; the community, reared in isolated repulsion, will have no cohesiveness; and, even if not otherwise immoral, will be essentially weak against the foreigner, since it will have no politics but ecclesiasticism.

I am aware that many persons in the American Union, who are decided and downright on the necessity of national education, are jealous, nevertheless, of legislation based on moral views. In part, this may arise from a perception how many ambitious persons, scarcely affecting to be virtuous, worm themselves into high places. Such men are not likely to originate beneficial law; yet in public debate of a moral question they are not at all likely to be influential. In vice which enslaves its victim it is often observed that the vicious man pleads on the side of virtue. In Maine, I understand, the votes of drunkards carried the original Maine Law, to the surprise of public men; so in England our hard-drinkers prevalently take side against the drink-shops. Indeed, so far as a vague survey of history can guide us, it does

not appear that either princes in secret council, or Parliaments which debate publicly, ever pass laws with the avowed object of favoring the vices to which individuals among them are attached; the worst attributed to them is neglect to punish such vice, or efforts to screen it, when others would drag it into light and destroy it. This increases the difficulty of attaining good and wise laws, but certainly cannot tend to prove that laws to promote morality are not good and wise.

If any one limit national education to industrial training, he may consistently maintain its rightfulness, while denying that the State ought to concern itself for the public morals. But in no great nation of Christendom is so limited a view taken of education; nor could it be justified. In proportion as law and constitutions become complex, a citizen's duties need to be taught. To attain the skill which can earn an honest livelihood is highly important,—perhaps is the first matter of all; but it does not supersede the necessity of learning what the law exacts of him, or what are the duties of each citizen. The State is concerned in making each proud of his native institutions, in order that he may patriotically uphold them, and, by industry attaining homely welfare, may become conservative of the public weal. Thus moral interest and moral training recur, as the necessary duty and claim of the State. It need hardly be added that herein the great historical philosophers of the East and of the West are agreed.

II. There are those who fancy they are philosophic by deprecating zeal for REFORMS IN DETAIL. A ready stone to fling at every reformer, moral or political, is to call him "a man of one idea." The imputation is always plausible, and, true or false, is readily believed. Sometimes it is emphatically false, yet apparently true. In the hard work of a campaign, the general and the responsible officers, the surgeons and the nurses, have little time for anything but the work immediately to be done; and, however much their brains may abound with thought, all must lay aside or sacrifice other ideas to the one idea of the campaign. Indeed, the one idea may be so full of meaning that to maintain and develop it against the surrounding enmities is the task of a life full of various and noblest virtue. Such was eminently the case with the struggle against slavery. If we now see that through the half-heartedness of politicians and the obstinacy of old oppressors the work of liberation is but half completed, is that a reason for treating the zeal of freedom as "a glittering illusion," and warning us against one-sidedness? To deprecate action against concrete evil, and teach us to be satisfied with "science," *i. e.*, with mere talk of generalities, is to do exactly what the upholders of every injustice wish.

The mass of a nation cannot learn morals, nor justice, nor science of any kind in the abstract. A book on the "Whole Duty of Man" is generally dull, and seldom of practical avail. The science of morals, in modern acceptance, chiefly consists in its metaphysical basis; practical morals are developments out of a few broad precepts or principles. The majority of men and women pass through life, entirely unaware that this or that conduct in detail is virtually commanded or forbidden by some general principle with which they are familiar. Or again, some conduct which they know to be a violation of morality is so common that they suppose it is somehow inevitable, and cannot be severely blamed. It is very hard to unteach them by any argument, any parade of science. Until some practical crisis arrive, that shows in how downhill a course they are going, an angel from heaven might preach in vain. But when the crisis arrives, which a wise man sees to be the great opportunity, he must despise the outcry which would disparage him as a man of one idea. Whatever is the deadly national vice, or sin, or crime, at any moment, that is the fit subject of attack, if there be enough of political freedom to make the attack possible. In France at this moment good men and women avow that they must somehow conquer the right of free public meeting and free press, before it is physically possible for them to contend against the vice which they know and see to be eating out the heart and strength of the nation. It may be so. A more irregular form of preaching, reminding one of John the Baptist, Jesus, and the apostles,—which perhaps our men of science would call fanatical,—may be the only one now possible to France. Men who boast of calm and comprehensive views have seldom any taste for martyrdom. Their praise of quietly expecting gradual improvement is more selfish than heroic; nor is it in that way that injustice and immoralities or sacerdotal usurpations are subdued. To be patient under other people's misery is not a very difficult virtue. To begin by professing admiration of reformers, to proceed to disparage them, and presently to entitle them (or at least insinuate that they are) benevolent busy bodies, manipulators, tinkers, and hobby-riders, moves my indignation. Forsooth, like the Deity, we are to look, not to partial and immediate results, but to a comprehensive and gradual fulfilment, and thus are to become philosophic coöperators with one another and with him. As if we were gods! As if we were capable of anything but aiding the principal struggles of our own day! As if one great contest, such as that against a persecuting church, or that against lawless royalty, or that against female degradation, or that against the use and free traffic in intoxicating drinks or drugs, were not sufficient for the intellect and spare energies of nine hundred and ninety-nine persons out of a thousand! It was an axiom with Mr. Cobden that "a nation can only have one agitation at a time." This is not true to the letter; for a nation has more than one circle of publicity; but, if interpreted that the agitation cannot become truly national, the statement is probably correct. A movement which is to be carried into politics, and effected by State power, must

be sharply limited, must not affect to do more than its own work; nay, its friends must be highly delighted, if they can succeed in making the measure as large and complete as it ought to be. This is the real difficulty. Timid friends, and false friends, and avowed opponents always conspire to make every measure of reform too narrow, and complicate it with wanton mischievous exceptions. The true reformers by their utmost effort seldom or never can hinder this. Is then the self-styled philosopher to moralize over their failure, and censure their narrowness? If it be replied: "Such failure is incident to all State-action, and is a reason for not fleeing to politics at all, but trusting to science and moral suasion," this is precisely, as I said above, to do what the upholders of every injustice desire. We have inherited, or they have managed to enact, oppressive or pernicious laws, under which the innocent are crushed; and now we are forbidden by a student of philosophy to contend for the repeal of such laws! He calls it "violence," if we do; and says we are "likely to become bigots and scolds." He tells us that "God himself is still alive, and able to do a little something on his own account"! Does this philosopher believe that God sends down angels with flaming swords to kill unjust men, and redress the wrongs of the innocent? or does he advise us to expect that, if we are inactive and long-suffering under public iniquity, help from heaven will come miraculously? It seems, we are to open our mouths and shut our eyes, and God will give us sugar-plums; only we must not be so naughty as to scold, or so bigoted as to hate oppression? What other bigotry is intended I cannot conjecture.

Let all who are pretenders to philanthropy, all who are not utterly selfish, open their eyes to the existing facts. We inherit laws eight hundred or a thousand years old, which are all called sacred, and are enforced by the vast and irresistible energy of a national executive. These laws were made in barbarous times by rude men, often illiterate, generally accustomed to measure their rights by the sword. The laws have been overthrown at pleasure in one country by princes and their ministers, in another tampered with and tinkered for better or worse by the interests of each class as it has become powerful. A prodigious mass of new legislation has been added by like influences, not least while continuous public wars distracted the nations from home affairs, if any influence over legislation remained to an impartial public. In Europe violent revolution or high-handed acts of discerning despots have changed for the better the tenure of the soil; but England inherits in her laws of land a terrible disease. You in America by your revolution cut the chain binding you to the past, but you proceeded to exasperate and glorify your worst mischief by local codes in the South concerning slaves and the colored race. You have had recent bitter experience that the domineering, aggressive slave-holders could not be restrained by philosophy and fine talk. Greatly delighted they would have been, if you had refused even to "scold" wickedness, and waited till evolution should liberate the slaves. The gospel of evolution means that we are to surrender ourselves philosophically to FATE; like a Turk, who, when burnt out of his house, sits down at the opposite side of the road and finishes his pipe. Evolution, if your North had held this form of philosophy, would have evolved slavery over Pennsylvania, New York, and the entire basin of the Mississippi; and New England would have had a perpetual life-struggle against an overwhelming Slave Confederacy. I do not deny or doubt that in time, if you had been patient, calm, and philosophical, the whole system would have exploded in a series of interminable local wars, and after fifty years more you might have attained the place of a South American republic with a military dictator. To talk of evolution in politics as superseding good men's activity, is simply to say, "Let the most unscrupulous and violent have their own way."

Undoubtedly the number of reforms called for, and the number of societies, is a grave inconvenience and difficulty. Discuss them one by one, and perhaps five out of six make out an adequate case. It is not ancient and barbarous law alone, or chiefly, under which we suffer. While we are contending to repeal one evil law or systematic practice of the Executive, three more bad laws are passed before we are aware. To acquiesce under them is easy for individuals whom they do not touch, or touch sensibly; but such conduct seems to me selfish. Perhaps I may be thought "a scold" for saying so. But if we are to oppose them, we have no choice but to take them one by one; we must systematically display their evil; we must be willing to be disparaged as narrow-minded, and bigoted, and ascetics, and a great deal more, and to suffer evil report among good people through plentiful slander (for slander is one of the tools familiar to the advocates of oppression), and to be snubbed by philosophers as wanting in comprehensiveness. Only by perseverance and by "pegging away" in details is obstinate injustice anywhere subdued.

F. W. NEWMAN.

AFTER HAVING read all that is to be found in the language I am mistress of, and having decayed my eyesight by midnight studies, I envy the peace of mind of the ruddy milkmaid who, undisturbed by doubt, hears the sermon with humility every Sunday morning, having not confused the sentiments of natural duty in her head by the vain inquiries of the schools, who may be more learned, yet after all must remain as ignorant as she.—*Lady Mary Wortley to the Abbé Conti: 1718.*

WE OFTEN flatter ourselves that we swim, when it is only the current that carries us along.—*Lady Mary Montagu.*

SERVETUS.

BY D. G. PORTER.

On the 28th of August the examination seems to have been concluded, and the judgment of the Council declared him worthy of death. "Servetus," says Henry, "had gained in fortitude and prudence. Though he still sought some subterfuge by which to escape, it was now that the grace of God began to move his heart and to prepare him for death. It is probable that he found support in prayer. At this examination, in which sentence was pronounced upon him, he no longer asked for mercy, but declared that he would abide by his convictions." He continued, however, to express himself violently against Calvin, and this fact Stähelin regards as evidence of the incorrectness of Henry's opinion, above quoted, as to the prevalence of God's grace in his heart.

But it seems probable that about this time the leaders of the Libertines, the party opposed to Calvin, found means to communicate with Servetus, and to represent to him that if his case could be brought before the Council of the Two Hundred he might be acquitted, and that his chances might be improved by making a counter attack upon Calvin. He could certainly make such an attack with a good will, perhaps also with a good conscience. He accordingly petitioned to have his case referred to the Two Hundred, declaring himself willing to abide their decision. At the same time he denounced Calvin in the most violent terms, declaring him a heretic as well as a false accuser; and demanding that as such he should be held for trial, and if found guilty that he should be put to death or otherwise punished, and that his property should be given to himself in place of that which he had lost through his means.

This was a great mistake. He had nothing to gain by such a course. If the matter could really have been brought before the Two Hundred he might have escaped; and an attack upon Calvin there might have operated in his favor, as the opposition party were at this time a majority in this Council. But the Two Hundred could convene only at the call of the lesser council; and this body no more than Calvin was disposed to make such a disposition of their prisoner. To attack Calvin, therefore, before this Council, was only to beard the lion in his den; and the result could only be to render the members the more disinclined to regard the appeal. The opposition leaders probably intended in some way to assist him, but they had overrated their strength, or underrated that of the reformer. Servetus had taken the risk, and his destruction was, if possible, more certain than before.

Unfortunately, too, for the heretic, he had but a short time before objected to any civil tribunal; and the Council, willing to relieve itself of the responsibility of deciding theological questions, had consented that a statement of the case should be made in writing and referred to the ecclesiastical authorities of the four cantons, Berne, Zurich, Schaffhausen, and Basle. But the hopes of Servetus were now in another quarter. When, therefore, the accusation with extracts from his writings prepared by Calvin to be referred to the churches of the four cantons was sent to him, he made but a brief reply, defending his positions at some points, and at others declaring that Calvin had misunderstood or wilfully perverted his meaning.

The Council, however, for some reason, deemed it expedient to give Calvin the opportunity of reply to this rejoinder of Servetus, which he proceeded to do in a long and carefully-prepared document concluding with the following characteristic assertion: "Whoever thinks justly and wisely will acknowledge that the aim of Michael Servetus was the subversion of all religion through extinguishing the light of sound doctrine."

But Servetus, whose expectations of outside assistance were now at the highest, did not deign to make any formal reply to this second document. He contented himself with annotating the margin, chiefly with bold assertions of his doctrine and violent denunciations of Calvin. Then the two documents, with the brief, formal reply of Servetus to the first, and his marginal notes on the second, were sent out to the churches of the four cantons.

Calvin, with a fairness and sense of honor which seems almost incredible, had already written to his brethren, the guardians of Orthodoxy in the cantons—such of them, at least, as would be likely to have the most influence—to inform them that the case was to be referred to them for their opinion, and to indicate how important a right decision would be; as the opposition party in Geneva, from whom Servetus was expecting assistance, was violent and powerful at this time. "It was well known throughout Geneva," says Guizot, "that his letters would not fail to influence the answers from the cantons."

In fact, the opposition party, apparently discouraged in view of the powerful outside influence which was thus to be levied against them, seem at this point to have substantially given up the cause of the unhappy prisoner. "From that time," continues Guizot, "the passionate excitement of Servetus gave place to dejection and anguish. He was in prison, sick, and forsaken." The condition of the unhappy man, through the neglect or cruelty of the authorities, seems indeed to have been most pitiable. He was suffering greatly from cold, from sickness, and filth. He addressed a touching appeal to the Council, who appointed a committee to visit him, with directions to supply him with additional clothing.

AN ANABAPTIST PROTEST.

Early in October it was commonly reported that the decision of the cantons was adverse to

Servetus. There were some who at once raised their voices in his favor. Of these remonstrants Dr. Henry makes particular mention of David Jovis, a notable Anabaptist, and a very bad one, too, if the reports of his enemies are to be believed. He had himself been obliged to flee from his own country to avoid arrest, and, having like Calvin and Servetus changed his name for greater safety, was now living, beloved and respected, at Basle, where he was known as John of Brück. He wrote anonymously to the people of the Swiss communities, exhorting them to oppose the clergy in this terrible business.

"It is an incredible blindness," said he, "that the servants of Christ, who are sent to give life to the dead through the knowledge of the truth, should condemn the erring to death, and through temporal death expose their souls to eternal ruin. The right to pass such a sentence belongs to him alone who gave life and suffered death for our redemption. Were it lawful to put heretics to death there would be a general slaughter, for all religious parties regard their opponents as guilty of heresy. If Servetus be a heretic he ought to be admonished in a friendly manner, and then banished the State. The Lord himself will slay all false teachers with the breath of his mouth and not with the sword. The tares must be left to grow up with the wheat, and await the judgment which will take place at the end of the world."

Verily one is almost tempted to think, on reading these expressions, that the heresy of that time was more Christian than its Orthodoxy. We may remark in passing that Jovis himself remained safe during his life, under the concealment of his assumed name, and enjoyed till his death the respect and esteem of the citizens of Basle. He was, however, convicted of abominable heresies on a *post mortem* accusation, and his body was dug up and burned.

THE FINAL SENTENCE.

It was already the 18th of October when the answers from the cantons arrived. They were generally cautious and guarded in style and expression, but in substance they were such as Calvin desired. At the next assembling of the Council the members favorable to Servetus did not appear. At the last meeting, October 26, several were again absent; but Ami Perrin appeared, and moved, first, that the prisoner be acquitted, and, again, that his case should be referred to the Council of the Two Hundred. Both these propositions were promptly rejected. The Council then, by a decisive majority, decreed "that Michael Servetus should be led to Champel, and there burned alive and his body consumed to ashes." To this sentence were added the words, "and he shall be executed to-morrow and his books burned with him."

The jailor, accompanied by the officers of justice, entered the prison and announced to Servetus the decision of the Council. For a few moments he remained silent, as if struck dumb with astonishment and terror at the awful suddenness and certainty of his terrible doom. Then he broke forth into loud lamentations, and for a time seemed almost wild with terror and grief. It is said that he repeatedly cried, "Mercy! mercy!" in his native Spanish, as if entirely forgetful of his surroundings. Soon, however, he became quiet, and by prayer and confession commended himself to the mercy of God.

There is, we believe, an evident tendency, on the part of those who are anxious to justify Calvin, to dwell upon and perhaps to exaggerate the weakness of Servetus on this and other occasions, as going to show that he was not a true martyr. We may remark, however, that it is one thing to die for a speculation, or a belief which is reached as the result of logical processes, and another and a very different thing to die for one of the great essentials of the Christian faith which the believer may apprehend with his consciousness. Servetus seems, indeed, to have apprehended Christ in his consciousness, and to have held fast to him to the end. He never denied—nay, if the expression is permissible, he rather exaggerated—his divinity; but the idea of his eternal Sonship seemed to him, doubtless, to involve a contradiction in terms. He would call upon Christ as the Son of the eternal God, but not as the eternal Son of God. He admitted the eternal existence of the Logos—not, however, as a distinct Person of the Godhead, and believed that he became actually the Son of God when he became the Son of Man, and supposed that his eternal Sonship was to be explained by referring it to the idea of God, with whom the actual and essential, even if future, is regarded as a present reality. But this, like some of the other heresies of Servetus, was really a metaphysical speculation, such as most men would think it hard to be obliged to die for at the burning stake. We must honor Servetus for refusing at the last to deny even his intellectual convictions, even when moved by such terror of death. A comparison between his course and that of Galileo, when arraigned under similar circumstances, would not result favorably to the latter.

We are not informed how Servetus passed the night previous to his execution. We may conjecture, however, for as the morning of the terrible day dawned he was comparatively calm. The ministers of Geneva who had assisted Calvin in the prosecution could not be acceptable spiritual advisers for the unhappy man during his last hours, and Farel, who was now pastor at Neuchâtel, was sent for for the purpose. Farel seems to have confined his last labors with Servetus to a single point—his error respecting the person of Christ. But though Servetus professed himself a Christian, and acknowledged Christ as his Redeemer, he would not confess his eternal Sonship.

THE RECONCILIATION WITH CALVIN.

Farel then told him that if he would die as a

Christian he must be reconciled to Calvin. He had doubtless hated Calvin intensely, and assailed him repeatedly with reproachful epithets—though it must be admitted that his failings in this respect were not without the greatest provocation, perhaps not without excuse. He consented, however, to the reconciliation proposed. Calvin was sent for, and Servetus asked his forgiveness. Calvin's reply was characteristic of the man who was so habitually conscious of the entire correctness of his opinions and the entire rectitude of his conduct. "I protest," said he, "that I have never carried out any private animosity against you,"—a statement which Guizot takes the liberty to doubt, without, however, presuming to doubt that Calvin imagined he was telling the truth. One part of the reply we must allow Calvin to report for himself. "I reminded Servetus in prison," says he, "shortly before his death, that sixteen years before" (referring, it is supposed, to the proposed conference in Paris), "not without peril to my earthly life, I had offered to deliver him from his errors; and it would not have been my fault, had he manifested repentance, if all pious persons had not given him their hands."* Who, after reading this sentence, will presume to blame Calvin for the death of Servetus? Calvin then told him that he had neglected no duty of kindness and faithfulness towards him, but that he had received only insult and abuse in return. "And now," said he, "I have done with all that concerns myself personally. Ask pardon, not of me, but of God, whom you have blasphemed by attempting to disprove the Trinity, ridiculing it as a Cerberus, and of the Son of God, whom you have debased and denied." These words, as Guizot observes, were more likely to wound Servetus than to convince him. He remained silent. Calvin then withdrew. He did not ask forgiveness of the man whom he had deprived of position and property and liberty, and had relentlessly pursued through untold sufferings to a miserable death. He doubtless thought that he was fulfilling the eternal decrees, that his conduct was perfectly right.

THE EXECUTION.

Servetus was now led before the assembled Council, and the terrible sentence was read reminding him that he was soon to be burned alive, and his body consumed to ashes. "The unhappy prisoner cast himself at the feet of the magistrate at the very moment," says Dr. Henry, "when a martyr would have victoriously raised his eyes to heaven, and prayed that they might put him to death by the sword, lest by great pain he might be driven to despair and so lose his soul. If he had sinned, he said it had been through want of knowledge, for it had been his will and his aim to promote the glory of God." Farel also joined in the petition, which was, however, denied, perhaps in the hope that the terror of Servetus might lead him to recant.

He was now led forth to Champel, a wide elevation of ground about two miles from the city. The sun was shining brightly, and much of the most magnificent scenery of Switzerland—pleasant valleys and vine-clad hills, the forest verdure of the Jura mountains, the shining glaciers of Savoy, and the winding courses of the Arve and the Rhone—was in full view from the place of execution. Servetus prayed aloud as he went along, saying, "Jesus, thou Son of the eternal God, have mercy on me!" but he could not be induced to call upon the Savior as the eternal Son of God.

On reaching the fatal place, a stake was found firmly planted in the ground and a heap of wood lying in a circle around it. On beholding these preparations, Servetus threw himself on the ground and prayed awhile in silence. The zeal of Farel so far outran his sense of decency and propriety, that he did not hesitate to disturb the last prayer of the miserable man by improving the occasion to harangue the crowd. "You see," said he, "what power Satan has at command when he once gets possession of a man. Here is one, learned above most others, and who perhaps believed that he was acting right. He is now, however, possessed by the devil. Beware lest the same thing happen to yourselves!"

Servetus arose, and after having, at the suggestion of Farel, asked the prayers of the people, was led to execution. He was seated on a block in front of the stake, to which he was bound by a strong iron chain about his body and neck, and from which there was now no escape except through the torturing flames. His book, both the printed copy and the manuscript he had sent to Calvin for his opinion, was fastened to his body. It happened that the executioner was a bungler, and the usual contrivances to diminish the pain of the sufferer by inflicting a speedy death were so unskillfully arranged that they amounted to nothing. The wood was green oak, upon which the green leaves were still hanging.

When the fire was kindled and the first flash of the flames rose about the doomed man, he is said to have shrieked so frightfully that the people drew back in terror, and returned only to heap more wood upon the burning pile. The green wood of course burned slowly, and a strong wind is said to have prevented the free action of the fire. "For half an hour," says Stähelin, "if we may believe the report of his enemies, the mournful spectacle and the horrible torture endured, during which time the miserable man continually cried to God for mercy."

At length from the midst of the flame and smoke came the last, loud, anguishing cry: "Jesus, thou

*We have purposely chosen this cold-blooded statement of Calvin, as the most characteristic and truthful, rather than the one in which he speaks of tenderly addressing Servetus. To make Calvin speak of his tenderness towards Servetus at this crisis would be to subject him to a suspicion of insincerity which we should not care to have the task of removing.

Son of the eternal God, have mercy upon me!" Servetus had gone into the presence of God with his heresy upon his lips. It was noon on the 27th of October when his sufferings were ended. An hour later the multitude who had assembled to witness the execution, with gloom and horror still written upon their faces, turned slowly back to the city where reigned the "stern reformer" triumphant alike over heretics and Libertines. The executioners were still turning with their pikes a blackened and smoking carcass, and gathering about it the embers of the now-mouldering fire.—*Christian Union*.

SOME NEW THOUGHTS ABOUT THE BIBLE.

THE MAY MEETING OF THE ESSEX CONGREGATIONAL CLUB—ADAM THE FIRST AMERICAN CITIZEN—THE GARDEN OF EDEN IN CALIFORNIA—THE BUILDING OF THE ARK—THE INSPIRATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

The regular bi-monthly meeting of the Essex Congregational Club was held in Central Hall, Salem, last evening, the Hon. A. W. Dodge in the chair. Grace before supper was said by Professor Barbour, of the Bangor Seminary. After supper the essay of the evening, "Some New Ideas about the Bible," was read by Mr. F. W. Choate, of Beverly, who began his strikingly original paper with the remark that people were always hunting after new ideas, ever forgetting that there was nothing new under the sun. When any new and startling dogma of belief about the Bible was advanced, man had a right to demand from its author his reasons in detail. But when Omnipotence spoke to them whom he had created and kept in existence, and endowed with all the faculties of mind and body, another style of communication was expected; and "Thus saith the Lord" should be conclusive. The reply of God to Moses, when asked by him about his name, was, "I am that I am," and to the children of Israel, "I am sent you." The essayist for one fully believed in the inspiration of the Scriptures from the first verse in Genesis to the closing verse in Revelation, and he could not wish to any "God-speed" who denied the inspiration of the Bible or the divinity of Christ. No writer of fiction or impostor would have dared to begin the book of Genesis as it was done. What other account of creation had they except heathen mythology, which needed only to be read to be ridiculous? How simple the statement, yet how sublime! "Let there be light; and there was light." All that was ordered was accomplished. And if nine-tenths of the declarations made at that time were true beyond a doubt, why should they not take all the declarations as God's truths? Men might speculate as they pleased, they knew nothing of the creation but what the Bible told them. In that book they had a minute description of the Garden of Eden, which in the judgment of the essayist was located in this country, and as a matter of course was the home of our first parents. Learned men of all ages had been in doubt as to the situation of the Eden of the Bible, and at the present day hardly any two of them agreed as to its position. Many persons, having come to the belief without evidence, that no other country could claim the honor except Asia or Africa, forced a conclusion and located the garden in one or other of these lands. Had America been known for the last two thousand years as well as Europe, Asia, and Africa had been, less difficulty would be found in locating the Garden of Eden, or the residence of Adam and Eve and their offspring. The rivers noted in the Bible description they believed to have dried up, and they said little as to the land of Havilah where there was gold. The translation of the Hebrew did not help particularly. The Red Sea and the Mediterranean had not changed for thousands of years. The noble rivers have generally remained the same, and the essayist was assured that in this country all the requisites, boundaries, rivers, and products necessary to fix the location of the garden could be found. Utah had all the rivers answering the description, and California the same, and gold had abounded in those places from the time when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary.

The weight of all evidence that could be adduced was largely in favor of America as the Eden, and Adam in consequence was the first American citizen. And he also believed that the ark was built somewhere within this country. Savans supposed that Noah's shipyard was located either in Asia, Africa, or the part of Europe then known. But they were all wrong. He would admit the landing of the ark somewhere in Asia or Africa when the waters abated, and where he thought tablets engraved by Noah, containing extracts from his logbook, would yet be found. Now he thought it clear that it was God's design to place Noah and his family in a land far remote from his former residence, and where no monuments of their folly and wickedness might meet his descendants at every step. His reasons, therefore, for a belief in the ark having been built in this country were as follows: The proportions of the ark today make the best sea boats, that is, one-sixth of length for breadth of beam, and three-fifths of breadth for depth of hold; timber of the size and durability for the construction of the ark could be found in no other country; trees hundreds of years old can be found to-day on the Pacific slope in a perfect state of preservation, and if the ark was an hundred years in building, such wood was necessary. The cedars of Lebanon were not large. And after the ark was built it was many days drifting, and at the slow rate of two miles an hour she would have drifted many thousands of miles from the starting place, and finally did ground, no doubt, at an immense distance from where she started. The question had been asked, Did it rain before the flood?

He thought not. There were portions of the American continent where it never rained, larger than the whole of Palestine, and probably the only shower they ever had was during the flood. And how could they account for the finding of remains in this country of animals never known to have existed before, except in the theory of the general deluge? Mr. Choate then entered on a defence of the inspiration of the Bible, and closed with an allusion to the so-called "liberal Christianity" as caused by doubt and leading to destruction of belief.

A verse of Coronation was then sung, and the discussion of the essay, which produced a good deal of amusement, was taken up by the Rev. Mr. Coit, of Lawrence, the Rev. C. B. Rice, of Danvers, the Hon. A. W. Dodge, the essayist and others.—*Advertiser*, May 11.

SIR,—May I be permitted to observe, in answer to Mr. Allan, that although women are not able to undertake all the burthens of male citizens, still they have their own duties (quite as important) to fulfil. I remember reading of a tribe in which there was one burial-ground, called the "Field of Honor," and in this field were buried the men who had fallen in battle, and the women who had died in childbirth. If a woman cannot fight, she produces those who can; if she cannot protect property in the silent watches of night, she can soothe pain during those same silent watches. If she cannot kill her fellow-creatures with mitrailleuse or cannon, she can rear the little ones till they are fit for slaughter; if she cannot quell a riot she can bind up the wounds of those who quell it; if she cannot emulate the strength of man, she certainly does "toil the livelong day," and often far into the night.

"Man's work is from sun to sun,
But woman's work is never done."

Women writhe under injustice and ill-treatment as much as men; and when they see their interests passed over or remembered with a sneer, when the married ones see themselves absolutely deprived of legal existence, even in their maternal capacity, no wonder they ask, "Is this the outcome of masculine legislation?" and answer with a determination that no obstacle shall daunt them in their strife for freedom. Mr. Allan forgets that a kingdom is but an aggregation of families, and that there cannot be a family without at least one woman. I wish he would tell us how a community could prosper if all female pursuits were left undone; yet he maintains that women have no burthens to bear! He must be totally without imagination, or he would be able to "put himself in her place," and sympathize with such women as Miss Becker, who, through much persecution, try to carry our sorrows before the senate of our country. Yours respectfully,—*"A Would-be Female Citizen," in the National Reformer.*

MR. CONWAY writes: "I have just heard, with mingled surprise and regret, that one of the most majestic objects in the South Kensington Museum may not improbably disappear therefrom. This is the great Japanese Buddha, the largest bronze in Europe, being near seventeen feet in height and about as many around the lower circumference of the seated figure. The history of this figure is involved in mystery. It has for more than a year borne as its only explanation these words: 'Buddha, Japanese. Lent by the Southwark Company. Temporary Label.' The temporary label has become dingy, but not made way for any more luminous. The Southwark Company reports having received it in the way of trade with Japan; but the figure has plainly come from some important temple. It is a strong symptom of the extent to which the old religious order in Japan is breaking up, if so grand a figure as this has come hither through the indifference of that people. It represents Sakya Muni in his beauty, seated in that mystical contemplation through which he was said to have reached Buddhahood. The eyes are closed; the hands rest softly in front, one in the other; the expression is of that wondrous repose of which poor John Dorgan, of Philadelphia, dreamed when he wrote his aspiration for 'The Starry Rest of Buddh.' After gazing upon its eternal calm I cannot wonder at the horror which a Buddhist in England recently expressed, in a letter that was published, of the noisy revivalism which is going on in provincial towns. I do not wonder that he prefers Sakya Muni to Sankey and Moody." It would be an excellent opportunity for some American museum to purchase an idol.

THE LONDON *Lancet* pretends to know how a man feels after his head is cut off. It says: "Our readers may remember that rather less than four years ago we had to refute the theory of Dr. Pinel that Troppmann's head, having lost under the guillotine the sources of common sensation, yet retained hearing, sight, and smell, with the whole apparatus of consciousness and intellect. The trunk, he maintained, died quietly and painlessly from hemorrhage in the course of a few minutes; but the brain, shielded by atmospheric pressure, retained its blood, and consequently its life, for no fewer than three hours. It is still necessary, it seems, to reassert the fact that while the brain possesses a considerable quantity of blood after decapitation, the blood rapidly becomes venous for want of oxygen; the condition being like that in complete asphyxia, in which consciousness vanishes in ninety seconds. The physical shock sustained from the guillotine would of itself, moreover, paralyze all nervous function to completely to admit of consciousness taking place during the brief interval necessary for the thorough deoxidation of the blood in the brain. Beyond the momentary impact of the descending knife on the felon's throat, no further sensation can be felt."

Poetry.

THE RADICAL CLUB.

A POEM, RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO "THE INFINITE."

BY AN ATOM.

Dear friends, I crave attention to some facts that I shall mention,
About a Club called "Radical," you haven't heard before;
Got up to teach the nation, was this new-light federation,
To teach the nation how to think, to live, and to adore,
To teach it of the heights and depths that all men should explore;

Only this, and nothing more.

It is not my inclination, in this brief communication,
To produce a false impression,—which I greatly would deplore;
But a few remarks I'm makin' on some notes a chiel's been takin',
And if I'm not mistaken they'll make your soul up-soar,
As you bend your eyes with eagerness to scan these verses o'er;

Truly this,—and something more.

And first, dear friends, the fact is I'm sadly out of practice,
And may fail in doing justice to this literary bore.
But when I do begin it, I don't think 'twill take a minute
To prove there's nothing in it (as you've doubtless heard before),
But a free religious wrangling club—of this I'm very sure;

Only this, and nothing more!

'Twas a very cordial greeting, one bright morning of their meeting,
Such eager salutations were never heard before.
After due deliberation on the importance of the occasion,
To begin the organization Mr. Pompous took the floor;
With an air quite self-complacent, strutted up, and took the floor,

As he'd often done before!

With an air of condescension, he bespoke their close attention
To an essay from a Wiseman, versed in theologic lore.
He himself had had the pleasure of a short glance at the treasure,
And in no stinted measure said we had a treat in store;
Then he waved his hand to Wiseman, and resigned to him the floor;

Only this, and nothing more.

Quick and nervous, short and wiry, with a look profound,
Yet fiery,
Mr. Wiseman now stepped forward, and eyed us darkly o'er;

Then an arm-chair, quaint and olden, gay with colors green and golden,
By the pretty hostess rolled in from its place beside the door,
Was offered to the reader, in the centre of the floor,
And he took the chair, be sure.

Then with arguments elastic, and a voice and eye sarcastic,
Mr. Wiseman into flinders the Holy Bible tore;
And he proved, beyond a question, that the God of Moses' mention
Was a fraudulent invention of some Hebrews, three or four,
And the Son of God's ascension—an imaginary soar!

Only this, and nothing more.

Each member then admitted that his part was well acquitted,
For his strong impassioned reasoning had touched them to the core;
He felt sure, as he surveyed them through his specs, that he had "played" them,
And was proud that he had made them all astonished by his lore;
Not a continental cared he for the fruit such lessons bore.
So he bowed and left the floor.

Then a Colonel, cold and smiling, with a stately air beguiling,
Who punctuates his paragraphs on Newport's sounding shore,
Said his friend was wise and witty, and yet it seemed a pity
To destroy in this old city the belief it had before,
In the ancient superstitions of the blessed days of yore.
This he said and something more.

Orthodoxy he lamented, thought the Christian world demented,
Yet still he felt a reverence as he read the Bible o'er;
And he thought the modern preacher, though a poor stick for a teacher,
Or a broken reed like Beecher, ought to have his claims looked o'er;
And the "tyranny of science" was indeed, he felt quite sure,

Our danger more and more.

His remarks our pulses quicken, when a British Lion, stricken
With his wondrous self-importance,—he knew everything and more,—
Said he loathed such moderation; and he made his declaration
That in spite of all creation he found no God to adore;
And his voice was like the ocean as its surges loudly roar.
Only this, and nothing more.

Then a lady fair and faded, with a careworn look and jaded,
As though she saw the glory of the coming Lord no more,
Crushed the British Lion's roaring by a reverent outpouring
Of a faith forever soaring unto heaven's golden door;
She was listened to intently by each member on the floor,
For her genius they adore.

But the interest now grew lukewarm; for an ancient Concord bookworm
With authoritative tramping, forward came and took the floor,
And in Orphic mysticisms talked of light and life and prisms,
And the Infinite baptisms on a transcendental shore,
And the concrete metaphysic, till we yawned in anguish sore;

But still he kept the floor.

Then uprose a kindred spirit almost ready to inherit
The rare and radiant Aiden that he begged us to adore;
His smile was beaming brightly, and his soft hair floated whitely
Round a face as fair and slightly as a pious priest's of yore;
And we forgave the arguments worn out years before,
For we loved this saintly bore.

Then a matron made for kisses in the loveliest of dresses,
And with eyes that shone more brightly than the diamonds that she wore,
Spoke in tones of lute-like sweetness words of such exceeding fineness,
Phrases of such happy neatness, that we clapped our hands for more;
And we thought "Some Women's Hearts" were made for all men to adore,
As with grace she left the floor.

Then a lively little charmer, noted as a dress-reformer,
Because that mystic garment called a chemise she wore,
Said she had no "views" of Jesus, and therefore would not tease us,

But that she thought 'twould please us to look her figure o'er,
For she wore no bustles anywhere; and corsets she felt sure
Should squeeze her nevermore.

This pretty little pigeon said of course the true religion
Demanded ease of body before the mind could soar;
But that no emancipation could come unto our nation,
Until the aggregation of the clothes that women wore
Were suspended from the shoulders, and smooth with many a gore,

Plain behind, and plain before!

Her remarks were full of reason, but a little out of season,
And the proper tone of talking Mr. Fairman did restore,
When he sneered at priests and preaching, and indorsed THE INDEX teaching,
And with philanthropic screeching said he sought forevermore
The light of sense and freedom into darkened minds to pour,

Truly this,—but something more!

Then with eyes as bright as Phœbus, and hair dark as Erebus,
A maid with stunning eye-glass next appeared upon the floor;
In her aspect she looked regal, though her words were few and feeble,
But she vowed his logic legal, and as pure as golden ore,
And indorsed THE INDEX editor in every word he swore;
And then said—nothing more.

Then a tall and red-faced member, large and loose and somewhat limber,
(And though his creed was shaky he the name of Bishop bore)
Said that if he lived forever he should forget, ah! never,
The Radicals so clever in Boston by the shore.
But bore a bad gold in his 'ead bust stop his saying more.
And we all cried out encore.

The Kindergarten mother clucked an answer to this brother,
And her curls kept bobbing quaintly from the queer head-dress she wore;
And another *magnus corpus*, with a figure like a porpus,
In wonder did absorb us, as she viewed our numbers o'er,
And talked about the "Oversoul" and other mystic lore,
Nameless here, forevermore.

Then a rarely gifted mortal, to whom the triple portal
Of Music, Art, and Poesy had opened years before,
With a look of sombre feeling, depths within his soul revealing,
Leaving room for no appealing, he decided o'er and o'er
The old, old vexing questions, of the *why* and the *wherefore*,
And taught us—nothing more.

There are others I could mention that took part in this contention,
And at first 'twas my intention, but at present I forbear;
There's young Look-sharp, and Wriddle who would make an angel giggle,
And a young conceited Ziegel who was seated near the door;
If you could only see them, you'd laugh till you were sore,
And then you'd laugh some more.

But, dear friends, I now must close, of these Radicals dispose,
For I am sad and weary as I view their folly o'er;
In their wild Utopian dreaming and impracticable scheming
For a sinful world's redeeming, common sense flies out the door,
And their long-drawn dissertations come to—words and nothing more,
Only words and nothing more.

—*Boston Times.*

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 29.

F. E. Abbot, \$200; H. L. Green, \$1; Joseph T. White, \$5; J. E. Jones, \$6.40; W. F. Freeman, \$1.75; F. H. Guilwits, \$1.80; E. Culver, 20 cents; Susan A. Tyrrell, 25 cents; George K. Withington, \$40; S. M. Whistler, \$1.25; Mary E. Scott, \$1.60; Spencer L. Bailey, \$6.40; John Range, Jr., \$3; John H. Terens, \$3; August Wagner, \$3; Ferdinand Hegeoth, \$3; Harry Kilton, \$3.20; Isaac Stern, \$3.20; J. Russ, Jr., \$3; L. A. Foster, \$3.20; John Logan, \$4.04; Wm. Inott, \$1.50; James Dillaway, \$3; W. S. Burton, 50 cents; Josiah Guilwits, \$3.20; A. J. Van Scooter, \$3.20; Theo. W. Robbins, \$3.20; H. V. Spooner, \$5; D. S. Grandin, \$3.20; Louis Bristol, \$5; K. F. Smith, \$3.20; N. S. Woodford, 75 cents; M. J. Wayne, 75 cents; Frank A. Flagg, 2.20; Geo. W. Brown, \$3; L. S. Judd, \$3.20; W. E. Coleman, \$1.60; Henry Powers, \$1.60; A. H. Davis, \$3.20; Levi Abbot, \$3.20; Abbie Ela, \$8.

RECEIVED.

Books.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION. A Collection of Essays and Addresses, edited by a Committee of the Free Religious Association. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1875.

BUNKER HILL: The Story Told in Letters from the Battlefield by British Officers Engaged. With an Introduction and Sketch of the Battle. By Samuel Adams Drake. Boston: Nichols & Hall. 1875.

THE UNSEEN UNIVERSE: or, Physical Speculations on a Future State. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1875.

Pamphlets and Periodicals.

A DISCUSSION before the Minneapolis Liberal League, on April 4th, between Rev. Horace Bumstead and Members of the League, Messrs. Gale, Mead, and Croft. Topic: "The Possibility and Probability of a Supernatural Revelation." Minneapolis: 1875.

SERMONS by the Rev. Charles Voysey, at St. George's Hall, London.—Apr. 4: "The Reasonableness of Public Worship."—Apr. 11: "On Preaching."—Apr. 18: "Messrs. Moody and Sankey."—Apr. 25: "Is the Revivalists' Gospel True, or is it False?"

SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts. January, 1875. Boston: Wright & Potter. 1875.

OUR BARREN LANDS. The Interior of the United States West of the 100th Meridian and East of the Sierra Nevada. By Gen. W. B. Hazen, U.S.A. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1875.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. May, 1875. London: Strahan & Co. American Agents: The Willmer & Rogers News Co., New York.

THE POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY. June, 1875. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

THE UNITARIAN REVIEW. June, 1875. Boston: L. C. Bowles.

THE WESTERN. May, 1875. St. Louis: Western Publishing Association.

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THE SANITARIAN. June, 1875. New York: 234 Broadway.

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The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 3, 1875.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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ABRAHAM WALTER STEVENS, *Associate Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E.
D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), PROF. FRANCIS
W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), *Editorial Contributors.*

NOTICE.

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Index Association will be held in Toledo, Ohio, at No. 35 Monroe Street, on Saturday, June 5, 1875, at 2 o'clock P. M., in accordance with the articles of incorporation.

DR. PETRI recently snubbed the Pope, in an Old Catholic speech in the Prussian Lower House. It is not surmised that he is a descendant of St. Peter.

THE LATEST calculation of the total population of the world, by Behm and Wagner, makes the number 1,391,030,000. India is credited with 300,000,000, and China with 400,000,000.

SOME satirical wag has been attending the Radical Club to make fun of it, as will be seen in another column. Of course his parody of "The Raven" is extravagant caricature all through; and surely no radical will be so weak as to be seriously offended by a mere *jeu d'esprit* of this sort. Let us all join good-humoredly in the little laugh at our own expense.

PROFESSOR NEWMAN contributes this week to THE INDEX an admirable paper on "Public Morals and Public Reforms." That the function of the State is to protect all individuals in the enjoyment of equal rights, and that this involves much action that may properly be called moral, is very clear; only let it be remembered that such morality is purely natural and scientific, not Christian in any special sense. Especially are we pleased with the latter portion of Professor Newman's letter, which we commend to the careful attention of all critics of the Liberal League.

DURING the fortnight beginning June 1, we shall be absent from Boston in order to attend the fourth annual meeting of the stockholders of the Index Association at Toledo. THE INDEX will meantime be in the sole charge of our friend and associate, Mr. Stevens. All letters requiring our personal attention will be held till our return. We take this opportunity of apologizing to our correspondents for unavoidable remissness of late in attending to their favors, in consequence of unusual demands upon our time at this busy season of reports, essays, and annual meetings.

WE SHALL regard it as a great favor if our readers will forward to us any notices of the press they may happen to meet of the new book published by the Free Religious Association, *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion*, together with the name and date of the journals containing them. For special reasons we are desirous of collecting as many such notices as possible; and slips enclosed in envelopes to our personal address, with the inside headings of the journals from which they are cut, will be the best mode of transmission. The object of this request, if complied with, shall be communicated by-and-by to our readers.

COLONEL HIGGINSON writes to THE INDEX Office that we made "an absolutely false statement," when we said in THE INDEX of May 20 that he "opposes the anti-church-usurpation agitation;" by which, of course, as the paragraph itself shows, we meant the Liberal League movement as a whole. This is a charge to be met in only one way. If he favors that movement, he was misreported by those who spoke to us of his essay at the Radical Club (we have seen no published report of it); but if he opposes that movement, what we said is true. We ask him publicly—does he or does he not favor that movement? If he does, we owe him an apology; if

THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual business meeting of the Free Religious Association was held at Horticultural Hall, Boston, on the evening of Thursday, May 27, the President in the chair. Mr. Hallowell, the Treasurer, rendered his report, showing that the receipts of the year had been \$2,649.54, and the expenditures \$2,182.28, leaving a balance in the treasury of \$467.26. The Nominating Committee reported a list of officers for the ensuing year, being the same as that of last year with the exception of the names of Hon. Nathaniel Holmes, of St. Louis, and Hon. Rowland G. Hazard, of Providence, which were substituted in the list of Vice-Presidents for the names of Hon. Gerrit Smith and Captain E. B. Ward, deceased. The list is as follows:—

President.—Octavius B. Frothingham.

Vice-Presidents.—Ralph Waldo Emerson, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, Lydia Maria Child, Isaac M. Wise, George W. Curtis, Frederick Schünemann Pott, Edward L. Youmans, George Hoadly, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Nathaniel Holmes, Rowland G. Hazard.

Secretary.—William J. Potter.

Assistant Secretary.—Hannah E. Stevenson.

Treasurer.—Richard P. Hallowell.

Directors.—John Weiss, Charles K. Whipple, Ednah D. Cheney, Helen M. Ireson, John T. Sargent, Francis E. Abbot, W. C. Gannett, John C. Haynes.

The report of the Executive Committee was submitted to the Association through the Secretary, Mr. Potter. Like all his papers, it was admirably clear and to the point. He paid fitting and eloquent tributes to the memory of the deceased Vice-Presidents, referred to the publication of *Freedom and Fellowship* as a missionary volume which should be circulated by all the members, and offered various suggestions for the future.

Mr. Potter then read a letter from the Secretary of the Western Conference of the Unitarian churches, transmitting a formal expression of sympathy on the part of that body with the Free Religious Association. A reply to this letter on behalf of the Association was then read, and declared by the President to be adopted by the Association with only one dissenting vote. That no other member may be unjustly suspected of this seemingly atrocious want of appreciation of a catholic and friendly act, we frankly admit that the solitary recalcitrant was the editor of THE INDEX. There was not, however, the slightest failure on our part to reciprocate, and most cordially too, the genial sentiments and intentions which prompted this vote of sympathy on the part of the Western Conference. Nothing but the most fraternal and generous instincts were at the bottom of it, and we should be very sorry to have our own adherence to what we believe to be the inflexible logic of Free Religion mistaken, at least by these warm-hearted Westerners themselves, for churlishness or unfraternal feelings. Purely as an individual, we most sincerely express to them, also as individuals, our pleasure in, and cordial reciprocation of, their yearning for the catholic fellowship of all truth-lovers, out of which their present action has undoubtedly sprung. But we cannot let sympathy, even in such a case as this, tempt us to swerve a hair's breadth from the arrow-straight path of principle. When the Western Conference, as an organized Christian body, voted itself in sympathy with the Free Religious Association, it unconsciously betrayed the Christianity it professes; and when the Free Religious Association, as an organized body based on absolute liberty of thought and speech, voted itself in sympathy with a branch of that Christian Church which has always and everywhere crucified liberty, it unconsciously betrayed its own fundamental principle. Each of these two organizations now occupies an embarrassingly false position. This issue between Christianity and Free Religion has got to be met squarely; there is no use in trying to avoid it; it will extort recognition from us, or it will break us all in pieces. When the matter came up last Thursday, it was a surprise to us (as we had been for necessary reasons absent from the meeting of the Executive Committee at which it was broached), and no time was left for careful thought. Hence we could only cast our vote, without being able to marshal or express off-hand our reasons for it on the spur of the moment. This we say by way of apology to our associates for not then and there bringing up our objections for general discussion before the vote was taken. But now that the mistake has been made (and we wish to bear our full share of responsibility for making it, on account of our silence at the time), it is a painful duty to say that next year we shall be obliged to bring forward a motion of some

there is a full year in which to discuss the matter at our leisure. If Christianity and Freedom are compatible, then things are all right as they are; but if not, they cannot be set right too soon. It vitally concerns the Free Religious Association to discuss this question now; for its Constitution pledges it to "absolute liberty," and we are constrained to take the ground that this acceptance and reciprocation of sympathy with a branch of the Christian Church, which denies "absolute liberty" by its Christian Confession, is *unconstitutional*, and therefore null and void. In THE INDEX of October 8, 1874, we stated explicitly and at length our reasons for holding that the Free Religious Association is impliedly committed by its Constitution to an anti-Christian position, in an article on "Unitarian Sympathies" which was called out by the defeat of Dr. Clarke's similar "sympathy resolution" at Saratoga; and we respectfully but earnestly refer all interested to that article. Whether the Free Religious Association, being pledged to liberty, is thereby pledged against Christianity, or not, is a question which can now no longer be postponed; for practical action of the most important character must be taken on this question at the business meeting of next year. It will be best to come to a general understanding as soon as possible.

In consequence of the proposal of the Philadelphia Liberal League to hold a Convention of similar Leagues in that city in 1876, the approval of this proposal and the appointment of delegates to a preliminary Convention by the Boston Liberal League, and the suggestion by Professor Loos (published among the "Glimpses" in last week's INDEX) that the Free Religious Association take some action in the same general direction, we then introduced the following resolution, the way for which had been made easy by a suggestion of the same nature in the Committee's report:—

"Resolved, That the Executive Committee be requested to inquire into the expediency of having this Association represented at any general Convention of the friends of free thought which may be arranged to meet at Philadelphia in 1876, and to report the result of their deliberations at the next annual business meeting of the Association."

This resolution was adopted without debate and without dissent.

An opportunity for the fullest and freest discussion on the general policy of the Association was then given by the President, who stated the wish of some that the Association should make this policy more aggressive, and said that now was the time for criticisms and recommendations. But nobody seemed inclined to offer either, and the meeting soon after adjourned. No one can complain with justice that the platform of the Association has not welcomed the widest and most spontaneous discussion, or that there is any lack of hospitality to free speech on the part of the Association or any of its officers. If any one desires a change in the Association's policy, he certainly cannot assert that he has had no opportunity to urge his favorite measures. Perhaps some may think that we are in favor of such a change; but we are not. It is the work of the Free Religious Association to hold conventions, support lecture courses, publish reports, books, etc., but not to take up special reforms in detail. The bold and positive measures (which are less "aggressive" than progressive) that we wish to see pressed vigorously by radicals require organizations specially suited for the work, such as the Liberal League; and we see no reason why the Association should undertake a public work for which it was not created and is not well adapted. The Liberal League was originally proposed as a sort of executive arm to the Free Religious Association; and the labor of promoting the complete secularization of the State should devolve upon the former, not the latter. All we really wish in this matter is to see the members of the Association recognize individually the necessity of the League movement, and take hold of it as the inevitable logical corollary of the Association's fundamental ideas. In due course of time we believe they will all favor the Liberal League; and we rely solely on patient argument and the progress of events to rally about the League its needed supporters. Meanwhile the Association is doing its own indispensable work admirably in its own way, and we cordially sympathize with and support the general policy it has hitherto pursued. Officers more disinterested or more faithful to their duties could not be found; and the Executive Committee has no friend more sincere or cordial than THE INDEX—none the less so that it seeks at all times to keep the purity and advancement of the Association's great cause as the objec-

The Annual Report of the Convention of the following day, which will be published as usual by-and-by, will contain the essays read and the speeches made at the morning and afternoon sessions; and it would be impossible to do them justice in a brief abstract. Suffice it to say that Colonel Higginson, who presided at the morning session, made the best speech we have ever heard from him on the Association's platform; that Mr. Gannett read a paper of surpassing power and beauty, full of real genius and religious feeling of the highest order; that Mrs. Mott's presence and speech was the great benediction of the day, and will be tenderly remembered by all present while memory lasts; that Mr. Ames, Mr. Frothingham, Mr. Underwood, Mr. Putnam, and Professor Morse, delivered addresses each admirable of its kind; and that the Donation Festival in the evening, at which Mr. Frothingham presided with the gracefulness that he could not shake off if he tried, was a most delightful occasion of flowers, songs, little speeches, hand-shakings, and heart-warmings. Every one seemed satisfied with the day's doings, though the audiences in Beethoven Hall were not so large as they have been in other halls on previous years. So the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association has passed away successfully, pleasantly, and we hope profitably to all concerned; and now for another year of faithful work!

FREE-THOUGHT NOTES.

BY A VETERAN ENGLISH FREE-THINKER.

MR. EDITOR:—

For four months or more we have had an east wind blowing; not a fitful, changing, unstable, hesitating, temporizing, time-serving, weak-minded wind, but a steady, resolute, untiring, self-directed, vicious, biting blast. Various theories have been formed to account for it. Mine is that it is owing to the conservative government. We never had such a wind in Liberal times. This is the political conjecture. The theological theory is that Messrs. Moody and Sankey have brought it. Nothing of the sort prevailed before they came. Why it is ascribed to them is that it is a wind which disposes men to wish for a "change."

I went to-day to hear the vivacious regenerators in Her Majesty's Royal Italian Opera House in the Haymarket. You will be glad to hear that we do not starve the peripatetic apostles. They are in excellent condition. They are well-fed saints. We have eminent preachers, Catholic and Protestant, so worn, and wan, and lean that no cannibal would look at them. But Moody and Sankey would gladden the hearts of heathens of peculiar appetites. From portraits of Mr. Sankey we all thought that he was an attenuated agent of conversion, whereas I found him as sleek as a carp. Both he and Brother Moody are clearly prosperous "sinners," if one may describe them by one of their own terms. They continue to advertise themselves with an ability unknown to slow-going British piety. We have never seen the grace of God put on such a business footing before.

Then the harmonium-makers advertise in imitation of their rival harmoniums, offering to the public the genuine Sankey instrument. The unconverted public who say Mr. Sankey has an interest in the sales are scandalized. No advertisement from him contradicts the rumor. I see no harm in Mr. Sankey receiving a commission on the sacred sales; but, were I he, I would pray God to stop the harmonium advertisers until I had done my praying business.

Mr. Moody delivered a saucy, well-seasoned little sermonette on Christ calling the apostles to fish for men. It was a vigorous, pleasant, semi-profane, clever discourse. He gave us an idea of the apostles loafing about the shore, doing no business, when Christ told them to go out on the sea, which they did; and they make a wonderful snatch there of the unfortunate fish. Won over by this success, Christ skillfully takes the opportunity to invite them to follow him. By paddling about the shore they caught nothing. By boldly plunging out and attempting a "big thing," they filled their nets, like the "Ring" men of New York. Mr. Moody then described the apostles as talking together like "cute 'down east' boys: 'Had we not met with this boss, we might have thought we had played out this darned old stream; but clearly there is something to be got out of it yet. However, as we have been put up to a good thing by our friend here, he may be worth following.'" And they were right," exclaimed Mr. Moody; "Christ is worth following." I am not skilled in the flippant pleasantries of American talk of Mr. Moody's class, and cannot use always his exact words; but I

convey the style and spirit of his adventurous discourse.

There were sorrowing women and earnest men in the Opera House in plenty—many of whom I knew to be so. They broke into a titter with a pained expression, for Mr. Moody beguiled them with his spiritual fun before they were aware of its offensiveness. Mr. Moody, with art as well as feeling, broke up into prayer, and then Brother Sankey bounced up (it was not rising up with deliberate solemnity, but with an indecent rush), gave out a hymn, and everybody was singing before we knew what we were doing. It shows that the English people are growing more tolerant. Some time ago they would not have permitted this conduct in the pretended service of God. We have seen nothing like it since the days of the Rev. Robert Taylor, who was called the Devil's Chaplain. Mr. Moody is funnier than the Devil's Chaplain. The only differences are that Taylor was a gentleman, and Moody is not. Taylor did not believe in what he made ludicrous, and Moody does; and thereby has more influence to destroy true reverential feeling in his unfortunate auditors. But mark the difference of the times; we imprisoned the Rev. Mr. Taylor, but reverend gentlemen, Church and Dissenting alike, run after Mr. Moody in ignoble crowds.

This month I cannot write long or much, and have no one near to write for me. If a new revelation were made to man now, and it concerned me, it must be oral; for, if written, I could not read it, as reading is still pain and peril to me. Before I became ill I had organized the issue of a journal which has long been wanted here, and by aid of which THE INDEX could be made widely known in England. I may never be editor of it, as was intended; but I hope to be a frequent contributor to it when it appears. In the *Reasoner* I quoted at times Milton's wise lines on the value of knowing well the duties of our present state. Some time ago Mr. Bright, who never makes a bad quotation from the poets, quoted these. You know them. They are as follows:—

"To know
That which before us lies in daily life,
Is the prime wisdom."

Well, in these lines I found the title of my new paper. Its name is DAILY LIFE, and underneath it we put the above quoted lines as its motto. The explanation of the purport of the paper, though long-printed, has never yet reached the public, owing to my disablement. What we said was this (which will be read for the first time in America):—

"Certain publicists interested in the direction and organization of progressive opinion—now active on all hands—have resolved to establish a new paper, which shall attempt to represent the constructive capacity of independent thought, and advocate its application to the improvement of daily life.

"DAILY LIFE will be a journal of this world, without implying disregard or denial of another. It is intended by the title of the paper to indicate that this world is, for its own sake, worthy of study; and that human society has sacred and primary claims on attention and is capable of improvement, by the use of the means which science, common-sense, and right feeling supply; and it cannot be otherwise than consistent with a reverential sense of future existence, to strive that the populations passing into it should enter it as intelligent and morally pure as possible, whatever may be their religious aspirations and beliefs.

"The progress of national education is retarded, and the instruction of children of the working classes in the uses of this life—so essential and indispensable to their worldly welfare—is frustrated by misconceptions of the nature and limits of secular knowledge made by theologians who confound it with atheism.

"The [intended] editor of this journal having himself originated the now frequently used term 'Secularism,' it is thought that he may most usefully be the expositor of its principle as a method of instruction and otherwise as a form of opinion—always as distinct from atheism as mathematics from politics—not necessarily attacking religion any more than music attacks chemistry. In regard to this life Secularism means—attention to it, in respect to education—separateness of instruction; in theology, neutrality; in religion, reasonableness.

"DAILY LIFE will have other and not less important objects. Household life and public affairs are tolerably wide subjects. Liberalism seems, just now, not to know its own mind, and there never was a greater opportunity of a hearing than now for any party who does. Coöperation, like literature, is a fair subject of criticism as an art of life, as well as a scheme of economy; so that DAILY LIFE will not lack diversity of topics and individuality of view, out of which public purposes and unity grow. For all increase of knowledge increases the sum of practical agreement among divergent thinkers.

"DAILY LIFE proposes to look daily facts fairly in the face. Means of social and political redress greatly exceed the use made of them. The day of social despair is certainly past. Hopeless and grim, or sensational and melodramatic fervors, are become diseases of popular advocacy. Improvement is still ar-

duous, and needs pluck and persistence to carry it; but progress need not be cheerless or disagreeable on principle; nor doubtful, since the lines of march are clear."

Yours for better or worse (mostly better, I hope),
GEO. JACOB HOLYOAKE.

{ NEWCASTLE CHAMBERS; Temple Bar,
Essex Street, London.

Communications.

EAST WISCONSIN NOTES.

Encouraging items with regard to free thought movements are, no doubt, always acceptable to THE INDEX and its friends. I have one or two of this nature to report you from Milwaukee, and will not defraud those interested of them.

On Sunday evening, May 17, the friends of free thought in this city were treated to a lecture from Mr. B. F. Underwood, the champion of freedom. The subject was, "The Triumphs of Liberal Thought." It was an able statement of the status of so-called infidelity at the present day, as contrasted with that of twenty-five or fifty years since. This lecture was the concluding one of a course of Sunday evening lectures which was commenced in November last, and given in the Grand Opera House. Four lectures have been given by Mr. Underwood, and his modest but manly eloquence, his zealous, straightforward utterances in behalf of free thought, have won him many friends and admirers in Milwaukee.

A committee on permanent organization for Sunday Lectures was appointed on this occasion, and it is now confidently expected that a coöperative movement in this direction will be arranged for the coming season, that shall include the principal cities in the West and North-west. This arrangement will secure the most talented lecturers. The subjects of these contemplated lectures are to be scientific, literary, historical, and social. Chicago has during the past winter sustained a course of Sunday afternoon lectures with remarkable success. The committee have secured the most brilliant talent possible. Immense audiences and money in the treasury are their reward. The charge for admittance was only ten cents, the committee expecting merely to cover expenses. A coöperative movement with other cities will undoubtedly ensure beneficial, pleasant, and satisfactory results to all, and it can but be hoped that the effort will be fully carried out.

A second Liberal League was also formed on Sunday evening last by American citizens,—the first comprising only German citizens. Steps will be taken immediately to place the League in working order to present the "Demands of Liberalism," as set forth in THE INDEX, in this vicinity, and to endeavor to secure a compliance with the same. So, it will be seen, we are about to try and "do our part" toward the representation of the thousand Liberal Leagues at the Philadelphia Centennial, which Mr. Abbot says is possible, and whose combined efforts he hopefully argues shall "put an end to the constant humiliations, and insults, and outrages, to which free thought is still exposed in this country in the name of Law." Late occurrences of these outrages are fresh in the thought of all lovers of mental freedom, and should stir one and all to renewed effort. Triumphant as free thought stands to-day, it is exposed to suffer an ignominious retrogression, unless the friends of freedom put their shoulders vigorously to the wheel which constitution-evangelizers and subtle jesuitical influences are bearing their whole weight upon to turn backward. Free thought has every encouragement to this effort. Theology is decaying; creeds are decomposing; dogmas are dying; superstition is stealing shamefacedly out of sight; heresy is popular; and infidelity is respectable!

True, the laborers in the field of freedom are as but a handful in comparison to the crowds which are anxiously striving to support the creaking timbers of the structure of Christianity; but behold the results of the efforts of these few! Men and women are thinking to-day for themselves. They have paid priestly influence to do the thinking for the world long enough. They see that men so paid are proving false to their own convictions. They feel assured that private opinions are concealed, and do not correspond to pulpit utterances, and that this concealment is due to a selfish bread-and-butter policy. It is Orthodoxy that is ostracised to-day,—pious cant that is covered with obloquy; while free thought is honored and infidel sentiments are quoted. Think of the *North-Western Christian Advocate* apologizing for the treatment of Thomas Paine at the hands of priests, and defending his honor with laudatory comments upon his career and character! Think on these things, ye free thinkers; take heart, and be up and doing!

Another item in the interest of progress is worthy of notice, and must not be passed by. Religious services are now held regularly in the Academy of Music, the largest theatre building in Milwaukee, on Sundays. This startling innovation in this city is meeting with surprising success. These services are held under the auspices of the Fourth Congregational Society of Milwaukee, Rev. Myron W. Reed, pastor (with strong radical proclivities). The large hall is crowded to its utmost capacity every Sunday evening with just such an audience as need and will be benefited by the exercises. The sense of freedom draws many a one thitherward, who has long been drawn the other way, from the fine places of worship in our city, of which Christians make special boast on account of their elegance and exclusiveness. How they reconcile the church of the period with Christ's command concerning the preaching of the gospel to

the poor is a conundrum that free thinkers should persistently propound to them. It will be a puzzler. Many who still reverence religious worship rejoice at the privilege of joining in it without money and without price, at the Academy of Music. They have long since given over the luxury of church attendance per force. Only the well-to-do can afford it. In the theatre building the doors swing wide; it is conveniently located to draw in the chance pilgrims whom business or pleasure calls to the city for brief periods. Gentlemanly ushers are as attentive to the stranger as to the solid men of Milwaukee, to the maid as to the mistress, to the shabby as to the stylish. A pleasant seat is provided for all alike, and, resting there, one may follow the pleasant voice of the young speaker without the distracting thought that he is intruding upon another's seat, or that the seedy coat and winter bonnet are strikingly contrasted with fresh and seasonable garments. The vast audience join heartily in singing familiar hymns, led by the piano and cornet, which are played by paid professional celebrities. Mr. Reed is a young man, without the slightest hint of the clerical in his make-up. He avoids all ministerial mannerism. He is big-brained, genial, and spontaneously humorous. This movement of his congregation, suggested and furthered by him, is the hit of the season. It will insure his popularity, and give him grand opportunities for doing good. He is conservative enough to humor the conservative element in society to a degree, but true enough to his radical convictions to sow seeds of free thought broadcast, that will not fail to take firm root and bring forth wholesome fruits of freedom. The community is quite astir with the novel sensation. Canting, nervous croakers say it is merely a sensation, and will not last. Noticeably thin is the attendance upon the churches, and a sense of duty is apparently all that holds the few in their places. It is not quite understood by the average attendant at the Academy what is the real attraction of the place, why this method is so popular, nor why the churches are daily growing unpopular. Something is wrong—they do not know exactly what. Free Religionists, however, know all about it. They see the signs, watch the symptoms, and are cheerful at the significant indications. Although the day is still far distant when the Orthodox will understand, will see as they are seen, or drop the shackles now binding them to build costly churches and sustain them by increasing sacrifices, beholding them covered alike with elaborate ornamentation and heavy mortgages, the lovers of freedom welcome these signs and symptoms; rejoice at such hearty expressions of the religious sentiment as are now found at the Academy of Music, and augur from them substantial and satisfactory results in the direction of religious freedom.

AMELIA WILLIAMS BATE.

MILWAUKEE, May 19, 1875.

A NOTE FROM MR. LESUEUR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—As you persist in charging me with somewhat gross inconsistency, permit me to observe that I have never given you the slightest ground for assuming that I would have taken offence at any criticism whatever, fairly directed against any writing of mine. Not only so, but the language I used, when I first complained of the "Words, Words, Words!" heading, distinctly implied that I could not have objected to an equivalent criticism in the right place. What then becomes of the *a fortiori* argument you try to construct after the following fashion: "In our turn we are extremely surprised that, if he (i. e., myself) considers a charge of useless verbiage offensive in a mere heading, he should consider it inoffensive when pressed deliberately in a main article"? The word "offensive," let me remark, is one that you have introduced into the discussion, and for which you are solely responsible. I made no complaint of anything as "offensive"; but I inquired whether you regarded a certain thing, the prefixing of a disparaging title to a correspondent's letter, as just. And you answered with an emphatic "No," thus fully admitting the reasonableness of my implied complaint, had the circumstances been as I supposed. It seems I was mistaken; but was that a reason why you should turn round and try to show that I had myself been as unjust (for that or nothing was what you had to prove) as I wrongly imagined you had been? I greatly regret my original error; and I greatly regret also that, in vindicating yourself from one charge of injustice, you should have furnished such substantial grounds for another.

With regard to the communication of your correspondent "Z," I would just remark that it is somewhat satisfactory to me to find that he sees no way of turning my position except by offensive (the word is mine now) imputations. Whether the imputations turn it is a question I shall not discuss.

Yours very truly,

WM. D. LESUEUR.

OTTAWA, 17 May, 1875.

P. S.—I have not THE INDEX by me in which my protest appeared; and I cannot therefore be certain whether the word I used was "just" or "right." However that may be, my complaint was one of injustice; and, now that I remember, it was so headed by yourself.

LES.

[The "injustice" of which Mr. LeSueur has complained was that the heading "Words, Words, Words!" was a "disparaging title," which, being prefixed to his article, tended to prejudice the reader's mind against it. He admits that he misunderstood the meaning of this heading; which was very evidently intended to designate, not his article, but the articles of our own that he himself deliberately characterized as mere verbiage. He now holds that it was "injustice" and "unfairness" in us to bring this [supposed] disparaging charge against him in a prefixed title, but neither one nor the other in himself to urge it at length against us in the article to which the heading was prefixed.]

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One of two things is perfectly clear; the charge of useless verbiage is either "unjust," "unfair," and "disparaging" (and therefore of course "offensive"), or else it is not. If this charge is really "unjust," etc., it is exactly as much so in one place as in another, and Mr. LeSueur has himself committed the injustice he complains of; but if it is not, we have no more committed it than he has, and his complaint is frivolous and unreasonable. All the sophistry in the world cannot get him out of this dilemma. It astonishes us that he should persistently contend that it is just "criticism" to accuse us of empty wordiness in his own article, but that it would be unjust "disparagement" for us to make this identical charge in the heading we prefixed to it. As a matter of fact we have not made the charge at all, while he has made it; yet he desires us to apologize for the fault which, if it is a fault, he alone has committed! We decline emphatically to do anything so absurd.

Further: we should certainly consider it "unjust," if we had "prefixed a disparaging title to a correspondent's letter," and we promptly said so. But we add now that we did consider it very unjust "criticism" to disparage several elaborate articles of our own, which discussed important principles, as being merely concerned with unimportant "names"; although we did not think it worth while to say anything about it. Neither was this the first time that Mr. LeSueur has been "unjust" towards us; since in THE INDEX of Oct. 29, 1874, he brought charges just as unreasonable as his present one, although then, as now, expressed in a very gentlemanly manner. Less suspiciousness on his part as to our moral status, and more heedfulness as to the real bearing and import of what we publish, would enable him to avoid the "injustice" he has now twice committed against us—though, we are glad to believe, without the slightest intention of doing so. As a critic, we think he shows himself singularly liable to misunderstand what others mean; but, because we most sincerely respect him, we take this opportunity to express the great delight we have experienced in reading a very able article of his on "The Intellectual Life," in the *Canadian Monthly and National Review* for April, 1875. This is one of the noblest, most high-minded, and admirable papers we have ever read, and by-and-by we hope to be able to republish it in THE INDEX. We are more than willing to admit we have been in the wrong, when honestly convinced of the fact; and if we cannot satisfy Mr. LeSueur in this instance, we nevertheless indulge a hope that he will believe us sincere in the high esteem we express for him.—ED.]

THE MINNEAPOLIS LIBERAL LEAGUE.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., May 18, 1875.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

At a meeting of the Liberal League of this city, held on Sunday, May 2, the following resolution was adopted:—

"Resolved, That the Liberal League of Minneapolis cordially indorses the proposal for an international convention of advocates of free thought, to be held in the city of Philadelphia during the summer of 1876; and recommends that some organized effort be made by Leagues throughout the United States to bring about such convention."

I have the satisfaction of saying to you that, since the reorganization of the League in this city last winter, it has proved a most decided success. We occupy one of the largest halls in the city, and the weather must be very stormy to prevent every seat being filled. The success that has attended our effort should encourage free-thinkers in communities where there is a large liberal element to follow our example. We organized on a platform of absolute freedom of opinion, inviting Infidels, Atheists, Spiritualists, Christians, and Jews to come together and reason upon such topics as might be agreed upon; and the invitation has been most cordially accepted by all of these different classes. We have made the grand old saying of Terence our motto: "Naught that concerns mankind is alien to me;" and topics for discussion have been as varied as it was possible to make them. Among the subjects thus far discussed are the following: "The Sunday Question," "Prophecy and Prophecy," "Spiritualism," "The Possibility and Probability of a Supernatural Revelation," "The Crusades of the Middle Ages," "Revivals—their Cause and Cure," "What shall we do to be Saved?" "The Discovery of America," "The Origin of Conscience, or the Evolution of Morals," and a large number of like character. Next Sunday an opportunity will be granted for all to answer the question, "What shall we do with Jesus?"

I only commenced, however, to tell you that our manner of conducting the League has proved a very decided success, and to recommend a similar course

to others. As a thought-provoker, and a means of enlightenment on the progressive ideas of the day, no sort of organization could prove more satisfactory. To provide against the "bore," who universally infests the free platform, the speeches are limited to ten minutes each; and we all know that a speaker who is all words and no ideas will be disgusted to be obliged to crowd his verbal avalanche into so brief a space of time. Therefore, after an effort or two, the "bore" quietly subsides and leaves us to our own destruction, or else becomes an attentive listener.

The churches are giving us gratuitous advertising, as a Sunday rarely passes without an *ex cathedra* whack at us from one or more of the city pulpits; while the *Citizen* (a local Christian publication edited by a "professor" in our State university) is gaining a very considerable circulation among radicals by lampooning us most unmercifully in bad English, worse Latin, and Greek that is absolutely horrifying.

Very truly yours,

FRANK J. MEAD.

TRUE AND FALSE MONEY COMPARED.

"Money is not only a means of exchange; it is a documentary expression of legal claim. It is not wealth; it is documentary claim to wealth, to which at a given time persons are entitled. . . . Money is, therefore, correspondent in its nature to the title-deed of an estate. . . . Money cannot be arbitrarily multiplied any more than title-deeds can."—RUSKIN.

Not one person in a thousand exchanges his labor or service directly for the labor or service of another. Not one person in a thousand exchanges his labor-product directly, for the labor-product of another person. A medium almost invariably intervenes to effect his exchange, and this medium we call money; and it makes a vast difference what the nature or character of this medium is.

If persons arranged their exchanges directly, knowing the labor cost of the articles they wished to exchange (like two farmers or carpenters arranging to "change works"), they would probably approach each other in the following manner.

We will suppose the articles to be exchanged a pair of shoes and a hat:—

A to B.—"I have a pair of shoes which have cost me, labor and stock, eight hours of honest labor, which I desire to exchange for a hat of equivalent cost; for it would take me five times as long to make a hat, and, when done, it would not be fit to wear."

B to A.—"I have hats which cost me eight hours of honest labor each. I will exchange with you equally, which in this case will be equitably, as the cost of each is equal; and I too shall be benefited by the exchange for the same reasons you have stated."

Is not this sufficient benefit in exchange, without either "making a profit" out of the other?

The medium of exchange which now intervenes between A and B (and so on through the alphabet) ought to enable A and B to exchange their products on the same principle, with the same advantage to themselves as in the foregoing simple instances of direct exchange, while the carrier between the two (or merchant) would be compensated on the same principle; to wit: the "labor cost" for his services, including equitable risks, insurance, rent, etc. But the medium of exchange (money) heretofore and now in use performs no such function. It is of such an uncertain and legerdemain character that no one, not even the learned pundits who expound "finance," have any definite idea of its operation; and the consequence is that no one, except experts in the use of it, can use it without getting cheated out of from three to four-fifths of their honest earnings. Thus it has to give four or five pairs of shoes for one hat of equivalent cost, while B has to give the same number of hats for one pair of shoes. Hence the old adage: "Shoemakers' wives and blacksmiths' horses have to go without shoes;" while the men who build all the houses seldom if ever have any sort of a house of their own to live in.

Money is the instrument through which, whether justly or unjustly, all exchanges of labor or service are made; yet we are told that it is inconsequential what the nature or character of that instrument is!

At Winslow, N.J., Hayes & Co. own six thousand acres of the best land in that State by parchment title; own and conduct a glass-works, cultivate one thousand acres, own a village of cabins, employ several hundred persons, and pay them in paper money which reads as follows:—

"WINSLOW, N.J.—Due to the bearer in merchandise, at the counter of our store, *Five Dollars*.
"HAYES & Co."

The village and its inhabitants resemble the slaves and their cabins on a Southern plantation before the war, and they are scarcely less helpless, degraded, and enslaved. The money is a solvent money, and, if I should take this specimen which I hold in my hand to their counter, it would be promptly redeemed. Now why is the condition of these people even worse than that of common working people? It is because, and only because, the money they are paid in is more indefinite than our national money; and they are worse off just in proportion to that indefiniteness.

If every man were an expert in making everything he needs to supply his own wants, and had the facilities at hand to do it as in his own trade or profession, every industrious person would have an abundance of everything; for every one would have time enough, under those circumstances, to supply his own wants, and every one would be obliged to do his own work, and could not shift off his work upon other people by means of a legerdemain money.

Money ought to be, can be, and will be of such a character as to insure just such results as are described in the preceding paragraph. But all who work at all now have to support from four to eight

persons besides themselves, two per cent. of whom are supported in luxurious living, while they themselves live on the plainest and coarsest fare. If every one worked to the amount of the labor-cost of everything he consumed, which all but infant children and invalids could and would do under the reign of equitable money, the vast impulse that would be given to production would fill the earth with plenty, peace, and security.

About the year 1830, as near as I can recollect, what was called "superfine Genesee flour" was five dollars per barrel. This was the best quality of flour then known. A mason's wages at that time were two dollars per day, and his barrel of flour cost him two and a half days' work. Now we will suppose a mason of that day (forty-three years ago) had put five dollars in United States gold coin into his money-box, and kept it there until to-day, when he takes the self-same money to buy flour. The money is current, and more than current, for it is quoted to-day (April 5, 1874, —when this estimate was made) at 1.12½ premium. He inquires the price of the same quality of flour, and is told that it is twelve dollars and fifty cents per barrel. His five dollars in coin will be received in payment for the flour to the amount of five dollars, sixty-two and a half cents, and by adding six dollars, eighty-seven and a half cents in "greenbacks" he gets the flour; and thus he pays four and one-quarter days' work for the same kind of flour to-day which in 1830 cost him two and a half days' work. Difference, one and three-quarters' days; i. e., he pays nearly twice as much labor for his flour to-day as he did then.

A mason's wages to-day are four dollars per day, and his barrel of flour costs him a little over three days work, half a day more than it did the mason of forty-three years ago.

But let it be remembered that the labor-cost of flour to-day is *not one half so much* as it was forty years ago, owing to the better soil where it is now raised, improvements in agricultural implements, and in means of transportation.

But now let us suppose that the mason of forty years ago had received in payment for his two and a half days' work a Treasury note (or greenback) of five dollars, with this inscription upon its face: "The United States will pay to bearer, on demand, five dollars in one barrel flour (best quality) of one hundred and ninety-six pounds. This bill receivable for all debts due the United States."

That same Treasury note would procure a barrel of flour to-day the same as it did then.

But this is not all. The labor-cost of nearly all articles of consumption are reduced from time to time by this introduction of improved tools, implements, machinery, scientific discoveries, etc., and although ruinous and destructive fluctuations in prices would not occur if this civilized money were in use, as prices do now and heretofore have done, yet a gradual diminution of prices would occur. As it occurred, the new issues (because based upon labor-cost) would recognize the fact, and the old issues would naturally return to the issuer to be exchanged for the new, and none but hoarders of money would be the losers. All other persons would be gainers by the introduction of labor-saving machinery, reducing prices and the number of hours of labor at the same time; and thus every encouragement would be given by everybody to inventors and inventions, and patent laws could be dispensed with.

But how is it now? A million of laborers lying idle in the United States under the reign of a false and semi-barbarous money, by the introduction of labor-saving machinery (an annual loss to the whole people of at least \$300,000,000), the product of labor decaying in warehouses for want of purchasers, and business paralyzed because persons lying idle have no money to purchase with. This part of the subject is by no means exhausted, but I must hasten to give one more example.

A farmer of my acquaintance bought a farm in the neighborhood where he had always lived. He knew its capacities for production under a given amount of labor. He paid cash down for one-third the price of the farm, and gave his note for the other two-thirds payable in yearly instalments, and expected to honor his paper as the payments became due; his expectations being based upon his knowledge of the farm and estimates of the crops he could raise upon it in the time specified, at the current prices, making some allowance for ordinary fluctuations in prices.

But the financial crash of 1857 caused an enormous "shrinkage of values" (so called), and so for his crop he got about one-third less money than he had promised to pay. Thus he had to pay one-third more labor for two-thirds of his farm than he had contemplated, while the man who sold him the farm got one-third more labor than he bargained for; for the note he held against the purchaser didn't "shrink."

Now suppose the purchaser in this case had promised to pay a given quantity of corn, of rye, of flax, of butter, of cheese, and other products of the farm (everything he had raised upon his farm was just as "valuable" for uses to everybody as ever it was): he would then have paid just the amount of labor agreed upon, and no more, for what he had "raised" upon the farm had exceeded his estimates.

Is it not plain that all money now and hitherto in use is a money adapted only to speculation; i. e., to exploiting with the products of labor and the spoliation of labor itself through the Wage System? And is it not equally plain that all that the honest, industrial, or laboring people want money for is to enable them to exchange their labor or service, or the products of the same, equitably and honestly?

The reign of a true and equitable money is in the

near future; and, when it comes, it will enhance the production, the business, and consequent wealth of the country in a short time ten-fold, and make it possible for every person to have all the comforts and elegances of life.

In other words, poverty would soon be abolished, security of persons and property would be established, peace would prevail, and millionaires and paupers would become extinct. E. D. LINTON.

LUCRETIUS.

The compensation humanity pays for exceptional genius is that reverence and mere imitation are excited by it in lesser minds, rather than emulation.

The glorious intellects of Greece, while marking the lofty plane on which man may stand, left as heritage a great army of quoters and commentators who, instead of developing their own powers in original ways, repeated the facts of their masters and not their spirit; and we find the later translations of the works of these ancient Titans accompanied by apologies for their boldness, and such interpretations of the text as may accord with the Bible!

The poem of Lucretius, "On the Nature of Things" is among ancient works remarkable for its onslaughts on superstition, its accounts vividly rendered of ancient sciences, and its foreshadowing the results of modern scientific thought.

Lucretius was born in Rome, within a few months of Julius Cæsar, and studied in Athens the philosophy of Epicurus, which with many original additions he sets forth in his poem. His style is robust and terse, and his spirit philosophical, equally removed from reverence or contempt. He reviews the whole circle of the natural sciences of his time, notices refraction of light in water, treats of the porosity of matter, and the relative motions of ships and stars. He knew that light travelled faster than sound, and sagaciously inferred that, as leaden projectiles melt where they strike, heat must be motion and concussion of atoms.

Perspective is thus beautifully treated:—

"Thus courts, though equal wide, yet seem to bend,
And grow more narrow at the distant end."
"The roof depressed, the sides seem joined in one,
The wearied sight lost in a darkness come."

He points with emphasis to natural explanations of phenomena commonly attributed to spiritual agency, as echoes which are reflections of sound from hard upright surfaces, and not the work of fauns or satyrs; and he observes that fauns and satyrs might inhabit plains as well as other places, yet echoes are never heard on them. So, instead of the vengeance of angry gods, he sees the causes of the spread of disease to be air and contact.

Investigating the mind, he gives us this on the increasing ease of thought:—

"The objects, though removed, yet leave behind
Some secret tracks and passage through the mind,
And fit for images of the same kind."

The mind is dependent on the body, and powerfully influenced by it; as in intoxication, danger, and sickness.

Atoms are the seeds of all material forms; they contain all the essential properties that go to build up plants, animals, and men; they make them, as letters words; theirs is the only persistent individuality in the universe; yesterday in the air, to-day in a leaf, to-morrow in a man, an atom is always itself.

Man, though first, is on the same plane with all else; universal Nature is the womb and urn of him, as of all other things.

He notices the particular claims of men, and, taking language as one of the alleged distinctive marks of superiority, draws attention to the various expressive barks, growls, and whinings of dogs, and parallel cases with birds.

Atoms are capable in combination of producing effects called intelligent. Of their individual forms he speculates that the ultimate parts of sweets, such as honey, may be round and smooth; while acid and unpleasant bodies may be composed of angular and jagged atoms.

His adumbration of the doctrines of the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest is as follows:—

"For seeds of bodies from eternal strove,
And used by stroke, or their own weight, to move,
All sorts of union tried, all sorts of blows,
To see if any way would things compose:
And so, no wonder they at last were hurled
Into the decent order of this world,—
And still such motions, still such ways pursue,
As may supply decaying things by new."

"But more, these years must numerous kinds deface,
They could not all preserve their feeble race;
For those we see remain and bear their young,
Craft, strength, or swiftness has preserved so long."

He illustrates how necessity is the mother of invention, and how Nature suggested art to past races of men:—

"We knew to fight before the help of art,
To bruise and wound before we framed a dart;
And Nature taught us to avoid a wound,
Before the use of arms and shields was found.
Before beds were, even Nature threw us down
To rest: we drank before a cup was known.
These various things convenience did produce;
We thought them fit, and made them for our use."

The first fires built by men, he considers, were initiated from the effects of the sun's rays or lightning; and the art of casting metals may have been suggested by the perfect way in which lumps of metal fill cavities of the earth in mines.

Lucretius saw that the prevalent religions of his day were debasing, and he also saw how greatly their power came from common interpretations of death and futurity; so he manfully tried to find out the truth:—

"And, were the Soul immortal, would the Mind
Complain of death, and not rejoice to find
Herself let loose and leave this clay behind?"

"Were souls immortal, ne'er began,

But crept into the limbs to make up man,
Why can they not remember what was done
In former times? Why all their memory gone?"

With true Roman vigor he scorns the fear of death, and asks his reader: "Why should common you dread extinction, when mighty generals, philosophers, and poets have submitted?" And he ridicules the dainty dread of unpleasant changes in the body after death, saying that it is an absurd extension of the notions of sensibility, proper only to life. Death in his universal sweep attacks even the grave:—

"For sepulchres themselves must fall
In Time's abyss, the common grave of all."

For the repining he has little consolation:—

"Besides what harm, had the Sun idly ran,
Nor warmed the mud, nor kindled it to man?
What harm to us, if we had ne'er began?
True; those that are in being once, should strive,
As long as pleasure will invite, to live;
But they who ne'er had tasted joys nor seen,
What hurt to them suppose they ne'er had been?"

The gods he seems to believe exist; yet, as he does not think they meddle with things, we cannot consider his faith in them to have been very strong.

The evils of life he plainly sees, and discourses as eloquently as Mill on the struggle of Man with the rest of Nature, for comfort and even existence; the vigor and plentifulness of weeds on farms and gardens, the sudden tempests at sea, and earthquakes and pestilence on land, are graphically depicted. Yet for all this the gods are not to be blasphemed; and yet, because of all this, they do not deserve to be worshipped, though man may know many joys and have many bright, happy days.

Certain knowledge may be obtained by honest effort; and of scepticism he says:—

"He that says nothing can be known o'erthrows
His own opinion, for he nothing knows;
So knows not that—"

Perceiving which, the extreme Pyrrhonists said that they could not even be certain of the uncertainty of knowledge.

Lucretius combated most ably, with all obtainable weapons, the notions of Creation, Spontaneity, and Design; he said that nothing could come from nothing, and that an atom in its degree was a plant, or an animal, as the seed of it.

These sterling thoughts, produced in a land and at a time too advanced and too early for general comprehension and acceptance, have lain dormant for two thousand years, until the general and averaged waves of European evolution are arriving at the level of the plane touched by the piercing minds of Greece. The modern methods of observation and experiment are settling on unmovable bases the truths seen afar off and vaguely by such intellects as Democritus, Epicurus, and Lucretius. J. G. H.

MONTREAL.

THE INNER VOID.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—The man who, after a course of earnest study, has arrived at the conviction that the current and Orthodox system of belief affords him no solid ground on which to stand, and who in consequence renounces it, will soon find within himself a void which he cannot fill up. His religious aspirations must find materials, so to speak, to work upon.

Men in this position may be counted by thousands in the present day, and are to be found in every place, as well as in every denomination of Christians.

It may be remarked also that, in renouncing the creed in which a man has been trained from early childhood, many prejudices and erroneous ideas will adhere to him of which he may not be conscious. The anthropology of the discarded creed is so different from the conception of the "Cosmos" or the "All," that he requires much instruction to see the difference.

Such men are to be found in remote parts of this extensive country, far from the centres of thought and culture, and are thereby left to their own resources in a great measure.

It is true that THE INDEX, and such other papers as fearlessly contend for the truth in opposition to the popular errors of the day on matters of religion, are of great benefit to such men; and it is my object in these remarks to draw the attention of some of the able writers connected with THE INDEX to the case of men in the position I have just stated.

The religious instincts of such men are often very strong, and they expect to find in the New Faith a substitute for the discarded anthropology of the old.

I am, sir, yours,

J. F.

ONTARIO.

[We should like to put the "Truths for the Times," the first of the Index Tract series, into the hands of every such lonely thinker. It is a bird's-eye view of the "New Faith," sketched as well as we can sketch it. There have been many essays and articles in THE INDEX written by many writers with the same general purpose. Such persons as Dr. F. mentions are entitled to the best words and best sympathy of all who have struggled into the warmth of free religion; and THE INDEX is an earnest and honest attempt to transmit both. Would that it might be more successful in reaching all who need it! Too few are willing to take the necessary pains to increase its circulation, which might easily be doubled, if all united to help it.—ED.]

A YOUNG LADY, having read about a man's having invented a stove which consumed its own smoke, hopes he will devise a method whereby tobacco-smokers may be run on the same economical principle.

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of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support. To this end, all improper or "blind" advertisements, all quack advertisements, and all advertisements believed to be fraudulent or unjust to any one, will be excluded from these columns. No cuts will be admitted.

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TOLEDO, Ohio, Sept. 20, 1872.

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HENRY S. STEBBINS.

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 WILLIAM H. SPENCER, Sparta, Wis.
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 MRS. E. D. CHENEY, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
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Almost every number contains a discourse or leading article, which alone is worth the price of one year's subscription.

Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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INDEX TRACTS.

No. 1.—*Truths for the Times*, by F. E. Abbot, contains the "Fifty Affirmations" and "Modern Principles." MR. CHARLES DARWIN, author of "The Origin of Species," says, in a letter to the editor not originally intended for publication, but subsequently authorized to be used: "I have now read 'TRUTHS FOR THE TIMES,' and I admire them from my inmost heart; and I agree to almost every word." New Edition. Price 10 cents; 12 copies \$1.00.

No. 2.—*Fear of the Living God*, by O. B. Frothingham, exposes the debasing character of the popular notions of God, and presents conceptions of him that are worthy of the nineteenth century. New Edition. Price 5 cents; 12 copies 50 cents.

No. 3.—*Lecture on the Bible*, by the Rev. Charles Voysey, of England, is an overwhelming demonstration of the imperfections and errors of the Bible, both in the Old and the New Testaments. New Edition. Price 10 cents; 12 copies \$1.00.

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being.

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1875.

WHOLE No. 285.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —:

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

RY A. W. S.

MR. O. B. FROTHINGHAM has very kindly placed in our hands two of his manuscript essays, one of which we shall print in THE INDEX next week.

"ELISHA was a good man," says Dr. Lorimer of the Tremont Temple, "but he ought to have whipped the boys." Oh no; the bears "licked" them up sufficiently!

GEN. GRANT does not wish, he says, to be president for a third term. We imagine that his wishes, in this respect, have a singular coincidence with those of the people.

O. B. FROTHINGHAM, Dr. Holland, Bayard Taylor, and others, have complimented Miss Kate Field by asking her to reappear upon the stage. The lady has accepted the invitation.

THE POPE receives a higher salary than any sovereign in Europe. His average monthly income is said to be two millions of dollars. We should think that might support any man, fallible or infallible.

IT IS WITH great pleasure that we print in our editorial columns, this week, an article from the pen of Rev. Dr. Bartol. He has his own beautiful way of saying things, as well as his own rare wisdom in thinking them.

SINCE the return to this country of David A. Wasson and Francis Tiffany, American radicalism has all its ablest representatives at home, except Moncure D. Conway; and we are not sure but he calls himself an Englishman by this time.

GEN. SHERMAN'S new book—his *Memoirs*—is having a great sale, and is provoking much discussion in military circles. To any of our friends who may desire it we will send it, on their order. Five dollars and a half is the price.

THE LONDON *Academy*, in an extended notice of Fisk's *Cosmic Philosophy* (which a colored porter at J. R. Osgood & Co.'s persists in calling *Comic Philosophy*), says that it is "the most important contribution yet made by America to philosophical literature."

THE *Liberal Christian*, in an editorial notice of the Free Religious meetings during anniversary week, says: "But saying what we have, it would be ungenerous to omit the acknowledgment of the unwonted sweetness and moderation which characterized the meetings."

COL. HIGGINSON presided at the morning meeting of the Free Religious Association, on Friday of anniversary week; and we hear only the highest praise of the address which he made on that occasion. We venture to say that no other Association in the land has two such capable and brilliant presiding officers, as Messrs. Frothingham and Higginson confessedly are.

THE EVANGELICALS are pricking up their spirits for a lively campaign in this city next autumn. Rev. Mr. Murray is to have Music Hall for Sunday services; and Horticultural and Beethoven Halls are had in prospect for similar popular meetings. Is it a pity that free religion had not some great popular prophet, such as Theodore Parker was, who could preach a reasonable religion, every Sunday, to the people of Boston?

A SUBSCRIBER, in renewing his subscription, and speaking of the "hard times" which he and so many others have experienced, says: "Farmers must not spend money till they earn it." A good and sound maxim, indeed; yet applicable, not alone to farmers, but to editors and all others. "Pay as you go" is not a maxim of simple prudence only, but of genuine honesty as well. This strictly observed by men and nations, and "hard times" would oppress us less often and less severely.

"I DO NOT believe," says one, "in people wrapping up their hearts, and putting them carefully away lest they should get hurt." Yes; our faculties are sometimes killed by too much coddling. Better let them take the world as they find it, and "rough it" as best they can. There is no safer place than the world, where we can be brought up. All the good we know is there, as well as all the evil; both are mixed up together. In trying unwisely to run away from the last, we are in danger of losing the first.

THE GEM meeting of anniversary week, in many respects, was that which took place at Hollis Street Chapel, in this city, on Wednesday afternoon; at which occurred the graduating exercises of the Kindergarten Normal Class from the school of Miss Garland, at 98 Chestnut Street. Four essays were read, all upon kindergarten topics, and illustrations of kindergarten games were very charmingly given by the class. The kindergarten system of education, we believe, is bound more and more to win the attention and approbation of parents.

WE LEARN on the authority of the *Boston Journal* that the *New York Nation* is now chiefly edited by two Massachusetts men—Arthur Sedgwick and Wendell Phillips Garrison. Mr. Godkin, hitherto the editor, has come to reside in Cambridge, where there is some hint of making him a professor. The *Nation* is certainly an able paper, but it always has seemed to us to be afflicted with an element of cynicism, and moreover to lack a certain moral earnestness which is indispensable to any paper that affects to be critical in the interest of political and social reform.

REV. S. P. PUTNAM, of Omaha, Neb., who spoke so acceptably at the late meetings of the Free Religious Association in this city, has written the following letter which will explain itself:—

"BOSTON, June 4, 1875.

"G. W. FOX, Ass't. Sec. A. U. A.:

"Dear Sir,—I find that my intellectual convictions are of such a nature, that I cannot work freely or to advantage with the Unitarian body; and that Christianity, as almost universally understood, is something which I not only do not accept but believe injurious to the best interests of man. I therefore wish to have my name removed from the *Year Book* of the Unitarian Association, and to be no longer called a Unitarian or Christian minister.

"Very truly yours,

"S. P. PUTNAM."

THE SECOND RADICAL CLUB will have its annual Grove Meeting next Sunday, June 13. Its great success last year, with a similar occasion, lends a strong coloring of hope that this next one will be no less successful. The same place which the club found so agreeable last summer has been selected for this, and pretty much the former arrangements have been repeated by the committee in charge. Trains will leave the Fitchburg depot at 9:45 A. M., and 1 P. M. Tickets for the round trip will be sixty cents for adults, and thirty-five cents for children. They may be obtained only at this office prior to 4 o'clock P. M. on Saturday, and of the Secretary at the depot on Sunday morning. Members are expected to furnish refreshments as before.

ONE SAYS: "I believe in people doing and saying foolish things; it gives variety to life, and keeps self-conceit at its proper level." There is some quaint wisdom in this; and yet the wisdom it hints is that, when we have fairly outgrown our foolishness, we see how even it may have been an essential part of our whole experience, and helped us on to a wiser age. Certainly it were not well to suggest that *deliberately* to do or say a foolish thing is advisable under any circumstances; only that human nature will have expression—foolishly if it must, wisely if it can; and that the beauty and mystery of the whole thing is that even folly is made to promote wisdom in the end, and that our full-rounded life is built up of many and various fragments.

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Our Ancestors, and their Religion.

BY A. W. STEVENS.

Every man, I suppose, has some interest in his ancestors. He likes to know who they were and what they were. The man of the novel, *Japhet in Search of his Father*, is only a representative, I take it, of most men; inasmuch as we all have a natural curiosity to know what our origin was as well as what our destiny is to be. By knowing our progenitors we are helped to know ourselves; for it is by heritage, greatly, that we are what we are. And although the child may improve upon the parent, yet the child is because the parent was. By going back, therefore, to the source of our origin, finding out who our ancestors were, where they were born and when, how they lived and acted, what they loved and hated, what they believed and denied, what they hoped for and feared,—by ascertaining or endeavoring to ascertain all this, we shall be satisfying—shall we not?—a natural and laudable curiosity; and shall arrive at a better understanding of our own character and circumstances.

Races, no less than individuals, have an ancestry. Every nation must own its parent as well as every child. Every people must account for itself in part, by giving an account of the people from whom it sprang. Unless a race or nation knows the peculiarities of the race or nation it came from, it cannot know what is peculiar to itself,—how much it owes to inheritance, and how much to native genius and originality. Perchance it may find that there are some things, which it has been supposing were of its own invention and discovery, that really are referable to the country and the people whose lineal offspring it is. In the home and heart of the remote land and race, out of whose midst it came, it may with surprise discover many of the same manners and customs, institutions and beliefs, common stories and fables, nursery tales and rhymes even, which are familiar and prevalent in its own community, and which it thought were indigenous there. Such a discovery, however, although it may greatly damage national conceit and egotism, yet will have a tendency to quicken in the heart of modern nations great interest in and sympathy with ancient and ancestral nations; and though these latter may be extinct, or exist only in faded relics and remnants, yet their history will be more intently studied, and all that gives information of them more eagerly sought after, than ever before. And thus men will become at the same time more intelligent concerning themselves, and concerning the race—the whole race—to which they belong.

WHO WERE OUR ANCESTORS?

Who were our ancestors?—the ancestors of us who call ourselves Americans? Shall we say the English? This will be true; and yet our question only will have begun to be answered. To trace our ancestry back to England, or Scotland, or Ireland, or France, or Germany, is to take but a very short step backward in our ancestral investigations. This country is exceedingly juvenile. Compared with the age of other nations, the American nation is only a day old. We were born yesterday, and every child of us knows that our mother was England. But England is herself comparatively young; she is one of the modern, not one of the ancient, nations. Only a few centuries ago England was not a nation at all,—the country and the people inhabiting it were known under a different name. English civilization,

great and noble as it is, is comparatively recent; ten centuries will cover it,—for that period will take us back to Alfred the Great, who was the father of English civilization. Ten centuries—a thousand years—this is a brief space of time when we are encountering the past, when we are investigating the lineage of nations! Before Alfred, what? No England—no English nation, no English civilization worth the name.

We must go behind England then—behind the English nation—in the search of our real ancestry. But what do we find behind England and the English? We find Britain and the Britons. Britain was the name which England was known by in the time of Julius Caesar, and for some time after. The Britons were not our modern British (although these latter take their name from the former), but they were an obscure tribe rather than a nation of people. They were semi-barbarous. They lived in huts, and dressed in the skins of wild beasts. They had no great cities or towns; they had no commerce or trade worth mentioning; they could show no signs of any considerable advancement in the arts and sciences—indeed, their civilization was exceedingly rudimentary.

Do we find, now, our real ancestry among these ancient Britons? No, we do not; although they help to constitute the basis of it, and in approaching them we begin to touch bottom as we voyage up the stream of history searching for the sources of our ethnical life. But the ancient Britons alone would hardly have given birth to the great English nation, and so have stood as our progenitors. They had to be invaded by a superior people; they had to be re-enforced in their stock by harder, more heroic, more enterprising, and more conquering tribes, before they could be worked up into the constituent elements of the noble Anglo-Saxon family. The Britons furnished the ground; but other nations had to bring the materials with which to build up the glorious civilization of our modern England.

Now how was this done? Briefly as possible I will try to tell.

THE ROMANS.

Fifty-five years B. C., Julius Caesar—who was then one of the three ruling consuls of Rome—flushed with success elsewhere, turned his intrepid look towards the North, and determined on the conquest of Gaul. Gaul was the ancient name of France, and of the northernmost portion of Italy. The North of Europe was at this time little known to the South, very slight communication having taken place between the two sections. By Romans, in Caesar's time, the North was considered as a vast outlying wilderness filled with hordes and tribes of semi-barbarians, who were pretty good in making war and in going on predatory expeditions, but not amounting to much in other respects. Caesar, however, loved a stout foe, and bravely courted danger. If the North was difficult to subdue, all the more did he wish to subdue it. So with a large army of infantry and cavalry, and a considerable navy, he started forth on the enterprise to conquer Gaul. Having succeeded in this, it was only a step for him to enter Britain, which he did; and succeeded, after some hard fighting, in putting that country also under subjection to the Roman eagles. This was fifty-five years B. C. For one hundred years thereafter—owing to civil disorders in Rome—Britain was alternately free from and subject to Roman power. But, fifty years after Christ, Claudius Caesar determined to subdue it wholly; and in connection with his successor, Nero, this was finally accomplished, and the Britons—after being slaughtered by the thousand and the tens of thousands—were at last fairly conquered and made vassals by the Romans. During this last effort in the conquest of Britain, London was founded by the Romans; and those immense walls and dykes and garrisons were built, the remains of which are visible in England to this day. For four hundred years after this final conquest, Rome remained the complete mistress of Britain. Then her power at home began to decline, and with it went down her empire in the West and North of Europe. The Britons were now once more free, and endeavored to carry on their own affairs in their own way.

THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

But now new enemies appeared. The Picts and the Scots—who had been kept at bay hitherto by the Romans—poured down from their invulnerable highlands, and carried dismay and devastation to the hearts and homes of the Britons. The Picts and Scots were a small tribe, but a fierce one. The Britons, now in their helplessness, called on their former masters, the Romans, for assistance against these rugged invaders from Scotland. But the Romans were having enough to do at home, and refused all succor. The Britons then, in their extremity, applied to two neighboring German tribes—called the Angles and the Saxons—to come over and help them. This call was heard and answered. The Angles and the Saxons came—joined their united forces with those of the Britons, and soon chased the Picts and Scots back to their highland homes, and compelled them to remain there. And here, for the first time, the Anglo-Saxon race appears in history; formed by the union of the Angles and Saxons in one tribe or nation. And at this point we begin to feel that we must be very near to if not quite arrived at the fountain head of our ancestry. But we have at least one step more to take.

The Anglo-Saxons, having assisted the Britons to drive out their enemies, were not then disposed to return to their own country, nor to leave the Britons to enjoy the fruits of the victory by themselves; but they determined to remain and make the new country their own, and to set up their authority there. This they did; and the Britons, though delivered

from the Scots, became straightway delivered over again to their deliverers. Here Britain and the Britons disappear from history, and the Anglo-Saxons and England take their place. This was A. D. 450.

THE NORTHMEN.

But the Anglo-Saxons—or Saxons as we will call them—were not suffered long to remain in peace in their new possessions. Away to the North, on the Scandinavian peninsula, there dwelt another tribe of people, whose fame had widely gone forth, and who were held in great respect and fear even at Rome. This was the tribe of Normans, or Northmen. As early as A. D. 398-410, the Normans (called by the inhabitants of Southern Europe Goths, which signifies a rude, barbarous people) had left their wintry regions in the North, marched the whole length of the continent of Europe, and arrived at the gates of the "Eternal City," which three times they entered, and the third time ravaged, pillaged, and sacked. Thus these bold adventurers, so early—before the Saxons had entered Britain—had made their name a terror throughout the length and breadth of Europe. They marched and counter-marched the continent at pleasure, and there was no power so mighty as permanently to impede their progress. This was the case until the time of Charlemagne—A. D. 768-814—when they were somewhat checked and beaten back; not, however, before they had made permanent establishments in some of the Southern and Western nations of Europe. During all this time, they had continued to molest and invade the countries nearer home. They made repeated incursions into Germany, England, and France; and succeeded, after the death of Charlemagne, in compelling one of his feeble heirs—then king of France—to cede to them one of the noblest provinces in the north of the kingdom, in which they permanently settled, making it the dukedom of Normandy. And here they were the near and dangerous rivals of the Saxons—only the Straits of Dover lying between the two. The Saxons were well aware of the character of their powerful neighbors, for almost from the time they had taken possession of England they had been molested and terrified by them, as they had swooped down from Scandinavia with the swiftness and fury of northern winds and storms. Indeed, for a great many years these Normans had disputed with the Saxons for the possession of England, much of the time with about an even degree of success. Under Alfred the Great—who reigned from 872 to 901 A. D.—they were temporarily checked; and the Saxons, under this great king, saw their palmiest days in England. But it almost always has transpired that, after a truly great man has lived and borne sway with mighty influence in a nation's affairs, he has been succeeded by a set of truly small men who have well nigh undone what he did, and wasted what he created. This was the case after Alfred; for, so feeble was the administration of his successors, that in a very short time the Northmen were quite as powerful in England as the Saxons were; and, in little more than a century after Alfred's death, these bold and all-conquering adventurers from Scandinavia had made themselves complete masters of the Saxons, and put their own king on the throne of England. William, Duke of Normandy in France—who himself was a whole-blooded Northman, from the stock of Scandinavia—in A. D. 1066 crossed over from Normandy into England, defeated Harold, the last Saxon king, at the battle of Hastings, and took entire possession of the crown and territory of England. Henceforth, the Saxons were never in power again in the British isles, but almost from that time to this Norman influence, Norman manners, Norman customs, Norman character, may be said to have prevailed in the English nation.

And now, at last, we have found our real ancestry. It is a composite race, made up of many materials, to which we belong. The blood of the ancient Britons, the Angles, the Saxons, the Normans, flows in our veins,—and we are indebted to them all for our national character. But it is from the Scandinavian stock that we are especially descended. We were born out of the North—out of the hoar-frost and rime. We came from the loins of the mighty Goths, who for more than five centuries made the continent of Europe tremble beneath their mighty tramp, as they marched all-conquering from the ice-fields of Norway to the vine-clad plains of Italy. We call ourselves Anglo-Saxons: it would be more proper if we called ourselves Anglo-Normans; for the Northmen of Europe stamped deeper than any other tribe or family their strong peculiarities upon our English temperament and constitution. They transmitted to us that imperious and indomitable will, that adventurous and enterprising spirit, which straightway sent England to the front rank among the nations of Europe; and which has since made America—the child of England—to loom up as a nation which has no successful rival in the arts of war or of peace. And it is not a little remarkable that Rome—who ruled in England four hundred years—did not succeed in leaving her language there; but in France—where she also ruled an equal length of time—she did leave it, inasmuch as the Latin is still the basis of the French tongue. The English language is more pure and original—having a less number of foreign elements in it—than any other of the great European languages, except the German. And this is owing in chief measure, no doubt, to the invincibility of the Anglo-Norman character—to its power of resistance. Our vernacular is less facile and graceful than the French or Italian, but it is stronger and sturdier. It is more racy; it smacks of the soil, of the woods, of the rocks, of the glens, of the hills—aye, of the snow, the frost, and the ice.

I said we had found at last our ancestry among the Northmen—as indeed we have. But the insatiable

spirit of inquiry moves us to ask just one more question. Who were the Northmen, and where did they come from?

Although this question has long been asked by those who are curious about the history of man, it is only within the last twenty-five or fifty years that it has received a satisfactory answer. Once, all that could be said about the Northmen was that they came from the Scandinavian peninsula; that is, from Norway and Sweden. Those who insisted on the Church-dogma, of all men from one pair, of course felt obliged to refer the Northmen back to Adam; but how Adam's children ever got strayed so far from home, and got so changed from the style of their parents, these good Bible-believers did not pretend to explain, except by a miracle and a succession of miracles. But miracles are not necessary to account for anything. They are out of place entirely, when we wish to proceed soberly and scientifically in any investigation. Without the convenience of miracles—but by patient, persevering, systematic, laborious study—it has been discovered who the Northmen were, and where they originally came from; and the result is quite as wonderful as any miracle could be.

THE ARYANS.

By the science of Comparative Philology—which is the study of human languages, their origin, their constitution, their affinities—it has been clearly demonstrated that the Northmen came from Northern-Central Asia; that they belong to that great and ancient branch of the human family, which is called the Aryan branch, or the Aryan race—or sometimes the Indo-European race; that they are members of this race with the Hindus, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans.

In very remote times—how remote none can say—the ancestors of all these nations lived in ancient Iran, or Northern-Central Asia. For some reason—probably because of a very decided change in the climate of that region, from pleasant mildness to intolerable cold—this ancient people determined to emigrate, and seek new homes elsewhere. They divided into two streams; one went south-east into India, the other went north-west into Europe. These last as they slowly migrated planted colonies, or left detachments, in Persia, in Greece, in Italy, in Gaul, in Germany, in Scandinavia. Of course, these various migrations covered an immense period of time; and between the time when the emigration from old Iran first began, to that when the most advanced wave of it had swept clean up into the northern-most portion of Europe, thousands of years must have intervened. So that, throughout this immense lapse of time, and the changes which occurred meanwhile, the nations starting from the same point would have forgotten their common source and origin, their original family relationship and connection. This, indeed, they did. From having originally constituted one and the same nation, they came to constitute many and various nations; from having originally spoken one tongue, they came to speak a great many different tongues; from having originally substantially but one code of laws, one set of manners and customs, they came to have different codes of laws and very various manners and customs. And yet, underneath all the wonderful variety which now distinguishes these different nations, on close and careful attention there is clearly discoverable a still more wonderful fundamental unity. As we dig down through the vast deposits which centuries upon centuries have piled above the historical courses of this great race, we find that all the streams of national life which trickle down from Norway and Sweden, from Russia, Germany, and the British Isles, from France, Spain, Italy, and Greece,—and those which flow up from Persia and India,—we find that all these come together at last, and unite in one vast volume, and ascend to one fountain head, in the far off and now uncertain seat of the ancient Aryan race. Different as are the languages which these widely-scattered nations now speak, when we come to subject these languages to a careful and critical analysis,—when we examine their structure, get at their roots, and trace their ramifications and affinities,—wonderful as it may seem, we discover that they are all branches of one great trunk, dialects of one ancient tongue, which was spoken by the people who were the ancestors of Indian, Persian, Grecian, Roman, Celt, German, Saxon, and Norman alike. Incredible though it should appear, the very language which we Americans now speak is a sister language to that in which the sacred Scriptures of India and Persia were written more than a thousand years before the birth of Christ. Nay, more; as we pursue our curious investigations farther, we find that many of the same rhymes and stories which doubtless are sung and told in some of our American homes to-day,—in many at least of the homes of Norway and Sweden, England, Scotland, and Germany,—are the same essentially as those which are sung and told by many a Hindu mother to her child, and which descended to them and to us through long and tortuous channels from the old common parent stock in Northern Asia. So wonderful are the results of the science of Comparative Philology, which shows us how our ancestral lines run far out into the past, and intertwine with those of many another nation greatly remote from us in time and space!

These Northmen, then—our immediate ancestors—came legitimately by their adventuresome and roving spirit. They received it from their ancestors. No wonder, therefore, that they, as also the Germans and the Celts (the last of whom inhabited Gaul or France), should have sent out explorers to take possession of and to colonize neighboring provinces. Thus the Celts colonized Britain and Ireland; the northern Germans colonized Scotland in part (the Picts and Scots were Germanic or Teutonic tribes), and subsequently France, Spain, and Italy. The

Northmen went almost everywhere, planting colonies and nations which in some cases had only a brief existence, and in others were permanent. Among other places to which their enterprising spirit carried them, the Northmen went to Iceland, Greenland, and even to America. Yes, five hundred years before Columbus discovered America, the Northmen had discovered it. In A. D. 1007, some of the Northmen, for the second or third time, came to this country, skirted along Massachusetts Bay, sailed around Cape Cod, past Nantucket and Duke's Islands, up into Mount Hope Bay; on the shores of which they landed, built their houses or booths, and remained there three years. So early, therefore, as the beginning of the eleventh century,—while yet this continent was entirely unknown to Europe, while even the dark ages were resting still over European nations,—the enterprising Northmen, our real ancestors, had discovered for us our destined home; had actually made a lodgment here, and reared the altars of that religion which now is the acknowledged faith of all Christians in America. For as early as the tenth century the Northmen, to a considerable extent, were converted to Christianity.

THE RELIGION OF THE NORTHMEN.

And now we have traced and followed the fortunes of the Northmen, not only in Europe, but from their origin in Northern-Central Asia, in a time so remote as to be unknown, to the eleventh century, when they had discovered and temporarily taken possession of America. It now remains for us to consider the religion of our ancestors, and to find out what their ideas of God and man, of the world, of duty, of life and immortality were, before they became Christians.

The religion of all the ancient tribes of Northern Europe was fundamentally and essentially one. Indeed, in many of its conspicuous and important features it bore a striking resemblance to the ancient religion of Greece, Persia, and India. Max Müller says: "The broad outlines of the ancient religions of those races (the Scandinavian, the German, the Celtic, the Greek, the Roman, the Persian, the Indian), were likewise the same; originally they all worshipped the same gods, and their earliest (Aryan) communities were not broken up before such pregnant conceptions as 'God,' 'evil spirit,' 'heaven,' 'sacred,' 'to worship,' 'to believe,' had found expression." Of course, all these religions were so-called pagan religions,—for all the nations professing them had a national existence long before Christianity had its origin; and yet they all anticipated Christianity in the fundamental and vital doctrines which it teaches; and, though some of these ancient religions have since given way to Christianity, they have not done so without imparting to the religion to which they succumbed some of their own healthful and vigorous life.

The religion of the Northmen is to be studied in their Sacred Scriptures, called the "Eddas." The manuscripts of these sacred books were found for the first time in Iceland, early in the seventeenth century. They immediately awakened in the minds of the few who cared for such studies the profoundest interest; and since that time they have been carefully studied and scrutinized, and have undergone numerous translations and publications in the Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, German, and English languages.

The Eddas were originally written and composed in the old Norse language, which was the language spoken by the Northmen in Scandinavia and Iceland; for in Iceland the Northmen established themselves in the ninth century, and built up a considerable community there, which continued and flourished for a long time; noble traces of which remain to this day. The precise date of the composition of the Eddas cannot be with certainty determined. Great antiquity is claimed for them by some; they are ascribed to a modern origin by others. Max Müller says that the poetic Eddas (for they were divided into prose and poetic parts) "were composed in Norway in the sixth century after Christ, carried to Iceland in the ninth, and written down (or written out in full) in the eleventh century." However that may be, they are the source of our reliable information concerning the religion of the Northmen.

And now what was that religion? Interesting as it would be to dwell upon the particulars of this faith, we must suffice ourselves now by mentioning only the important and most impressive features of it.

THE ASA-FAITH.

The ancient religion of the Northmen is usually called the Asa-Religion, or Asa-Faith,—from the *Æsir*; that is, the gods whom the Northmen worshipped. Of course we find in this Asa-Religion—as we do in every religion, excepting none—a great deal that is the result of superstition, an unenlightened, undeveloped state of the human intellect and conscience; we find a great deal that is grotesque and weird, fabulous and mythological. In this religion, as in every other, we have to separate the chaff from the wheat, the kernel from the husk, the spirit from the letter; we have to separate that in it which is essential and eternal from that which is only local, accidental, and transient. But whatever else we find in this religion, we find that at any rate which fed, inspired, and animated the hearts and minds of our heroic ancestors; we find that which shows them clearly to have been touched with the finger of Divine light and love, and which puts their fundamental faith in sympathy and relationship with the fundamental faith of the soul of man throughout all time.

CREATION—OR EVOLUTION.

The idea which the Northmen had of the origin of all things was substantially this: In the beginning, there were two World-principles or elements. One was Light and Heat; the other was Darkness and Cold. Between these, there was a deep abyss of

emptiness, silence, and rest. But Light and Heat sent forth their beams across the yawning chasm, and touched the darkness and the cold. Immediately there is motion; and out of its bosom chaotic matter comes forth, and takes on form and organization. Thus is the first World-mass created, and the void space is filled with substance. But as yet the physical world only is created. The void is gone,—but silence yet remains. Now, then, the Animal-world appears, which comes forth of the Physical, and is allied to it. But even this is not all: a third result is yet to be reached. The Spirit-world is produced, which overcomes and rules the Physical and the Animal. Then darkness and cold and void and silence all flee away, and light and warmth and substance and life are instead.

First, heaven is filled with spirits. At the head of all these is Odin, who is spirit, power, and holiness. He has two brothers, who with himself constitute the Trinity—the three *Æsir*. But Odin is above all and over all; he is creator and sustainer; he is the All-Father,—by this name the Supreme Being was known and addressed by the Northmen. Odin creates Ask and Embla—the first man and the first woman, from whom all the rest of mankind were descended.

Now is Creation complete and perfect. The All-Father smiles upon his work, and watches over it with powerful and loving care. He is the spirit, the divinity, which resides and moves in it, as the soul in the body.

THE ENTRANCE OF EVIL.

In the first ages of creation, the Asa-Religion says, there was a time of peace and happiness among men and gods. But from the beginning there had been seeds or germs of evil, which slumbered in the World-mass—in the dark, cold, chaotic matter which Spirit partially overcame. From these there was produced a race of evil beings who inhabited the lowest, deepest, darkest, coldest place in Nature.* These were the Jötuns, the wicked giants, who by their very nature were at war with the good god Odin, and all his works. One of their number, called Loki, somehow managed to insinuate himself into the kind graces of the gods, and to get a place among them in heaven. Here he craftily fomented mischief and rebellion; and the consequence was that he and all who adhered to him were cast down out of heaven into the lowest depths again. From this time forth, Loki became the active agent of evil throughout the world. He is the author of earthquakes and eclipses, of every species of natural calamity. He is also the author of sin on the earth; for he crept into the midst of mankind, and stole away many hearts from good, by the alluring prizes of sensual and mercenary gain. Thus Odin and Loki—Good and Evil—come to be terrible antagonists and enemies.

MORAL CONFLICT.

The Asa-Religion says that when innocence left the earth righteousness came in its place. That is, when men were called on to decide whom they would serve, Odin or Loki; when they were led to make choice between good and evil,—then the vision of virtue dawned on them, and they saw that though they had ceased to be innocent they could become righteous. Hence, the moral law, the sense of duty, is taught in the Asa-Faith. Man hears the voice of the moral sense in him, calling him over to the side of good; but there is also in him his physical nature which draws him towards the evil. It is thus with man, says the Asa-Religion, because his moral or spiritual part came from Odin, while his sensuous and grosser part came from Loki. If he would be happy, however, and deserve the favor of the *Æsir*, he must take sides with them in fighting against the Jötuns. Then will he have lot with the spirits above, and receive an abundant reward. Otherwise, Loki will possess him altogether, and drag him finally down to the caverns of woe and despair.

IMMORTALITY.

For the Asa-Religion also clearly recognizes the future life of the soul, and teaches the doctrine of immortality. The Eddas say: "The All-Father made man, and gave him a soul that shall live and never perish, though the body rot to mould or burn to ashes." (See Dr. Dasent, Oxford essays on *The Norsemen of Iceland*.) They taught that the good, brave, and virtuous at death should ascend to Asgard, and dwell with Odin and his bright family; while the evil, the cowardly, and the sensual should descend to remain with Loki and his evil spirits, in Jötunheim.

Here I should say that the Asa-Religion speaks of various divisions of the universe. "Heim," in the old Norse language, means home. Therefore the home of the gods is called Godheim, or Asgard. The home of man is called Manheim, or Midgard. The home of the evil spirits, or Jötuns, is called Jötunheim. There are other divisions also, but these are the principal ones. In Asgard, where the gods live, is Valhalla, the great hall where Odin gives his banquets to his celestial companions, and where he receives the souls of the brave who are slain in battle.

DESTRUCTION AND REGENERATION.

The Eddas also speak of the end and regeneration of the world. The long and fierce struggle between Odin and Loki—or between the *Æsir* and the Jötuns—terminates at last in the destruction of everything. The vault of heaven cracks and falls; the earth bulges and yawns; the sea foams and lashes itself; the sun, moon, and stars are swallowed up in unyielding night; the *Æsir* and the Jötuns close in a final deadly contest—all creation ends in one tremendous crash, and rolls over into the yawning maw of

* It is a singular fact that, in the Asa-Religion, hell was regarded as an intensely cold rather than a hot place!

the bottomless abyss! Nothing less terrific, stunning, and perfectly tremendous than such a winding up of all things could have suited at all the vigorous imagination of the Northmen. Tempestuous and destructive in their natures, they craved a grand catastrophe as the close of all things; and, in their demand for the last touch of the awful, they were willing to risk even the destruction of Odin and the gods along with the Jötuns, trusting that the great All-Father would contrive somehow to emerge from the universal demolition, and recover himself and his kingdom once more!

And this, indeed, was the case. For, though Odin and all his gods went down in their grand final tussle with the Jötuns, the bright and glorious deity reappeared, waved his sceptre over the universe, and a new earth was evoked, or rather the old one came forth regenerated and purified—the immortal good of gods and men was recovered, and the world went on again glad, pure, and rejoicing, free from the stain and thrall of evil forever. All this is only a lively image of the great struggle which is going on between good and evil, spirit and matter, virtue and vice, and the final certain triumph of the former over the latter.

SPIRITS—DEMONOLOGY.

The Northmen shared largely in the almost universal belief among men in the agency of spirits in connection with human affairs. Is not Scandinavia the home of fairytories, of elves, of trolls, of sprites, and goblins? All the Germanic races are full of the belief in such things. Moreover, the Northmen believed in guardian spirits—that each man had one or more. And they believed in the consulting with spirits, in getting information and help from them. There was a large class among them who had second-sight; who dealt familiarly with spirits, and acted as "mediums" between them and ordinary mortals. This, at least, was the popular notion.

WORSHIP.

The old Northmen were not accustomed to offer their worship in temples. They believed that God lived out of doors, and could best be found there; that he preferred to meet his children in the large and glorious temple which he himself had constructed. So they worshipped him, even as their ancient brethren the Persians did, under the blue sky, often in the aisles and arches of the woods. In later times, however, they did have temples; but they were simple in construction and arrangement.

Thus I have given an outline of the religion of our sturdy ancestors—the old Norse-Folk. Of course I have omitted a great deal that is interesting and instructive, and have done no more than sketch the subject, and indicate the prominent features. How many of the stories and fables familiar to our Norman and Saxon ancestors I have left unmentioned, though they are part and parcel of the religious faith and daily life of those people! They would well repay any one for the trouble of looking them up, especially those who love the homely but pleasant lore of our rude ancestors. I say rude; and yet, though these Scandinavians were fierce, stormy, and warlike in their disposition, they had also many noble and excellent qualities. They knew how to be generous to a friend, and magnanimous to a foe. There was nothing mean, sneaking, or treacherous about them. They were frank, manful, and true; brave to the point of rashness, rough in their encounter as the north wind; and yet they could be kind, and gentle, and tender. May their memory live long in our hearts! May we keep and cherish all the truths and virtues they have transmitted to us, and discard all their errors and vices!

EDDA MAXIMS.

The following are some of the maxims found in the older Edda, which were believed to have been given by Odin himself:—

Vices and virtues are borne by the sons of men blended in the breast; no man is so good that his faults do not follow him; no one so bad that he is good for nothing.

A friend more trusty can no man have than a good understanding.

One's own home is the best, though little it may be; every man is master in his own house. Though he have but two goats, and a cottage thatched with boughs, it is better than begging.

This I counsel thee, secondly, that thou swear not an oath unless it be true. Cruel fetters shall bind the traitor. Wretched is he who breaks his word.

Hast thou a friend in whom thou hast full confidence, and thou wilt receive good from him? Then mingle thy thoughts with his, exchange gifts with him and visit him often.

Never be the first to break off rashly with thy friend. Sorrow consumes the heart when thou hast no one to whom thou canst open thy whole mind.

Make thy friend's misfortune thine own.

Once I was young, and travelled alone through wild paths. But I thought myself rich when I met with others. Man is a joy to man.

That is a communion of soul where each can say confidently to the other all his thoughts. Anything is better than to be false. He is not a friend who speaks only fair words.

Never rejoice at the misfortune of others, but let their prosperity please thee.

Water he needs who comes to thy table; a towel and a hospitable welcome. By good treatment thou shalt win from him good words and kindness in return.

Scoff not the guest, nor spit upon him from the window. Be kind to the poor.

He talks too much who never ceases his vain flow of words. The flippant tongue, unless it be checked, often runs itself into mischief.

No heavier burden is borne by a man than immoderate drinking; nor is ale so good as it is said for the sons of men. The more one drinks, the less he knows, until his understanding is gone.

The bird of forgetfulness hovers over the drinking room, and steals away the senses of men.

The herd knows when to go home, and it leaves the pasture; but the foolish man knows not the measure of his stomach.

The gluttonous man, unless he makes use of his reason, eats his own death.

His power the wise man shall wield with moderation.

Cheerful and glad let every man be to the end of his life.

The heart only knows what dwells the heart nearest. It alone can betray itself.

There is no disease worse for the brave man, than to be discontented with his lot.

The master of the house should be cheerful at home, kind to his guests and circumspect; let him be attentive and affable.

The fool stares when he comes a guest. If he gets a drink, his whole mind is opened.

The tree pines away which stands within the village; no bark nor leaf remains to shelter it. So is it with the man whom no one loves; why shall he live long?

Bear thyself irreproachably towards thy brethren. Be slow to avenge thyself on them, even though they injure thee. This, it is said, will profit thee in death.

Wealth is like the glance of the eye—it is a most unstable friend.

Riches depart, kindred die, man himself dies also; but a good name dies never for him who gained it.

WOMAN'S PART IN THE CONCORD CELEBRATION.

BY LOUISA M. ALCOTT.

Being frequently asked, "What part the women took in the Concord Centennial Celebration?" I give herewith a brief account of our share on that occasion.

Having set our houses in order, stored our larders, and filled our rooms with guests, we girded up our weary souls and bodies for the great day, feeling that we must do or die for the honor of old Concord.

We had no place in the procession, but such women as wished to hear the oration were directed to meet in the town-hall at half-past nine, and there wait till certain persons, detailed for the purpose, should come to lead them to the tent, where a limited number of seats had been provided for the weaker vessels.

This seemed a sensible plan; and, as a large proportion of ladies chose the intellectual part of the feast, the hall was filled with a goodly crowd at the appointed hour. No one seemed to know what to do except wait, and that we did with the patience born of long practice. But it was very trying to the women of Concord to see invited guests wandering forlornly about, or sitting in chilly corners, meekly wondering why the hospitalities of the town were not extended to them, as well as to their "men folks," who were absorbed into the pageant in one way or another.

For an hour we women waited, but no one came; and the sound of martial music so excited the patient party that with one accord we moved down to the steps below, where a glimpse of the approaching procession might cheer our eyes. Here we stood, with the north wind chilling us to the marrow of our bones, a flock of feminine Casabiancas, with the slight difference of freezing instead of burning at our posts.

Some wise virgins, who put not their trust in men, departed to shift for themselves; but fifty or more obeyed orders and stood fast till, just as the procession appeared, an agitated gentleman with a rosette at his buttonhole gave the brief command:—

"Ladies, cross the common and wait for your escort!"

Then he vanished, and was seen no more.

Over we went, like a flock of sheep, leaving the show behind us, but comforting ourselves with the thought of the seats "saving up" for us, and of the treat to come. A cheerful crowd, in spite of the bitter wind, the rude comments of the men swarming by, and the sad certainty which slowly dawned upon us that we were entirely forgotten. The gay and gallant presence of a granddaughter of the Dr. Ripley who watched the fight from the Old Manse kept up our spirits; for this indomitable lady circulated among us like sunshine, inspiring us with such confidence that we rallied round the little flag she bore, and followed where it led.

Patience has its limits, and there came a moment when the revolutionary spirit of '76 blazed up in the bosoms of these long-suffering women; for, when some impetuous soul cried out, "Come on, and let us take care of ourselves!" there was a general movement; the flag fluttered to the front, veils were close-reefed, skirts kilted up, arms locked, and with one accord the Light Brigade charged over the red bridge, up the hill, into the tented field, rosy and red-nosed, dishevelled but dauntless.

The tent was closely packed, and no place appeared but a corner of the platform. Anxious to seat certain gray-haired ladies weary with long waiting, and emboldened by a smile from Senator Wilson, a nod from Representative May, and a pensive stare from Orator Curtis, I asked the President of the day if a few ladies could occupy that corner till seats could be found for them.

"They can sit or stand anywhere in the town except on this platform; and the quicker they get down the better, for the gentlemen are coming to take these places."

This gracious reply made me very glad to descend into the crowd again, for there at least good-nature reigned; and there we stood, placidly surveyed by the men (who occupied the seats set apart for us), not one of whom stirred, though the grandmother of Boston waited in the ranks.

My idea of hospitality may be old-fashioned, but I must say I felt ashamed of Concord that day, when all I could offer my guests, admiring pilgrims to this "Mecca of the mind," was the extreme edge of an unplanned board; for, when the gods were settled, leave was given us to sit on the rim of the platform.

Perched there, like a flock of tempest-tossed pigeons, we had the privilege of reposing among the sacred boots of the Gamaliels at whose feet we sat, and of listening to the remarks of the reporters, who evidently felt that the elbow-room of the almighty press should not be encroached upon even by a hair's breadth.

"No place for women," growled one.

"Never was a fitter," answered a strong-minded lady standing on one foot.

"Ought to have come earlier, if they come at all."

"So they would, if they had not obeyed orders. Never will again."

"Don't see why they couldn't be contented with seeing the procession."

"Because they preferred poetry and patriotism to fuss and feathers."

"Better have it all their own way, next time."

"No doubt they will, and I hope we shall all be there to see."

So the dialogue ended in a laugh, and the women resigned themselves to cold shoulders all round. But, as I looked about me, it was impossible to help thinking that there should have been a place for the great-granddaughters of Prescott, William Emerson, John Hancock, and Dr. Ripley, as well as for Isaac Davis's old sword, the scissor's that cut the immortal cartridges, and the ancient flag some woman's fingers made. It seemed to me that their presence on that platform would have had a deeper significance than the gold lace which adorned one side, or the senatorial ponderosity under which it broke down on the other; and that the men of Concord had missed a grand opportunity of imitating those whose memory they had met to honor.

The papers have told the tale of that day's exploits and experiences, but the papers did not get all the little items, and some of them were rather funny. Just before the services began, a distracted usher hurried in to inform Judge Hoar that the wives of several potentates had been left out in the cold, and must be accommodated. Great was the commotion then, for these ladies, being bobs to political kites, could not be neglected; so a part of the seats reserved for women were with much difficulty cleared, and the "elect precious" set thereon. Dear ladies! how very cold and wretched they were when they got there, and how willingly the "free and independent citizenesses" of Concord forgave them for reducing their limited quarters to the point of suffocation, as they spread their cloaks over the velvet of their guests, still trying to be hospitable under difficulties.

When order was restored, what might be called "the Centennial Break Down" began. The President went first—was it an omen?—and took refuge among the women who, I am happy to say, received him kindly, and tried to temper the wind to His Imperturbability, as he sat among them, looking so bored that I longed to offer him a cigar.

The other gentlemen stood by the ship, which greatly diversified the performances by slowly sinking with all on board but the captain. Even the orator tottered on the brink of ruin more than once, and his table would have gone over if a woman had not held up one leg of it for an hour or so. No light task, she told me afterward, for when the inspired gentleman gave an impressive thump, it took both hands to sustain the weight of his eloquence. Another lady was pinned down by the beams falling on her skirts, but cheerfully sacrificed them, and sat still, till the departure of the presidential party allowed us to set her free.

Finding us bound to hear it out, several weary gentlemen offered us their seats, after a time; but we had the laugh on our side now, and sweetly declined, telling them their platform was not strong enough to hold us.

It was over at last, and such of us as had strength enough left went to the dinner, and enjoyed another dish of patriotism, "cold without"; others went home to dispense hot comforts, and thaw the congealed visitors who wandered to our doors.

Then came the ball, and there all went well, for woman was in her sphere; her "only duty was to please," and the more there were the merrier. So the deserted damsels of the morning found themselves the queens of the evening, and, forgetting and forgiving, bore their part as gayly as if they had put on the vigor of their grandmothers with the old brocades that became them so well.

Plenty of escorts, ushers, and marshals at last, and six chairs apiece if we wanted them. Gentlemen who had been as grim as griffins a few hours before were all devotion now, and spectacles that had flashed awful lightning on the women who dared prefer poetry to polkas now beamed upon us benignly, and hoped we were enjoying ourselves, as we sat nodding along the walls while our guests danced.

That was the end of it; and by four A. M. peace fell upon the exhausted town, and from many a welcome pillow went up the grateful sigh:—

"Thank Heaven, we shall not have to go through this again!"

No, not quite the end; for by-and-by there will come a day of reckoning, and then the tax-paying women of Concord will not be forgotten, I think; will not be left to wait uncalled upon, or be considered in

the way. And then, I devoutly wish that those who so bravely bore their share of that day's burden without its honor will rally round their own flag again; and, following in the footsteps of their forefathers, will utter another protest that shall be "heard round the world."—*Woman's Journal*.

DRAPER AND HIS CRITICS.

Dr. Draper has reason for gratitude to his friends, and doubly so to his enemies. He wrote a bold book upon a subject never before separately treated, and by a large portion of the press it has been received with favor as a valuable and important contribution to the serious thought of the time. The interest in the subject, the reputation of its author, and the cordial commendation of many critics, were certain to secure the work a fair measure of success; but, on the other hand, a considerable number of writers were enraged by it, and, with the usual folly of passion, have execrated it into about thrice the circulation that it would otherwise have had. It is to be hoped they will learn that things are often overruled, in this world, to ends not contemplated by their contrivers. This, however, lends no excuse to bad practices, and those who have unscrupulously attacked Dr. Draper's work are to be held to account for it, just the same as if they had not overreached themselves in the result aimed at.

The honest and intelligent criticism of his book will, no doubt, be respected by its author, and objections to its reasonings and conclusions will probably be taken into careful consideration; while, if convinced of their validity, he may be expected to indicate it in future editions of the volume. But by a very considerable portion of the religious press, and by many secular journals, the editors of which know where to flatter and where to abuse, with a view to brisk sales, the book has been vehemently denounced. *Scribner's Monthly*, for example, published in March an admirable article on the "Indecencies of Criticism," and the same number contained a "criticism" of Dr. Draper's work, illustrating them so perfectly as to raise the suspicion that such was its design. The frothy invective that has been copiously poured out under the name of criticism is, of course, not worth noticing; nor shall we trouble ourselves with the various petty objections that have been raised, and that are so easy to raise, against a work of this character. But one criticism, particularly, deserves attention, because it lies against the whole reason and purpose of the book, and has been made on all sides; in fact, it forms the only unanimous basis of attack on the part of Dr. Draper's assailants. It is said that his work is a fiction, and represents no reality; that his subject is an illusion, his title a misnomer, and his book a mere figment of the imagination. He professes, it is said, to write a "History of the Conflict between Religion and Science," when there is not, and never has been, any such real conflict, and therefore no possibility of its history. The organs of all the Orthodox denominations are in emphatic accord upon this point, and even the outside sects—Jews, Unitarians, and Catholics, whom the Orthodox repudiate as beyond the pale of Christianity, as knowing nothing of true religion—take precisely the same ground in regard to Dr. Draper's work. The *Jewish Times*, for example, says: "Is there really a conflict between science and religion? We answer emphatically, no! There is no such conflict! there can be no such conflict!" Dr. Thomas Hill, in the *Unitarian Review*, says of Draper's book, that "so far from giving us a history of the conflict between science and religion, it gives us nothing to show that such a conflict ever existed"; and Dr. Brownson, at the Roman Catholic extreme, declares of our author's volume, "He professes to give in it the history of the conflict between religion and science, or of a conflict that has never occurred, and never can occur." There is, at all events, little conflict here, but an harmonious strain of denial of the legitimacy of Dr. Draper's subject, all along the line, and which reaches even to the dubious borders of that which is recognized as no religion at all.

What, now, are we to make of this? It can hardly be that these diverse parties have solemnly conspired to perpetrate a huge joke; and we can only suppose that they are serious at the expense of their intelligence. Religion and science have certainly coexisted in the world for a long time, and they have both figured pretty largely in human thought and human affairs. They must have had some relations with each other, and these relations must have had a definite character. If they have not been in conflict, then they have been out of conflict, or in harmony. Those who deny the antagonism must affirm the opposite, or that the relations of religion and science are, and always have been, those of concord and harmony. But, if this be so, let it be understood that Dr. Draper's work is not the only one that is discredited. What means the multitude of books that have been written professedly to bring these subjects into harmony? There is a vast body of theological literature, going back for centuries, that is devoted to the work of reconciling religion and science. Whole libraries of such literature have been consecrated to the harmonization of separate and special phases of that relation. Generation after generation have spent a large part of their theological force in reconciling Christian doctrine, which has been held as religion, with astronomical, geological, biological, and ethnological science. If Dr. Draper is a romancer, then all this must also go to the account of romance. If there has been no conflict, then there could be no reconciliation, for the attempt to reconcile that which is already harmonious is absurd. If it be said that our ignorant predecessors may have fancied a hostility which we now know to be unreal, the reply is, that the work of reconciliation was never so rife as to-day. We could

run the *Popular Science Monthly* alone on the papers we receive from the theological side, aiming to harmonize present religious thought with the present condition of science. Why this vigorous and comprehensive effort to harmonize the already harmonious? The religious periodicals abound in discussions aiming to compose the alleged differences and discords of religion and science; and there pours from the press a continuous stream of books devoted to the same end. An impending volume of eight hundred pages is announced by a correspondent of the *Evening Post*, who gives an analysis of its contents, and remarks: "The conflict between science and religion as to man's origin on this planet has been so ardent, and the interest which men of culture the world over feel in the subject is so deep and growing, that I can hardly be mistaken in supposing that the readers of the *Evening Post* will be pleased to receive a synopsis of Mr. Southall's book, the proof-sheets of which I have been kindly permitted to examine. He combats the views of Lyell, Lubbock, Evans, Lartet, De Mortillet, Nillson, Worsaae, Désor, and others, that man is several hundred thousand years old; or, as Mr. Geikie and Mr. Boyd Dawkins, in their recent books put it, preglacial." Again: "The book will provoke a deal of criticism in scientific and religious circles. Persons far more competent than the present writer to pronounce judgment upon its merits do not hesitate to say that it is the most important contribution yet made in America to the theological side of this weighty subject." Of course, "the theological side," which holds that there is no such thing as "the conflict between science and religion," "ardent" or otherwise, will at once proceed to squelch this superfluous writer; and when they have done so, and repudiated the folly and futility of all other books of the same class, and dried up the discussion in their periodicals, it will be time to talk to Dr. Draper about the ill-siveness of the subject-matter of his history. There is something not a little ludicrous in the attitude of those who are lustily continuing a fight that is centuries old; and, when the history of it comes to be written, suddenly turn non-resistants, and protest that it is all a mistake, and that there has really never been any conflict at all! Can it be that it is because they would rather not have the history appear?

But it will be said that truth can never be in conflict with itself; that religious truth and scientific truth must harmonize, and that any apparent antagonism is due to prejudice and imperfect knowledge. Granted; but this concedes the fact of a conflict, and only proposes a theory of its cause. The harmony affirmed is not a harmony realized, but rather hoped for, as a possibility of the future, to which present broad and thorough investigation is tending; and with this we entirely agree. But the hope of a state of things yet to be reached cannot be made a ground of denial of what is, and has been. It is maintained that, at bottom, there is no real conflict between capital and labor, and many indulge the anticipation that their relations will be ultimately harmonized; but he who denies that there is now any such conflict had better spend a few days in the mining districts of Pennsylvania, where for months this conflict has threatened the peace of society. It is also held that the true and highest interest of nations is that of concord, and many think that the world will yet grow into international amity and unity; but shall we therefore deny the past existence of war, and discredit as groundless all our histories of international hostility? The case of religion and science is exactly parallel. However they may finally be brought into accord, they certainly are not in that relation now, and no antagonism of the past has been more deep and unrelenting, and more defiant of all efforts at adjustment, than this. The conflict between religion and science, or between the study of Nature and the tracing out of its order, and the systems of belief that claim a religious character, is as much a reality of human experience as the collisions of nations, and just as much a proper subject for the historian.

Dr. Draper has been much reproached for not defining what he means by religion. There is no complaint that he has not defined science, because no need of it is felt; everybody understands what science is. But it is not so with religion. The theological world is full of dispute and contention as to what religion is. It is loudly declared by the theological party that science and religion are in harmony, and then the theological groups fall straightway to battling over the initial question as to what constitutes religion! Each group assumes it to be what its members believe, and what those with different beliefs do not possess. The reverend representative of the Unitarians, Dr. Hill, says of the oldest and most numerous Christian communion: "The hostility of this corrupted Church toward science was no greater than its hostility to religion; religion and science, twin forms of truth, were alike persecuted by this dragon; and it is both an injury and insult to religion to ascribe to her the evil deeds of those who hate her, and wore her name simply as a cloak for their political ambition and their intolerant pride. For every martyr of science, history can show a thousand martyrs of religion slain by the ecclesiastical powers of Rome." But the representative of the "dragon," at the opposite wing, is ready with his reply to this Unitarian Gentle. Dr. Brownson says: "Christianity teaches that Gentilism is apostasy from God and from his truth, and that so far from being his worship it is the worship of devils. We protest, therefore, against the logic that concludes that what it finds true of Gentilism is and must be true of Christianity. We protest also against concluding that, because Protestantism is a congeries of absurdities, Catholicity is unreasonable and false. Gentilism and Protestantism may stand in the same category, or be simply varieties of the same species; but

they are specifically, generically different from Christianity." And between these two extremes there is a crowd of sects which agree in little else than in dismissing the Catholics and Unitarians to perdition as destitute of all religion! Dr. Draper, it is evident, would have complicated his case to little purpose had he gone into definitions, and thus virtually assumed to decide, among these conflicting claimants, which has the true religion. For historical purposes Dr. Draper was compelled to take broad views, and to recognize as religious all bodies of people who combine and organize for religious ends, profess religious faith, and make claims to religious character; giving prominence in his treatment of the subject to those who have been historically most prominent, and are most responsible for theological resistance to the reception of scientific ideas.—*Prof. Youmans, in Popular Science Monthly*.

THACKERAY had a nose of most peculiar shape, as may be seen by his portrait. The bridge was very low, and the nostrils extremely well developed. On one occasion, at a party where Douglas Jerrold was present, it was mentioned that Mr. Thackeray's religious opinions were unsettled, and that a lady of his acquaintance was doing her best to convert him to Romanism. "To Romanism!" exclaimed Jerrold. "Let us hope she'll begin with the nose."

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

SPRING.

Winter now has vanished;
Snow has passed away;
And the fields are growing
Greener every day.

Birds are sweetly singing,
Sun is shining bright;
Days are growing longer,
Shorter grows the night.

Every one is smiling,
Nature smiling too;
All creation over,
Only sky is "blue."

Cares are left behind us,
Books are thrown aside,
For the "leaves" of Nature
Now are open wide.

Worship not in temples,
Forms, and idle prayer;
Praise the God of Nature,
Present everywhere.

LABOR.

Toil swings the axe, and forests bow;
The seeds break out in radiant bloom,
Rich harvests smile behind the plough,
And cities cluster round the loom.
Where towering domes and tapering spires
Adorn the vale and crown the hill,
Stout Labor lights its beacon fires,
And plumes with smoke the forge and mill.

The monarch oak, the woodland's pride,
Whose trunk is seamed with lightning scars,
Toil launches on the restless tide,
And there unrolls the flag of stars;
The engine with his lungs of flame,
And ribs of brass and joints of steel,
From Labor's plastic fingers came,
With sobbing valve and whirling wheel.

'Tis Labor works the magic press,
And turns the crank in hives of toil,
And beckons angels down to bless
Industrious hands on sea and soil.
Here sun-browned Toil, with shining spade,
Links lake to lake with silver ties,
Strung thick with palaces of trade,
And temples towering to the skies.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 5.

R. P. Halliwell, \$50; Mrs. Dimock, \$1.75; Geo. Henshaw, \$10; Jacob Hoffner, \$60; Mrs. S. S. Russell, \$50; F. E. Abbott, \$1.50; R. D. Arnold, \$1.65; N. W. Covell, 30 cents; L. H. Stockbridge, 75 cents; F. B. Skinner, 25 cents; E. Culver, 50 cents; D. Porter, 50 cents; E. A. Willats, 75 cents; Cash, 22 cents; Geo. A. Dennison, \$1.60; C. A. Loud, \$1.50; C. Bowman, 75 cents; R. B. Stone, \$1; F. S. Billings, \$1.50; Wm. Wiley, \$10; Geo. Henshaw, \$3.20; Lucretia Mott, \$5; P. A. Lindsay, \$5; Miss Mack, \$3.20; A. P. Ware, \$3.20; Miss S. M. Nowell, \$3.20; Mrs. M. H. L. Cabot, \$3; Cash, \$3; L. R. Hopkins, \$3.20; Carl Edelheim, \$3.20; J. D. Lange, \$3.20; K. D. Arnold, \$3; J. S. Warrington, \$2.10; A. Loos, \$12.50; Jas. Gilchrist, \$3.20; D. W. Buckminster, \$3; J. R. Beal, \$1.50; Mrs. S. S. Pierce, \$1.50; R. C. Hitchcock, 75 cents; N. W. Covell, \$3; Chas. E. Pratt, \$3.20; Thos. Hudson, \$4.23; C. N. Overbaugh, \$3; Ben. Birdsall, \$3; Mrs. S. D. Curtis, \$3.20; Mrs. W. A. Perkins, \$3.20; Henry W. Saxon, \$3.20; D. F. Henderson, \$1.95; Geo. J. Adams, \$3.20; Geo. Riker, \$2; S. W. Coburn, 75 cents; Wm. Rotch, \$3.20; J. F. Woodward, \$3; C. E. Seaver, \$3.20; Geo. W. Park, \$3; W. H. Wilbur, \$3.20; W. E. Darwin, ten cents; Francis Hart, \$3.20; Orin Monroe, \$1; J. P. Towne, \$1; A. A. Raymond, \$3.20; S. Hoag, \$3; Mrs. A. G. Hagar, \$3.20; Mat. Schmuck, \$3.20.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

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The Index.

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N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

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CREATION OR EVOLUTION--WHICH?

The venerable Francis W. Newman—a name long known and honored in the world of letters and of dialectics—contributed to last week's INDEX a very valuable essay, under the title-head of "Public Morals and Public Reforms." In that essay, Prof. Newman did me the honor to consider at length some views of mine, published recently in these columns. That he animadverted upon my opinions with some severity, I certainly have no reason to complain. On the contrary, I thank him most sincerely for pointing out what seems to him to be false in my statements, even though he did it with no little heat of feeling and sarcasm of expression. I am very well aware that, by virtue of those human limitations which I share with all men, more or less of error must necessarily mingle with whatever truth I see and state; and it is an unalloyed delight to me to have my misconceptions and misstatements corrected. I purposely refrained from replying to Prof. Newman last week, because while he had the floor I deemed it unfair to interrupt him, or to endeavor in any way to break the full force of his reasoning. Indeed, I do not propose in any direct way to reply to him now, but rather to go on and state some further views which I entertain, even at the risk, as hitherto, of propounding some error as well as truth. My idea is that it is best for each one to speak frankly what he believes, and to have no concern whatsoever whether his propositions shall stand or fall. Stand they will, so far as they are true; fall they must, so far as they are false. The moment any man begins to have any personal pride or egotism of opinion, that moment his mental and moral eye-sight begins to fail; and he looks at truth as a partisan, not as a philosopher. Let us have done with personal and dogmatic controversialism, and in all our discussions invoke the spirit of calmness and of peace. Only thus we shall be able to know the truth, and to state it with powerful persuasiveness.

In looking at the world in which I live, and considering my relation to all its contents, I have one primary question to ask: *How do all things really get on?* I want to know what is the natural (divine, if you please) method of production and reproduction. Was it by an act of creation, or by a process of evolution, that the world became what it is? Did the Creator suddenly wake up to the consciousness that the universe was in a state of dreadful chaos; and say, "Dear me, I can't stand this any longer! Go to, now, I will try my hand on this. I will create a little. I will fix things, and put the universe in order"? And then, by one tremendous effort, by sweat of God's brow, by fatigue of God's strength, did he heave at old chaos, drive its scattered elements into rank, whip its primordial germs into shape, order protoplasm up on its feet; and, with one loud, long whoop, whoop, hurrah! of divine enthusiasm, spin the world out on the floor of space, and then take a long breath, and say, "There, I have done it"?

Science, in which I have more faith than in the Bible, tells me that this world got a-going in no such way as that. It tells me that there is no Creator (strictly speaking), and has been no creation. It assures me that there was no mental fuss and fatigue in getting things started, and that there never has been since any occasion for hurry or worry in carrying things on. It reveals to me the grand, impressive truth that in far far-off mystery, amidst infinite silent spaces, the eternal life-principle stirred among

the eternal nebulae; and, from unknown small beginnings, through unknown countless ages, it grew and grew, expanding slowly into larger and fairer results, until all that was produced which we now know, and infinitely more besides. And it tells me, moreover, that this process of world-growth is still going on, carrying everything with it—earth, animal, and man—nearer and nearer towards the ideal of perfect beauty and perfect order!

Now I confess that this "gospel of evolution," which I am surprised to find Prof. Newman almost sneering at, is to me a real "gospel" of comfort and inspiration. I am intensely delighted to find that all things do really grow, and that there is an evident honest intention in Nature to secure cosmical fulfilment at all hazards. Now, when I look on the evil in the world, on all the woes and sufferings of my fellow-men, and think how comparatively slight is my power and theirs to prevent or change all this, I am immensely heartened and comforted by the reflection that the great Soul of goodness "is marching on," has been marching on, and forever will keep marching on, triumphing over evil, over wrong, over sorrow, and evolving cosmos out of chaos every where. Is there anything unwise, inhuman, hard-hearted, in the holding or teaching such a philosophy as this? Indeed, it seems to me that this faith, which is based on knowledge, constitutes the very essence of the new religion of science. It is the religion which consists in simply having faith in the integrity of the universe; faith that all the laws of the universe are ethical as well as physical, and that they are all working with irresistible might to secure the fulfilment of all things,—to secure that everything shall "come full circle," because the flight of time is also the flight of truth.

If this is "fatalism," as Prof. Newman somewhat sarcastically suggests, then I would that I could convert all the world of mankind to it. For in that case I believe there would come about an entirely new mind and method in the beneficent effort to promote the social welfare of our race. The method of "reform," which prevails now, and has prevailed so long, is based wholly on the old idea of creation; namely, that some power from without must interfere, and fix things. As God is supposed to have created the physical world by sheer force of intervention in nebulous chaos, so, the "reformers" think, we too must take hold and create the moral world by another forceful intervention in the chaos of evil; and as God made haste and fatigued himself, so we must hurry and sweat and tire ourselves all out to get our creation done in season. This whole method is false in basis and false in practice. It has caused all the persecution, all the war, and two-thirds of all the suffering we have ever had in the world. The old theology went up and down the world, trying to force men to be religious; the present method of "reform" chiefly undertakes to force men to be moral. The old theology signally failed, and the present method of "reform" will fail as surely. We have got to learn that our true civilization must be based, not upon the theories of the Bible, but upon the facts of science. And if science has any fact at all, it is that of evolution. Things grow; they are not made. Manufacturing morals is as unscientific as manufacturing worlds.

The best thing we can do is to plant seeds, and then help them to grow as fast as we wisely can. Do you say that, in order to plant seeds, we have to cut down trees, pull up stumps, and dig out stones? Very well, do that with the earth as much as you please—she will bear it; but be careful how you push your analogy over into human nature. You find a new kind of soil there, and must proceed to cultivate it less arbitrarily. Have you any right to come and snake the devil out of me, as you would a root out of the ground? Bind me, restrain me, you may, if I threaten to harm you; but it is your duty to get the devil out of me by some gentler process of exorcism, than that you would apply to remove the rocks and roots from a New England farm. Nay; but we forget that there is no devil in me nor in any man, any more than there is in a stump or a stone. Science handsomely bowed the devil out long ago, and he has not been seen since. *Devil and evil*, in our new social-science vocabulary, mean only crude, undisciplined, unused, or misused force; which it is our happy privilege and glorious ability to convert into splendid uses and beauties in all men. Do you say that this will take a long time to accomplish? Yea, verily; and I say that this is a part of the evolution process: "slow and sure" is its motto. What infinite patience must reside in the heart of Nature, to cause her to wait so long for the physical world to

grow into decent and comely shape! Let us imitate her, in our dealings with the moral world. Let us, so far as we can, eliminate the time-element from our reckoning of the growth and progress of souls. With a hasty and forceful hand, we only spoil what we try to make or change. Charity suffereth long and is kind; it endureth all things, and hopeth all things.

Yet, after all, I do not forget that every way God maketh his way in the end. Nature even hath her earthquakes, her whirlwinds, her tempests. And, among men, let those thunder and lighten, rend and shake, who must. Let each one work as the spirit moveth him. Only, let not those who choose forceful and destructive methods call me a dunce or a coward, because I choose my way in preference to theirs. It may be that I love my fellow-men no less than they, and shall be found as ready to sacrifice for them. The world grows apace, man advances, and truth proceeds to triumph, in and by and over us all!

A. W. S.

LET US BE FAIR.

One of the duties of the believer in free religion would seem to be that of rendering full and even cordial justice to the beliefs and expressions of others; to interpret all beliefs from the inside, and to put upon all statements of belief the interpretation that best accords with the faith that there is a soul of truth even in error, and with the well-known character of the men that entertain the error. This is the principle, as it seems to me, from which free religion starts. Its first assumption is that all modes of belief, having their original root in human nature, have an element of justification in them, which must be regarded sympathetically in order to be appreciated. And when intelligent men enunciate propositions in regard to their religion, it is fair to ascribe to them intelligent meanings.

Mr. Phillips Brooks, for example, is known of all men to be a singularly frank, sincere, brave, independent person who has thoughts and speaks them. He is also known to be a very broad churchman, with as little of bigotry, prejudice, or pretence about him as in the present generation it is common to have. When such a man says that "Christ was really at the root of all our modern commerce, its life and inspiration," it is fair to presume that he is conscious of saying nothing intrinsically absurd; and, if he did not think it intrinsically absurd, justice demands that his thought should be measured and weighed before being rejected. It may be taken for granted that he used the word "commerce" in its legitimate sense,—as including the agencies that bring communities together in accordance with the natural principle that regulates demand and supply all over the earth. "Whiskey Ring frauds" and other transactions of like description—such as men like the late Mr. James Fisk indulged in—do not, it is likely, come within Mr. Brooks' definition of "commerce"; but belong rather to the nefarious proceedings that interfere with the purposes of commerce, as much as they thwart the ends of religion. Few preachers as faithfully denounce social iniquities as he; and he does it in the name of Christ. He certainly should not be charged with setting Christ fatally against himself.

Besides, it is true, in a sense, and a very real historical sense, that Christ in times past,—that is, the faith in Christ, the interest of men in Christ,—has been the life and inspiration of modern commerce. Unintentionally so, no doubt; the establishment of commerce was not the direct or even the indirect aim. The aim was the extension and establishment of the "kingdom of Christ,"—the triumph of the gospel. But this end could not be promoted except by opening facilities of intercourse between distant lands and peoples; by overcoming barriers of race and language; by fitting out expeditions, planting colonies, encouraging emigration, and aiding the efforts of pioneers and traders. Whatever we may think of missionaries now, as promoters of civilization, it cannot be forgotten that once they were the forerunners of civilization. But for "Christ," the continent of America would not have been discovered when it was; for whatever of enterprise, adventure, and heroism there may have been, the vehicle in which they travelled was the Church. To say that Christ is at present the life and inspiration of modern commerce is a proposition that no sensible man will defend. But to say that he was once is one of those truisms that Mr. Phillips Brooks usually avoids.

It is quite possible that Mr. Brooks is of opinion that "commerce" would exhibit more "life and inspiration," if the men who control it had more of the

spirit of the "Christ" that he believes in,—the incarnate soul of equity and brotherhood, whose kingdom would be a perfect republic, whose reign would be an epoch of mutual good will and service; and in this he is probably right. Mr. Brooks was so valiant a champion of the cause of civil freedom, in times and places where it was challenged, that we cannot believe he would, in an age of mental and moral liberty, be an advocate of servitude. Whatever he says, he certainly means nobly.

O. B. F.

LIBERTY AND TRUTH.

May I say that, though perhaps congenitally incapable of worthy membership in any club, and but consciously deserving to be read out of all churches, I listen to the debates in the Free Religious Association with a feeling that it has a work to do and a reason to be; and yet also that the time has come for us all to emphasize something more than our freedom.

The early stage of our civil war was said to be a *fight for the flag*—who should own and run the country. But, while no sect or party among us proposes mental slavery as its object, let us not lay our main stress on proving that to be its effect. The word liberty may, indeed, be so repeated as to become political and theological cant and conceit. Some who shriek it seem, in their tone and gesture, like one flinging out his arms and legs to see if there be atmosphere enough to accommodate those, to him, very important members. Be sure there is room to exercise our spiritual limbs and organs; but with what noble and beautiful work and building do we adorn the common and boundless air which, in body and soul, we breathe? Long ago, Dr. Channing asked, *Does our freedom bear generous fruits?* The hunter has a wild delight in the chase, but is scarce content unless he bring home some game at night. The explorer sails the sea, well provisioned with instruments and food, but would hardly boast of his unhindered navigation, if he did not, Columbus-like, discover continent or island, or approach the north or south pole. Antiquarian or archaeologist must justify his study, and pay for his time, with bringing to light some old monument, inscription, manuscript, or forgotten version.

Nor can we religionists live on *liberty*, but on *truth*. What new and better conceptions have we to offer of God or the creation, and what loftier positivism than Comte's about realities of the spirit? Truth in the soul is the child of freedom; and if there be no such offspring we must fain suspect that a barren intellectual licentiousness has usurped the generous name,—or that we are putting wilfulness for free-thinking, or making a selfish capital with this breaking of chains and casting off of trammels, which is our daily reiterated boast. Charles Darwin, with refreshing simplicity, showing unawares his perfect candor and utter devotion to science, tells us what he learns from observing his own infants. Perhaps, by-and-by, Liberty will be so good as to inform us what she has found out by inspecting her children. I would not make severe or premature demands, nor overlook the actual precious produce. But we shall confess the radical literature has performed as yet but slight part, only as it were the first piece of our great programme of instruction and revelation.

Let it be our business less to fight, or even to expose error or criticise fault, than to disclose and manifest verity and right, and to be the evolution we preach, as co-creators with God; or at least to trace its line for the generations to come! Denying of all mistakes ever made will not suffice.

The pope was so angry of late with his German and other censors, that he wanted to beat the ploughshare and pruning-hook back into the sword and spear, with worse than Hebrew revenge, reversing the blessed prophecy into the ancient curse. Let us not spell backward our human lesson so into the savage and the pre-ancestral beast! Even that inward armory, which the apostle describes under old figures of the bloody tools of war, I trust we shall not always have occasion, in its complete outfit and panoply, to employ; and I warmly respond to the peaceable words, at Beethoven Hall, of Lucretia Mott, which consecrated the place to a better music than its usual resounding of pipe or harp.

Doubtless there are sins to be rebuked, especially that social hypocrisy which has such a huge swallow for all transgressions of sensuality or deceit. But our heat must not be hate; and let me echo and cast my vote for the sentiment of President Frothingham in favor of a friendly rather than an aggressive policy, even in displacing superstition as preliminary to establishing sound doctrine. Higginson and

Weiss, Potter and Connor and Gannett are of the same, not anti-Christian, but more than Christian, mind. Is there to be, as the president's language appeared to intimate, a struggle of rival and even antagonist methods of reform? Let all speak and act from the inmost instinct. But the body of regenerators is not big enough to divide ranks much; and I hope we are to follow a higher way to propagate than by fission. I believe that the sun of our goodness, more than the wind of opprobrium, will get away the traveller's cloak of perjury which he wears over all his other iniquity. Let us have no split! Truth is more an atonement than a wedge or sword.

But we must watch and see, as well as love. John Robinson's phrase is still continually quoted in our ears: "There is more truth to spring out of God's Word." But is there to be no more word? Alas, how many a mistake in what *was* God's word literally to him! Has God done talking to his children? His is serial story and many-volumed discourse. He is the infinite hearer, says George Sand. But he is the infinite speaker, too. How much he has to say to us, and how little we can tell him! So, the best prayer is the listening ear. If we hearkened more, and prayed less, and then did for our brother what we heard from our Father,—not passing our *sister* by,—how all were well!

C. A. BARTOL.

QUESTIONS OF SYMPATHY AND RESPONSIBILITY.

It has been a difficult problem for a portion of the public to keep THE INDEX and the Free Religious Association distinct. It has been again and again declared by the editor of the paper and by officers of the Association, that the two have no official connection and no responsibility for each other. But again and again has it been asserted outside that THE INDEX is the organ of the Association, and that the Association is responsible for, and committed to certain opinions by, its utterances. Those persons who are in the habit of making such an assertion will perhaps be awakened from their delusion by reading the leading editorial of THE INDEX for June 3, in which the editor, with his usual plainness and vigor of speech, criticises a part of the action of the late annual meeting of the Association, from which he alone, at the time, expressed dissent. This certainly does not look as if THE INDEX were the organ of the Association, or as if the Association and THE INDEX were but two forms of one body, and necessarily agreeing in opinion. And if the article in question accomplishes no other purpose than to make clear this matter of independent responsibility—if it shall prove that THE INDEX is in no sense the organ of the Association, but that all its writers, editorial, and others, only speak through it on their individual responsibility,—it will do an excellent service. The editor, on this ground, has given his view of a certain vote at the late meeting of the Association. Now let another member, on the same ground of individual and not of official responsibility, give his view of the same vote.

The action criticised and condemned by the editor was the adoption of a resolution of cordial, fraternal greeting in response to a similar one received from the "Conference of Western Unitarian Churches." It was my intention to send these resolutions with a brief article to THE INDEX for insertion at this time; and now that the subject has been brought up for discussion, it is still more important that the readers of the paper should have before them the resolutions themselves, which involve the subject-matter of the discussion. The resolution received from the Conference of Western Unitarian churches was as follows:—

"Resolved, That the Corresponding Secretary of this Conference is hereby instructed to express to the Free Religious Association, at its forthcoming Annual Meeting in Boston, our hearty sympathy with its endeavors to promote the cause of truth and religious liberty."

The following is the resolution in reply:—

"Resolved, That this Convention cordially reciprocates the message of sympathy and good will received from the Conference of Western Unitarian Churches. The Free Religious Association, though not in alliance with any sect or specific form of faith, and holding no common creed, most heartily welcomes every fresh word, from any religious body, in behalf of religious liberty and for fellowship in the spirit of humanity rather than by unity of theological belief. Therefore, the Secretary is instructed to send our fraternal greetings with this Resolution to the Western Conference of Unitarian Churches."

I must confess my surprise to learn that the editor of THE INDEX finds so much in this simple resolution, which, I suppose, to those who voted for it meant little more than a courteous and cordial

"Thank you," to the friendly Western greeting. Yet the spirit of liberty must be vigilant, and we have reason to thank our noble champion of religious freedom that he never sleeps on his post. And so, when he characterizes such a resolution as an unconscious betrayal, by the Association, of its fundamental principle of liberty, and as "unconstitutional and therefore null and void," let us carefully review the matter to see if he be not right. Of course, those of us who voted for the resolution as well as he who voted against it mean to be true to freedom; and to this he will agree.

Thus reviewing the ground, I, for one, must say that I see no sufficient reasons for the interpretation, which THE INDEX editorial gave to this interchange of messages. And the central error of the interpretation seems to me to be this: It assumes that the resolutions on both sides cover much more ground than they legitimately do. Two religious bodies may interchange expressions of sympathy on certain points, though widely differing on other points. A monarchical government and a republican government may exchange messages of good will, as they are every day doing, and yet neither government commit itself to the entire constitution of the other. So I do not understand that the Unitarian Conference, as an organized body, voted itself in entire sympathy with the Free Religious Association as an organized body, in all its doings, methods, and statements. It simply expressed a grateful appreciation of the service of the Association in behalf of "truth and religious liberty."

Still less ground would there appear to be for thinking, that, in the resolution of response, the Free Religious Association voted itself in sympathy with the Western Unitarian Conference in all its principles, statements, beliefs, and doings. The resolution only reciprocates the message received. It is merely a responsive greeting to that, and cannot fairly be construed as covering anything else. Moreover, it declares expressly that the Association keeps clear of all sectarian and doctrinal alliances, and extends its welcome solely on the ground that the greeting was a word in behalf of its own principles. The aim was to put into the resolution simply the clear principles of the constitution of the Association,—absolute liberty of thought and fellowship in spirit; and that there is anything else in it, expressed or implied, I am not able to see.

How, therefore, the resolution is a violation of the constitution, or how it commits the Association, or the meeting that passed it, to the Christian platform or doctrine of the Conference to which it was sent, I cannot understand. Covering only the special points on which expressions of sympathy were interchanged, it does not, in my view, at all raise the question of the attitude of the Association towards Christianity; which attitude is definitely settled by the constitution and practice of the Association.

Similar action has been taken previously, if not directly by a meeting of the Association, by its Executive Committee, with reference to other religious bodies. Messages of good will have been thus exchanged between the Association and the Brahmo Somaj of India, and the General Association of German Independent Congregations in this country, and the Council of Liberal Religious Thinkers, held in Naples, Italy, in 1869, as an anti-council in protest against the papal Ecumenical Council at Rome; and which proved to be largely under the influence of materialists and the atheistical class of free-thinkers. Such action has been reported to the Association at its annual meetings, but it has not, to my knowledge, been complained of as committing the Association to materialism, or to the platform of the German body, or to the beliefs and methods of the Brahmos. Of course, in all these cases care has been taken to explain that the Free Religious Association is not a church, nor sect, nor an organization upon the basis of any theological belief, but only what its name and constitution import; and the same care was taken in the case of the resolution in question.

Perhaps it would have been better if this last case had been met in some such way as previous cases had been, avoiding the necessity of voting upon a resolution at the meeting; since the introduction of resolutions, except on matters of business, may bring up delicate questions for an Association that stands upon the individual responsibility of its members. Yet since this was the first time that any branch of the Christian Church had shown the courage to send a friendly message to the Association, and the message was specially meant for the meeting, the occasion might justify the new and more direct mode of reply.

W. J. P.

LONDON LETTER.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—Nothing is farther from my intention than to say a word in disparagement of the noble work which I believe THE INDEX is doing. It is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact, that your paper stands alone and in the very front of the battle of free thought with superstition and bondage. But I am led to ask, Is our line of action the most useful and the most necessary for present times? Have we not, as it were, hastened over the field to root up the most distant tares, leaving many on every side, and behind us, still undisturbed and flourishing?

You know, of course, the needs of your own countrymen far better than we can on this side of the Atlantic; and it may be the very best possible work that can be done, to wage war with the most advanced brigade of the Christian army. In an humble way, I have been doing the same thing myself here in England; and for now nearly four years have pursued a course similar to your own in relation to Christianity. But the visit of Messrs. Moody and Sankey has opened my eyes, and led me somewhat to question whether the necessary preliminary clearing away of rubbish has been perfectly done; and whether it would not be wiser to go over the old ground of exposing the fallacies of the popular creed, and repeating that exposure till conviction dawns on the popular mind.

I will not weary you with details of Moody-and-Sankeyism, with which your experience must have made you familiar. Suffice it to say, that the air is redolent of their names and their exploits, and the excitement as yet gives no sign of abatement. After much hesitation, I was prevailed upon, first, to go and hear them, and then to preach about them; and, contrary to all expectation, I found that nothing I have ever said or published, since my trial for heresy, has attracted so much interest.

You can understand the reluctance of an old sportsman to fetch out a rusty matchlock to kill sparrows. Something akin to this reluctance took hold of me, before I could bring myself to set forth the grounds on which the revivalists' gospel is false, and actually to preach a sermon against the doctrine of the atonement. The undertaking seemed to be like "slaying the dead"; and it is so long since I attacked these mouldy traditions, I could not but distrust my skill in dealing with them. However, the mere announcement of my intention to do so was enough to bring to St. George's Hall an unusual number of Orthodox and semi-Orthodox Christians, some of whom no doubt went home grievously shocked; but others were brave and candid enough to own their satisfaction with my performance. The sermons, I must add as a matter of fact, are having a run; and another large edition is already bespoken.

From this circumstance, I am led to infer that the popular mind is much more ready than it was four years ago to examine into the truth or falsehood of the Orthodox beliefs; that, whereas then they would hardly listen to a word of heresy, now they are hungering and thirsting for it; and they need at this spring-time of independent thought some help in shaking off their shackles. And this, too, not on the deeper problems of the age so much as on the A B C of Christian tenets; namely, the fall of man, the curse against the race, everlasting hell, and atonement of blood. If this be so, some of us must begin our work over again, and go down to the level of the awakening mind; and, instead of laughing their hopes and fears to scorn, we must calmly and respectfully reason them out of their foolish alarm.

I do not urge you to deviate a hair's breadth from the line you have chosen; for THE INDEX has a sphere of its own, and is maintaining the grand principles of religion where, but for its influence, religion would perish. But I do think that, if you are surrounded to any appreciable degree by believers in traditional Christianity, by people who still imagine they want "salvation" and a "savior," it would be well if you were to invite preachers and lecturers to go down to these people in their darkness and bondage, and unfold to them the first principles of a reasonable faith, and plainly set before their eyes the absurd untruthfulness of those assumptions on which their terrible fears are based. I am aware in how many ways this good work may be wrought; and none may say to another, "Your method is wrong." The wise man will not confine himself to any particular method, if he can effectually use other methods also. Sometimes the beliefs want exposing; at other times the question of external authority. Here, the preacher must use purely intellectual arguments; there, he must avail himself of moral ones.

But a mission of some sort to the Christian heathen is imperative; and such a mission cannot succeed if it present an aspect totally unsympathetic, or deal with questions too high above the intellectual sphere of those for whose benefit it is set on foot.

Whatever else may be needed, simple instruction in first principles is absolutely essential; and of such instruction there is certainly not yet a sufficient supply. We want a kind of Sunday-school for adults, where they may learn the alphabet of the truth about God and man, and be taught to see that the pictures of these objects and their relation to each other, which they have gazed upon from childhood, are only frightful caricatures which would be ludicrous if they were not ghastly. Such elementary work as this, though not the highest or final that we have to do, is worthy of all earnest and kind-hearted men and women; most of all, of those who have themselves been slaves in Egypt, and have reached at length the promised land.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S. E., May 8, 1875.

Communications.

SUSAN DIMOCK.

In memory of the noble young physician whose loss our community so deeply feels, it is proposed to endow a free bed at the New England Hospital for women and children, to be called the "Susan Dimock Free Bed."

Her friends believe that no other monument could so worthily express their appreciation of her loving service to the poor, suffering women under her care at the Hospital; and now that she is called away from that work they think that in this way can best be carried out her own wishes and prayers for the Hospital.

The interest of five thousand dollars would support a bed free in perpetuity; and the name of Susan Dimock, the skillful physician and tender friend of the poor patient, would be kept in grateful remembrance in the place of her labors.

All who would like to unite in thus honoring Dr. Dimock's memory are invited to send their gifts to Rev. James Freeman Clarke, Geo. Wm. Bond, Esq., Rev. Geo. L. Chaney, Miss Lucy Goddard, President of the New England Hospital, or any of the Directors.

INFALLIBILITY.

There are two grand divisions of the Church, Romanism and Protestantism, the one as full of error as the other, and neither very much like the Christ that each professes to follow. Each of these claims to be the true Church, and yet each confronts us with a different principle. The one sets up the Church as the arbiter of faith, the other proclaims the Bible to be that rule. Both, we think, are wrong. Neither the Church nor the Bible is an infallible rule of faith, and a little reflection will convince an unprejudiced mind of this fact.

While we regard the Roman Church as deserving more charity than is commonly granted her by Protestants, while we admit much that is claimed by her, yet we cannot accept her plea of infallibility, because history disproves the validity of that plea. Popes and councils have contradicted each other—they have had opposite opinions upon different doctrines of the Church. This proves fallibility; in case of two diverse opinions both cannot be absolute truth. In the Roman Church there are those who do not believe that Christ's words to St. Peter authenticate the papacy, which is the principle of the Roman Church, or at least the papal part of it. If the Church were infallible, it could not be divided in sentiment.

Turning to Protestantism, we find the Bible set up as a rule of faith, each individual to interpret it for himself, to accept or reject its teachings as may suit his own views of the case. The reactionary movement succeeding the Reformation, in its protest against the authority of the Church, found the solution of all matters of faith in the Bible, on the principle of private interpretation. This principle has found many adherents, and cut Protestantism into almost numberless sects. The Bible-spirit, in its attempt to get away from the Church-spirit, falls into precisely the same error it seeks to avoid, only in another form. The Roman system centres its authority in one man; Protestantism centres its authority in each individual who may choose to interpret the Bible for himself. Pray where is the difference? The one has a Pope in Rome; the other makes each person his own pope—the infallible, final authority. And here we have the spectacle of a so-called Christian Church split into two grand divisions, and these again into endless parties, opinions, and sects. That the Bible is not an infallible rule of faith must be evident, when we ask what the rule of faith was before the Bible was written.

Another reason for our assertion is found in the fact that all men do not interpret the Bible alike. Why have we so many opinions about passages of Scripture? Which is wrong, the Bible or the men who hold those opinions? If the Bible is wrong, then of course it is not infallible; if the men are wrong, then the private-interpretation principle falls to the ground. "But," says one, "I am right because I am enlightened by the Holy Spirit; he tells

me immersion is the only passport to heaven." Another says, "I am right because the Holy Spirit has sanctified me and tells me I must get to heaven by way of the mourner's bench." Now what are we to make of such religious jargon as this? Does the Holy Spirit lie by telling one man one thing and another an entirely different thing? This is the sort of religion we find springing from private interpretation. Each self-satisfied Christian, no matter how ignorant he is, imagines that he has the "enlightening influence" of the Holy Spirit, and he sets his poor, private judgment up against the opinions of the Church, and against common sense.

Without advancing an opinion now as to what is an infallible rule of faith, a matter upon which good and true men are divided, we are prepared to say, as we began, that neither the Church of Romanism nor the Bible of Protestantism is an infallible rule of man's religious faith. O. L. ASHENFELTER.

CARLISLE, Pa.

"BUDDHISM NOTWITHSTANDING."

"Buddhist life culminates in absolute renunciation of self for the interest of others; subordination of self-interest to the general welfare. Christian life tends to a temporary renunciation of self for the glory of God; subordination of self-interest here, to be repaid with interest in the future."—(*Buddhism Notwithstanding.*)

Is there any evidence that those who profess Buddhism are practically any better people than those who profess Christianity, or that they carry into life the precepts and principles of their teacher more than do Christians the precepts and principles of Jesus of Nazareth? Between the teachings and practice of the Christian churches and the teachings of Jesus there is almost an infinite difference.

Human nature in India, it is presumed, is essentially the same as it is in Europe and America; due allowance being made for the staidness of Oriental customs and habits. Men everywhere are, and must be, influenced by one or both of two motives; namely, to escape evil or to obtain good, or both. Christianity is based on both of these.

Does Buddhism present a higher motive, or does it advocate action without motive? Is it less rational that men should submit to self-sacrifice to attain to eternal life and joy, than that they should do the same to attain "Nirwana" or eternal death—or unconsciousness, which is practically the same thing? I have yet to learn that the Orientalists are better or happier people, or that they have more learning, science, and virtue than those of the Occident; or that progress is more general amongst them.

D. S. GRANDIN.

UPPER GLOUCESTER, Me.

THE PLATFORM OF "THE INDEX."

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The writer of the article quoted from the *Golden Age*, and severely criticised in THE INDEX of May 6, evidently referred to an earlier editorial article (not anonymous) in that paper of March 13, which suggests some thoughts and questions that I think many of the readers of THE INDEX would like to have answered.

1. Should not the first aim of a paper which is devoted to a special work or cause, be to present clearly and unmistakably the platform of that cause?

2. Can the platform of a paper be truly said to be other than the platform of the cause to which that paper is devoted?

3. If the cause of Liberalism and that of Free Religion are not identical, what is the sense and where the justice of placing the "Demands of Liberalism" permanently in a conspicuous position in a paper devoted to Free Religion?

4. The impossibility of Free Religion being anti-Christian lies not so much in the nature of Christianity, as in the character of the Free Religious movement, which, in its only organized form, most certainly recognizes the possibility of a sympathy of religions; which the anti-Christian attitude would render practically impossible. If Mr. Abbot does not believe in the possibility of such "broad sympathies," it is very clear that he is not really in sympathy with the Free Religious movement, however much he may approve the methods of the movement which he calls "Liberalism."

5. The "network of inferences," so kindly alluded to in the criticism of my communication in THE INDEX of April 22, will be found on closer examination to be but the reflection of a web which the editor of THE INDEX has himself woven. If he has "put his foot in it," that is no fault of his many critics, who have only held the mirror for him to view his work, and who would have been very glad to prevent such a catastrophe.

6. Mr. Abbot's interpretation of the Free Religious platform seems to be a sort of "Spider and Fly" arrangement. He first declares that the Free Religious Association invites persons of all shades of belief to membership, and then asserts that in his own "private opinion" no one can "come upon that platform without surrendering totally" his own religion's "fundamental principle." In other words, the "unlimited fellowship" of which he is so proud amounts simply to an invitation to surrender one's own individuality, and be converted to the Abbotian notion of Free Religion. Any religion under the sun may boast of such unlimited fellowship as that!

7. Judging from the methods of THE INDEX, it would seem as though the phrase "Devoted to Free Religion" really means, "To our friend, Free Religion, this work is affectionately inscribed by the author."

There are many papers that are devoted to Free

Religion, in the sense of allowing "each varying shade of opinion to represent itself," and the *Golden Age* is one of the number; but in my opinion it requires something very like an "editorial chameleon" to represent Free Religion in an anti-Christian attitude; for, to many people, freedom not to believe in Christianity would be slavery, inasmuch as it is to them a reasonable belief.

8. "The principle of the separation of Church and State" is unquestionably "the great bulwark of all our religious liberty;" but it does not necessarily follow that the "Demands of Liberalism" are Free Religion in a nutshell. Brevity is said to be the soul of wit, but unfortunately wit is not always the soul of brevity!

9. Could I be assured of sufficient space in your free paper to answer more fully some of the special points in your criticism of my last communication, I might be induced to write again. For the present I rest my case with the above suggestions.

Yours for true liberty,

MARCUS T. JANES.

PROVIDENCE, May 17, 1875.

1. A "cause" can have no platform. Its advocates must make their own platforms according to their own understanding of the "cause."

2. The platform of a paper can only be "truly said" to be the platform of a paper.

3. By "Liberalism" we mean the principles of "Free Religion" as applied to religio-political questions. We do not see the "sense" of the question.

4. The "sympathy of religions" is only one half of the fact; the other half is the antipathy of religions. All religions sympathize in their universal element, and antipathize (to coin a word) in their special elements. Free Religion is foolishness, if it has only half an eye.

5. Mr. Janes' webs and mirrors are so badly mixed that we will not try to separate them. Does he not mean that we have put our foot (to adopt his elegant phrase) into his mirror? We should judge so by the above distracted reflections.

6. Free Religion wants just so much fellowship as is consistent with perfect freedom, and no more. We have never "declared" what Mr. Janes attributes to us.

7. What?

8. Mr. Janes has at last voted for the separation of Church and State. We leave him now to discover which one of the "Demands of Liberalism" is not essential to this end.

9. Mr. Janes' readers will probably be satisfied with the "above suggestions."—Ed.]

HUNGRY HEARTS.

I received a letter the other day that contained such words as these: "Why did God send so many hearts into the world, and then leave them to starve?" We know there are thousands of hearts conscious of terrible hunger, to whom this gnawing sensation is the one most familiar. They strain their eyes from pole to pole to find something to fill the vacuum; they look heavenward with tearful gaze to see if the manna be not there; they grope in the dark with extended arms, ever clutching for the something they crave. Their continual cry is for bread,—heart-bread.

We recognize these hearts on the street by the hollow, deep-set, distant eyes that never see us; by the pitiful, imploring look that pleads, "Oh give us!" by the haughty, disdainful air that says, "I want none of you." The hungriest hearts are sometimes silent, proud, and imperious,—hearts that the world judges to be self-loving and exclusive. Often they are timid and fluttering, such as shrink into corners, or perhaps as fawn at the feet of strong individuals for love and sympathy. A hungry heart is frequently ambitious, working with the fury of the tempest, driving everything before it, riding over its neighbors in its mad haste to get the food it craves, and yet never obtaining one satisfying morsel. These last are the least understood and the most severely criticised. Many hungry hearts sit by when others feast, and seek to enjoy the odor of the wine which comes from their friends' cup; such are known as patient, good people, and are more likely to win a little pity. Other hungry hearts survive on the misfortunes of mankind; they join a slandering party for company; they go to a funeral for rejoicing; they clap their hands when a house is burned, and exult when a character is lost. The agony of this class of hearts is beyond description; for they suffer not only the natural pangs of starvation, but the most stinging poison of their own cynicism is constantly added thereto.

Scientists tell us that life is a struggle for existence, ending in the survival of the fittest; but surely there are many bodies, both material and spiritual, that somehow remain upon earth, though in a very lank, lean, and unfitted condition. The physical hunger of such is generally attributed to shiftlessness, or the arbitrariness of capital, and not to any stinginess on the part of Nature.

Has God not provided as liberally for the survival of souls as of bodies? Is he not as generous with heart-food as with potatoes and beefsteak? It is a very old-fashioned necessity that bodies must eat; from the cradle to the grave the mouth is open, and man labors with all his might to fill it. He ploughs and sows, trades and writes books, to make muscle and bones, and cover them with flesh. The town

that does not provide a Poor House to feed its hungry is despised; the beggar child that comes to the door for "cold victuals" is regarded as a matter of course. It is not uncommon to hear the most exquisite person say, "I am hungry for my dinner." Everybody talks about his favorite dishes, and his good or poor digestion as freely as he discourses about the weather. Meantime, Nature rejoices in the good appetites of her children, and loads them with her bountiful material gifts. She is equally generous with her soul-gifts, and scatters them over the earth with a no less lavish hand. She paints a gorgeous sunset for the imagination as freely as she ripens the grain to feed the hungry stomach. The mysteries of the deep, the hidden secrets of the earth, the wonderful qualities of mind and matter are so many wise volumes containing soul-bread. Nature also is constantly inspiring man to feed his own soul. The baby has its rattle-box almost as soon as its mother's breast, and every year is added a cart-load of juvenile books and trinkets adapted to the evolution of the infant mind. Churches and seminaries stand together with meat-markets and soup-houses. If there be signs of a mental famine, Tyndall appears with an address which the scientific division of the starving class seize with maniac fury, tear in pieces and chew for months. Some terrible scandal stirs the torpid blood of reformers, and sets them with eager haste to planning all kinds of social repairs. A mill-dam overcomes resistance, and the rushing waters swallow up the lives of innocent women and children. How the dormant pity and human affection of a whole nation is quickened into intense action! No doubt, every spring, there is planted as much seed for the soul as for the body, and every autumn there is reaped as mighty a harvest. It is true, some years have their drought; so, too, there come the years of over-abundance. The war-season brought substance for a nation's thought for half a century.

So, while there is no intent on the part of Nature or man to starve the soul, yet its diet has never been so common, easy, and free a gift as the body's food. It never has found a language in the primers, or become so universally the fashion. One rarely speaks of a lecture, conversation, or book as a dinner at which the soul has eaten, or says, "My heart has fed upon that thought to repletion." It is not usual for a friend meeting another on the corner to say, "My soul is athirst; let us go into some literary Parker's and commune together." Often one exclaims, "I am weary of life" but seldom, "My heart hungers for bread!"

The closer the soul shuts itself within its own walls, the more it dreads the light and sunshine of free thought and expression, and the more it is agonized at the sight of others out airing. These are the people who slam the doors in the face of new ideas, and every fresh phase of thought; who are seized with mental spasms at the sound of a new ism, screaming till they are black in the face, "Put them out; burn their newspapers, padlock your lecture doors and church pulpits against their utterances!" To quiet their cramps and fits, and get along with them in the smoothest way possible, the spirit of progress submits till the laws of Nature can no longer endure reversion; then it turns and faces Old Ideas, and exclaims, "Who are you that pretend to say that all of truth is known; who would set a limit to the knowable; who would force us to chew your quid of old opinions? You lived on the intellectual products of your generation, which was right; this generation expects to reap a new crop. If your time has come to fossilize, nobody shall prevent you; but we will not be forced to lay our bones on the same field."

As Nature sets no example of arbitrary constraining, so man demands his fullness, or brings destruction to himself by forced restraint. These strange voices we hear shouting wild and fanatical opinions (as we name them) are often the victims of social suppression. Their lips are hermetically sealed, till at last the pent-up forces give way in fire, smoke, and hideous noises, blasting themselves and threatening to destroy everybody within reach; or else they produce a momentary fire-works, and vanish forever. The youth that was never allowed to witness a horse-race, because it was wicked, finally becomes a spectator of such a performance; the years of waiting have created an appetite of such intensity, that he vows to invest his first dollar in a "Smuggler," and race the rest of his life. This he does; but racing is only weak gruel for such starvation; so he takes to leaping ditches and stone-walls for stronger diet, and breaks his neck in the experiment. The wife who vows to keep her family pure, by closing her home against society, is starving the hearts of her husband and children, and driving them away from her for food; but the home that is a powerful, lasting magnet does not lie idle, but is in constant communication with every instructive and beautiful influence that can be reached.

Were the laws of Nature better understood and courageously obeyed, there would be no lasting starvation of hearts. The agony comes from persons being forced to grow in crooked and unnatural positions; and the causes are quite as often in the subjects as their environments. I read a story, not long ago, made very pitiful because a young lady was compelled by circumstances to teach school. At last she gave up the ghost and died of a broken heart, through failing to mingle in such society as she considered due to her nature and capacity. The author used the case to advocate suffrage for women,—his logic being that votes would bring wages, and wages social position, and social position eternal bliss. But is there not as much starvation in the so-called "social positions" as in the humbler walks of life? Might there not be as much real soul-food in unfolding and training the intellect of children, as

in being forever a passive receiver or silent admirer among the fixed social ideas? If the imagination and reason of the young were trained aright, they would gather their joys daily from all the sunshine of life, as the bee sips honey from all the flowers. The eyes that never saw a lovely sunset at home never saw one abroad, and never could see one; whilst he who has watched the golden glories from his home hill-top could feast abundantly in native or foreign scenes. The ambition need not starve for grand society, when the richest joys of companionship are to be found among our common neighbors; the affections need not waste themselves hankering after novel heroes, when there are true, rich, waiting hearts all about us; young men need not become nothings because they have missed being millionaires, when to be honest men is possible to them; the intellect need not lie still and finally go to decay, whining because it has not mastered the curriculum of Harvard, when every day and everywhere there are more lessons spread wide and free than the brightest mind can fathom or the quickest memory gather. What a pity, says one, that such a genius as Mr. So-and-So should spend all his life in poverty! Save your tears, O sentimentalist! quite likely had gold been left him in abundance he would have developed no genius. Said a woman to me: "Had I been educated, I would have been somebody." I replied: "Why don't you read the books and papers lying about you?" "Oh, because I have not been educated," she sighed; and so she will wail on to the end of her days, starving because she will not eat the food that is at her hand.

But each generation is feeling its way slowly along; and, in spite of all the weights ignorance hangs upon its skirts, it gains a notch or two on its predecessor. The starving hearts are rapidly filling up, and their number diminishing, as the vast mines of soul-food and mind-food are being opened for exploration. Still, there are myriads left; and the question comes, "What can be done for them?"

We all know that every patient, sympathetic heart is a mausoleum of secret histories gathered from the trembling lips of God's weary creatures. This is a significant fact, and suggests the following remedy:—

Let the broken heart tell its story over and over to you; thus it runs off its grief as through an open sluice. Let the foolish and crazy shout their wild fancies, and the hideous pictures they make on the air will send them home to reason. Let the timid crawl into the shadow of your superior strength, and do not counsel them to be strong; they will draw vigor from you, and, when they can walk alone, will leave you unadvised. When all hearts find voice, and all the world invites them to dine and sup; when we expect them to become hungry, and faint for food; to clamor for existence as eagerly as now the body does,—then will hungry hearts be fed, and then will it be seen that all the mighty store-houses of God's love are open in the universe wide and free to all.

L. S. H.

MR. CONWAY gives an account of a new lecturer in London, Mrs. Annie Besant, who, from being the wife of a High Church clergyman, has become a radical writer and speaker. Her husband separated from her for this reason. She has the highest culture, and is acquainted not only with the various European languages, but with the bearings of their literature on the subjects on which she is particularly interested. She is what may fairly be described as beautiful, being less than thirty years of age, and with the soft, clear eyes, rich brown hair, delicate oval face, and refined features, which make the best type of English beauty. She is rather under the average size, and dresses with a taste which can only be ascribed to the influence of education in Paris acting upon a mind naturally endowed with a fine artistic sense. She stood on the platform habited in a rich, black silk skirt and black velvet basque, with a white lace ruffle around the neck. There is no gesticulation, and yet an occasional slight bending forward of the form, or an unconscious movement of the shapely head, or of the mouth, the flashing or the sparkling of the eyes as the telling arrow of logic or wit speeds from the arch lips, do more effective work than all those gestures, which are the natural accompaniments of mere declamation. Although she is in sympathy with the movement for the enfranchisement of her sex, her main work is that of a religious free-thinker and republican reformer.—*Golden Age*.

THE Festival of the Asses, which has been for long ages observed in Verona, grew out of the following circumstances: According to the legend, the young ass on which our Saviour entered Jerusalem was set at liberty immediately after, and, profiting by his opportunity, took to traveling in Palestine; from whence he made the tour of Egypt, visiting every place of interest or note, and nobody appears to have caught him! Crossing the Mediterranean dry-shod, without the aid of any ship or bark whatsoever, he went to Cyprus, Rhodes, Candia, Malta, and Sicily; he then walked up the Adriatic to Venice, which city, by the way, was not then in existence; but he seems not to have liked the little island, for soon he passed on to Verona, where he fixed his residence, and where he died at a very ripe age. The pious and hospitable Veronese placed his remains in a reliquary of the same shape, and they kept it in the church dedicated to "Saint Mary of the Organs." Every year this interesting and valuable donkey was carried in solemn procession through the town of Verona; at the present date the Festival of the Asses has become a mere name. The Genoese were fortunate enough to obtain the tail of the above-mentioned ass, and they kept it with great piety in the church of Saint Dominic, which stood where the Theatre Carlo Felice was afterward built.—*Scribner's Monthly*.

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JUNE 17, 1875.

WHOLE No. 286.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———. Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BY A. W. S.

WE SECOND the motion, which the *Independent* makes, that George William Curtis be our next President.

THE LEADING ESSAY in this week's INDEX, by O. B. Frothingham, will be found very interesting and spicy reading.

THE *Independent* estimates the existing population of New York City to be one million two hundred thousand. What a large association of agreeable and disagreeable people that is!

JOSIAH WARREN was a grand old man, and he wrote some very thoughtful books. One of these was his *True Civilization*; a few copies of which we have for sale at this office, at fifty cents a copy.

THE BOSTON *Herald* wittily says that "the Spiritualists have resolved to be represented at the national centennial, probably by a materialized spirit. Otherwise, they will not have a ghost of a show on that occasion."

THE SPIRITUALISTS now have another eminent scientific man to count among their recent converts. This time it is a distinguished Russian Zoölogist—Prof. Wagner, of the Imperial University of St. Petersburg.

THE ITALIAN senate has passed, without discussion, a bill granting an annual pension of fifty thousand francs a year to Garibaldi, for life. The old hero deserves it, but whether he will take it or not remains to be seen.

THE *Spiritualist Scientist*, published in this city, seems to us to be a very fair and able paper, and to occupy a place in the Spiritualist literature of this country which no other paper hardly does. We are glad to see that it is prospering.

IN SIMPLE justice to Col. Higginson, and moreover at his request, we print in another place in this paper his remarks at the Radical Club; in order that the real views he entertains, and which he expressed on that occasion, may not be mistaken by any one.

THE *Golden Age* says of W. C. Gannett: "Mr. Gannett is one of the finest minds among the young men of the country; a man of real genius in his way, whose breadth is not at the expense of depth, and whose spirit has as much sweetness as sunshine in it."

THERE is a paper published in Paris, Texas, called *Common Sense*, "devoted to free thought and the downfall of supernaturalism." Those are good things to be devoted to, and common sense is a good thing to have; so we trust that the Texas paper, thus named and thus aimed, will flourish right along.

WE ARE very glad to learn that Col. Higginson's *Young Folks' History of the United States* is selling so well—the eleventh thousand having just been issued by the publishers. It is a charming book for any one to read, but it is an especial god-send (ought we not to say *man-send*?) to child-students of history.

BRADLAUGH's *National Reformer* has every week a column under the head of "Rough Notes." In this column, May 30, it told its readers "that Mrs. Charles Watts, on May 20, added a little girl to the family circle." We would delicately hint to the *Reformer* that it have a column of "Gentle Notes," in which to announce hereafter such interesting events.

A CREMATION COMPANY is to be established in Zürich, says the London *National Reformer*. Five hundred and sixty persons join in the enterprise. A piece of land in a cemetery has been given to the company, and upon this it will erect a furnace, a mortuary, a chapel, a room for urns, and so forth.

Well, burning here for a little while is better than burning hereafter forever.

THE *Christian Union*, of June 2, prints a letter said to have been written by Daniel Webster, and furnished to the *Union* by J. S. C. Abbott, the imaginative historian. The letter is about "Sabbath-schools" in particular, and religion in general. If Daniel Webster ever wrote such stately twaddle as this letter is full of, it must have been, we think, when he had taken more wine than usual.

WE FIND this extraordinary statement in Woodhull and Claflin's *Weekly*, of June 19: "The mystery of all mysteries is contained in no other book save the Christian Bible, not even in the Bibles of other nations; and was never revealed by any savior except Jesus of Nazareth,—for which reason he is the savior." We shall expect to see the *Weekly* adopted as an organ by the evangelicals yet!

"THE AMERICAN SPIRITUAL INSTITUTE" is the name of a new Spiritualist Society formed recently in this city. Its members, the *Globe* says, are those "who do not believe in radicalism, free love, and other so-called advanced theories of this sect." Well, what do they believe in? Is it only another Christian denomination? If so, its existence would seem to be superfluous, inasmuch as there is already a great variety of Christian sects in this city.

MR. DALL, just returned from India, where he has been a Christian missionary for twenty-one years, tells us that Samuel Johnson's *Oriental Religions* is hailed with unaffected delight by the Hindus, and read by them with the greatest pleasure. Mr. Dall informs us, moreover, that, though going out to India as a conservative Christian, the result of all his observations and experiences there has been to make him more and more liberal every year.

MR. FROTHINGHAM makes, in his article in another column, an admirable suggestion, it seems to us, as to the rational use of the Bible in our public schools. We submit that it is a far better way to carry a reform, by a positive than by a negative method. What true liberals desire is, not to shelve the Bible altogether (it is intrinsically too grand a book to be thus treated), but to put it to real rational and human uses. Certainly, the way which Mr. Frothingham suggests, of its possible use in our public schools, is worthy of the most candid attention.

CORRESPONDENTS in the London *Times* are discussing what they call the "Sermon Trade." One of them makes the statement that clergymen in England are provided with "a regular supply of original (?) sermons at 13s 6d a quarter, in strict confidence"! Very likely, some of these sermons are much better than the ministers who use them could write themselves, and if so the hearers are the gainers; but alas for the consciences of the ministers who gain reputations and salaries on other people's merits! By the way, we have a lot of old sermons which we would dispose of at far less than cost to some minister. None but a Christian need apply, since we wrote the sermons when we were trying hard to be a Christian ourself.

WHAT our soul (if we have any soul) will be in the next world (if there is any next world), or what shape it will take there, has never been determined. The popular notion is that we all shall be ghosts when we slip out of our bodily jackets; but just what a ghost is, nobody (we suppose) knows. The poet, T. B. Aldrich, seems to be in as much doubt on this subject as anybody; for in the last *Atlantic* he thus dubiously but sententiously writes:—

"Somewhere—in desolate, wind-swept space,
In Twilight land, in No-man's land,
Two hurrying shapes met face to face,
And bade each other stand.

"'And who are you?' cried one agape,
Shuddering in the gloaming light.
'I do not know,' said the second shape,
'I only died last night.'"

LIST OF LIBERAL LEAGUES.

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[For THE INDEX.]

Fraternity.

A CLUB PAPER.

BY O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

It was a doctrine of Rousseau, that man was at his best in a state of Nature; meaning, by a state of Nature, the condition from which he has emerged into civilization. "Everything is good," he said, "when it proceeds from the hands of the Author of all things; everything degenerates in the hands of men." Rousseau added, that, in the present conditions of things, a man abandoned at his birth would be most of all degraded, because prejudice, authority, necessity, example,—all the social institutions and influences to which we are submitted,—would stifle Nature in him, and would put nothing in its place. But perhaps it might not be absolutely impossible to withdraw him from these dangers, and place him in conditions where Nature alone would act in him. In this case he would grow up, what? An animal, or a man? Rousseau ought to say a man.

This doctrine of Rousseau has become the doctrine of a large class of persons,—by some called "sentimentalists," by others "transcendentalists," by others "Utopians"; the essence of whose belief is that the history of the human race is a history of fall and degeneracy,—mankind departing further from primitive innocence as the ages went on, until the present state, which is one of misery and division, has been reached. In this view, the immoralities and enormities, the social crimes and sins, of civilization are due to the arts, inventions, discoveries on which the men of our generation pride themselves. With these comes wealth; with wealth comes luxury; with luxury come ease, sloth, vanity, pride, envy, jealousy, strife, division. These take shape in rebellions, wars, slaveries, the battles of races, the alienation of orders, the destruction of the fraternal spirit; the vision whereof tortures the mind. This idea seems to lie at the bottom of the ancient tradition of Eden, the garden in which the first pair were placed, where they sinned through disobedience, and whence they were expelled in shame. John Ruskin is haunted by some such idea, when he denounces our civilization as throughout rotten and inhuman; and counsels a return to primitive simplicity, by purchasing a tract of land in England, colonizing it anew, and beginning all over the experience of mankind. To revive human nature, so strangely disfigured by institutions and prejudices; to return to the primitive instincts of the race, and thus to recover the moral sentiment, stifled by superstition, outraged by false and artificial customs, and misconceived by a school of philosophers who resolve all moral ideas into conventionalities,—is the purpose of this class of thinkers and doers.

To reason against this theory is not the intention of this essay. It is hardly worth while to combat spectres, and this belief has become a spectre in the current opinion of mankind. My thought is to give a few illustrations of the opposite doctrine, that what we call *fraternity*—the brotherly, neighborly, friendly spirit—is one of very slow growth; that it was not at the beginning, did not show itself till comparatively late, and owes what maturity it has acquired to the civilizing agencies which Rousseau and his school denounce.

At Barnum's original museum, which stood on the spot which the New York *Herald* so worthily occupies as the successor of that strange conglomeration

of wild animals and "what is it," there was exhibited as an object of special curiosity a "Happy Family," as it was called. It consisted of a number of animals—supposed usually to be natural foes—living together in closest amity. Cat and dog, kitten and mouse, rat and weasel, and other aboriginal enemies,—there they were on the most friendly terms imaginable. Nothing but want of space apparently forbade the fulfilment of the ancient prophecy, that the ox and the bear should feed together, and the wolf lie down with the lamb. Nothing, we should say, but want of space, unless it might be want of an adequate supply of soothing syrup. For, to attentive observers, the passiveness of the caged creatures was remarkable. A drowsiness passed heavily upon the assembled animals; a frowzy and musty semblance was theirs. They had either outgrown their native dispositions, and were kept alive as paupers are in almshouses; or they were drugged into a compliant submission to the rules of the establishment. Stuffed they were not, for the monkey scratched his ear, the dog waved his tail, and the rat moved a timid whisker. The kitten winked in the direction of the mouse, as if she would say, "Under other circumstances!" and the mouse slept the sleep of the just, its faintly-heaving side quivering with no signs of trepidation. The exhibition would have been pleasanter if it had been more lively. Perhaps they were not real creatures after all. A lad in my Sunday-school, pondering on the story of the bears who came out of the wood at Elisha's bidding, and devoured the mocking children, demurely asked the teacher if they let Elisha go? On being told that they did, he placidly remarked that then he did not believe the story. He knew bears, and to the best of his belief there was never yet a bear who stopped, so long as there was anything left to eat. This young man did not share Rousseau's persuasion of the world's primal innocence; for he thought twenty children apiece, forty children for two bears, was a small allowance for a single meal.

Ants commonly have borne a good reputation for the cardinal virtues, but occasionally we are told they get tired of setting an example to the sluggard; and on these occasions they show their wisdom by attacking a neighboring community, killing the warriors, and making slaves of the women and children. Seizing on the eggs and cocoons, they transport them to their hillock, allow them to hatch, and then rear them as drudges and porters. The battles of the ants are Waterloo and Solferino in fury.

The "little busy bee" has cheaply earned a good name by eating the choicest sweets of the garden on sunny days; but follow the hypocrite to his hive, and you will find him playing as many scurvy tricks as his betters. It is edifying to behold the working bees trying to immure their young queen in a cell, while her aged mother attempts to take her life. They are thieves and plunderers, these bees; they exercise no hospitality; they kill the stranger; they are not friendly to their own kith and kin; they are as niggardly as they are industrious. The animals have apparently forgotten that they were ever in Eden.

The cat takes pleasure in torturing the mouse; the bald eagle robs the fish hawk; the lion is merciless to the jackal; the wolf has only too much bowels for the fox; wasps destroy their young; birds rout other birds from their nests, and then appropriate them; apes, squirrels, dogs practise barbarities that must drive almost to despair the Berghs of their race.

Travellers on the Western prairies see the skeletons of dead buffalos, multitudes of which escape from the bullet of the hunter only to be gored to death by their comrades, maddened by the sight of comrades' blood. In a pack of dogs, if one is hurt, the rest fall fiercely on him and tear him to pieces. It is no exaggeration to say that "the sight of another animal of its kind, in agony, appears to act on the brute as an incentive to destructive rage. He is vehemently excited, rushes at the sufferer, bellowing, barking, screeching; and commonly gores, bites, pecks, or stings it till it dies." Animals are naturally without compassion for their sick and aged, but forsake them without hesitation, and sometimes put them to summary death, as nuisances and incumbrances. So general is this, that some apologists for the Creator surmise that such wholesale extirpation of the miserable is one of those beneficent laws of creation, by which age and infirmity are spared the slow torture of hunger and decay. However successful this argument may be, as exonerating the Creator, it is not successful in establishing the loving kindness of the created. The wrath is wrath all the same, even though it be forced to ejaculate praise.

That man in a state of Nature is not brotherly, needs no proof. Father Beeson contends that the American Indian is a perfect Christian without knowing it. He seems to be a perfect Christian without showing it. People of his kind are, as a rule, not perfect Christians. I need not cite examples from ancient writers, of tribes that used to kill, boil, and eat their superannuated relatives; of other tribes that solemnly put second childhood to death as remorselessly as the Spartans exposed their sickly children to the wolves. Mr. Tylor tells us that in Loveden are many churches which contained, less than two centuries ago, a species of club called *attaklubbor*—or *family clubs*—used for the practice of knocking the burden of existence from the old and hopelessly sick. We read in Sir John Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization*: "The Peejeans believe that as they die such will be their condition in another world; hence their desire to escape extreme infirmity. Therefore, as soon as a man feels the approach of old age, he notifies his children that it is time for him to die. If he neglects to do so, the children after a while take the matter into their own hands,

A family consultation is held, a day appointed, and the grave dug. The aged person has then the choice of being strangled or buried alive. A young man came to Mr. Hunt, and invited him to attend his mother's funeral which was about to take place. Mr. Hunt accepted the invitation, and joined the procession; but, surprised to see no corpse, he made inquiries, when the young man pointed out his mother who was walking along with them, as gay and lively as any of those present, and apparently as much pleased. Mr. Hunt expressed his surprise to the young man, and asked how he could deceive him so much by saying his mother was dead, when she was alive and well. He said, in reply, that they had made her death-feast, and were now going to bury her; that she was old, and his brother and himself had thought she had lived long enough, and it was time to bury her; to which she had assented, and they were about it now. He added that it was from love for his mother that he had done so; that in consequence of the same love they were now going to bury her, and that none but themselves could or ought to perform such a sacred office. Mr. Hunt did all in his power to prevent so diabolical an act; but the only reply he received was that she was their mother, and they were her children, and they ought to put her to death. On reaching the grave, the mother sat down; when they all, including children, grandchildren, relations, and friends, took an affectionate leave of her. A rope made of twisted tapa was then passed twice round her neck by her sons, who took hold of it and strangled her; after which she was put in her grave with the usual ceremonies. In one town containing several hundred inhabitants, Captain Wilkes did not see one man over forty years of age; all the old people having been buried."

The disciples of the modern doctrine of *Euthanasia*—Francis W. Newman and others in London, who hold that when life becomes intolerable through age or infirmity it may righteously be laid down by the sufferer, or righteously made to cease by the sufferer's friends—may point triumphantly to this account as confirming their opinion, by the unadulterated instincts of the savage breast. There are distinctions worth noting, however; as for example this: The savage does not wait for life to become intolerable; at the age of forty,—existence still being something short of a burden, even to ladies,—he sometimes hastens death unnaturally. The savage, moreover, does not wait for his dear relative to signify a desire to depart from a weary world; but, if there be still a lingering look behind, he takes the matter into his own hands, and shows his beloved the door.

The practice does not bear witness to a strong sentiment of brotherly love among the untaught children of Nature. For that matter, the latest doctrine of *Euthanasia* is equally inconsistent with warm, sympathetic feeling. The modern favorer of chloroform, laudanum, or hemlock cannot be said to live in his affections. His doctrine finds no welcome from brotherly-hearted people whose pity, tenderness, and devotion increase with the demand for these gracious qualities, and who cherish the last spark of life the more tenderly because its glimmer is so unsteady. The difference between the savage and the philosopher is that the latter has forgotten brotherly love, and the former has never learned it.

In the savage breast infirmity excites rage, not pity. This appears in the brutal treatment of women and children by husbands and parents of the dissolute classes; treatment, the brutality whereof is provoked by the very causes that should disarm brutality completely. Dickens tells the whole story of this in his episode of Bill and Nancy Sykes. The story of the murderer Sharkey, and his mistress, is but one out of the multitude that the daily papers bring to light. The girl delivered Sharkey from prison, and saved him from the gallows at great cost to herself. For this very reason, apparently,—because she was weak enough to love him, and depend on him, and brave everything for him,—he treats her so brutally till she is compelled to abandon him, and leave him to his fate. The pathetic play of "The Two Orphans" presents facts of the same character. An old woman takes advantage of a girl's blindness to heap upon her every kind of indignity, crush her beneath every kind of misery, make her an instrument for every kind of baseness. A brother makes a brother's lameness the occasion of incessant insult, imposition, and cruelty. The high-toned gentleman alone comprehends the meaning of the word *fraternity*. Cases are continually coming to light of children exposed, starved, beaten, burned, cruelly maltreated for no other fault than that of being objects of compassion. The frequency of infanticide testifies to the same truth, that uncivilized people are unloving; that brotherly feeling, human feeling as we love to call it, increases as men and women leave the condition of childhood, and proceed beyond the "state of Nature."

Yet (the truth must be told, now we have come upon it in the course of our exposition; the open secret must be confessed), *childhood* is not a paradisaical condition. The nursery is not an Eden. There is still room for inculcating the lesson of love upon the little darlings of our most Christian homes. Have we forgotten Dr. Watts' little hymn? It comes to me now, as a warning echo from a very remote past:—

"'Tis dog's delight to bark and bite,
 For 'tis their nature to.
 Let bears and lions growl and fight,
 For God has made them so.

"But, children, you should never let
 Your angry passions rise,
 Your little hands were never made
 To tear each other's eyes."

The pious doctor had visited many homes, and discovered that the distinction between finger-nails and claws was not quite comprehended, even if it was quite established by the law of development. In

childhood, brotherhood and sisterhood are recognized as furnishing opportunity for quarrelling, and supplying that preliminary discipline in fisti-cuffs, which is considered indispensable to the proper conduct of life. It is my privilege to know two little girls—sisters, daughters of thoroughly right-minded and kind-hearted parents—who perfectly illustrate this natural enmity of kindred. They will share nothing; if either has what the other has not, a fight ensues, which neither parental authority nor parental persuasion is able to quell. They must have all things apart—clothes, books, toys. They watch each other's motions like wildcats; nag and tease each other with a patience worthy of saints; make sport of each other's accidents and misfortunes; and show in every way so scrupulous a regard for the exactness of each other's statements that they lose no opportunity of correcting and admonishing, in season, but especially out of season.

It has been observed that children occasionally exhibit the same sort of inverted sympathy that has been so frequently noted in savages,—the disposition to treat weakness and suffering with contempt, disgust, and violence. Tears will have on them the same effect that a red cloth has on a bull. The impulse to slap and scratch, instead of soothing, is too strong to be resisted. The fact is, that the theory of human depravity comes out strong from the study of childhood. Miss Frances Power Cobbe tells of a "gentle and affectionate" little girl of three years old, whose exhibition of disgust and irritation, on occasions that would seem calculated to excite the opposite emotions, is as vehement as that of a mad bull or a cannibal savage. "The child's baby sister, of two years, fell off the lofty bed on which both were amiably playing, and of course set up a wail of fright and pain on the floor. Instantly the elder child let herself slip down on the opposite side, ran round the bed, and pounced upon the poor little one on the floor, whom she proceeded incontinently to belabor violently with both hands, before rescue could arrive. Of course, eventually both parties joined in a roar; but the baby's was a wail of pain and terror, the elder child's a tempest of indignation." In a few years this is quite outgrown; the brothers and sisters who in childhood were the direst foes in boyhood and girlhood are the most intimate friends. That is to say, as their minds mature their hearts expand; their relations become multiplied and complex. In a word, as they leave the state of Nature, and enter on the condition of civilization, they learn consideration, courtesy, and kindness.

But with the larger portion of people in society,—even in what is called respectable, elegant, cultivated society,—the state of Nature is merely concealed, not outgrown. The claws are withdrawn into their velvet sheaths. How careful one must be in motion, look, speech, expression, if he would avoid collision with these dear friends whose companionship is so delightful! Listen to the gossip of any circle, and mark how universally it is touched by scandal. No reputation is safe from the idle tongue of one's own set. See how ladies eye one another in a ball-room, or scrutinize one another in the street; interpret the winks and whispers in the corner; note how invariably (we may say inevitably, for there is no premeditation or conscious malevolence in it) the worst construction is put on looks and expressions, the most shameful inferences are drawn from innocent behavior; note how the idlest rumors are accepted if they be discreditable enough, and all the arts of innuendo and misrepresentation are employed to throw odium and suspicion on harmless and even amiable persons. The brightness that should win admiration, the guilelessness that should engage sympathy, the warmth that should awaken enthusiasm, the charm of manner that should prove attractive, are often made occasions for covert ridicule or biting accusation. This is the uneliminated savagery of men and women.

Why is it thought improper to discuss politics or religion in general society? Because people are not civilized enough to be submitted to the test of such discussion. Their passions are not sufficiently under control; their temper is unequal to the strain. They must talk *nothings*, because if they venture on *some-things* they may scratch the skin, and draw blood. Neither men nor women can talk together on any subject that excites feeling; the moment they do, they begin to quarrel—the wild beast appears. It may be doubted whether society anywhere affords a spot where the spirit of fraternity is made supreme; where speech may be open, thought sincere, feeling frank and honest, and no offence be given or taken. The Quakers maintain their sedateness by making their wants few, and reducing to the smallest dimensions the world of vexations and provocations; yet the Quakers have shown themselves more than once unable to resist the disintegrating effect of discussion on vital themes. The Shakers avoid civilization altogether; and, according to Mr. Charles Nordhoff, display most of the traits that distinguished Mr. Phineas T. Barnum's "Happy Family." It is only by remaining homogeneous that we succeed in keeping the peace; and as to be homogeneous is to be stupid, peace and dullness invariably go together. The Radical Club in Boston is fraternal, because they who compose it are all of a kind. They sit together in mute admiration of the speakers, as they deliver themselves in succession of their rhapsodies. The Liberal Club in New York is heterogeneous, and is said not to be especially fraternal. All subjects are discussed there; all opinions are expressed; there is the utmost liberty of debate. But, if they who have attended the meetings may be believed, the members on excited evenings have no great tenderness for one another's beauty. The discussion is literally a fair fight, in which the lamb sleeps at last in the stomach of the wolf.

The miserable lack of the fraternal spirit appears

in the cultivated classes, in the manners of literary people towards one another. The attitude of theologians who differ on some point which neither understands, and on which nobody possesses knowledge, can be compared to nothing so aptly as the attitude of mastiffs in a ring, or game-cocks in a pit. It is thought a wonderful advance when the fox supplants the mastiff, and the game-cock gives place to the peacock. The exultation with which rival doctors of divinity seize on the adversary's blunder,—the rage excited by a happy quotation, or an ingenious conjecture,—suggests the hunting dogs whose animosity rises with the comrade's misfortune. Nothing irritates the physician of one school so much as the successful treatment of a malignant disease by the physician of an opposite school; or the joy with which he hails the failure of his brother in the healing art, even when the failure involves the destruction and sorrow of his fellow creatures,—the fact that they are all laboring toward the same end; namely, the mitigation of human ill, seeming to weigh as nothing against the instinct of sect and class. Criticism is marked by the same blood-thirstiness. The critic—literary, musical, æsthetic—is a savage; his weapons are the tomahawk and scalping knife. He looks like a savage; cultivating the mien and aspect of the bandit. He has one cardinal rule of conduct; namely, to find fault. The author, composer, painter, sculptor, actor, is his enemy, whose weak point his duty it is to find. If his duty is made harder because the weak points are few, he falls the more fiercely on those he detects. If he detects none, and is compelled to invent them, his rage against the defects he has been put to the trouble of imagining burns with increased fury. Cleverness, sagacity, wit, are supposed to be shown in sarcasm; and the more pain the sarcasm causes the more intense the delight it brings. The critic's ambition is to be feared; the number of his scalps is the sign of his prowess. To misinterpret, misrepresent, and caricature is evidence of skill. In no department, apparently, is it yet reckoned a mark of capacity to note excellences, to appreciate endeavors, to render justice to intentions, to encourage strivings, to help the groping artist by cheerful praise to find his way. The perfect work maddens instead of gladdening the critic; yet in proportion as the work is imperfect the scorn and contempt find vent. Either way, rage finds excuse for pouncing on a victim. One must think long before he will recall an example of habitual forbearance and kindness in literary criticism. To the weak nobody exercises compassion. Great reputations compel courtesy and regard; but it is the reputation, not the merit. To be without reputation in literature is to be without defenders; to have less than no reputation, to be an object of dislike, to be unpopular, in a word is to be a butt for assault. "Hit him again, he has no friends!"—the derisive shout runs along the whole line of society. It is the howl of wolves at the scent of blood.

Who has not been conscious himself, often, of an irritated, angry feeling towards husband, wife, mother, child, who was suffering,—feeling as if the illness or pain was a personal affront to be resented, instead of being a misfortune, to be pitied and relieved? Have we never felt exasperated by the pain that should make us pitiful? Among polite people, the impulse to slap a child that has hurt itself, or to scold a companion who has met with an untoward accident, betrays the lingering spirit of the animal and the savage, who resents what he should relieve. It is unaccountable, except on the theory that the state of Nature is a state of war, and that the state of Nature yields slowly to cultivation. As the fashion of building city houses with turrets and battlements, country residences like castles, and churches with shot-holes in the walls still lingers in the traditions of architecture; as bronze images of horses, and mailed warriors, and gladiators still decorate our mantels,—so the usages of the savage haunt our manners. To be suspicious, like an Indian on the war path; to take the rustle of the dead autumn leaves for the tread of a foe, and the sigh of the breeze for the breath of an antagonist, and the unexpected call of a loving bird for a signal from an ambush,—is the sign of a sensitive spirit. The woman who is most keenly jealous and suspecting, who is most confident of her sister's turpitude, and most certain of her wiles, has credit for the most immaculate and unerring purity. To think evilly is to think subtly. To think gently is to lack perception.

A friend loaned me a little book *On the Art of Ingeniously Tormenting*, published in London in the last century. The author, who would seem to be a woman, though the fact does not appear on title page or in preface, deliberately lays down rules by which the readers may extract the greatest sum of pleasure from others' pain. The first part is addressed to those who have authority by law or custom,—as masters over their servants, parents over their children, husbands over their wives, and so forth. The second part is addressed to those who have an interior power arising from the affection of the person on whom they are to work,—as in the case of wife, friend, and so forth. The work closes with "General Rules for Plaguing all your Acquaintance." Of course the book is a satire; and as it is a very clever one, it is worth quoting a few passages from:—

"How can I be thankful enough," exclaims the author, "to our good laws for indulging me in the pleasure of persecuting and tormenting a man who is indebted to me, and who does not want the will but the power to pay me! As soon as I perceive this to be the case, I instantly throw him into jail; and there I keep him to pine away his life in want and misery. How will my pleasure be increased if he should be a man in any business or profession; for I then rob him of all means of escaping my power! It may be objected, perhaps, that in this last case I act imprudently; that I defeat my own ends, and am

myself the means of losing my whole money. How ignorant of the true joys of tormenting is such an objector! You mistake greatly, my friend, if you think I defeat my own ends; for my ends are to plague and torment, not only a fellow creature, but a fellow Christian. But let me raise this joyous picture a little higher. Let me suppose that this wretched man, now pining in a prison, has a wife and children whom he fondly loves. Must not my sport be doubled and trebled by the consideration that his children are starving, that his wife is in the same condition, oppressed also with unspeakable anguish for not being able to give her helpless infants any relief? Suppose, too, that the husband, with the reflection of all this, and his incapacity to help them, should be driven to distraction,—would not this exceed the most exquisite transports of revenge ever enjoyed by ancient or modern tyrants?"

"There is one mistake which people have often run into, in their choice of a dupe; namely, in thinking that the principal qualification to be insisted on is his having a soft place in his head; whereas the chief thing to seek after is the man who has a soft place in his heart. Many a disappointment has arisen from fixing your choice on a fool; for frequently will you find such a want of affection, such a thorough selfishness, so much cunning and obstinacy, that all your labors will be thrown away."

"If your friend should come to any worldly misfortune, be sure, in the first place, not to fail telling him (and that repeatedly) that it was entirely by his own fault. You may add as many aggravating speeches as you can heap together. Be very lavish to him of advice to do impossibilities; but stir not a step for his relief, except he should be so nearly connected to you in blood that your reputation will suffer by such total neglect. In that case, you may either take him into your house, and let him live the life of a toad under the harrow; or make him some shabby allowance, hardly enough to keep him from starving, but sufficient to prevent his seeking for support from any other means, without risking your displeasure for not resting satisfied with what you thought a sufficient subsistence."

"When you have fixed on a friend, endeavor to engage her affections by all the kind and obliging methods you can invent. When you are very certain that you are really become the object of her warmest friendly affection, and that her chief joy and pleasure is placed in your company, try how a change of temper will agree with her. To see this change of temper in you will grieve her to the heart; but still, while she finds it is in her power to relieve your complaints, she will herself sometimes feel such an overflowing of joy as will repay her for any trouble, fatigue, or pain she may have undergone. Let her go on sometime in this situation: for she will, by her own compassion, entangle herself too strongly ever to break loose from your chains, although you should hereafter treat her with the most barefaced disregard, insolence, and inhumanity."

"Tell your friend all sorts of spiteful stories that you have heard concerning her, railing also at the ill nature of the wicked, censorious world you live in."

"Remember that flattery is only to be used to draw somebody in, on whom you may exercise your brutality under the name of plain dealing."

"Let not a twenty years' experience of the truth and fidelity of your friend prevent you from loading her with unjust suspicions. This is most nobly grating to a generous mind; for truly it is said, that those injuries go nearest to us that we neither deserve nor expect."

"When you have exhausted all your stock of suspicions, accusations, and so forth, against your friend, or have a mind for a little variety in your practice, there is no better sport than to abuse every creature that you know your friend has any regard for. But measure out such abuse in due proportion; namely, give the greatest share of it to the person or persons whom you know to be most esteemed by your friend."

"If your friend be of such an obliging, complying temper as to be unwilling to deny you anything you ask, and perfectly averse also to contradicting any proposal that would give you pleasure, you may in the first place make all sorts of preposterous requests to her; in the next place, you must study her temper, to find out what is agreeable or disagreeable to her,—by which means she must either live an uncomfortable life from never doing anything she likes, or she must be eternally contradicting your proposals, and refusing your requests; which may perhaps be more irksome to her than any disagreeable thing you can desire her to do."

"By all means avoid an evenness of behavior. Be sometimes extremely glad to see people, and at other times let your behavior be hardly within the rules of good breeding."

"If you see people particularly cheerful, rack your invention to the utmost to find some method of damping their mirth and good humor; for should you happen to have no friend, husband, and so forth in company, on whom to exercise your power, yet to destroy the mirth of a common acquaintance is some joy, although not the greatest, to a truly malevolent heart."

"To women, the best way is to attack them about their clothes. When you see them pleased with any gown, cap, or ribbon that they have on, you may drop it out (as if by chance) that it was exactly such a gown as you saw Mrs. Meagre in at Sadler's Walls; carefully remembering to name either some very frightful, unfashionable, or ridiculous character."

"Be continually begging all your acquaintance to help you to servants; to recommend mantua-makers, milliners, with shops of all kinds. Fail not to employ the person they recommended. If it is a servant, let him soon be discharged with great disgrace."

Complain of the mantua-maker, that she spoiled you a suit of clothes, and stole several yards of your silk. On the milliner you may rally your friend thus: 'Surely, my dear, you sent Mrs. — to me out of a joke; for you could not imagine that I would appear such a *frigate* as that awkward creature would have made me.' As to shops of all kinds, you need not buy anything at any place to which you are recommended; but you may complain to your friends that, by their recommendation, you were like to have been cheated most intolerably had it not been for your own great judgment, by which you plainly perceived that the person asked double the worth of the goods; and that you could buy them at half the price at any other shop in town."

"Finally, remember always to do unto every one what you would least wish to have done unto yourself."

This is barbarism reduced to a science; the "state of Nature" carried to the point of a fine art. In the progress of civilization, which is a progress of becoming *civil*, the state of Nature is slowly outgrown. For the separate steps in the advance, I must refer you to the ingenious expositions of Mr. Herbert Spencer. It is too large a subject to be even proposed here. My purpose is satisfied in indicating the actual condition of society, hinting at the refinements in brutality that time and experience have effected, and suggesting the way towards the fraternity we all profess to desire.

Let me add, as a closing word, that this essay has a bearing on the principles and aims of our Club. It is called "The Fraternity"; a name selected by the founders of it as signifying a desire that the members should make a beginning in sweet, kindly, gentle relations with one another. To encourage literary talent has been its most conspicuous aim, and must of necessity continue to be so; for literary talent can be fostered only in that way. The temper of fraternity can never be conspicuously cultivated; its springs are in the good heart. Its quality, like that of the diamond and the pearl, is due to the insensible gatherings of glistening drops of water, and the invisible absorption of the soul of the sunbeam. Its operation is that of well-ordered thought; its force is the impulse of sweetly-consecrated will.

In George Eliot's poem, *The Spanish Gypsy*, Zarca (the Zincali chief) thus describes the faith of his wild tribe:—

"It is a faith
Taught by no priest, but by their beating hearts.
Faith to each other: the fidelity
Of fellow-wanderers in a desert place,
Who share the same dire thirst, and therefore share
The scanty water; the fidelity
Of men whose pulses leap with kindred fire;
Who in the flash of eyes, the clasp of hands,
The speech that even in lying tells the truth
Of heritage inevitable as past deeds,—
Nay, in the silent bodily presence feels
The mystic stirring of a common life
Which makes the many one; fidelity
To that deep consecrating oath our sponsor Fate
Made through our infant breath, when we were born
The fellow heirs of that small island life,
Where we must dig and sow and reap as brothers."

This is fraternity; but the fraternity of fanaticism; the brotherhood of the barbarian; the love that consists in hating your enemy; the fierce, vengeful, jealous kindness of the clansman, that is fed by the misery of the stranger. This Zarca would curse and kill his only child because she loved outside of the tribe. This is the fraternity that is to be discouraged, and put away. The true fraternity is fellow-feeling beyond the clan.

PROF. CROOKES' NEW DISCOVERY.

Amid all the varied topics—political, imperial, social, and general—which filled our columns on Tuesday morning last, it is possible that by far the most important, in ultimate consequences, was enshrined in the report of the proceedings of the Royal Society at its last weekly meeting. That report was brief, but it described a scientific demonstration which may yet turn out to be one of the most wonderful and far-reaching by which human knowledge has been enriched.

The experimentalist on the occasion in question was Mr. William Crookes, F.R.S., to whose genius and subtle skill in questioning Nature we already owe the discovery of the metal thallium, along with a complete establishment of its atomic weight. For some time past, this accomplished physicist has been investigating the action of heat and light upon bodies suspended in a vacuum; and so far back as in August, 1873, he communicated some curious facts on the subject to the Royal Society. But those which he exhibited upon the evening of the last meeting, to an audience composed of many among the most distinguished of living philosophers, were of an entirely new character, and such as combined the greatest simplicity of apparatus with astonishing results.

It has been always thought, and Dr. Balfour Stewart had even stated it as certain, that light apart from heat exercised no mechanical action; so that the spectacle of luminous rays driving round and round a suspended bar or vane would have been called a miracle in times by-gone. Yet this is what Mr. Crookes showed to his audience. He suspended a bar of pith upon a silken fibre in a bulb at the bottom of a tube from which the air had been exhausted to complete rarefaction, and a lighted candle placed near the outside of the bulb forthwith set this bar turning round. By a second ingenious apparatus he showed how the intensity of this action of light could be measured, a glass thread as fine as a spider's web being here used.

But it will be justly objected that the candle radiates heat as well as light; and, meeting that, Mr. Crookes exhibited an arrangement wherein four discs of pith upon cross pieces of straw, delicately

balanced on a point in the exhausted bulb, were subjected to light from which the heat had been sifted away by a screen of alum. When the light thus purified fell on the blackened side of each disc, it drove it more and more rapidly round, but had no such effect upon the white sides of the pith. So perfectly can this mechanical force of light be measured, that the lecturer circulated a card containing the rates at which different mediums of light at different distances would drive his fairy mill. At twenty inches, one candle takes one hundred and eighty-two seconds to move the vane round; at five, it accomplishes a revolution in eleven seconds; but diffused daylight sends the little vanes spinning in less than two seconds, and full sunshine drives them merrily along yet more quickly.

Green glass greatly diminishes the action, as also blue; while yellow and light-red glass retard it much less. The stronger the luminous source the more vigorous is the impelling power; the electric and magnesium lights whirl the tiny vanes very rapidly, and thus this radiometer exhibited may be developed into an accurate measurer of actinic force, affording us—to come out of fairyland into practical life—an excellent gauge for the illuminating power of our gas-burners.

There was still, however, one objection to meet before the learned men assembled could safely allow that they saw before them light, pure light, set to work at the treadmill, and exhibited as a motive power. Professor Osborne Reynolds, when these researches first became known to him, had suggested that the discs of pith went round because there was latent moisture in them, which, being evaporated in the experiment, gave a resilient impulse to the little apparatus. The lecturer, however, exhibited a bulb containing platinum vanes suspended on a platinum thread, which had been heated to redness while under continuous and absolute exhaustion; yet this, too, which could hardly contain any latent moisture, obeyed the invisible push of the light rays as completely as the other contrivances. The opinion expressed by such savants as Professor Stokes and Huxley, Doctors Huggins and Carpenter, Messrs. Norman-Lockyer, De la Rue, Siemens, and Galton, was that the demonstration of a great and amazing discovery stood perfect, and it was generally agreed that in the present position of scientific knowledge the results obtained were inexplicable by any known theory.

We will explain a little more completely one of the comest of Mr. Crookes' experiments. He thoroughly exhausts a tube with a bulb at its end, and in this bulb he mounts upon a delicate pivot one of his little vanes, constructed of glass or straw cross-pieces, with a disc of pith at each of the four extremities. One face of each disc is blackened, and the fairy mill, though not weighing so much as a gossamer, rests quietly enough while in the dark. He moves it into the light, so that the ordinary rays of day may fall upon the blackened faces, and, obedient to some mysterious impulse, the arms begin to turn. If the sun breaks out, and shines upon the apparatus, the fairy mill whirls round with such energy that the eye can hardly follow its gyrations; and this effect is very little altered if an alum-plate be interposed, so that no heat-rays pass along with the light. To see these vanes racing round inside the glass, from no visible cause, is one of the most extraordinary surprises which science has afforded; and, as we have observed, she has puzzled herself this time, for no one can yet tell why the phenomenon occurs. Since blackened surfaces absorb light, and whitened ones reflect all the rays, one would have imagined that, however the light may act, it must repel the white and not the black sides of the discs; yet the contrary is the case. Faster and ever faster spins the tiny mill in its vacuum, till sometimes it actually whirls itself off the pivot altogether, tumbling over with its intensely excited speed, and uncommon dexterity is required to replace the cap-sized vane upon its centre. Put a hat over the magical machinery, and it stops—only to resume its circular dance as soon as the light catches the dark side of the pith again. Hold up the alum screen which sifts out all heat-rays, and the dance is somewhat slackened; but green or blue glass calms down the excited little machine to a more sober revolution, and yellow or red glass quickens it again to a more lively waltz. If a cloud passes over the face of the sun while it is spinning in full daylight, the invisible fairy miller becomes melancholy, and twists the machine very lazily; but let the cloud go by, and the bright beam glitter again, and forthwith in an instant the mysterious power is all alive, the discs rotate faster and faster, the eye can hardly catch sight of them as they fly round, and, if the sunlight lasts, the hilarious little miller tumbles himself off his perch altogether with his ecstasy of speed.

Science has as yet no explanation to give of this astonishing discovery, which at once adds light to the catalogue of mechanical forces. That it exercised chemical action was already proved, of course, by photography; but here we see the subtlest of imponderables set like a willing slave to turn a wheel; while, tiny as that wheel is in these exquisitely delicate experiments, we must remember that the universe is boundless, and that light pervades it, flashing perpetually from countless centres, like our own sun, across and athwart the infinite ether. And it may be fairly imagined that the interplanetary ether resembles the vacuum in the bulb, so that the condition of these revolving discs is, perhaps, much the same as that of the planets in space. Strange, indeed, are the thoughts which must be started by this revelation that light, pouring upon bodies freed from atmospheric friction, is in itself an active and mighty force.

That so remarkable a discovery solves at once the mystery of the comet's tail—which is always seen to be driven violently away from its natural line upon

approaching the sun—is, we believe, affirmed by more than one high astronomical authority. But may it not have something also to do with the axial motion of the planets? May it not have something to do with the maintenance of centrifugal force, balancing, as it were, that of gravitation? Can it be for nothing in the celestial universe that this potency and stress of light sweeps from centre to circumference of each system, exercises a power which, in its totality, must be something prodigious? It seems not impossible that our mathematicians, calculating from the small surface of these discs the motive force of sunlight, may soon tell us pretty accurately what is the aggregate power which the luminous rays of the sun command; and nothing of this, by the law of forces, can be really wasted.

"Let there be light, and there was light," seems to derive a new majesty of meaning from the discovery which shows us this subtle something; no mere undulation nor "mode of motion," but a living force as well as the illumination of all life. Needless it is to say that, where science herself is silent and bewildered over the new fact which she has won for humanity, we intend here no rash appreciation of its significance. But it does appear as if a very marvellous expansion of knowledge is about to open in these delicate experiments; and, since the more minds engaged upon a new truth the better, we have gladly drawn attention to Mr. Crookes' paper; as these researches, if developed and confirmed, must stamp the discoverer of Thallium and of the Radiometer as one of the justly distinguished men among the living explorers of natural science.—*London Daily Telegraph*, April 30.

THE RADICAL CLUB.

THE FABLE OF THE SUN AND THE WIND.—THE POLICY OF TOLERATION.—THE PUBLIC-SCHOOL QUESTION.—THE PROPER ATTITUDE FOR RADICALS.

The advent of the great moral show had some influence even upon a body so lofty as the Radical Club, and the time of coming to order, yesterday, was delayed a few minutes, because this member had paused here to look, and that member had lingered there to gaze, while the other had been blockaded elsewhere by the procession of cages. At about ten minutes past eleven, Mr. Sargent announced that Colonel Higginson was present.

"Yes" said that gentleman, as he took the chair, "here he is; and he only hopes that you won't live to say that you wish that here he wasn't." He began his address, which was delivered without notes, by reading *Æsop's* fable of the traveller who kept his cloak in spite of the violent efforts of the wind to deprive him of it, but threw it aside under the influence of the mild beams of the sun. The work of Radicals, in Colonel Higginson's opinion, is to uncloak the self-deceptions and conventionalisms of the world; and his aim, yesterday, was to suggest the best way of doing so. All of us who are Radicals, he said, are slightly disposed to be contestants; we love a fight, or we should not be here. Those of us who are not here as Radicals have sympathy for a fight, or we should not be here. At times, it is the first duty of a reformer to be ready to knock somebody down; when the only thing to do is to take sides and strike hard. The thing for us to decide, to-day, is to determine for ourselves what the present condition of religion may be, and whether or not this is a time for combat. There are in the history of the world periods of contest and periods of assimilation, when prejudices are relaxed, when we no longer say, "Be my brother, or I will kill you." Which of the two is this? It is necessary that we should look at events not as they affect us, personally, but as they indicate the spirit of the age. Do we not, in the spiritual world, see increased harmony and sympathy? Does not persecution grow less and less? Is there not a stronger tendency to co-operation among members of different sects? In support of this view, the speaker contrasted the former condition of affairs in Massachusetts,—when a theist could not testify in the courts, a governor could only be chosen from one Protestant denomination, and direct taxes were imposed for the support of churches,—with the present state of things, when the atheists can testify, direct taxation for church purposes is abolished, and the only religious qualification demanded from a governor is that he shall be a Christian. The widespread and instantaneous indignation that arises when this tendency is violated is, in Colonel Higginson's opinion, the strongest evidence of its existence, and such violations by no means balance the evidence of the general disposition to concession and toleration. As illustrations, the speaker quoted John Newman's recent acknowledgment that, in case of having to make a choice between his country and the pope, he should put England first; and stated that half the Unitarian clergymen were in sympathy with the Radicals,—thus connecting the world of Free Religionists with the world of those who live among religious conventionalisms.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

If in any particular case, said the speaker, antagonism be necessary, to-day, it should be modified by the times. It is no more pleasant to be drowned by the last wave of an ebb-tide than by the first surge of a flood; but we must recognize the difference. The Roman Catholic Church, as some of us think, is dangerous to liberty; if every man and every woman in that church in America were absolutely consistent, it would be fatal to liberty. Shall we be tolerant to those who are tolerant and do not need it, and not to those who are intolerant? Shall we persecute them because they are obliged to persecute us? I have been obliged to meet this question in the School Committee, when the eligibility of a female teacher was disputed on the ground that she

was a Catholic; but the very men who did this denounced the priests for withdrawing children from the public schools. I thank them for the consistency with which they apply our own principles. I have been on three School Committees, and have been dropped from two. I do not feel particularly proud of the way in which I got on, although I did nothing myself to secure the place; but I would like to have carved on my tombstone, if convenient, how I got off. I was dropped from one because I brought about the abolition of the colored schools; and from the other because I insisted that a Roman Catholic child should not be expelled for refusing to read the Bible. I do not deny that intolerance exists as an exception; as when, under the plea of free-thought, Catholic chaplains are excluded from jails, and Catholic girls refused permission to teach. If we do not think the Church infallible, is it not better not to treat it as if it were so; as if we were afraid of it on account of its strength? The very suggestion adds to its power, and power is always attractive. Colonel Higginson took similar ground against the entire exclusion of the Bible from the schools, arguing that to admit that it was too powerful an agency to be allowed to have any influence was to acknowledge that it was stronger than any counter-influence. It should, he said, be admitted as a text-book in English literature and in ancient history; but he disclaimed any wish to introduce or to allow any liturgy of religious exercises whatever, giving his voice in favor of absolute secularization of the schools.

THE PROPER ATTITUDE FOR RADICALS.

To-day, we must choose between the attitude of antagonism and the attitude of comprehensiveness. It is good for us to try and go outside the great religions, but not if we are to find ourselves shut up inside another no larger. For myself, I believe that it is better not to claim the name of Christian, as it involves too many explanations, and a submission to the infallible authority of a single human being; but I do not think it necessary to spend my time in fighting Christianity. I'm not a Mason, but I do not feel at my duty to be an anti-Mason like my friend General Phelps of Vermont,—who calls conventions to which few persons go; writes books that few people read; and, I fear, lies awake nights, and weeps that he cannot do more to convince people that they must fight against secret societies. I respect a man who does good to another because he is his fellow-man, more than he who does good because the object of his benevolence can pinch his fingers in a particular way; so the forms of the Christian Church are not those in which I worship, but as long as those inside either organization don't interfere with me, let them go on and work as they can. I don't care what they are logically bound to do to me. I never knew half a dozen persons who were logical, and they were not all Christians; and while this interference grows less and less, year by year, I do not array myself under the banner of the anti-them. There is so much to be really done, that I shall work for those things. For instance, when I find that in my own town I can obtain ten signatures for petitions for church taxation where I can obtain one for female suffrage, I shall work for the latter reform. When sorrow is to be removed or sin to be cured, these differences of opinion seem very trifling.

If a man bring a brother back from crime to virtue, what do I care if he come from all the bells and candles of the advent? I have more sympathy with him than with the man who stays to argue the scientific bearing of the question. I never knew of any theological plank in the anti-slavery platform, but it cured all bigotry that touched it. I never heard army chaplains discuss theology, but they all worked together.

Again, are we sure, in our eagerness to banish certain forms of religion, that God wants them to be abolished? Are we sure that the world has got all the good out of them that it can? If I could, by raising my finger, banish the Roman Catholic Church, would I do it? Never. I would by argument if I could; by magic or by force, never. You and I are not absolutely sure that we may not need the Church yet. The world goes on well; in the strife of thoughts good comes. We need to see those cherish what we think delusion, and we need to revise and re-revise our schemes; and in bidding farewell to vanishing superstitions to endeavor to gather something from them to make us purer and wiser.

THE DISCUSSION.

Mr. A. Bronson Alcott was the first speaker to respond to Mr. Sargent's cordial invitation to all present to join in the discussion. His words were in the same hopeful spirit as those of the essayist, and he spoke very warmly of the kindly reception that he met everywhere in his recent Western tour.

Mr. D. A. Wasson was next called to the floor. He said that, as he had returned from his tour with a very poor voice and very good ears, Nature seemed to have determined his proper function; but he would like to say a few words. He argued that there was such a thing as excessive toleration, and did not agree with Colonel Higginson's cheerful views, except as applied to the region under Protestant influence. I have, he said, nothing to say against individual Catholics, but I should like to abolish a dozen or two bishops. It makes no difference what any individual Catholic tells you of his aims or his belief; it isn't worth a pin. In support of this assertion, Mr. Wasson pointed to the promptitude with which members of the clergy had accepted the infallibility dogma despite previous public protest. As far as the public schools were concerned, he did not, he said, think that any person had a right to know whether or not a teacher was a Catholic. In closing, he argued that it was better to be ready to meet force with force; and even in this country to be in readiness to

use something besides tolerance in certain contingencies, such as had already risen elsewhere.

The Rev. Mr. King of Kansas, a Unitarian clergyman, made a bright little speech declaring that he believed in antagonism against wrong. There are things, he said, which it is not only unmoral but immoral not to fight. I don't know enough to meet these things good-naturedly, and I won't. Professor Morse made a little speech defending what sometimes seems in scientific men like coldness towards questions of charity and reform, by saying that they are often engaged in perfecting some invention or making some discovery in which a large charity and more expansive reform is involved. He also said that if Catholic persons were admitted to the office of teacher they should be watched. Miss Peabody explained that Colonel Higginson's meaning had been that toleration was the strongest of forces, and was therefore to be used. Mr. Morse asked for an explanation from the essayist himself, who rejoined that he had meant that fair argument was the only weapon against Catholicism. The moment, he said, that one person says to another, "Because you are a Catholic you are wrong, no matter what has been your life," that person is as bad as the pope. If I am ready to die for anything, he said, it is in defence of the child who wants to be in the schools, or the girl who wants to be a teacher, and cannot because she is a Catholic. I am surprised to hear Professor Morse oppose Catholicism because it arrays itself against coeducation. Is it possible then that President Eliot and the *Popular Science Monthly* have become Catholic? Mr. Hallowell remarked that he was glad to hear that the essayist was ready to fight for something. "So am I," rejoined the ex-Colonel of the First Regiment of South Carolina colored volunteers: "I never was before." Mr. Hallowell argued that from the fact that the audience was small at the legislative hearing on church taxation, and large at the suffrage hearing, that the interest in the latter subject was greater. Colonel Higginson dryly asked who the speakers were at each hearing,—thereby drawing a laugh from those who knew that his name was on the published list; and said that he thought that if Mr. Phillips had been one of the speakers against church taxation there would have been a crowd. A general discussion followed between all the previous speakers, and did not close until nearly 1.30 o'clock.—*Boston Daily Globe*, May 18, 1875.

[For THE INDEX.]

CENTENNIAL SUNDAY.

Aback through the misty haze
That time folds round the years,
Almost beyond my sight
A dim child-life appears.
So thick the gathering veil,
Few other days are seen
In that child-life, save one—
The Sabbath day supreme.
Two restless little feet,
Two busy little hands,
A spirit struggling hard
Infinite depths to span.
Six days the search goes on
Through meadow, grove, and field,
Through works of God and man,
And all that hearts can yield.
With every breath, it quaffs
New wine for limb and soul,
And starts with promise fair
A noble life to unfold.
Till Sunday morn it stands
Face front to solid wall
Of granite creeds and laws,
And God a judge o'er all.
Yes, He an awful judge,
Though all the week he sings
In merry brook and bird,
And paints the rose its tinge.
Though all the week He joys
To give a sweet caress
To children in his arms,
Or on his loving breast.
But now the child is told
That bears he'll send in rage,
If on this holy day
It seeks the violet hedge;
Or dares to venture forth
For one bright, morning smile,
Or waltz with butterfly
Along the garden aisle.
Down goes the throbbing pulse
And all the active powers;
A free child-life is forced
To serve the holy hours—
Is shut to fret and chafe,
And beat its tiny wings
Against a prison wall,
To please a fickle king.
To church it now is sent,
To sit among the saints;
A preacher perched aloft
Shouts down his sad complaints—
Complaints that God is mad,
And into fire will cast
The men, and children too,
Unless a change is past—
A change, at once to give
Up every earthly love,
And scorn the flowers here
For hidden flowers above.

Not long need priest and saint implore
This child to fear the Lord;
The shadows creep o'er tinted cheek,
And fewer grow its words.

With fear of God comes fear of man,
And fear of inmost self;
A train of doubts and questionings
As old as sin itself.

The work is done; the twig is bent
To grow up through the days,
As mythic creeds shall lead it on
In sad, perverted ways.

The full-grown man a crooked tree,
Who never finds a place,
Except it cramps and tortures him
By its ill-fitting space.

* * * * *
But here this curtain falls for aye.
Let progress sing a happier lay,
Her bells a freer Sunday ring,
Centennial gift doth science bring.

A hundred years, or half or less,
Have wrought a change that all can bless.
This Sunday comes with freedom crowned,
And superstition trails the ground;
Her robes reflect the purest type,
Are flooded o'er with golden light;
Her brow is decked with buds and flowers
That children pluck in her bright hours,
As down the lane and by the brook
They freely seek the blue-bell nook.

No more does arbitrary priest
Declare that search for God has ceased,
Or dare as autocrat to say
That any law can point the way,
Or any church that man has trod,
To all the mysteries of God;
Or dare in lordly tones to state
That he can all God's truth relate,
Or that he holds the magic gift
Wherewith the good from bad to sift.

And as for assigning deeds to hell,
And ordering sinners there to dwell,
He only proves himself unwise,
A lunatic in saintly guise,
At whom the veriest child will laugh,
And stop his ears, and flee the chaff,
And dance away, and learn his lesson
In common sense and simple reason.

Henceforth the Bible takes its place
Along with other books of grace,
Of wisdom grand, and beauty rare,
And imagery no age can spare;
Perhaps the greatest work that man
Will ever weave, or brain will plan;
But never more as tyrant god
To wield o'er man its iron rod,
Or frighten youth from Nature's ways,
And chill their blood in youthful days.
With other truths that men have thought,
And other books their brains have wrought,
Of science, art, and inspiration,
It lives or dies as man's creation.

Let those who will on Sunday preach
Their old mythologies of speech,
And hug their creed with tighter grip,
And from the cup symbolic sip;
Such, bygone ages love so well
That in their tombs they safe shall dwell.

But as man comes deep search to make
For God, in life and social state,
By means of every gift of thought
That art or science ever brought,
In stones, and by the running brook,
Where wisdom prompts his eyes to look,—
Henceforth his sermons will be writ
In law or logic, love or wit,
In pleasant chat or heavenly song,
As growth impels his soul along.

Let grand cathedrals mount the sky,
Of mighty dome, and richest dye,
The towering walls adorned with art,
Where organ-strains reach every part,—
All this shall throw a charmed spell
O'er man's æsthetic soul—and well.

But if he choose God's temple grand
Some lovely isle by waters spanned,
Bedecked with flowers and arched with green,
With mossy seats fit for a queen,
Where issue chants from throats of birds
In man's cathedral ne'er were heard,—
Henceforth the house of God must be
In first, or last; his choice is free.

BOSTON, June 10.

L. S. H.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 12.

Charles Heddeus, \$6; Adam Utrich, \$6.50; J. R. Weist, \$9; George Martin, \$5.25; J. H. Gaston, \$3.20; Asa Myte, \$1.60; G. V. Blasco, \$3.20; A. W. Hall, \$3.20; B. M. Smith, \$1.80; Maggie Devoe, \$1.60; J. W. Goodrich, \$3.20; W. L. Taylor, \$3.20; Jackson Bros., \$1.25; George J. Adams, \$1.20; Miss Bachem, 20 cents; H. E. Maing, 20 cents; George Allen, 10 cents; F. Bonney, \$3.20; W. C. Kelley, \$3.20; Levi Davenport, 75 cents; Robert H. Butcher, \$3; Chas. Haskell, \$3.20; Nathan Taber, \$3; E. R. Young, \$1; George A. Farr, \$1.60; George Upton, \$1.60; W. W. Stone, \$3.20; Chas. L. Newman, \$3.20; W. W. Baker, \$3.20; O. Ditson & Co., \$80; D. C. Hopkins, 10 cents; A. W. Callen, 50 cents; Alfred Warren, \$2.10; August Brentano, \$11.70; Carl Doerringer, \$2.10; B. F. Smith, 30 cents; J. A. J. Perkins, 30 cents; George Allen, \$2.10; Chas. Conklin, 20 cents; M. L. Goddard, 10 cents.

The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 17, 1875.

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W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), Editorial Contributors.

WE HAVE RECEIVED a note—presumably from E. L. Godkin, inasmuch as it is written on a "Memorandum blank" bearing the imprint of the *Nation*—which reads in part as follows: "There is no truth in the story published in your paper that Mr. Godkin has left the *Nation*." We believe it is a fact, however, that Mr. Godkin has come to reside in Cambridge. A. W. S.

THE SECOND annual picnic of the Second Radical Club, which occurred last Sunday, was a very successful and pleasant affair. Although the unpropitious weather of the early morning seemed to indicate that the Lord was not on the radical side, the divine beauty of all the rest of the day clearly proved that he was. The Charles River never could have looked lovelier, and Mother Nature had her hands and face washed splendidly clean, and her best green dress on, to receive us. There was a good turn-out of the members, and the day was passed delightfully by many and various means,—among which was the making of speeches, the reading of original poems, and singing. The going and coming was accomplished with (may we say?) complete Providential safety. A. W. S.

CIVIL AND UNCIVIL.

This is the day we celebrate. Freedom's day. Centennials thicken upon us. No fear but we Americans will be patriotic enough now. This year and next great reminders come to stir up within us national self-consciousness. All are glad that America is our home. America is free! We are free! Not a slave lives in this nation. All are citizens of the republic. Yes, under the federal constitution not even women are denied citizenship. By all the State constitutions, ere long, all women are bound to be recognized as equal with all men before the law. So that in spirit, if not in letter, it truly can be said that we are all politically free in this land to-day. The very genius of this country means freedom—freedom for all—nothing less. One American is ashamed to be free while another suffers bondage. American men are becoming more and more ashamed that they are free, while American women are in any degree, or in any sense, denied equal privilege. The spirit of Liberty has consecrated this continent to herself. She has dedicated it to her own purposes. That spirit cannot be thwarted. It has got itself infused into the very blood of this people; into their habits of thought, their modes of acting and speaking. We all look and live as if we felt free—boy and girl, man and woman. Freedom is in the air. We breathe it. So natural to us is it, that we should nationally die were it to be taken from us. Americans could not exist as slaves. Only by freedom we are what we are. Only in freedom can we fulfil our conscious destiny. Prophetically, if not actually, every person and every institution in this land is free. Historically and logically we are committed to freedom. Blackness and blight, death and destruction,—these are ours *we know*, if we hug not freedom to our hearts evermore. Freedom, for each and for all!

This, then, is freedom's day. And, to-day, this is freedom's land! To-day, we "lift up our eyes unto the hills from whence cometh our help." All eyes are lifted up unto BUNKER HILL, from whence *did* come our help in time past. Up to that noble summit, one hundred years ago, our fathers marched, and made there a libation of their own hearts' blood in holy Freedom's name! Upon that summit, to-

day, a lofty monument rears its proud head high above all neighboring domes and spires, preaching to us impressively of the days long gone by, when our fathers sacrificed so freely for us, and warning us to an equal fidelity in these later times. Let all our eyes and ears be lent to Bunker Hill to-day! To-day, let our unsandalled feet ascend that sacred hill, our reverent heads be uncovered, our adoring hearts be lifted up in vows renewed of consecration to the cause that makes the spot so memorable! Farewell to the days that are gone! All hail to the days that are coming! The flag of freedom that was unfurled on yonder height, one hundred years ago, we unfurl again now. Our hearts salute its ample folds with honest pride and joy. It has marched over the continent, from sea to sea. It has waved over every plain, and from every mountain-top between two oceans. It has covered with its broad ægis a broad land. It always has meant freedom, it means the same now; and freedom it must and shall mean forever!

But let us be wise. Let us know what our age means. It means freedom; and it means PEACE. The circumstances which hedged our fathers about made it necessary (at least, they thought so) to fight for their liberties. They killed, and were killed, for freedom. They knew no better way—perhaps no better was possible to them, then. We will not quarrel with the past; that would be foolish. What was, was; and perhaps must have been. But ours is a better time; and better ways are possible to us. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." The spirit of this age means peace; and we shall be wise only as we heed its peaceful monitions. We are glad that our fathers were willing even to fight that they and we might be free. Where need has been, we ourselves have been willing to fight, and doubtless should be again, to maintain and perpetuate freedom for each and all. But let us not keep alive the memory of war, nor needlessly anticipate it. Let us not talk nor act in warlike mood or manner. Let us not prophesy war (as though now we knew nor thought of no humaner way), but peace rather. Nay, let us not even *play* war, like children; amusing ourselves with its tinsel and frippery, its badges and mottoes, its noise and parade. All this belongs not to our age, but to ages of brute passion and force, when men knew no manlier way to settle a difference, or to advance a cause, than by springing at one another's throats, and slaying one another in hot blood. Atonement of blood is no more for us. It is now an old-wife fable in our theology: away with it, then, from our politics! We will settle things by reason, and will wait with them unsettled till we can do it that way. Whatever things we *murder*, they have ghosts which haunt us long and tediously. How in vain, for years after, we try to lay them, and bid them down! They rise, and stalk before our sight with ghastly appearance and retributive behavior. Scarcely now can Englishmen and Americans banish from their breasts the last vestige of that old battle-spirit which, one hundred years ago, locked them together in deadly strife,—so hard does animosity, once born, die out and yield to amity! Alas, how North and South still eye one another with vengeful look,—the bloody heritage of their so recent bloody duelling! Germany and France, but late released from internecine conflict, still scowl at each other across their jealous frontiers, both burning to renew the combat. Thus war makes war, and decides nothing but with most long and painful delay. Thus every war has echoes which linger and linger in the contestants' ears, the reverberations always struggling to break out once more into articulate and pronounced cries of death!

While, therefore, I commend the celebration of this day, I commend not the way in which it is celebrated. What, indeed, *do* we celebrate? Is it the fact that in this neighborhood *blood* was shed one hundred years ago,—that grim-visaged, cruel *war* then filled all these now so peaceful and smiling scenes with its own horrid sights and sounds,—that men of the same stock and race, men who were human brothers, then went up on that near hill, and shot and stabbed and slaughtered one another, and covered the green spot all over with clots and streams of gore, and wreathed the height with smoke and flame of battle? Not that, certainly! Why then do we now go, with swords and guns and many regiments of soldiers, to that quiet spot, and fret the majestic place with warlike mien and tone? By such uncivil behavior, we do really offer insult to the spirit of our nineteenth-century civilization which has entrenched itself on that monumental hill, and now preaches to us *peace* and freedom, freedom and

peace—freedom *in* and *by* peace. "Who shall ascend unto the hill of the Lord? He that hath clean hands and a pure heart!"—hands clean of the blood of our fellow-man; hearts pure of hatred towards him. To-day, with no appearances nor memories of war, of fratricidal strife, of ranking feuds and animosities should we approach freedom's holy hill; but with peaceful spirit and with peaceful tokens go and commemorate there the service which our fathers rendered—a service which takes its highest glory, not from the blood wherewith it was sealed, but from the noblest and purest motives those knew and felt who gave it. Of little worth is civilization to us unless it makes us civil; and makes us civil more and more. If we are truly civilized, we shall be civil; and, whatever we *do*, we shall do in a civil manner. But it is really uncivil to celebrate this day with guns and swords, and martial display. By such behavior, I repeat, we do affront the genius of true civilization, and show ourselves not truly civilized, but partaking still of barbaric disposition. As citizens, not as soldiers, should we celebrate this day; aye, as citizens of the whole world, too, and not of any one country. A greater sentiment than that of patriotism should thrill our hearts to-day. We love our country indeed, but we love mankind more. Our native land we own and honor; but MAN'S native land, which is the whole broad earth,—that only shall limit our feeling of fellowship.

I confess I find little in this day to enlist my deepest emotions, unless it hints something much broader and grander than any local or even national feeling. This is the age when we are united to all the ends of the earth by means of steam and electricity, so that no longer is there any "outside world" to us. Shall ties of commerce and of travel be stronger than the ties of race? If no outside world, then no outside "heathen" or "gentiles." We are all *inside* the world, and we are all one family. Sects, parties, nationalities disappear. With them go enmities, strifes, fightings, wars. The reign of violence shall cease; the reign of freedom and peace shall begin. A. W. S.

THE BIBLE AS A TEXT BOOK.

The fourth in the list of the "Demands of Liberalism," printed weekly in THE INDEX, mentions as one of the essential requisites of freedom the utter exclusion of the Bible from the public schools,—"*whether ostensibly as a text-book, or avowedly as a book of religious worship.*" It is probable that the word "ostensibly" is used to guard against any suggestion that the Liberal League is opposed to the *honest* employment of the Bible in the way indicated. The thing protested against, we will suppose, is the *covert* use of the Bible as a book of faith *under the pretext* of retaining it as a "text-book," or reader, for students of English.

Thus understood, the article offers little or no matter for criticism. The dishonest use of the Bible is to be deprecated; and the more deprecated the more innocent the pretext. The purpose is to banish the Bible as a book of religion. But if this could be done better by retaining it as a text-book, than by thrusting it away altogether, the friends of reform will be in favor of retaining it. The use of the Bible as a text-book, provided it were done in good faith, not otherwise, might have the effect to destroy completely the power it has over the imagination; and, by bringing it within the lines of secular literature, would disarm it of all strength for mischief. A course of exercise in construing and parsing will disenchant any book,—as they know well, who have been obliged to read Homer, Eschylus, and Shakespeare in class, at school, or college. The recitation room is not favorable to the worship of literary idols.

As a text-book for readers, the Bible has great recommendations. Its language, beside being a model of simplicity, affords admirable studies in the composition, construction, and development of the English speech. The imagery is natural and bold; the rhythmical movement is grand; the thoughts are noble; the narratives simple and touching, and at the same time so remote from immediate concerns, from the interests and passions of the hour, that they can be admired as pure literature. The Bible is the great English classic, and should serve for English students the same uses that the Greek and Roman masterpieces serve for students of the dead tongues.

Mr. Matthew Arnold perceived this; and, acting on the suggestion that originated in his own mind, prepared a tiny volume illustrating his idea and the manner in which he would carry it out. A preface unfolded the thoughts that prompted the undertaking, the design of the author in submitting it, and

the advantages that might be expected from its adoption,—furnishing all that was needed in the way of explanation and argument. The readings consisted of selections from the prophetic writings of the Hebrew Bible, given in an intelligible version, with such arrangement of stanzas as presented the writer's full and continuous meaning. Mr. Arnold was probably wise in taking his selections from Isaiah; but other books of the Old Testament would furnish reading lessons as good, and in some respects better, and in very great variety. No more instructive, interesting, or entertaining lessons can be taken from English or any other literature. Would it not be an admirable result of the best judgment in education, if such selections were made and adopted in all schools, private and public, in place of the trumpery extracts from ephemeral literature that fill the class-readers now in use?

That such an employment of the Bible will be approved of by any Christian community, within any assignable period of time, none but the over-sanguine will believe. People who remonstrate, as they are said to do in England, against the use of Scripture for dramatic purposes—as illustrated by the "Samson" and "Saul" of Signor Salvini—will not easily be brought to consent to the use of Scripture as a text-book by stupid boys and girls. By such consent the Bible would be dethroned and degraded in their esteem. But that is no reason why radicals should not entertain the idea, and keep it before the people. On the contrary, it is a good reason why they should do so.

O. B. F.

LONDON LETTER.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—In THE INDEX for April 29, page 201, a correspondent under the initials "A. S. H." puts to me a series of questions which it would occupy a whole number of your paper to answer satisfactorily.

You are quite as right as you are bold to print this unequivocally atheistic letter; for the day is long past for one-sided advocacy of any opinion, and we ought to be much obliged to any opponent for telling us wherein we fail to satisfy his mind. But "A. S. H." seems to overlook the fact that, while I use the terms "Divine mind" and "Divine sympathy," I am only exercising my indefeasible right to express my own belief; and not assuming that my belief is already proved to demonstration. I conceive that, so far as demonstration is concerned, it is quite as much wanting for atheism as for my belief in the "Divine mind and sympathy." All that either atheist or theist can do, in the way of proving his respective tenet, is to strike a balance of probabilities, and show which theory—the atheistic or the theistic—fits better into the actual knowledge of things, which has been hitherto gained by science. I have yet to learn that our noblest leaders in science have found a conclusive disproof of the argument from design; or that they would deem it as reasonable or unreasonable to "praise the North Star" as to praise God.

The atheism in which "A. S. H." so exults is not yet so absolutely demonstrated as to justify him in deriding my belief. He asks, "Where is the Divine mind?" I reply: I know nothing, nor do I pretend to know anything, as to the mode of God's existence; when I speak of "mind," I am not using an abstract but a concrete term, implying some form of being which can think and plan, etc. "Mind," as we know it upon earth, is no more fathomable yet than the "Divine mind," and is only assumed as the necessary cause of certain mundane phenomena. And as there are other phenomena which we cannot trace to a human mind, but to one considerably more vast and comprehensive, it seems to us reasonable to acknowledge the existence of such a mind,—call it God, or what you please; and unreasonable to assume that these grander phenomena are the result of chance.

I presume "A. S. H." is a believer in evolution, as I am. Well; to me, evolution required "mind" of the highest conceivable order to produce. If "A. S. H." thinks the opposite, he has a right to say so; but until we have further light upon the subject, he has no right to chide me for the expression of my opinion.

Then with regard to "God's sympathy towards mankind," it is true I cannot show to any one the emotion of a Divine heart any more than I can show the emotion of my own heart. But as I am rightly credited with sympathy when I act in a kind, compassionate, and helpful manner towards a fellow-creature, so it is no great stretch of imagination to credit God with sympathy for me if, in some way which I cannot explain, and by a complicated system

which I cannot unravel, I am helped and comforted and consoled under my trouble and sorrow.

Moreover, I am only logical in attributing sympathy to a Being whom I already conceive of as intelligent. For to have in any way designed or caused the existence of sentient creatures, without caring at all for their final welfare, would be condemned by our own sense of right as deeply immoral. And I have no doubt "A. S. H." will agree with me that, if there be a God at all, he must be good.

Your correspondent makes merry—at his own expense—over the habit of calling God our "Father." He must be perfectly aware that this term is not applied by thoughtful (if ever by the thoughtless) to his supposed generative powers; or that anything so crude and pagan enters into our ordinary conception of God, when we call him father. Men have so called him, only because it was the highest and noblest name known among them; and we only use that term until we can find a better one,—knowing, even in our highest flights of religious adoration, that even that holy name is but a poor and feeble symbol of his exceeding goodness. Moreover, the idea of sex never enters our conception of God, though we use the masculine gender in our pronouns, and in this name of father. That name includes "mother" also, and every shade of parental tenderness. To avoid any misunderstanding, Theodore Parker often uses both names. Of course, there is danger in anthropomorphism; but if we were to abandon entirely all expressions concerning God, through morbid fear of anthropomorphism, we should have to keep silence forevermore on the subject nearest and dearest to our hearts.

In one point, I agree with "A. S. H." There is "no difference between a divine truth and any other truth." The term "divine truth" is a rhetorical figure, by which to elevate the transcendent importance of any particular statement. Truth, as truth, is always divine, because it must be as it is seen and recognized by the supreme mind. The simple truth, 2x2=4, is in this sense divine; in that the divine plan would have been utterly defeated and thrown into chaos, if God himself had disregarded or forgotten it for a single moment.

I am not ashamed, even in going through a proposition in Euclid, to say with Kepler, "O my God! I think thy thoughts after thee."

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, May 22, 1875.

LEAVES FROM MY JOURNAL.

BY S. H. MORSE.

Truth needs a grain of salt,
A lie hath its own flavor;
We win or lose by fault
Of this or that behavior.

THE POLITICIANS describe President Grant's letter as "the most important letter of his life." They measure its importance by its effect on their chances. It is curious to note the different moods in which this most honest and manly document is received. Republican editors are unable to control their sense of relief. Democratic editors do not attempt to hide their chagrin; it has taken the wind from their sails. Poor fellows of either party! What miserable business all round! Why, look at it. When democrats, without the least show of fact, raised the cry of "third term!" and "Cæsar!" republicans, frightened to death, turned piteously to the president—"It isn't so, is it?" Grant, ashamed of them, held his peace. "Speak!" they cry, "speak!" He smokes, and says nothing. Why should he speak? If the party has no self-respect, let it die. He, at least, will respect himself and his position. At last, when the party has completely lost its wits, and takes his silence so terribly to heart, he writes his letter, every word of which bears the impress of rare intelligence and honesty. "Honest Abe" himself could not have done better. He tells republicans what they should have known before, and what they would have known, had they not been too scared to face the music. They knew there was a prejudice in the public mind in favor of what is called the "unwritten law," which forbids more than "two terms." Without further thought, they concluded that they must side with this prejudice, or march to defeat at the polls. Their manly reply to the charge would have been just what the president has furnished them: "A third term, a fourth, or a fifth may prove the very best thing for the republic. We will act when the time comes; nominate Grant, or whomsoever else we deem the best man for the hour and the office. We leave the question of terms just where

the Constitution has left it. Neither the example of Washington, nor the advice of Jefferson, will stand us in stead of our own best judgment. They are dead, we are living; and ours is the responsibility." The American people have sense enough for so simple a problem, and they would have been quite apt to appreciate this touch of heroism in defence of plain good sense.

But the republican party has outlived its inspiration. It survives on its reputation, and thinks to perpetuate its rule by having no opinions. It may turn out that it will yet be only too glad to hitch its "wagon" again to the very "star" it is so happy just now in thinking is "not a candidate."

I AM TRYING to account to myself for the political interest the above paragraphs betray. I don't know just why I should have any more concern in the choice for next president than in the choice of the next pope. Both are outside the practical concerns of this life. It's boy's play, the world over. And yet, like boy's play, catastrophe may lurk in the outcome. A poor fellow in either place would be unable to show the world how sensible men behave. The present pope, aside from his ecclesiastical attitude, is quite a model. The man at the White House may "drink," but his simple, unpretending manners, his matter-of-fact business demeanor, his few truth-telling words,—all this, and much more, in an age when the great men and women all "slop over," is so prosy that it savors of the very essence of poetry. I should like to live a hundred years hence, and read the life of Grant as then written. If Lincoln were about, I think he would enjoy it hugely. "Where did he get his whiskey?"

IN MY JUDGMENT, Grant is no ordinary man. Unused to political manners, he makes no show, and gets on not at all with the dignitaries of the party. It is a Swedenborgian saying that "the angels are worse than the devils." It may be that Grant has discerned something of the truth implied in this paradox. The "low company" he is charged with keeping may be his choice of evils. Stiff-necked propriety, pompous moralism, statesmanlike swelling and strutting,—from all these he undoubtedly prays the good Lord's deliverance. "Scamps" are preferable, in whom "Nature is not smothered." When your moralness is art, immorality is the most promising. Depravity is better than congealed piety. When one hears of the "high" and the "low" politicians at Washington, one is "a little curious about that," and would like to investigate. But Grant's "low company" has to all appearances been kept quite in subordination. He has a way of "coming to time" in emergencies, that vindicates the man against all partisan prejudice.

THERE IS A DOGMATISM of morals as well as of religion. Indeed, it would be hard to say which in the present age is the more mischievous. This moral Orthodoxy—in which Christian, Free Religionist, Infidel, Liberalist, all seem to live and move and have their being—is, in great part, tradition and superstition. Like the traditional religion, it rests on "outward authority," and interprets liberty as obedience to its behest; more than that it characterizes as "license." As a cow that gives a good pail of milk, and then kicks it over, so are the religionist and the moralist who upset their proffered boon of "liberty," with the backward kick of "license." I hate a kicking cow. Is it not time to lay the rod of correction on the back of this kicking liberty? Is there not a free morality as well as a Free Religion? That person is moral in spirit, who heeds his or her own moral sense; and becomes moral in point of fact in the degree that he or she, following this lead of the spirit, is educated in the knowledge of the natural laws of life, which laws are all sufficient to the well-being of society. The use of freedom is the opportunity it offers for *genuine results*. It gives us, not what *seems*, but what *is*. And this *is*, is our salvation. There is great healing in a naked fact. Stripped of its paradisaical cheat, the exodus begins. The necessity which impels is healthy; that which compels wilds a "barren sceptre." Liberty demands great courage. "Shall I nothing fear?" "Yes; fear fear."

I CHANCED TO-DAY upon this bit of conversation:—"I have been a moderate drinker all my life; and, all my life up to the last few years, an immoderate eater."

"A sorry confession."

"Well, as to the eating, should I have totally abstained?"

"I see your point—but drink is poisonous."

"You say right. Drink is poisonous, and especially the water we drink. If you would drink water that is not medicated by cooking, catch it from the sky; and even then look out for the quantity. I tell you moderate or immoderate, in ten cases out of ten, determines the poison or not poison. 'Cool, sparkling water,' killeth even like unto whiskey."

"You jest."

"But I flourish on my jest."

"It may 'cause your brother to offend."

"So does my eating meat."

"Then abstain."

"That was my question. Shall I totally abstain from food?"

FREE RELIGION, or something akin, has found recently its advocates on the gallows. Says one man to the attending priest: "You know nothing more about the hereafter than I do." And so he died without "making his peace with God." His heart being "hardened," without fear he "fell into the hands of the living God." "Plucky fellow," I heard one say. "A murderer and an infidel!" quoth another. But

since most of the murderers die "Christians," the appearance on the scenes in that other world of one who would claim no such distinction, may already have proved a happy occurrence rather than otherwise,—thereby breaking the murderous monotony.

Still another murderer remains impenetrable to clerical-heavenly preparation. But the "good shepherd" has great hopes that he will yet "break through the man's most remarkable reserve." Let us pray that the man prove iron-clad.

And now a colored man exhibits a strange unconcern. "No argument of the divines changed his mind." When asked why he was not more humble, he replied: "What good would it do to be humble?" When asked why he did not shed any tears, he replied: "What good would it do?" "He kept chewing his tobacco until the fatal cap was about to be placed on him. He then leisurely threw the tobacco to one side, and was sent into eternity."

These and similar cases of "unbelief" are wholesome reactions. The farce of patching up a "peace with God" at the last moment, as a desperate remedy for the ill sinners are about to fly to,—"burning the candle to the socket and throwing the wick in the Creator's face," to catch "salvation" in return,—can be played a few less times to advantage. Welcome any innovation; comedy or tragedy offer far better parts.

THE CITY OF BOSTON drives "infidel" preachers from the Common, and lets in conductors of Young Men's Christian Association prayer-meetings, and "great moral shows." I passed one of these latter this afternoon. While making a brief note, the showman would know if I "belonged to the press." "Yes" would have given me a look for nothing. But, notwithstanding his solemn asseveration that it was "a thing every man, woman, and child ought to see," I was indisposed to claim the honor. No doubt about it; the city should vote the showman a medal—employ him year in and out to give a "free show," until our Athens became every whit purified! Hark! I think I hear the showman now: "Life of the greatest villain—life in gambling room, rum shop—all ending with the killing of his wife. Fifty-four scenes"—of course; showing "men, women, and children" just how it was done by a "most notorious villain." Who will forget the awful lesson? One look will save all the abandoned "Arabs" that nightly rove the Common. And little children, still innocent; give them a look, by all means. Would a little boy ever grow up and kill his wife after seeing a sight like that? Not likely. Would a little girl grow up and marry any man whose countenance roused least suspicion that his life's misdoings would one day be exhibited in "a great moral show," on Boston Common? By no manner of means; children are no fools. Suffer little children to come unto the show! "There's millions in it" for a tax-groaning city! Think of your penitentiaries—those "pounds of cure." Try, one and all, this "ounce of prevention."

ONE OF OUR city papers contains in one column a suggestion that familiarity with the details of bloodshed and murder begets the disposition to indulge in similar practices. On another page, it publishes a graphic and thrilling account of all the murders committed in Boston for the last thirty years. Here's food for reflection.

THE ESSAY by T. W. Higginson, at the last gathering of the Radical Club, was much to my liking. Especially do I commend that portion of it which proclaims toleration and justice to Catholics. The Catholic Church is likely to be the test of liberty in America, in a way in which even the radical and liberal side of Protestantism fails to discover. Granted that Catholicism is the deadliest foe of liberty; what then? Shall we turn liberty's foe? My friend writes me: "Has not liberty always had to fight? Why not fight Catholicism?" I agree to this. Let liberty do the fighting, by all means; but you, my friend, I beseech of you, hands off! If Catholicism can grow and spread in America, under the banner of perfect freedom, so be it. When you undertake forcibly to prevent its growth, you yourself are the enemy of freedom. "But in a hundred years, if it keeps on, it will control the country." Who has a better right? "But would you do nothing?" I would persuade all people to free themselves from all manner of bondage. "But if they assail free institutions, would you not fight?" What free institutions do Catholics assail in this country? Name one. The public school; consider that. Is that a free institution which is established by compulsion? Do you not tax Catholics against their conscience for this school? "But it is for the common good. We tax ourselves also. They have equal rights with us. It is but justice." There is an old maxim of Plutarch's that runs: "Call that which is just equal, not that which is equal just." Equal rights in injustice is not to be commended. We Americans often let a phrase run away with us. The subject is vital, and needs a thorough sifting.

I LISTENED to Mr. Underwood at the Free Religious Association meeting. He thought he was making a defence of materialism. I have heard defenders of spiritualism (not *Spiritism*) talk in pretty much the same way. They seem to name the same thing differently. Neither finds the "potency" of matter outside of matter. Before the mystery that is in matter each bows. The one says, "Nature;" the other, "God." The materialist would seem to say, "It is the nature of matter to evolve forms of life in a developing series up to man." The spiritualist says the same, and adds: "But this Nature *knows* its business. It acts intelligently. Is there no intelligence resident in it? 'Up to man'! Certainly. This 'up' settles the question. So also, 'survival of

the fittest.' *Fittest!* Nature *knows* what she is about. Nothing cannot produce something. Intelligence cannot come from no intelligence. Experience makes nothing of a stick. Intellect is the substance. It alone can have experience."

MOODY is preaching over in London that "God's ways are not as our ways." One draws the conclusion from his discoursing that the more foolish a thing may appear in the sight of men, the more likely it is to be the wisdom of God. At any rate, God is to be obeyed, however foolish or unreasonable his command. Just as Abraham was going to slay his son in obedience to the divine voice, so we must hear the voice of the Lord, and slay our own good wit,—if such be the command. There is one prime obstacle to this reasoning. It would compel us all to chant, "Our God is a God of folly." We don't want to do that, if we can help it.

THERE IS A TRUTH somewhere in the neighborhood of Mr. Moody's discourse. When Warren fell, and John Brown went down into Virginia, there was foolishness in these acts to the eyes of ordinary mortals. But Warren and Brown did not heed the "voice of God" because it was folly, but wholly to the end that wisdom might be glorified.

THIS.

Time, by rolling orbs in joy, is got;
And yet the tripping maid hath leaden face,
Nor shows it loves deep furrowing. Nor thought,
Nor speculation glooms its eye; its blank
Lack-lustre gaze strays not, nor answer gives.
Who saith of Time she is that she is not?
That she is doing this and this thing well?
Leave all to her? Leave naught to her. She heeds
Nor cares thy task to serve. She goeth by,
Yet doth not pass. Be wise; be not deceived.
To thee the message of the gods hath come,
And not to Time that is and yet is not.
Thine is the gift creative; use it well,
O people wise, in time as in a world.
Some stable fortress of thy love to build,
Thy durable thought to shrine! Leave naught
To Time. Thy hand the plough, the reaper, guide.

AND THIS.

Time is the mistress of the god.
By her all worlds are made;
The mother of all souls is she,—
She the foundations laid.

She buildeth wiser than man's wit;
She sharpens wit of man;
She useth it in furtherance
Of God's eternal plan.

In patience wait her sovereign will;
Thine far the lesser part,
She beareth thee and all thou dost
Up to the Parent heart!

Communications.

JUSTICE TO CATHOLICS.

We are happy to think that the principle of religious toleration is so well established with us that one sect cannot be persecuted by another; but the recent case of Father McGlew, in one of our local courts, raises a question more vital and delicate; namely, Do our laws protect a man against persecution by his own sect? The most dangerous, because the most insidious, form of persecution, is that which attacks a man in his social and domestic relations, and poisons the sources of the happiness that comes to him through his friendships and affections. The priest acknowledged, on the trial, the validity of the marriage; but the parties who claimed that they were slandered would not be, among Protestants, more thoroughly outcast, than they actually are, among Catholics, under the anathema of the Church, that they are "living in mortal sin." It is hard to see why their civil and social rights are not directly invaded. Let us be sure that our prejudices do not betray us into any intolerance against the Catholics; but let our institutions be so constructed, and our laws so administered, that the obscurest individual shall be fully protected in all his natural rights against the despotism of the sect to which he belongs. Whatever may be the merits of this special case, it cannot escape attention that it involves one phase of the conflict between personal liberty and ecclesiastical authority.

Boston, June 15, 1875.

DOES THE WORD DAY IN GENESIS MEAN DAY?

In order to break the force of the incontrovertible facts of science, which tend to throw discredit upon the truthfulness of the Bible, Bibliolaters are still struggling to torture the language of that book into meanings utterly unwarranted by the text, and which, but for the discoveries of science, they never would have thought of ascribing to it.

Nothing is more common than to hear these would-be harmonizers attempt to reconcile the teachings of geology, regarding the vast lapse of time occupied in the formation of the earth, with the Bible account of "creation," by claiming that the days mentioned in Genesis meant vast periods of time, that "stretched back into the bygone eternity." That such an interpretation of the language is utterly unjustifiable is shown by the following candid letter from that eminent Hebrew scholar and professor of "sacred literature," Moses Stuart of Andover Theological Seminary. This letter was printed in some of the early editions of *Comstock's Geology*, but for reasons best known to the publishers has been dropped from the later. It has been suggested that since what were once considered "speculations" have now been demonstrated to be *facts*, it may have

been deemed justifiable to turn aside the language of Moses to get rid of the difficulties which these stubborn facts present; and hence the omission! But hear the learned professor:—

"The inquiries you make concerning the word *yam* in Genesis i., I will briefly answer. It does not signify an *indefinite* period of time, but always a definite one, when employed, as it is in Genesis i., in the singular number. It sometimes means a specific day of the week; sometimes *to-day*, that is, this day; sometimes a specific day, or season of calamity, joy, particular duty, action, suffering, etc. It is only the plural *yamin* which is employed for time in an indefinite way; as, 'in many days to come,' 'days of my life,' etc. But, even here, the plural in most cases is a limited one,—limited by some adjective, numerical, etc.; and *yamin* signifies, therefore, a limited portion of time; often it stands for a year. . . .

When the sacred writer in Genesis says the *first day*, the *second day*, etc., there can be no possible doubt—none, I mean, for a *philologist*, let a geologist think as he may—that a definite day of the week is meant, which definite day is designated by the numbers *first*, *second*, *third*, etc. What puts this beyond all question in philology is, that the writer says specifically the evening and the morning were the first day, the second day, etc. Now, is an evening and morning a period of some thousands of years? Is it in any sense, when so employed, an indefinite period? The answer is so plain and certain that it need not repeat it. . . .

If Moses has given us an erroneous account of the creation, so be it. Let it come out; and let us have the whole. But do not let us turn aside his language to get rid of difficulties that we may have in our speculations."

Without comment, which would be superfluous, will add these few words on the subject by the late Prof. Hitchcock of Amherst College:—

"There is no evidence that the word 'day' is used figuratively in the first chapter of Genesis. . . . It seems from Gen. ii., 5, compared with Gen. i., 11, 12, that it had not rained on the earth till the third day. If the days were only of twenty-four hours, this would be very probable, but altogether absurd if they were long periods. Such a meaning is forced and unnatural; and, therefore, not to be adopted without a very urgent necessity." Q.

PRAYER.

Believing as I do, with Jeremy Taylor, that "prayer is the effect and the exercise and the beginning and the promoter of all Christian graces, and the consummation and perfection of man," I read the somewhat skeptical communication on "Prayer," by Mr. W. J. Lloyd, in THE INDEX of May 13, with much interest. After sundry remarks he says: "But if God is omnipotent to execute his will, and answers our prayers only when they are in harmony with his will, then the same things will be done whether we pray or not; and I do not see wherein the efficacy of prayer consists. . . . If God's will be free, then in any given case there is nothing to compel or to hinder his answering or not answering our prayer; and, as He is supposed to be omniscient, there is nothing to compel or hinder his giving us what we need without our praying for it."

Apparently, Mr. Lloyd has not a clear view of the province of prayer, and his conclusions in the above quotation place God and man in very novel relations. If "the same things will be done whether we pray or not," then it is equally possible that next week's INDEX will be set up and printed whether the compositors distribute the dead matter, and set up the paper or not; that the farmer will harvest a plentiful crop of potatoes next fall from his field whether he plants any or not. Because we cannot measure the *spiritual* results of the labor of prayer with a *material* measure, such people as Mr. Lloyd "do not see wherein the efficacy of prayer consists." He apparently believes in "an infinitely wise being" (who) is necessarily an infinitely good being, to whom the very best course for us and for the universes is ever present in thought." If this being, God, possesses these infinite attributes, then he must of necessity possess all the other possible qualities of an infinite being—he must fill all space, and know and direct all things. Whether we place ourselves in harmony with the laws which govern our physical system and the world around us, or whether we totally disregard them, has a great influence for good or evil on our body. Yet in this particular we act in a great measure very recklessly, and the baneful results are both seen and felt more or less everywhere, and by all. Our spiritual nature is subject to certain laws and conditions. It may be asked, How can I satisfy myself of their efficacy and reality, if I do not believe in prayer? If you believe in a God, there is no valid reason why you should not have entire faith in the efficacy of an earnest and zealous prayer. Not in prayer, however, for material favors contrary to the common course of Nature; such a prayer cannot be made by an earnest child of God who values the growth and perfection of his moral and intellectual nature more than money and rail road stocks. To advance Christ's kingdom of love and charity, and to become more like his Maker, of whose perfections he has a dim picture in his mind, is the great object and aim of his prayer. Ask any devout praying person, who is not blinded by dogma, and he will tell you that the strength and consolation which he has received from prayer is greater than he can express. He would not part with it for anything. He feels that the great moral power of the universe is in harmony with his spirit. A thousand blessings are continually showered upon his soul from that beneficent force according to the laws of which he is shaping his conduct. Being ever present with him, he joyfully communes with it, and

en desires to be freed from all earthly trammels, that he might be in complete harmony with it. d's spirit tells him that he is a child of God. This saying overshadows all temporal things. He daily lks with God. God does answer his prayer andantly.

A devout Christian, therefore, does not place temal blessings foremost. And how can he, unless he either a fool or a hypocrite, ask God for temporal s, when he, without being asked, has given him many means by which he may attain his earthly ires? That man has a very stupid, weak-minded d, who prays for objects which he is himself capa- of attaining. Ignorance or hypocrisy cannot im- e on God. He reads our hearts, he helps only se who manfully help themselves. "God is on side of the heaviest batteries." If prayer had "physical value," as Tyndall calls it, selfish peo- would make such a constant use of it, that a asely settled community of praying people would me a chaos. They would pray for sunshine, n, wind, dew, fog, clouds, light, darkness, new on, full moon, wet season, dry season, storm, calm, at the same time. Instead of such prayers being lessing, they would be the greatest of curses. No elligent Christian will pray after this idiotic fash- . That we will receive the spiritual blessings, eever, when we pray for them, we feel in our soul. e do not ask for them, we will not receive them. f Mr. Lloyd will apply himself as earnestly to yer as he does to his studies, he will find the ad- nition of that flower of humanity, Christ, whom es does not seem to think much of, to be an infalli- rule: "seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall open up to you."

have no superstitious reverence for prayer. When n in a situation where great bodily harm may e- me, my best and most acceptable prayer is to use at means may be in my reach to save myself. ould I let all depend on a listless, resigned prayer, h folded arms, I should commit an act of great pshemy. God gave me mental and bodily faculties, e means by which I may fulfil my destiny, and it y bounden duty to use all material and spiritual ns in a legitimate manner. I. LEMAHEN.
EADVILLE DIVINITY SCHOOL, May 18, 1875.

THE CENTRAL TRUTH OF CHRISTIANITY.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—In the various discussions about Christ- and anti-Christian attitudes some confusion es, it seems to me, because of a failure to state in licit language just what is meant by the term. r. M. J. Savage in his "Christianity Notwith- ding," asserts the Golden Rule to be its central th, claiming it to be in no wise responsible for the ay traditions and dogmas, such as Total Deprav- Vicarious Atonement, the Trinity, and the like, h have been wrapped about it during the greater t of its eighteen hundred years of existence. He ms to admit the infallible inspiration of the Bible e the source whence Orthodoxy has spun this oon about the living germ, nearly destroying its . He admits that the Christian world to-day, and ing all the previous years of its history, has been nly concerned in fashioning this cocoon, instead attending to the development and growth of the ng organism. But he insists that Unitarians, or al Christians, have succeeded in getting rid of e traditions and dogmas, and have come back to position which was originally taken by its founder. o completely has this living principle been hidden, t Christianity through all the period of its history failed, for the most part, to make known its ex- nce to the world. Love of God and love of man ot be truthfully claimed as having been its mov- spirit up to the present time. The equality of an rights, the abolition of capital punishment, amelioration of the condition of prisoners, and in e whole body of humane legislation legitimate- owing out of this precept, have forced their way ong mankind in spite of its continued opposition. e leaders in these conflicts have usually been men ide of the Church, against whom it has frequent- fulminated its fiercest anathemas. How has ristianity, then, been the main factor in civiliza- n, if the very central principle of its founder has n inoperative among its adherents?

rant that Jesus, after re-stating and improving Golden Rule of Confucius, gave a new life-im- se towards its realization,—the fact that so-called al Christians are obliged to discard all the dis- guishing characteristics of Orthodox Christianity, h has possessed the field eighteen hundred years, er proves it not to have been a central truth of e teaching, or that the impulse given by him has n exaggerated. Else the world long ere this ould have become intensely Unitarian and there- "essentially Christian."

s it not true that the central principle of Christ- ianism was rather the Messianic idea, and the other incidental statement of an ethical truth? Sup- e all idea of Jesus as the Christ, as God, or the ne Son of God in some exceptional and supernat- sense, were eliminated from Christianity. Will e contended for a moment that its hold and influ- e in the world would have been the same as it has ce Jesus proclaimed himself, and not the Golden le, as "the way, the truth, the life"?

suppose, again, the Golden Rule to have been itted from his teachings, and he had still pro- med himself as the expected Messiah,—had ough miracles, healed diseases, died on the cross n risen again on the third day, thereby bring- and immortality to light. Is it not probable that ristianity would have still attained a position in world similar to that which it now occupies?

Jesus taught his followers some of the grandest ths ever promulgated, both moral and spiritual,

new and old; but the record gives indubitable evi- dence, scattered through all the writings of the apos- tles, that it was not the beauty of those truths which most strongly impressed their minds, but the idea of his Messiahship, and the thrilling expectation of his second coming, and their consequent speedy triumph over their enemies. By the time this idea had passed away, Christianity had become encrusted with tradi- tion and dogma, and its spirit so perverted as to be mainly disavowed by liberal Christians of to-day; and therefore its subsequent history need not be traced.

But Mr. Savage says "he emphasized that which was central, and thenceforward it became central in human thought." Then how can he deny that Orthodoxy in its intensest form is Christianity? Has he not assumed the existence of two facts which first need demonstration? According to him, it is only within the present century that the central principle has become sufficiently emphasized to find a lodgment in men's minds, and even now with a very limited number only!

There is some fatal defect in this kind of logic which both includes and excludes; which reaps where it has not sown, or, having sown and getting cockles instead of barley, insists that the seed was pure, but some vicious tendency in the soil has pro- duced the inauspicious result. On no other subject are we allowed such latitude. Mohammedanism is held responsible for its general results, and cannot escape its history by pleading that it contains the seeds of the true methods of human life, which have hitherto remained dormant while weeds and nettles were growing in their place.

Christianity is the result of a combination of forces. Says Castelar: "Athens with her arts, Rome with her laws, Alexandria with her science, have contrib- uted as much to the Christian revelation as Jerusa- lem with her God." It is a revelation because it is a development, a growth; but so was Judaism, and Buddhism, and the other religions. The law of evo- lution is not a continuous development of the same organism, but the ever-increasing perfection of suc- cessive organisms. Christianity must submit to the same processes. To insist that it is the universal religion is logical only for those who claim its founder to have been the very God. Admit this, and it is a fair presumption that his work was perfect and inca- pable of improvement. Deny it, and put him on the plane of our common humanity, and there is no more reason for calling universal religion Christianity, than for calling philosophy Baconism, or astronomy Copernicism. M. L. HAWLEY.

MARATHON, N. Y.

IN THE CITY OF Constance, on the lake of the same name, among the relics may be seen the spider swallowed by Saint Conrad, when taking the wine at mass,—the spider seems to have made good his claim to mummification by making his exit from the thigh of the saint, without having done any harm during his residence within!

Two lambs belonging to Saint Francis of Assisi distinguished themselves immensely by pious acts; one of them went early to wake a lady whom he afterward conducted to mass, and the other lamb at- tended mass every day, remaining on his knees during the entire service!

In the curious legend of Saint Julian encounter- ing a deer in a wood, there is a trace of the Eastern belief in transmigration. The saint went hunting deer in a forest, when suddenly the animal he was following stood at bay and spoke thus: "Do not kill me, for, in so doing, thou wouldst kill thine ances- tors."

Saint Rock, or Roque, is always portrayed with a dog in close company, to commemorate the story, that, being struck down by the plague when far from all human aid in a wood, he was discovered by this dog, who brought him food till he was entirely re- stored to health.

The Cock of Saint Peter is said to have been car- ried into Spain by the Apostle James; feathers were sold at great prices to the pilgrims who visited Com- postella. The poet Southey gives the story with some unimportant variations in his humorous "Pil- grimage to Compostella." The name of that city is said to be merely a corrupted pronunciation of "Sanctus Jacobus Apostolus."—*Scribner's Monthly*.

THE WILD PEOPLE OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. During last season, Mr. Bond, an Indian surveyor, while at work in the Madras Presidency, to the south- west of the Palanei Hills, managed to catch a couple of the wild folk, who live in the hill jungles of the Western Ghats. These people sometimes bring honey, wax, and sandalwood to exchange with the villagers for cloth, rice, tobacco, and betel nut; but they are very shy. The man was four feet six inches high; he had a round head, coarse black woolly hair, and a dark brown skin. The forehead was low, and slightly retreating; the lower part of the face pro- jected like the muzzle of a monkey, and the mouth, which was small and oval, with thick lips, protruded about an inch beyond the nose; he had short bandy legs, a comparatively long body, and arms that ex- tended almost to his knees. The hands and fingers were dumpy and always contracted, so that they could not be made to stretch out quite straight and flat; the palms and fingers were covered with thick skin (more especially the tips of the fingers), the nails were small and imperfect, and the feet broad and thick-skinned all over. The woman was the same height as the man, the color of the skin was of a yellow tint, the hair black, long, and straight, and the features well formed. This quaint folk occasionally eat flesh, but feed chiefly upon roots and honey. They have no fixed dwelling-places, but sleep on any convenient spot, generally between two rocks, or in

caves near which they happen to be benighted. Worship is paid to certain local divinities of the for- est.—*English paper*.

IN THE stray counties of Pennsylvania now enjoy- ing the fifth generation of solid prosperity, they build a stone barn before they build a house of stone; and though the houses are usually good enough, the barns are generally better. "To be thus is nothing," says the strong man, "but to be safely thus." This feel- ing is very powerful in men who conquer the world; it is weak in the men over whom the victory is gained. Christophe, black emperor, used to say, "Put a bag of coffee in the mouth of hell, and a Yankee would be sure to go after it." Of course he would; why not? The happiness of a human being rests upon three pillars: first, a clear conscience; second, good health; third, a sound pecuniary condition. If that bag of coffee is necessary for the attainment of that third main stay of happiness, let us by all means go where it is found.

Of course there is such a thing as going too far for your bag of coffee. Some men do really forget that, after all, business is only a means to an end. Their minds run entirely to business. A Harvard profess- or told me that he went down to one of the beaches on the New England coast to bathe one stormy day, but the men in charge refused to let him go in on ac- count of the dangerous swell. On his way back he expressed his disappointment and indignation to the driver of the omnibus. "Well, I'll tell you how it is," said the driver; "we don't like to have strangers come down here and get drowned. It hurts the beach." This man evidently had business on the brain.—*James Parton*.

MOHAMMED was of middle height, rather thin, but broad of shoulders, wide of chest, strong of bone and muscle. His head was massive, strongly devel- oped. Dark hair, slightly curled, flowed in a dense mass down almost to his shoulders. Even in ad- vanced age it was sprinkled by only about twenty gray hairs, produced by the agonies of the "Revela- tions." His face was oval-shaped, slightly tawny of color. Fine, long, arched eye-brows were divided by a vein which throbbed visibly in moments of pas- sion. Great, black, restless eyes shone out from under long, heavy eye-lashes. His nose was large, slightly aquiline. His teeth, upon which he be- stowed great care, were well set, dazzling white. A full beard framed his manly face. His skin was clear and soft, his complexion "red and white." His hands were as "silk and satin"—even as those of a woman. His step was quick and elastic, yet firm, and as that of one "who steps from a high to a low place." In turning his face he would also turn his full body. His whole gait and presence were dignified and imposing. His countenance was mild and pensive. His laugh was rarely more than a smile. "Oh! my little son," reads one tradition, "hadst thou seen him, thou wouldst have said thou hadst seen a sun rising." In his habits he was ex- tremely simple, though he bestowed great care on his person. His eating and drinking, his dress and his furniture retained, even when he had reached the fulness of power, their almost primitive nature.

A WELL-KNOWN Catholic priest of New York has incurred excommunication from the pope by follow- ing the example of Father Hyacinthe. Rev. Henry Lake, of St. Ann's Church, in Twelfth street, and who was, during the first few years succeeding his accession to the priesthood, fierce in denouncing the public-school system, and warm in supporting the papacy, has abandoned the pulpit. During a visit to Lorraine, some time since, Father Lake made the acquaintance of a wealthy French lady. He mar- ried her and left with his bride for California, where they are at present sojourning.

POUGHKEEPSIE Eagle: he's home—the dog. He "swooped" in through the kitchen door about ten o'clock yesterday morning, knocked over the baby, kissed him till he couldn't breathe, and then, to the question of "Where have you been?" retreated to a corner. One eye was bunged up, a piece of his tail was gone, and he limped in the off hind leg. He was about as fat as a lead pencil, and looked as if he'd been hustled out of a primary meeting. The girl looked at him, and exclaimed, "Now, that dog's been in bad company." He had been "on a bust" just one week.

A VERY TALL and shabby-looking man, a fellow that reminded you of a vagrant letter from a font of forty-line-paragon extra condensed, stepped up to one of our bars, last week, and, after heaving a glass of liquor into his long throat, blandly asked the bar-tender if he could change a twenty-dollar bill. That gentleman informed him that he could. "Well," said the tall one, with a sigh of satisfaction, "I'll go out and see if I can find one;" and he plunged out into the cold world on his mission.

BOOTMAKER (who has a deal of trouble with his customer).—"I think, sir, if you were to cut your corns, I could more easily find you a pair—" Chol- eric old gentleman—"Cut my corns, sir! I ask you to fit me a pair of boots to my feet, sir! I'm not going to plane my feet down to fit your boots!"

AT VENICE, in Italy, there is now a woman's paper published called *La Donna*. The editor is a delicate young lady of twenty-three years, who is self-educated, having risen from the people. The paper is widely circulated all over Italy.

BELIEVE in God, not on Sundays only, but on all days.—*Thomas Carlyle*.

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Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. ABBOT, D. A. WASSON, T. W. HIGGINSON, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

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Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. WASSON on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. CHENEY on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. ABBOT on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. HIGGINSON on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. CHANNING on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. POTTER on "Religion Old and New in India;" also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

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WM. J. POTTER Sec. F. R. A.

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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VOLUME 4.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JUNE 14, 1872.

Whole No. 257.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMAND OF LIBERTARIANISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in private armies and all other institutions supported by public money, be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished, and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether recited or read, or of verses or books of religious teaching, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the Federal war in the courts and in the various departments of the government shall be discontinued, and that ample information under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be stricken, and that all laws which discriminate against non-protestants of various sects, creeds, and denominations shall be repealed.
9. We demand that no aid be given to the construction of the United States Capitol or to the United States Court House in the present building at the corner of Congress and Independence streets, and that the completion of the same shall be suspended until the completion of the other great public buildings, and that the same shall be completed and administered on a purely secular basis, and that whenever changes shall prove necessary in the said shall be consequent, unimpaired, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republicanism is imperilled, the advance of civilization retarded, and the most sacred rights of man endangered by the most iniquitous of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution will mark the present administration of the public schools, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the nation; and

Therefore, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

- ART. 1.—The name of this association shall be THE LIBERTARIAN LEAGUE.
- ART. 2.—The object of the League shall be to secure the removal of all laws which "demand" of citizens "Christian" observance of the Sabbath, and especially to—
- ART. 3.—It is the purpose of the League to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be held in New York City in the month of June, 1872, to be held in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the removal of—
- ART. 4.—The members engaged in working for these objects shall be bound to contribute, from their own means, money, influence, and all such other means as are pecuniary, literary, and moral.
- ART. 5.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.
- ART. 6.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.
- ART. 7.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of five members, and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be elected by ballot at the National Convention of Liberal Leagues, and shall be elected together.
- ART. 8.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided the question of the proposed amendments shall have been put to every member at least two weeks previous to said meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUPPLEMENT TO THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

- SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or forbidding any person from holding religious opinions, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or depriving any person of the free exercise of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.
- SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or forbidding any person from holding religious opinions, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or depriving any person of the free exercise of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.
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- SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

JOHN QUINN's advice to the Young Men's Association at Richmond, passed in one of the "transmissions" in another column of this paper, is "remember their thousand battles, their armies and camps," might as be specially noted and well understood by all who value the principles of religious liberty and secular government. How many eyes there are, but how few that see.

"It is my hope and prayer," said Gen. Burnside in Music Hall, "that these memorial days may be so observed as to kindle in all feelings of duty and make which were engendered by the late war. I am free to say that I am ready to do anything on the face of the earth to accomplish this. I will do anything but to acknowledge that we were wrong in what we did to suppress the rebellion." Amen to every word of this!

The *Francis Thompson* have won a great victory, according to the *London Times*, in the university admission bill just adopted by the Assembly. The *Times* says that "in gross the death-blow to a system of educational hegemony, under which a secular and religious body has hitherto shaped the higher teaching of young men who filled the professions." In other words, the Catholic influence is hereafter to "shape the higher teaching" to suit itself; and this, we presume, is considered "educational freedom" by the *Times*. But our Schools are blind to all signs of reason everywhere.

The following provision, reported as the eighth section of the Bill of Rights in the Constitutional Convention of Missouri, would be approved by Bishop Doane: "That every gift, sale, or devise of land to any priest, minister, public teacher or preacher of the gospel, as such, or to any religious sect, order or denomination; or to, or for the support, use, or benefit of, or in trust for, any minister, public teacher or preacher of the gospel, as such, or to any religious sect, order or denomination; and every gift or sale of goods or chattels, to go in succession, or to take effect after the death of the donor or donor, or to or for such support, use or benefit; and also every devise of goods or chattels to, or for the support of, any minister, public teacher or preacher of the gospel, as such, or to any religious sect, order, or denomination, shall be void."

THE SEVENTH OF JUNE was commemorated this year as never before in Boston. One hundred years ago the battle of Bunker Hill; now the centennial celebration of it by a great nation at peace. Remembering that the thing celebrated was the heroism of those who loved liberty enough to fight for it, and who thus superseded the "gospel of love" by the gospel of human rights, it is a pertinent inquiry to ask whether this is indeed a "Christian nation" or not. All who look beneath the surface will see that the Christian ethics of "sympathy" would have forbidden the Revolution, and taught slavish submission to the powers that were. Fortunately for mankind, human nature is nobler than all systems which claim to govern it: the sterner virtues on which everything valuable depends shatter their scraw fetters in an instant when the crisis arrives.

THE MAGNIFICENT and graceful act of the Fifth Maryland Regiment will be henceforth associated imperishably with the Soldiers' Monument at Charleston: "The Marylanders came to the Common from Charleston, which they visited very quietly, notifying nobody beforehand, and going entirely without escort. They carried with them a magnificent floral shield composed of white and carnation pink, and marched straight to Winthrop Square, in which stands the beautiful monument erected by Charles-

town in the memory of her sons who fell in the military and naval service during the war. Here the regiment halted, formed three sides of a square around the monument, the band played a dirge, and the regiment stood at parade rest while the shield was reverently laid on the monument—Maryland's tribute to the dead heroes of the Bunker Hill day. Then the words were given: 'Attention?' 'Carry Arms?' 'Present Arms?' and after this simple, beautiful ceremony the regiment departed."

AFTER THE BATTLE has been fought and won by great principles, the claims of sympathy are never long neglected. When the Fifth Maryland Regiment, in the afternoon of June 16, quietly marched over to Charleston, and laid their spontaneous tribute of a beautiful floral shield on the Soldiers' Monument in Winthrop Square, they performed an act of touching and exquisite nobility which will never be forgotten. The great conflict over chattel-slavery is settled forever, because it is settled right; and we trust and believe that Massachusetts is as ready to honor Maryland's valor as Maryland has been to honor hers. The victory of freedom was won for all alike; and now it is time to recognize that mistaken heroism is heroic still. For me, although the precious blood of a brother was shed on the field of Gettysburg, we are ready to lay a wreath of flowers on the grave of the unknown rebel whose mortal bullet spilled it; for who shall say that the rebel served his now "lost cause" less honestly than the young Union officer served a better cause for whom all hearts that knew him must bleed till they cease to beat? In the immortal memories of Bunker Hill and the other great days of yore, let all true Americans be henceforth united soul to soul in common devotion to their common country, and in deeper fidelity than ever to the universal principles for which that common country stands. It is time to-day to remember—and also to forget.

WHOSE heart did not beat quicker at sight of the old damask "Flag of Bunker," borne peacefully through the streets of Boston in the great procession of the Seventeenth of June by the Washington Light Infantry of Charleston, S. C.? In 1857 the widow of the heroic Col. William Washington of the Revolutionary army, wishing to assign the battle-day of her husband's famous cavalry troop to one of the military companies of Charleston, selected the Washington Light Infantry. This day was borne by Col. Washington's command through the thickest of the fight in the battles of Eutaw Springs and the Cowpens in South Carolina. Now nearly a century old, it is believed to be the only one of Revolutionary date in possession of a military company. It is a small, square piece of crimson damask satin, with a laurel wreath woven in the centre, and is worn and faded, but is dearly cherished by these soldiers. The venerable lady made a formal presentation of this banner to the company from the steps of her ancient mansion on South Bay Street, in Charleston, and the incident was a notable one at the time. An interesting story is told of the origin of the Flag of Bunker. It is said that when Col. Washington was galloping with his troop to the battle-field, he halted for an instant at the house of a planter. The beautiful daughter of the planter, noticing that the regiment had no colors, ran into her boudoir, and, tipping the rich damask back from one of those great old-fashioned chairs which the weather-colonists were accustomed to import from Europe, speedily fashioned it with her dainty fingers into an ensign, which the patriots promptly bore into the combat. Col. Washington returned the compliment by going back after the war and marrying the fair donor. This ancient flag will be carried in the procession to-day, and form a new link between the Revolutionary battle-fields of Massachusetts and those of her sister State, South Carolina.

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[For THE INDEX.]

Religion at all Events.

AN ESSAY READ BEFORE THE ESSEX CONFERENCE, AT DANVERS, MAY 19, 1875, BY J. H. CLIFFORD, MINISTER OF THE UNITARIAN CHURCH AT NORTH ANDOVER.

The irrepressible conflict of opinions is one in which the same ground is contested time after time, as the championship of beliefs descends from sire to son; and, in fact, latterly, from mother to daughter. Indeed, so familiar and ancient are the battle-words and sounding sabre-strokes that ring in our ears, from invisible as well as visible fields of space, that we may almost fancy the spirits of our fathers, like those of the slain Huns and Romans, in the old legend, met in the air to fight their battles over again.

Nor shall we be likely to shift the scene much to-day. If debate is battle, forces are ever the same. Generalship only differs; there is marshalling thus and otherwise; not often comes decisive proof which way is superior; to-day's victory may be to-morrow's rout. There is a saying that God can cause even the wrath of man to praise him. It is but another way of saying that the universal makes the partial bear constant testimony to itself; or that truth ever has a witness even in falsehood. So, I think, has religion a witness in half-religion, in unreligion, yes, in denial itself; while on some hands it is even thought to be the strongest proof of its existence, as a genuine fact, that it survives the blundering defence of its most conscious and forward defenders. Thus we have the saying of Boccaccio, that "religion exists in spite of its ministers,"—a far-reaching, if somewhat cynical, acknowledgment, signifying more than many martial arrays of homily, and ponderous batteries of dogmatic theology.

Yet so well-satisfied are we, for the most part, with the work of organized armies of religion, with their regimented forces and Briarean arms of service; so well assured are we of the safety of the cause in such keeping,—that instead of talking much, or doing much, for religion itself, as a thing damageable by our personal neglect, we are rather given to saying and acting, spasmodically or systematically, on behalf of our favorite notions of generalship, and other minor things, relating to the aforesaid armies.

So long as it is thought that religion is thus in the hands of military authorities, to be deployed at will for whatever special service, there is no call to talk of anything besides the manual and its execution.

But if it be imagined that religion, like human character, far from being such a well-disciplined actuality, is only an infinite potentiality, capable of being made actual by degrees, but always to some extent at the mercy of human anarchy, the no-government of blindness, passion, and spiritual vagrancy,—then, upon this idea, one may take his stand outside of all uniformed ranks; may say to drill-sergeants, "Put your gallant boys through the manual; call your targets the devil, though they be only harmless effigies of the devil; let your valor expend itself in burning powder, and wounding no wrong, since it has nothing better wherewith to divert itself. I, not being so sure of the cause committing itself to such defence, nor much in love with your splendid evolutions, will use myself as a free lance, to fight as I can, not for any foregone conclusion of religion, but for such religion as may discover itself to me through all the dust of battle-fields and sham battle-fields in this world."

Religion must outlive not only its foes but like

wise not a few of the friends of its own household. It must survive not only deniers, but also purblind affirmers, whose merely partial affirmation is denial in effect.

It is because I believe it both existed before, and will survive these deniers and half-affirmers, that I confidently call my subject "Religion at all Events."

To show, if possible, how it does, and must, survive denial and partial affirmation, how it silences the former and transcends the latter, is now my necessary though not easy task. Not easy, not because the fact itself is not clear, but because of the danger from its very clearness, that I shall, by saying anything, obscure it.

The whole question resolves itself into one of faith and unfaith, under whatever various aspects these may be viewed.

We have several positions to consider, which I enumerate and shall treat in the following order:—

1. Scepticism. 2. Denial. 3. Special religions—Christianity. 4. The anti-Christian position. 5. Supernaturalism. 6. Religion.

Of course here is laid out work enough, if it were worth doing, for the making of so many books that the world could not contain them; and it will therefore hardly be expected that in a single hour I can do more than sketch an essay—that is, an attempt—of toiling through these five miry negations to solid ground of affirmation. We begin with

SCEPTICISM.

Here is a specimen of what is called the eighteenth-century sort, from the poet Byron:—

"Even gods must yield—religions take their turn:
 'Twas Jove's—'tis Mahomet's; and other creeds
 Will rise with other fears, till man shall learn
 Vainly his incense soars, his victim bleeds;
 Poor child of Doubt and Death, whose hope is built on
 reeds."

The former part of this remarkable verse contains, as we shall notice further on, both history and prophecy; for "gods" do "yield, religions take their turn," as we know. So it has been; so shall it be.

But that the pessimism of the latter half has any foundation in the truth of things, it can be no part of our business to admit. Neither truth nor shadow of truth is in it. Yet we must admit that this sentiment, however untrue, is representative. It challenges, with a voice of mingled despair and scorn, all the world-wide utterance of yea and amen of religious faith. So sullenly challenged, religious faith must, on no plea of the serenity of its own temper, refuse to answer as it can now, or, if need shall be, until the end of the world.

But first let us listen to the challenge of a certain sort of nineteenth-century scepticism, differing from the other, and having a greater importance, as being less emotional and more intellectual. Its mouth-piece for us is John Stuart Mill, of whose scepticism no one who has carefully read his *Three Essays on Religion* need lack a fair understanding.

In the short essay upon "The Utility of Religion," Mr. Mill appears to measure its duration by its usefulness. To ask if religion will survive is tantamount to inquiring if it is useful to mankind. Without knowing how it may have seemed to others, I must confess that for myself Mr. Mill's trumpet gives in answer to the question he has raised a most uncertain sound. "Did he think religion useful, or not?" is the involuntary question that rises as the book is finished. Not to pronounce any judgment upon the nature or importance of his peculiar test, let us see, if we can, what is the result of his own application of the test. But we find this seeming to be very difficult. Blown about by the contrary winds of a scepticism which does not seem to be of that natural sort out of which all inquiry is born, but rather of a conscious and pre-determined kind, his mind appears to struggle between the effort, on the one hand, to keep out of all well known harbors, and on the other the more hazardous task of risking an original landing-place. In this perilous conflict the reader at first finds him, and I wonder if there is one to whom he does not appear, at the final glimpse, to be just making off from some lonely cove where he had seemed about to be casting anchor and taking possession, in the name of faith or unfaith,—who shall say which?

Of course Mr. Mill did not regard himself as in any recognized sense a religious man. His scepticism is open and avowed. And apart from their value as the inquiries and suggestions of a highly trained and philosophical sceptic, what importance do his fragmentary posthumous essays possess? It is because in spite of their diffuseness and equivocation they yet challenge, in the true sceptical spirit, every religious theory and assumption, that they are undeniably, if not helpful to faith, or promotive of happiness—the supposed aim and end of human being, according to Mr. Mill's school—at least a spur to thought and an aid to discrimination.

Following Mr. Mill through this essay, we find that his scepticism leads him towards denial rather than towards belief. Thus, he concludes I think, not only that "the belief in religion considered as a mere persuasion, apart from the question of its truth, is" not "really indispensable to the welfare of mankind;" but also that the usefulness of the belief is not "intrinsic and universal," but rather "local, temporary, and, in some sense, accidental;" and that "the benefits which it yields might be obtained otherwise, without the very large alloy of evil by which, even in the best form of the belief, those benefits are qualified." He even proceeds to assume the improvement of religion, which he allows to be taking place, to be complete; supposes it "to have accepted the best human morality which reason and goodness can work out from philosophical, Christian, or any other elements;" and to have "freed itself from the pernicious consequences which result from its identifica-

tion with any bad moral doctrine;" and having thus made the ground "clear for considering whether its useful properties are exclusively inherent in it, or their benefits can be obtained without it," he throws the weight of his opinion, somewhat decisively, into the scale opposite to that in which he places religion; which, thus weighed in the balance, at its best, he seems to declare is found wanting.

Perhaps there is no better illustration of the most intelligent scepticism of our times than the religious essays of Mr. Mill. That it is superficial, as shown in this case, may well be said, in spite of the author's reputation as a philosopher. But it remains for us to show, if we can, further on, that its superficiality is but the counterpart of that which characterizes the current religion itself, or that which passes under the name of religion at present; and that, unless the whole sphere of religion can be more fully comprehended than it generally is, the most honest and earnest scepticism must issue in denial and not in belief; while with a fuller comprehension of religion there would also come a reconciliation between scepticism and faith.

DENIAL.

But although Mr. Mill's scepticism takes the direction of denial, rather than that of belief, at every critical passage of his essays there yet appears to be a very considerable class of thoughtful people for whom his views are quite too favorable on the side of religion. As confessed by certain of his old associates, who may be regarded as speaking for a multitude, at the point where Mr. Mill divulges even his slight religious predilections, they and he "have come to the parting of the ways." Strict secularists, for whom no such thing as religion exists, and who will have nothing to do with the name, except to discredit it, are a class whose voice is heard to-day wherever there is speech or language. This class may perhaps be assumed to represent what is called *denial* in its most intelligent aspects. Denial is indeed very differently interpreted and classified by different bodies of religious sectarians. By some it is denounced as being identical with anti-Christ; by others it is characterized as the spirit of Mephistophiles, "the devil of knowledge." On the one hand it is regarded as a positive force of evil; on the other as the stolid negation of goodness. On all hands it is equally regarded as in some sense, moral or intellectual, the satanic foe of religion. We shall have occasion presently to show, if we can, that, according to our idea of religion, it can point confidently to this much-dreaded denial as one of its vouchers.

SPECIAL RELIGIONS—CHRISTIANITY.

It has always been the case that, when religion has been spoken of, some special religion has commonly been meant. In considering the nature and relations of special religions, it will be best for us to confine ourselves, for obvious reasons, to one,—Christianity. What is in general true of this is also true of every other special faith. As to the nature of a special religion, enough for our present purpose is indicated by the very term *special*—pertaining to a species, a subordinate class. The antithesis of this would be the genus, inclusive of all species. I shall here regard Christianity as a species, and not as being identical with the genus; as a special religion, not the universal religion. As a species it has relations to all other species, and also to the genus itself. I hope we shall manage to make a protest of some sort against the common habit of ignoring these relations, whether on the side of Christianity or on the anti-Christian side. To identify Christianity, on the one hand, with the absolute religion, or to deny, on the other hand, that it is truly a religion at all, is a fatal error.

But under this particular head we have to deal with the "Christian position," which just now is so desperately defining itself, in certain quarters, and in such extraordinarily conflicting ways. If all those who lately have been so conspicuously in *pose* for the sake of their Christianity could be accurately photographed, while the diversity of attitudes would be interesting for comparison, the task would be difficult for the most finished connoisseur to declare a preference. I do not think there would be even one adequate representation among them of real Christianity. These self-offered models of the Christian type are as gross caricatures of the subject, to say the least, as any that are painted by non-Christian, or even anti-Christian, artists or bunglers. But if there are any in these days who approximate fidelity, they are those, I think, who hold fast by the original Christian revelation, not those who freely translate it to suit their own heretical tastes, vainly trying to conceal the new thing by the old name. "When I say I am a Calvinist, understand that I mean I am what Calvin would be if he were living and were what I am to-day" is a form of elucidation to monopoly of which even the great Brooklyn explainer, with all his child-like simplicity, cannot pretend. For the like rehabilitation of mummified dogmas in the clothes of modern rationalism is a process by which certain Christians beguile themselves, while they stickle for that worthy name by the which they would be called. These would fain persuade us that Christianity is but another name for religion. And, in order to make the persuasion easy to swallow, they are under the necessity of straining out sundry original ingredients which would be rejected by many palates. But if those are real ingredients they are parts of the Christianity, and cannot be strained out, and Christianity be left notwithstanding. They may be specific, and are, indubitably; nevertheless, they are Christian, and must be included in the system, if the system is to remain intact.

Among other eliminated ingredients, I notice that certain well-styled neo-Christians have no difficulty in bringing themselves to dispense with one which

hitherto has been held to be of considerable moment—I mean THE CHRIST. How very easily, in the new dispensation of the new dispensation, this once essential element is remanded to the limbo of silence, it is truly astonishing to mark! With what perfect coolness and unconsciousness of subtlety, the man JESUS is brought forward as the substitute for the redeeming CHRIST—himself once the substitute for condemned man—it is bewitching to see! If we have long had for a rhetorical stroke “The play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out,” we may now have the more consummate theatrical omission of Christianity with the Christ left out.

The writer of the essay entitled “Christianity Notwithstanding” takes account of the ethical and personal qualities of the man Jesus, and calls these Christianity; utterly ignoring that *Christ-dogma* which is the corner-stone of the system, without which it would not only never have received its name, but would never have existed. This is manifestly as unfair as anything the editor of THE INDEX has ever said, by way of restricting the definition of Christianity to certain of its uglier features. They better represent, I think, the true position for Christians to occupy to-day, and always, who retort to “Christianity Notwithstanding,” “Christianity without a notwithstanding,” giving appropriate and necessary emphasis to the supernatural and authoritative, as well as to the ethical and human elements of the system. The author of “Christianity Notwithstanding” claims that Christianity is truthfully epitomized in the phrase “Love to God and man.” But Paul, who had an earlier acquaintance with the religion, and whose formative hand is so visible in it, who is called by many, not without a degree of justice, the real founder of the system, said: “If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain,” and Christians have reiterated the saying from Paul’s day to our own; and when they cease to reiterate it they cease, in any literal or doctrinal sense, to be Christians, however they may profess and defend the name or the thing. Christ and Jesus, although treated so by neo-Christian usage, are not interchangeable terms. Around the personality and teachings of Jesus gathered heavy accretions of the supernatural, which, together with the teachings, came to be called Christianity, from his official or supernatural title, after Jesus had gone.

Beyond this identification of Christianity with the person and teachings of Jesus, which is so evidently unhistorical, to say the least, there is also much said with equal unfitness to the effect that the superiority of Jesus, in character and insight, constitutes him the natural leader and religious head of mankind. Young Liberal Christians now begin to make known their loyalty, not to the redeemer or savior—the plain old Christian titles—but to “Christ the ideal,” a very indefinite substitute, which Christian Orthodoxy, it is safe to say, will never accept. “No one,” says Mr. Savage, “is able to rob Jesus of the glory of having possessed and exercised, in a more comprehensive and far-reaching manner than any other being who ever lived,” “the highest form of greatness of which we can conceive,” that of “giving life to the world.” Well, no one wants to rob him of this glory, that I know of, if it is his. But I think it is less his, according to his own doctrine, as well as other people’s, than humanity’s; less humanity’s than His from whom and to whom “all glories are.” It is not enough that Jesus was the *greatest man* in this respect—humanity is still greater; and no name less than its own will suit humanity’s religion. To be an authoritative leader of the race, Jesus must be, as proper Christianity conceives him to be, somewhat more than a man. Only a man, he may, if not already equalled, be equalled by other men.

“Has earth no more such souls within her breast?
Let those who dare, say ‘None.’”

Christianity, we have said, is a special religion. “It is the special religion,” say its adherents, “designed for universal acceptance. At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow in some fashion or other.” “It is the Absolute Religion,” say the whole Christian party, with many quarrels among themselves as to what it is, even then. “Not at all,” reply our non-Christians, not much organized yet, free lances mostly; but pretty well agreed in the new protestantism, and in the attempt at a new and larger affirmation. Christianity absolute and permanent, or Christianity conditioned and temporary, seems to be the real question. I hold that it is conditioned and temporary.

But this is not the worst to be said of it. It is also false in that principal element, its assumed authority. I must quote from a book called *Christianity the Science of Manhood*, by the same author as “Christianity Notwithstanding”: “The love that follows a guide, though it may lack wisdom and power, does yet have all it wants in the love that links it to him who possesses all. A little child may be utterly incapable of navigating a ship from New York to San Francisco. Yet, loving, trusting, and sailing with his father, who is a navigator, gives him as safe a voyage as though he knew and did it all. The timbers of the hulk, the sails, the rudder, the compass, the quadrant, the winds and the stars, all become servants to his trusting love. Just herein is the peculiarity of Christianity, and here is its fitness for universality. Any being who can love has access to all the needed knowledge of God.” Such reasoning is very pretty, but it is a fatal logic. The writer indeed truly remarks that this ignorant, trusting love is “the peculiarity of Christianity,” but I think him woefully wrong in inferring from this peculiarity its “fitness for universality.” Unfitness rather, shall we not say? “Needed knowledge of God,” as though our necessity had limit, and could be satisfied! No, every man must be a navigator; and every boy must not trust, but learn. Suppose a son of Capt. Thomas had been with his father on the ill-fated

Schiller! We need to know all. The ship and the sea serve not love, not trust, but knowledge and will. If these fail, it will infallibly make wreck of the others. But when these succeed, then those are safe and happy passengers. But the powers of Nature only mock the most trusting love, when it is ignorant. The more it ignorantly trusts, the more they mock. The boy may learn navigation from his father; but he must learn it that he may voyage without his father, and perhaps in seas to the latter unknown. A man is not a mere atom, to follow in the wake of some force of a superior man or atom. He is a unit of force.

Christianity, thus affirmed to be the perfect, will, I believe, at length prove to be but one of many partial things, all which in the gradual coming of the perfect, will be done away. The verse, so familiar, will occur to you all; therefore it belongs here:—

“Our little systems have their day,
They have their day, and cease to be;
They are but broken lights of thee,
And thou, O Lord! art more than they.”

This question of Christianity or something else has brought opposing parties into close quarters of late. Where the dispute waxed hottest is at the outermost verge of the Christian stronghold, as we have already indicated. It is a point at which it becomes doubtful whether the defenders of the Christian standard, valiant and vigilant as they are, are really loyal soldiers of the cross, or unwitting members of the vanguard of the enemy. It is a point of great dubiousness, both to the enemy and to the main body in the Christian encampment; requiring much onset of asseveration, and quick manoeuvre of argument—on the whole, a nice set of tactics, but withal a high and proud sense of honor—on the part of the doubtful ones. On the one hand, the non-Christians will accept them with no divided allegiance; and on the other, the officers of the king’s army are always in watching to shoot deserters, without so much as that apology for justice, a “drum-head” court-martial. This interlinear position, in danger of a cross-fire, is a somewhat precarious one, as many know. Meanwhile, the Holy Catholic Church throughout the world, or so much of it as deigns to take notice of this hot little fight at all, seats itself on its ecclesiastical throne, planted on a safe eminence, like Xerxes viewing the battle of Salamis, and looks on, with full confidence in Christian watchwords, even dubiously shouted, as against Free Religious carnal reasonings; even as Xerxes reposed his confidence in Persian numbers as against Grecian valor. There are some who think it will fare much the same with the ecclesiastical spectator as it did with the Parthian monarch, who, seeing the issue of the battle,

“With rueful cries he rent his royal robes,”

then packed up his regal effects, and made good his imperial retreat back to his empire of eunuchs and serfs.

Beyond what we have here tried to examine, the Christian argument cannot go. At the point we have now reached, if anywhere, it must make its victorious stand, and erect its everlasting trophies; or here, if anywhere, it is to be met and vanquished, by a declaration larger, with a more exceeding and eternal weight of truth and glory.

And though there may be mourning over the apostasy of once faithful believers, and the mothers in Israel sorrowfully say of their children, “They love [Christianity] thee least who owe thee most,” yet I doubt not that every just measure even of affection and gratitude shall be duly filled.

THE ANTI-CHRISTIAN POSITION.

If, however, any think that, instead of a stronger affirmation, another mere negation will relieve us of Christianity the partial, and give us religion the universal, I believe they fall into an error quite as fatal as any of which we have spoken, or could speak. If the Christian ignores the very characteristic of his religion, which we have called its specialness, and thereby fails to see its relations, the anti-Christian ignores another real feature of it—its religiousness, and fails to recognize its relations not less. Its special element, its universal element, both must be admitted, and kept in mind; its mere tradition, but also its *truth*; and truth and tradition are not entitled to the same regard. If this must pass, that must remain; and is the anti-Christian’s no less than the Christian’s. No man would profess to be anti-truth; and no man can be anti-any-whole-system, without being anti-some-degree-of-truth. There is no possible way to escape the difficulty, which no philosopher, it is safe to say, would permit himself to lie under, except by renouncing the *anti*. The time has come, when no position is so creditable to thinkers as, if I may so call it, the *anti-anti* position, the negation of all negations for the sake of the perfect affirmation. “For,” as the great preacher to the century says, “men’s hearts ought not to be set against one another, but set with one another; and all against the evil thing only.” Nothing is plainer than that the editor of THE INDEX is wholly incapable of meeting the arguments which have been so well made against his anti-Christian position. He is a splendid knight, gallant and true, and is doing a righteous work in many ways; but he rides a mad steed, which carries him on Quixotic raids, full tilt against foes even less dangerous than wind-mills; unless indeed it should be said of him, and of most of us in these days, that we are not riders at all, but ridden.

“Things are in the saddle,
And ride mankind,”

wrote one thirty years ago, or more. To-day, perhaps, he would say that *names* instead of *things* are the riders.

If Mr. Abbot’s definition of Christianity were true, then I should be with him anti-Christian. But all

the way through he identifies Christianity with those elements in it which are special and false, rather than with those which are universal and true. He labors hard to show that all non-Christians, whether they know it or not, are in fact anti-Christian; but as I think wholly without success. His favorite illustration appears to be, indeed, one by which he feels certain that he saves himself the unpleasantness of acknowledging that, in opposing Christianity as a whole, he is opposing, in its universal element which he confesses it has, somewhat that is true. But I think the illustration palpably defective, as any illustration of so utterly illogical a position would be sure to be. As this illustration, however, seems to be the strong tower of Mr. Abbot’s anti-Christian fortress, it would look cowardly for us not to assail it, even though we may be unable to take it; in which case it need not be deemed impregnable. It is this: Mr. Abbot says (INDEX April 22, 1875): “All living tissues are composed . . . of one and the same life-stuff. The universal element of all organisms is protoplasm, without which there can be no organism at all. Now suppose a traveller is assailed in the forest by a panther, which is a peculiar organism composed ultimately of the same protoplasm of which the traveller himself and all other organisms are composed. What shall he do? He has no quarrel with protoplasm; in fact, he could not conveniently get along without it. But this particular aggregate of protoplasm which now threatens to assail him with teeth and claws is something that he must quarrel with, or else be digested by. He is not anti-protoplasm, but he is certainly anti-panther so he concludes not to be perplexed by the coexistence in the beast of both universal and special elements, but to shoot it as a whole. He cannot possibly kill all protoplasm, but he must kill this form of it or be killed himself.” Mr. Abbot continues: “Now this is a crude representation of the fact as respects Christianity,” wherewith I fully agree, as to the crudity, though not as to the “representation of the fact,” very distorted misrepresentation, I should rather say. How unfair in the first place, to represent Christianity as a wild beast threatening to devour mankind! But it quite agrees, let us remember, with Mr. Abbot’s former definitions of this religion. Might not Christianity more justly be represented as a mis-shapen man, in whom beauty blends with deformity, and whose spirit is engaged in a vain life-struggle for emancipation from its environment of ugliness into perfect stature and grace; one who is indeed imperfect enough in himself, with numerous shortcomings, injuring his neighbors sometimes, but quite as often benefiting them; not wholly bent upon destroying his kind, though not wholly capable of blessing them? Not a being deserving of capital punishment, but entitled to live till in the course of providence, or evolution, he must pay the debt to Nature, emancipate himself through death; while all his good works will follow him, the ill he has done gradually getting interred with his bones.

But this is not directly assailing the fortress, but rather the cause of war which it is intended to maintain. In the second place, we have to see what is the weak point in the illustration itself as an illustration. There may be, for aught I know, several weak points; but I think I discover one which is entirely fatal. It is this: Mr. Abbot says his hypothetical traveller is not anti-protoplasm, but he is anti-panther. Now as an organism composed of protoplasm, the panther is as innocent as the protoplasm itself; as a form of creation, the special organism is as truly an object of respect as the universal substance which composes it. The traveller is no more anti-panther than he is anti-protoplasm. So far as he is opposed to anything, it is not to the special organism panther, but only to the disposition of that organism to devour him. He is not anti-panther, but only anti-panther appetite; and not even that in a general sense, but simply as that appetite threatens to appease itself with his own special organism, protoplasm and all. And I do not know but the object of his antagonism might be diminished still further; in fact, I think it might easily be reasoned out of sight, until it should appear that, far from being anti-anything, the man was only self-preservation, with all Nature behind him. This is what the traveller really is; and this is based on the universal law of affirmation, not that of negation. If he were really anti-panther, he would take his gun every day, as the editor of THE INDEX does (who certainly does not wait for Christianity to assail him), and go out to shoot one of those ravenous beasts; failing to find which, in these populous districts, he might exterminate some ferocious lamb, and report another panther slain, and claim the bounty. But being only for self protection, as regards the panther, he goes on his journey, and never shoots except when attacked by the beast. Wherefore I think he is not anti-panther.

It is unnecessary to pursue the argument further. The application is plain enough. No really philosophical thinker can ever be anti-Christian. Such an one will have respect to the truth rather than the error of any and all systems. Nothing lasting can ever be built on a negation, least of all anything on a hostile and aggressive negation. The substance, life, order, growth of the universe do not rest on an eternal No, but on an eternal Yes. Nor can the human soul live, and expand, and aspire on an absence or a denial, but on a presence and an everlasting *Yea*. “Epochs of faith,” said Goethe, “are epochs of fruitfulness.” But when was there ever a wholly unfruitful epoch? If none is unfruitful, neither is any unfaithful. Let the same large judgment be applied to the creeds and systems of the world, of which epochs are largely made. When they become unfaithful and unfruitful, they decay and give place to better. They need not to be hewn into atoms. Better use our tools in shaping the new than in unshaping the old. Disintegration is best carried on by Nature; let man

do his work more, and make less idle interference with hers.

"When the old world is sterile,
And the ages are effete,
He will from wrecks and sediment
The fairer world complete."

"Life is too short to waste
In critic peep or cynic bark,
Quarrel or reprimand:
'Twill soon be dark;
Up, heed thine own aim, and
God speed the mark!"

SUPERNATURALISM.

Say what we will, all questions of religion and no religion, of this religion and that religion, resolve themselves at some time into the one question, "What is religion?" If it be really anything, any human or divine fact, then the question of its permanence answers itself. If it is only some chimera, airy nothing, then the latter question also answers itself, but in another way. And the difference of ways deeply concerns us all. The inquiry must be a process in reduction, ascending or descending. To one sort of intellect, reduction ascending is adding to the term religion all kinds of supernatural terms, with miracles and dogmas, and formalism the most complex. To this intellect, the reverse of such a process is reduction descending; that is, bringing religion down from the regions of phantasm to a basis of human experience, and from supernatural complexity to natural simplicity. I think this intellect has had its day, and is gradually giving place to the other, which sees just the reverse, in many things of what it sees; to which the reduction proceeds also in the reverse way. Not that I like to bring the terms natural and supernatural before you in antagonism; because, let me define them for myself, and I have no quarrel with either of them, though one alone is sufficient for every purpose of mine. But as they have been and still are currently employed in theology, they are in antagonism. They are not used each to denote a single side of one and the same thing, but to denote two separate and, in fact to some extent, hostile things. It is with this sense of supernatural, as eternally opposed to natural, instead of being one with it, that we must here quarrel; and with this antiquated supernaturalism people are quarrelling more and more. Hence the present outgrowing of ancient organizations, now in this century first really perceptible for some thousand years. Latterly there is so much discovered in the natural world, that discoverers scarcely bethink themselves of the need of any supernatural. It dawns on them that Nature is a thing not to be got above nor below, nor outside of, by any means. Call the ultimate what you please—Force, God, or Power that makes for righteousness—it is all here, in this compact, comprehensive universe. Hence comes, somewhat rapidly of late, abandonment of supernatural dogmas and theories in general. Not much in them but confusion, irrationality, and verbal apologies for want of insight into Nature. They served their day, like the Book of Genesis, but are antiquated now as matters of implicit belief. Religion must henceforth take on some meaning which will sufficiently clothe it, allowing it to discard the fig-leaf with which it endeavors to cover its vast inanities, else the number will increase of those who will not profess, but rather renounce and deny religion altogether, as they think. We need not much wonder at "indifference" to religion, so much complained of in these days; to hear men say: "We are not ready yet, with our practical way of looking at things; to make much investment in that which you call religion; perhaps, for the courtesy of the thing, we take a pew, or perhaps not—not valuing courtesy above conviction of some sort. That which you call religion appears to be a very sick patient, sadly in need of doctoring, yet only made worse by learned treatment; for there is no likelihood that the doctors will ever agree about the case; and at present they are far more likely to kill than cure."

Sometime ago an aged woman died in France, leaving a large and well-secured box to her respected physician, by whom she had preserved to a good old age. On being opened, the box proved to contain a legacy consisting of all the medicines prescribed for her by the respected doctor, unopened, and gratefully returned by the discreet patient. In like manner are the prescriptions of religious doctors, professors as well as quacks, prudently let alone, to be returned, or to disappear, untaken and unopened. And people live the longer, and perhaps the better, for their abstinence. Men cry out, "Dismiss your doctors; show us your religion, itself the type of perfect vigor, itself the great physician of man, and source of saving health among all nations. Then we will not be indifferent to that; we will consent to a large investment of our most practical energies in its behalf." I say we cannot wonder at present, that practical men, the embodiments of the shrewd good sense of this world, should talk in this way, as they do. And this shrewd good sense is rather more important to the world, better worth saving and providing for, than the whole sum of its pious folly, of which, the more the amount, the less its value. Good sense does not want to build on delusion; nor on pretence; nor on cant. It will rather build on a practical understanding; perhaps on legal tender; on materialism. In fact will rather try, though it is ever vain; to build on scepticism, on denial, on atheism; on anything that has or may seem to have foundation on the earth, even though being of the earth it should be earthy, before building on anything that has no existence save in the clouds, mere atmospheric phenomena, idle winds of empty doctrine.

There is no permanence for supernatural religion, in any sense of the term hitherto authorized by general acceptance. I think there is no permanence for the word at all in any sense, in religion or out of it, no call for it henceforth; men being resolved to build

on fact, who know what is fact, and can teach others, and not to accept dream for the want of fact. At all events, however it may fare with the supernatural, even though it should continue to hold a nominal place in religion, it is by this time clear enough that it can be no longer forced as dogma upon unwilling minds, made a necessary condition to one's personal religiousness. Religion must hereafter be so defined, or so conceived, that one can be religious without supernatural beliefs—in good and regular standing, good as the best, among religious souls. Religion cannot henceforth be identified with supernaturalism, and in that shape dogmatically enforced. If that attempt is continued, true religion will flee, as hitherto, to the refuge of outcasts and protestant souls. And if these could be exterminated, then religion would with them depart out of this world, as with such it has well-nigh departed, more than once. Supernaturalism, whatever it is, however it may be defined, is not religion; and religion may exist without so much as a sign of it, perhaps more purely than with one. In a word, if the alternative must be between supernaturalism or no religion, then no religion there will be, as man grows more enlightened; of which there are even now tokens enough.

To refer again in this connection to Mr. Mill, I remark that if the result at which he arrives in his essays could be stated in a single sentence, it might be this: he renders an almost unqualified judgment against supernatural religion, and a slightly qualified one in favor of the religion of humanity.

In support of this judgment, he points out the fact that "religion has been powerful, not by its intrinsic force, but because it has wielded" the "additional and more mighty power" of "human opinion"; that morality and its maxims have in all the religions, except the religion of humanity, been represented as of supernatural origin; whereby, he says, "morality is stereotyped"; its assumed origin consecrating the whole of its maxims, and protecting them "from being discussed or criticised."

The hopeless break then in his case, which I have cited as representative in a high degree, is of scepticism with supernaturalism. It is with this and with nothing else that all modern scepticism, so indiscriminately denounced by the so-called religious world, is at issue. It is this and nothing else, so far as I know, and as I firmly believe, that modern denial, so furiously scourged by theological whips, denies. In which case, both scepticism and denial have a sufficient and inevitable reason for being. Christianity itself, being a religion of supernaturalism, is in that character opposed by anti-Christianity, which is only a more aggressive form of denial. In short, supernaturalism itself is in part scepticism and denial; it is to a degree anti-religious, and, so far as truly a negation, as antagonism in other forms. It doubts the natural, denies the human, and opposes both. The quarrel then is really between supernatural negation and anti-supernatural negation; and, on either hand, the negation of the negation presupposes the eternal affirmation, which we call religion. Let these quarrellers have it out, as they will. Let those who can go for religion at all events.

Forms of unfaith are not absolute denials of true faith. They are only failures to grasp it. As for any one's denying the faith, it is impossible. No matter how he may deny a faith, nor how many so-called faiths he may deny; he cannot deny the faith. It is not in him to deny that. *The faith!* that goes deeper than creed and formula, deeper than anti-creed and anti-formula; so deep that there is no denial of it possible to a rational soul. This universe, the eternal truth of things, is something that cannot be denied. Men may try to deny it; may think they do; may be accused and abused for denying it; but they end with denial of nothing but their own denial, or attempt at denial. The truth of the Infinite endureth forever; and there is no heart and no tongue in the universe that can or will gainsay that.

RELIGION.

With a better comprehension of religion, as we said, the reconciliation comes. Scepticism is answered; denial is silenced; and on all hands these become vouchers for the true faith—the faith that is even in supernaturalism, and the most rabid anti-supernaturalism to some degree, as life is sometimes seen in the most hideous organisms. It is true, as pessimistic Byron said, that "even gods must yield, religions take their turn." But the hope and the assurance of man remain. Men may go about, as Tyndall says, wringing their hands over the loss of their ideals; but no ideals can be lost that are worth keeping. On the other hand, men may go about sneering at the very essence of religious faith; but it is something that cannot even be sneered out of the world. All upspringing of the soul to meet the infinite is worship; all faithful devotion to life's virtuous ends, however imperfectly figured to the understanding these, is worship, let men call it what they will, or refuse to call it what they may.

No one ever saw this more clearly than Mr. Mill himself. Had he dared or seen fit to declare for a religion of human ideals and duties, he had been no sceptic, though the self-styled religious world had still called him one. To those who represent such a religion to-day, it may well be a matter of regret that Mr. Mill did not, while pronouncing against supernaturalism, unequivocally affirm his belief in the natural religion which he incidentally described. His argument, some portions of which we have given, might be summed up in this: "Supernatural religion is not useful or needful to mankind. All the benefits which it confers, and many which it does not confer, can be obtained without it, and by other means. If these other means might be accepted as a religion, then mankind would have a faith about whose utility there could be no question." Did Mr. Mill err, in common with so many others, in de-

ferring to the general habit of associating religion with supernaturalism? And might he not, had he possessed anything like spiritual conviction, have bravely asserted, what there is no doubt he saw, the identity of religion with the best human sentiments, endeavors, and highest relations? In nothing is it more true than in religion that, as Mr. Mill himself remarked, in the opening of his book on Political Economy, "It often happens that the universal belief of one age of mankind—a belief from which no one was, nor without an extraordinary effort of genius and courage could at that time be, free—becomes to a subsequent age so palpable an absurdity, that the only difficulty then is to imagine how such a thing can ever have appeared credible." As we have seen, it has already so happened with the notion that religion is itself of supernatural origin, and the mother of a supernatural morality, to such a degree that Mr. Mill would scarcely have anticipated the latest movement in religion if he had boldly proclaimed as the faith of the future that at whose essence he hints in more than one place in his essay. Is it possible that even he unconsciously bowed himself before the august power of "human opinion," to which he ascribes such a vast potency?

But in fact, he does venture to say what many to-day will heartily accept, that "the essence of religion is the strong and earnest direction of the emotions and desires towards an ideal object, recognized as of the highest excellence, and as rightfully paramount over all selfish objects of desire." Again: "The sense of unity with mankind, and a deep feeling for the general good, may be cultivated into a sentiment and a principle capable of filling every important function of religion, and itself justly entitled to the name." Had this come without so much hesitation and equivocal timidity, and been put with the positiveness of a real religious conviction, Mr. Mill, instead of being regarded rightfully on all hands as the prince of sceptics in his time, might have been hailed as the leader in the change of opinion out of which is coming the religion of the future.

Especially in these times—whose worst fault, perhaps, is that they are too much like other times—when superior power of thought is to such an extent engaged with superficial questions, is it needed to have general attention directed to the fundamental questions. It would seem that the human soul, the essence of religion, the humanities of life, are the things to talk about, instead of sectarian integrities and fellowships. It is too true that most talk is just now about matters that lie quite on the surface of thought. With every sort of argument and all degrees of vehemence men are striving over half-truths and palpable falsehoods, covering up truth with the slain victims of logic-chopping. We thought the age of logic-chopping had gone by, vanished with an effete scholasticism; the well-used hatchet, with its blunted edge, forever buried; but now the evil days are upon us again, the fatal hatchet is dug up once more, cleaned of earth and rust, sharpened on the grindstone of modern acumen, and resounds in all quarters from cleft and battered crowns.

Men, too, are talking about liberties as never before; a good theme, unless the talk is to little purpose, as it is when it runs to worst forms of individualism, which it too often does. When every man flies his flag, and plants his cannon, if not real metallic ordinance then some sham-log, to appraise all others of his intention to defend his particular freedom, we are moved to ask what then has become of the solidarity of the race and of the practical social duties of life? By all means I believe in freedom, and, when necessary, in fighting for it. But in a state of things where discussion degenerates into poor quibbling over the mere name, it may be surmised that the thing freedom is no longer in request.

If men have not much to boast, they certainly have not much to ask, in the way of freedom, who employ their wits in the effort to bring each other to a realizing sense of bondage. If my neighbor finds himself free enough to go about his business, why must I, because I should be a slave in his place, neglect my business in the needless and vain desire to make him feel that he is a slave? Let him alone; he will feel them when the chains begin to gall, and will free himself. When he gets ready, perhaps I can help him. Two parties who wrestle in the same hopeless manner with giant non-essentials, both sure to get thrown, are alike in need of being instructed as to the nature of discretion, and equally incapable of imparting anything to each other. Neither by driving one another from pillar to post in verbal encounters, can champions make a large place where the world may settle down to the secured enjoyment of liberty.

Until we give over saying to the world, whether from our well-furnished mansions of ecclesiasticism, or from the lonely moors of individualism, "Come live with us, else die as the fool dieth;" until we learn to say to all men, "See what firm impartial ground is under foot of you and of us, let us put our hand to its cultivation where we stand, instead of climbing into theologic roosts or on to individual stilts,—until the prevailing tone comes to something like this, we shall not be free from minor distractions to attend in earnest to our principal affairs.

But, let us remember that, under all present controversies about special liberties or special loyalties, under all diverting conflicts of consciences, perceptions, and obediences,—below all these lies the eternal fact, an infinite sea of truth, wherein all partial things, now so absorbing, shall finally fall and disappear. One by one must our little barks sink to this other sea, till truth shall be all in all, and we become one in it. Religion is of this ultimate fact the permanent expression.

But always we are confronted with monstrous difficulties and confusions concerning the nature of this expression. Chaotic notions of religion; identi-

fication of it with error and absurdity; infinite irreconcilable contradictions,—how shall we extricate ourselves or it from these, so as to see it in its simple distinctness?

To bring this chaos into order must come a more informing voice than the former ages have uttered. Men have spoken heretofore, but with their individual articulation; prophets have spoken, but always with some limiting dialect; priests have spoken, but in the interest of their craft; powers and principalities, thrones have spoken; things past have spoken, things present still speak, but the things to come must speak yet; and for them remains the divine obligation and the unprecedented glory of proclaiming the hitherto undelivered word of humanity, the message of the mind, the intimations of the heart, deep calling unto deep and answering again.

Whoever will tell the truth of the matter must speak entirely from his humanity, not from his individuality, not from any individuality. The Holy Ghost speaks but one language. Men fancy that it is the language of their own nation, Hebrew or whatever; or the language of their own religion, Christian, or some other; or the language of their own inarticulate minds; and hence the confusion of tongues among us. But it is now and evermore the language of the universal soul of things, which only the soul can understand and repeat. Shall we not maintain this against all special pleading, whether in the name of creed or anti-creed?

And while one side claims to hold up a mirror to truth, which another calls a mill-stone; while disputants flounder and stumble over ifs, buts, and notwithstanding, break their arguments over conjunctions that connect nothing, and miss all good of substantives or substance,—let us be happy, though we must keep silence, so long as we have assurance of mind concerning the religion which can stay in this world, because it belongs here; was never dreamed, revealed, imported, manufactured, conjured, missionated, or logicized into the world; but from of old was here with virtue, intelligence, and order, with which, in which, and through which it still abides and will abide forever.

The sooner we all plant ourselves, away from all partial positions, upon the universal ground of simple religion—I even like it better without the prefix “free,” which is suggestive of bondage somewhere—and the sooner we get our preaching and practice conformed to this, the better it will be for the now and for the hereafter.

Meanwhile let us use, if we can, with all our analysis, a grand synthesis; find the synthetic chord which binds together all the members of truth in one indestructible whole. Let us look for spiritual identities. Let us seek for the permanent element in religion; and, if we go deep enough, we shall find it everywhere, under all transient elements. “See deep enough, and you see musically,” says Carlyle. See deep enough, and you see religiously, we may say with equal truth. Philosophy and morality blend in harmony with spiritual insight and devotion, to make the soul’s perfect faith and knowledge and worship.

Religion, as truly as physical force, is persistent, and under all changes one and the same. It is everywhere the “Thou shalt” to the soul, and its instant fulfillment. “The best feature of our present life,” says that very religious sceptic already so often quoted, Mr. Mill, is, “improbability by our own efforts.” “The essence of all religion,” says Mr. Emerson, “is the sentiment of virtue.” Let us not discredit our sentiments any more than our knowledges. Because we scientifically look more without, let us not therefore look less religiously within, for truth and fact. In the noble words of Prof. Newman, “Let us not deal more slightly with the testimony of the soul than with that of the touch or the taste.” Let us have, as a younger writer says, “intuition and experience.”

By such means shall we arrive at a religion which needs neither priest-craft nor state-craft, nor will permit either. By such means shall we come to fulfillment of that true saying: “Neither in this mountain, nor at Jerusalem”—not in any fixed place—shall the true worshipper worship, but only “in spirit and in truth.”

“Nor fix on fond abodes to circumscribe thy prayer.”

Nor will it be in any special name that we shall feel constrained to worship.

“Names, and sects, and parties fall;
Thou, our God, art all in all.”

Nor shall we yet commit that error of working as though to that end we had come into the world, against a mere name or system rather than for the essential thing. We shall be enlightened enough to know that what is wrong or what is partial will pass away, and that by the very being partial or wrong is its doom foregone. As Miss Aikin wrote to Dr. Channing, concerning French “Infidels”: “They do not write against Christianity, I remarked to one who knew Paris. ‘No, they think that’s settled; they do not write against Jupiter!’”

Those French infidels were wiser than some among us.

Religion has survived all the evils, as well those in its own organization as those without, which have infested it; those of superstitions, hierarchies, pope-doms and priestcrafts, and those of scorn, false science, and false criticism. It ever comes uppermost, as it is ever undermost, asserting itself as the master-force in human affairs. Doubtless it will do and be the same hereafter; for

“What is excellent, as God lives, is permanent.”

BISHOP WHATELY illustrated a certain form of attack with this question: “Yes or no—have you stopped beating your father?”

PROSPERITY AND PROGRESS OF JAPAN.

The census of the Japanese Empire for the fifth year of Meiji, the 2532d year from the accession of Jimmu Tenno (that is to say A. D. 1872, in our calendar), has just been published. It is, so far as known, the first official census of the empire ever taken; and that fact itself reveals the progress which Western ideas are making in the East, while the census establishes the fact that Japan is in a condition of enviable prosperity. How great that prosperity is can best be shown by a comparison between the Japanese census of 1872, and the United States census of 1870.

The arrangement of the Japanese census is somewhat different from that of ours, and, while much less explicit, is probably more methodical. The political division of the empire is into Fu and Ken (cities and townships), there being three of the former and seventy-two of the latter recognized, besides one colony. The geographical divisions embrace 1 colony, 3 Fu, 1 Han (tributary, Loo-Choo), 72 Ken, 86 provinces, 717 Kori, or departments; 6862 Ku, or city parishes; 70,443 Mura, or rural parishes, and 12,535 towns.

The total population of Japan is 33,110,825, or about 5,000,000 less than that of the United States. Of these, 9,056,308 are under fourteen years of age, against 15,000,000 of the same years in the United States; showing a much larger proportion of births here, and a juvenile population of thirty-nine per cent. of the whole, against only twenty-seven per cent. for Japan. Between the ages of twenty and forty there are for both the United States and Japan thirty per cent. of the population surviving; but between forty and sixty the population of the United States is only 5,763,165, while that of Japan is 7,355,000; showing a survival of over twenty-two per cent. for Japan, against fifteen per cent. for the United States. At eighty, Japan has 75,530 men and 118,248 women still living, a survival of six per cent.; while the United States has only 72,045 men and 82,368 women, a little over four per cent. This shows a less fecundity, but better health and greater longevity in the Japanese.

The population of Japan is divided into princes, nobles, higher and lower grades of armed class, priests, and Shinto officials, and common people. The nobility and gentry aggregate about 2,000,000, the priestly class about 300,000. The commonalty, about 30,800,000 strong, are notoriously thrifty, and reflect upon our people by their superior industry; 19,000,000 persons being set down as having occupations in Japan, against 12,500,000 in the United States. Of these 10,563,357 are males, 8,447,198 females; while in this country 10,669,635 men have occupations against no more than 1,836,288 women. That this difference in labor-forces tells upon the respective industrial conditions of the two countries there can be no doubt. Japan is a country without machinery, without commerce, and without capital, yet she maintains herself, and an onerous feudal system, and an oppressive royalty, without pauperism and without famine. Of the population, 14,870,426 are agriculturalists, against less than 6,000,000 here. The artisans number 701,416, and the “merchants” (tradesmen), 1,309,191.

Proofs of the prosperity of the people are found in the fact that they have 7,107,841 houses to live in, a house for every 4.7 persons, against 7,042,833 houses in the United States, or one for every 5.4 persons. There are 89,914 Buddhist temples, and 128,123 Shinto shrines, ministered to by 225,000 priests, nuns and officials. This shows a greater proclivity to worship than exists in the United States, where there are only 63,000 churches and 43,874 clergymen. The statistics of Japan show that there are 101,587 persons crippled, blind, deaf and dumb, etc.; of deaf and dumb, blind, insane and idiotic, the United States has 98,484, and 116,102 paupers besides. Our prisons in 1870 contained 32,901 convicts; Japan in 1872 had in prison in penal settlements at hard labor a total of 6464 criminals. It is not proper, however, to compare our criminal statistics with those of Japan. There the hari-kari and the headsman’s axe make short work with a large number of persons whom we, with superior humanity, imprison, pardon, and frequently send to Congress.

The foreign trade of the treaty ports of Japan in 1873 amounted to \$50,322,539 in gold, and Japan showed her superiority to us in sweetness and light by collecting only a little over \$1,000,000 duties upon \$29,105,057 imports. The same goods imported into New York would have been taxed \$12,000,000. Upon this large importation the warehouse rents, entrance and clearance fees, fines, penalties, and miscellaneous charges were only \$47,276, all told; or less than .002 per cent. against port charges here at least a hundred times as great.

The silk trade of Japan seems destined to attain a great and sudden importance. While the silk export of China has fallen off, that of Japan has kept very steady. In spite of the decline of business, and the injury which fashion has temporarily inflicted upon the silk trade, Japan exported last year (June, 1873, to May 31, 1874) 910 bales of waste, and 13,678 bales of raw silk, besides 6784 cases of silk-worm eggs. The Chinese silk trade is imperilled by the dishonest practices of Chinese producers and merchants, by careless and bad reeling, and false packing. These abuses are so great that the Lyons Silk Association and the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce repeatedly warned the Chinese against them, but without effect. The result has been “what was predicted, that China silk has fallen in value very heavily, and to a far greater extent than that of other countries. The increasing production of silk has caused a fall of 10 to 15 per cent. on well-reeled descriptions, such as those of Europe and Japan; but China silk, instead of declining in the same propor-

tion, has fallen in value 25 to 40 per cent.” It is considered as an established fact that the improvements now being generally adopted in Japan will drive the Shanghai re-reeled silk entirely out of the market. As Shanghai ships annually between 50,000 and 60,000 bales of raw silk, or nearly 7,000,000 pounds, worth \$5 to \$6 per pound, the importance of this accession may well be imagined.—N. Y. World.

THE FIRST impression that a stranger gets, on entering Chicago, is that a majority of the people must have been born with “black eyes”; but a little greater familiarity teaches him that they are the result of frequent religious controversies.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

IN MEMORIAM.

A tender face, most like a flower
Whose eyes of gentian blue
Looked up to us from hour to hour,
So dear the baby grew!

And with him grew all thoughts that make
Fond hearts both strong and brave;
Yet thought we not that Life could break
The promise that it gave.

A low, green mound, whose springing grass
Is wet with rain and tears;
A hope, whose goal has onward passed
Beyond these earthly years.

Our hearts by grief and doubt are torn,
Both Life and he so sweet!
So dear! And shall another morn
Our happy spirits greet?

What comfort brings unreasoning faith
Beside the couch of Death?
No other answer Sorrow hath;
“He lies, devoid of breath!”

Yet rather trust the Power who brings
The seasons hour by hour,
That sometime, moved by unknown springs,
Our bud shall bloom a flower,—

Somewhere, at length, the flower, the fruit
Of Life without an end:
We trust the Love whose hidden root
We do not comprehend.

SENECA, Mo. MAGGIE STEWART SIBLEY.

THE CITY OF GOD.

SUNG AT THE FREE RELIGIOUS FESTIVAL, MAY 29, 1875.

BY MRS. D. H. CLARK.

We are told of a City whose marvellous day
Hath no need of the beams of the sun,
For the clearness of opal sheds light on its way,
And the shadows of gloom are unknown.

Not its amethyst, beryl, nor chalcedon wall
Hath more honor than jasper or sard,—
In that fairer New Salem is entrance for all
Whose brows with its seal have been starred.

Shall the beautiful essence of meaning be lost?
Can we fail its bright clue to unfold?
Ah, not one gate, nor twelve, for the entering host
Which those limitless mansions may hold!

But that City of vision, that realm of the air,
Lifts no burden of tears from the earth:
If the perfume of effort blend not with our prayer,
‘Tis faint plea for humanity’s worth.

There are weary and homeless to shelter and feed,
There are wrongs to set right at our door;
And love’s deed, prompt and fruitful, though slender the
creed,
Shall outweigh all the Rabbins’ deep lore.

Thus, eternally founded in Truth, shall arise,
Amid marts and the toiling of men,
A more beautiful City,—a Salem that lies
In wisdom and healing of pain.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 19.

H. S. Bacon, \$3.20; N. Paine, \$3.20; A. B. Tuttle, \$3; John Mead, \$3.20; C. W. Seaver, \$3.20; Anna T. Wood, \$3.20; J. O. King, \$3.20; Mrs. O. Gillett, \$3.20; L. F. C. Garvin, \$3; W. G. Whitmore, 15 cents; R. A. McKenzie, 25 cents; Jas. C. Smith, \$3; Francis Kelsey, \$1.50; Wm. M. Mackay, 50 cents; R. Scales, 10 cents; Lewis Boutelle, \$3.20; T. L. Mann, \$1.50; D. D. Lum, \$3.20; Calvin Griswold, \$3.20; M. T. Jones, 25 cents; S. J. Logan, \$3; J. Gist, 20 cents; J. M. P. Bachelder, \$4.40; H. A. Mayer, \$3.20; S. B. Brillhart, \$3.20; W. L. Garrison, Jr., \$3.20; John G. Walker, \$3.20; B. F. Underwood, \$3.20; C. F. Wellington, \$2; L. T. Ives, \$20; David Remington, \$2; F. A. Angell, \$1; Cash, \$1.03; M. G. Gage, \$2.50; Cash, 80 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 24, 1875.

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N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

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RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E.
D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRANCIS
W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), Editorial Contributors.

THE Fourth Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Index Association was held according to announcement at Toledo, Ohio, on the fifth of June. The old board of directors was reelected, and other business transacted. A report of the meeting will be sent in due time to the stockholders. It was very pleasant to meet old friends once more, and to find that the thrifty Lake city is growing and prospering in spite of the dull times.

BEING so unwise, last week, as to notice an anonymous note written on a memorandum blank bearing the imprint of the *Nation*, I have been condignly punished therefor by receiving, this week, another note of the same character and with the same imprint,—both in reference to my first allusion to Mr. Godkin. If the editors of the *Nation*, be they who they may, wish me to take any further notice of this matter, they will please address me a responsible communication; for THE INDEX office is in possession of a waste-basket which is the repository of all anonymous letters. A. W. S.

THESE excellent principles are a part of the platform of the Republican party in Ohio, and, if carried out faithfully, would make the Liberal League in that State quite superfluous:—

Fourth—We stand by free education, our public school system, the taxation of all for its support, and no division of the school fund.

Fifth—Under our republican system of government there should be no connection, direct or indirect, between the Church and State, and we oppose all legislation in the interest of any sect. Upon this subject we should not fail to profit by the experience of foreign governments, where the efforts of the Church to control the State constitute an evil of great magnitude, and endanger the power and prosperity of the people.

A FRIEND of the Liberal League writes as follows from New Orleans: "I am disappointed in my expectations regarding assistance from the educated blacks. Those not elected to office have little influence, and those in office cater to the people they represent, trying to keep in their good favor. As a result, the blacks in their religion follow the lead of their half-educated preachers, who are steeped in superstition. I find nearly every colored official attends the popular religious churches of the day. I had hoped to get subscribers to THE INDEX from some of them. But, alas, their political education has well-nigh ruined them; they would sooner give Brother Jones' church one hundred dollars, and get their names in the papers and before their constituents, than give three dollars for THE INDEX; and yet they know that Christianity was the backbone of slavery."

REV. S. P. PUTNAM, who has so manfully severed his connection with the Christian Church, and thrown himself boldly on the world with a noble confidence that the truth he has to utter will be heard as hospitably and received as gladly as if he still occupied the vantage-ground of the Christian pulpit, has returned to the West to work on in the cause for which he has made a greater sacrifice than sneering sectarians are willing to admit. With all our heart (and we have a bit of that, too, even if we do believe in ideas as supremely important) we bid him good-speed, and commend him most sincerely to the kind offices of all with whom THE INDEX finds a welcome. It would be a shame if a young man so earnest and so brave, so cheery and so full of enthusiasm for all that is fair and free, should be driven from the field because he refuses to wear longer the yoke of the sects. He has a live word to speak; may it be heard and helped by the live men and women of the mighty West!

THE BIBLE AS A SCHOOL BOOK.

The Bible is used in the public schools; and its use is defended by the Catholics, the Protestants, and a number of the most distinguished Radicals. As an advocate of the principle of absolute secularism in all political institutions, and in all educational institutions which are supported by general taxation, we are obliged to dissent from the views of these three parties, and for reasons which we will now succinctly state. First let us inquire what the use of the Bible means, as thus defended on widely different grounds.

The Catholics desire that the Bible should be used in the public schools in religious worship and instruction, as a book containing a Divine Revelation. But they desire it to be used there only as interpreted by their own catechism, taught by their own priests and teachers. The Church, on the Catholic theory, is the sole authorized interpreter of the Bible; and the use of the Bible in the public schools, if interpreted exclusively by Catholic priests and Catholic teachers, would mean the supreme dominion of the Catholic Church over our educational institutions, and to that extent the political recognition of Roman Catholicism as the established religion of the State.

The Protestants desire that the Bible should be used in the public schools in religious worship, also as a book containing a Divine Revelation. If they were more powerful, they would seek to supplement this use of the Bible, as formerly, by dogmatic instruction based upon it and their own catechisms; but, on account of the warring sects into which Protestantism is split, they are obliged to content themselves with Bible-reading "without note or comment," which is at once a recognition of the divine authority of the Bible and of the right of private judgment as its sole interpreter. This is the use of the Bible now almost everywhere maintained in the public schools; and it means the supreme dominion of the Protestant churches over our educational institutions, and to that extent the political recognition of Protestantism as the established religion of the State.

Many Radicals desire that the Bible should be used in the public schools, simply as a text-book. In the very last number of THE INDEX, this was the view expressed by Mr. Frothingham, Mr. Stevens, and Col. Higginson. Mr. Frothingham, in a special article on this subject, objected to the total exclusion of the Bible from the public schools, because, as he said, "the Bible is the great English classic, and should serve for English students the same uses that the Greek and Roman masterpieces serve for students of the dead tongues." Mr. Stevens approved Mr. Frothingham's view of the matter as "an admirable suggestion as to the rational use of the Bible in our public schools." The report of Col. Higginson's address to the Radical Club, accepted by himself as accurate, represents him as advancing contradictory opinions on the subject, stating on the one hand that he "gave his voice in favor of absolute secularization of the schools," and on the other hand that he "took ground against the entire exclusion of the Bible from the schools," which he held should "be admitted as a text-book in English literature and in ancient history."

Now we venture to say that these eminent gentlemen do not seem to have considered all the bearings of the policy they recommend. Let us suppose that they were able to have their own way, to discontinue the use of the Bible in the schools as a book of worship containing a Divine Revelation, and to permit its use only as a text-book in literature or history: what would be the meaning of this policy? Plainly, that the Radicals had succeeded in securing supreme dominion over our educational institutions, and to this extent the political recognition of Radicalism as the established religion of the State. There is not a sincere Catholic or Evangelical Protestant in the land who would not be grievously oppressed in conscience and outraged in feeling, at seeing the book which he considers the Word of God cast down by State authority from this lofty pinnacle, and degraded to the mere rank of primers and spelling-books, in schools which he is taxed to support by the State which is all the while professing to protect the equal religious rights of all. To put the Bible to such a use in the public schools as would be a direct denial of its claims to be a Divine Revelation,—an avowed attempt to "destroy completely the power it has over the imagination" and "disarm it of all strength for mischief" by means of this denial,—would be to flaunt the flag of so-called "infidelity" in the faces of all the Christians in the nation, and to tax them

all to keep it flying. The purpose of these gentlemen is doubtless generous and kind; they mean to pay public respect to the Bible by not insisting on its total exclusion from the schools. But they apparently fail to see that they propose to retain it on terms which are the greatest possible insult to the sincere faith of Christian believers, and that their intended generosity is in fact harshness, cruelty, and intolerable oppression. To use the Bible as a mere historical or literary text-book, on a level with all other school-books, perfectly suits their own individual feelings and opinions; but can they not put themselves in the place of the earnest Catholic or Protestant, and perceive how his very soul must shrink from such "profanation" and "blasphemy"? Not until every citizen has become a Radical will such a policy as is proposed be anything else than tyranny, exactly as gross and grinding as that of which the Protestants are now guilty because they have the power, or that of which the Catholics will be guilty if ever they get the power. We have no more right than they to stamp our private opinions of the Bible on the public school system; we must acquire that self-restraint which dictates to Radicals, as well as to Catholics or Protestants, to let that system alone, on peril of destroying the republic; we must learn to understand more thoroughly what the separation of Church and State, by which this nation must stand or fall, really demands. No alternative is left but to protest against the proposal to use the public school system for the propagandism of any views whatever respecting the Bible.

It is true that Mr. Frothingham intimates that the employment of the Bible as a text-book is not likely to be approved of "by any Christian community, within any assignable period of time." But the practical question concerns the present time: what shall be done now? If we understand him, he would at present either leave the Bible in use as a book of Divine Revelation, or else have it used as a literary text-book; for otherwise he would certainly favor the proposition for its immediate total exclusion, which he seemingly criticises as extreme. We agree with him that the time may come, nay, will come, when the Bible can properly be used in the public schools as a text-book—we should say of mythology rather than of literature or of history. But that time is too remote to be now considered; and meanwhile, so long as a single tax-payer believes in the Bible as the Word of God, it ought to be totally excluded from the public schools.

For nothing less than that total exclusion is what the "absolute secularization of the schools" must mean. To use the Bible merely as a text-book would be to use it as the symbol of the political supremacy of religious rationalism. The principle of secular government condemns that supremacy just as much as it condemns the supremacy of Catholicism or Protestantism. The secular idea requires that, just so long as the Bible is the subject of religious controversy among living sects or parties, so long it shall be totally excluded from the public schools; on the ground that the schools are supported by taxation of all alike, and should be employed by no party for purposes of religious propagandism. No other principle than this is either just, tolerant, or kind; and justice, toleration, and kindness alike demand its rigorously logical application. It leaves the controversy touching the Bible to rage elsewhere without interference; but in the school-room, which is devoted simply to the teaching of such things as all citizens, Catholic, Protestant, or Radical, need to learn, it is an offence against equal rights to introduce that controversy at all, much more to decide it in favor of any one of the conflicting parties. There is more true generosity and "breadth of sympathy" towards all classes of citizens, and more true reverence for whatever is good and noble in the Bible, in the "Demands of Liberalism," than in any of the substitutes for them which have been or can be devised. Exact universal justice is the loftiest and tenderest kindness towards all; and it is misrepresentation itself to stigmatize as adoption of the "method of antagonism" the efforts of those who would establish kindness through justice by seeking to complete consistently the now partial separation of Church and State. That Catholics and Protestants should be warped from justice by their faith in the Divine authority of the Bible and the Church, is no matter for surprise; but the future historian of religious progress in this century will marvel that even an excess of generous sympathy should blur in Radical eyes the clear lines of equity drawn by the principle of absolute secularism in politics and education. For centuries, probably, the just use of the Bible as a public school text-book will be impossible; and

meanwhile its total exclusion from the schools is the only method of establishing even-handed justice, and therefore the highest and purest kindness, among Christians and non-Christians of all grades of belief or disbelief.

But we are very glad to see this discussion opened, and trust it will not be dropped until the truth is made clear to all eyes. As a help to this discussion, the following extract from the Rochester *Democrat* of June 8 is an interesting and cheering indication of progress in the right direction, the resolution of the Board of Education here recorded having been passed by a vote of twelve to four:—

"We are proud of the record which this locality is making upon questions connected with the relations of Church and State. Last fall the Board of Supervisors passed strong resolutions in favor of taxation of church property, upon the same basis with other property. Shortly afterwards the *Democrat* and *Chronicle* took occasion to obtain the opinions of leading clergymen of the city in regard to the propriety of reading the Bible in the public schools, and, to its surprise, it must be confessed, found them nearly unanimous in favor of a discontinuance of the practice as unnecessary as an exercise, and anti-democratic as a principle. And now we have the gratifying news to communicate that the Board of Education last evening adopted the following resolution:—

"Resolved, That all religious exercises of any nature be prohibited in the public schools."

"Not less gratifying is the manner of the passage of the resolution than is its substance. It was introduced by a member of the board, an Israelite in religion, and it met with a cordial reception. Members of various theological views assented to its justice; and it finally received a nearly unanimous vote. The Board of Education has thus conformed its regulations to the enlightened views of the functions of our common school system, and has distinctly declared itself in favor of the American idea of secular education by the State. It need have no fear that its action will not be overwhelmingly indorsed by public sentiment. Whatever may be opinions elsewhere entertained, Rochester is sound upon this issue. The pulpit and the press have clearly enunciated themselves. Laymen, of all creeds, have announced themselves as upholding the principle which now has authoritative expression. The Board of Education but represents the popular will—a will which everywhere is conquering, as the thought which inspires it becomes more and more dominant. Soon will all the schools in the State be conducted in harmony with the democratic principle, and theantage ground be reached from which all assaults upon them can be successfully resisted. They will then be neither more nor less godless than they now are—their moral standards will not be lowered—but they will rest securely upon their basal idea and thus truly subserve the purposes of their being."

RECONSIDERATION.

Since our return from the West, we have very carefully reconsidered our objections to the resolution of the Free Religious Association, responding to the resolution of sympathy sent to it by the Western Unitarian Conference. The criticisms on this action which we expressed in our editorial of June 3 seem to us now hasty and not altogether sound; and, while we cannot confess to any "ragged edge" emotions in consequence of an honest mistake, we do confess to a great sense of relief at no longer feeling constrained to differ from our brother-members of the Association on an important point of practical action. We desire to recall those criticisms now, and to say frankly that we committed a mistake in making them. This was partly due to imperfect recollection of the wording of the two resolutions, which we had heard, but had had no opportunity of reading, and partly to the press of preparation for a long journey, which rendered it impossible to wait for a copy of them from the Secretary. It would have been wiser, if that course had occurred to us, to postpone all criticism till our return; but it is distressingly easy not to be wise, and the report we were making of the Annual Meeting seemed to necessitate notice of those resolutions. In the light of Mr. Potter's admirable article of June 10 and a private letter on the same subject (to which it is a great pleasure to acknowledge our indebtedness), it has become evident that a somewhat different view of the whole matter should in justice be taken and avowed in these columns.

The case seems to stand thus. The Western Conference, a Christian body, expressed its "heartly sympathy" for the Free Religious Association in its "endeavors to promote the cause of truth and religious liberty." Such action by a Christian organization, in our view, is totally inconsistent with the Christianity it professes; and nothing can now render the position of the Conference consistent except the explicit renunciation of the Christian connection. If, as we believe, Christianity and "religious liberty" are utterly irreconcilable, the Conference has only planted

itself on both sides of a contradiction. But we are now satisfied that the Free Religious Association may forbear to take any notice of this inconsistency in the case of an organization as well as in the case of an individual. No one has been more strenuous than we in maintaining that the Association asks no question concerning the private opinions of its members, or the mode in which many of them individually reconcile their membership in it with their retention of the Christian connection; if they have enough sympathy with the Association to join it, the latter welcomes them without the least inquisition into their private beliefs or disbeliefs. It may with pertinence be asked: Why should not the same principle apply to such organizations as may become conscious of sympathy with the Association? Why should they be required to be consistent in offering such sympathy? Why not accept and reciprocate it as a fact, without inquiring whether it is logically consistent with other professions or sympathies on their part?

There is sufficient force in this view of the case to modify materially the opinion we expressed. The analogy between the individual members of the Association and the nominally Christian organizations which may choose to declare themselves in sympathy with it, although not completely satisfactory, is yet strong enough to make us withdraw our objections to the vote of acceptance. If a majority of the Association can honestly reciprocate the sympathy of a Christian organization as such, there is no cause to object, when, as in this case, the sympathy offered and accepted is expressly confined to "endeavors to promote the cause of truth and religious liberty." Mr. Potter is right, when he says: "Two religious bodies may interchange expressions of sympathy on certain points, though widely differing on other points." The wording of the two resolutions in question is such as to permit naturally this construction of them, though it seemed otherwise as we heard them read; and, since the Free Religious Association is thus not really committed to the Christianity of the Conference, we waive our objections to the vote of acceptance, and dismiss the purpose of bringing up the matter again next year.

At the same time, it is necessary to say that our own negative vote on the resolution of acceptance would not have been changed by these considerations. Others may accept such dubious sympathy, going out to Christianity and "religious liberty" at the same time, but we cannot. We must unreservedly say that we should respect the Western Conference more, and sympathize with it more, if it stuck consistently either to its Christianity or to its "liberty." This is true of the organization as such, which would command respect in proportion to the clearness and coherence of its organic principles and the consistency with which it followed them; though it is not true of the individual members, who are something better than Christians, being *men*, and therefore entitled to all the more personal respect when obedience to their humanity makes them disobedient to their Christianity. Accepting and reciprocating, consequently, the sympathy in the pursuit of "truth and religious liberty" which these forward-faced men personally entertain for the Free Religious Association, we could not do the same to the organized Conference, which neutralizes its sympathy by still occupying the incompatible ground of Christianity; just as we could not value very much the sympathy of the Russian empire, if it tendered its congratulations to the United States on the success with which they resisted despotism a century ago. "How about Poland?" would rise involuntarily to our lips, just as "How about Unitarian Radicalism?" rises in the present instance. If the vote of the Conference means much, it will follow it up by other votes meaning still more; and when its position is no longer ambiguous, but thoroughly self-consistent in devotion to freedom, the sympathy it tenders will be welcomed without even one dissenting voice.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—Ecclesiastics are just now embroiled in a pretty quarrel upon a question of their exclusive right to the title of "Reverend." The first act in the drama is now closed by the judgment of the Chancellor of the Diocese of Lincoln. The facts of the case, no doubt, you have already heard; but as some of your readers may not be acquainted with them I will briefly state them.

The little daughter of a Wesleyan minister died, and was buried in the parish churchyard of Owston Ferry, and her father desired very naturally to put

up a memorial tablet. He worded the inscription thus:—

"Daughter of
The Reverend Henry Keet,
Wesleyan Minister."

The vicar of the parish refused to allow the tablet to be erected unless the word "Reverend" was struck out.

On a loud and indignant complaint being made, through the press, against the vicar for his unkindness and bigotry, he appealed to his diocesan, the Bishop of Lincoln; who entirely supported him in what he had done, and upheld him in his refusal of the Wesleyan minister's request.

Mr. Keet then appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who answered him very kindly, saying that he could not interfere, and addressing him as "the Reverend" Henry Keet. Action was now taken in the consistory Court of Lincoln, and to my amazement the chancellor has given judgment for the vicar and against the Wesleyan minister. The chief ground being that Mr. Keet belonged to a schismatic body, was not in holy orders, and that to allow such an inscription would be tantamount to a recognition by the Church of what she distinctly condemned. From this judgment Mr. Keet has appealed to the Court of Arches, after which the case will probably wend its slow course to the Privy Council for final decision. Meanwhile we may draw certain inferences from the case which is full of warning:—

1. How comes it that any objection to allow Mr. Keet the title of "Reverend" was ever felt at all?

It is not pretended that the title is a scriptural one, or enjoined by church authority, or by any canon law. It is admitted to be mere custom for clergy to be so styled; and not only custom, but *modern* custom,—not long ago the clergy being addressed as "Sir," a title now only given to baronets and knights and some legal functionaries. It is therefore absurd to object to follow the universal custom of modern times (which gives the title of reverend to all ministers of religion of every denomination), when it is only on the ground of custom that clergymen themselves are so styled.

The objection is really made through nothing but the most petty jealousy; the Vicar of Owston Ferry wanting to create a distinction which did not previously exist, in order to magnify himself and those ministers who belong to his own particular sect of the Christian Church.

2. Next, it is assumed that the *genuine* clerical article must have been duly ordained by a bishop; and that, without such regular ordination, men have no right to teach or preach, and are in fact nothing but clerical impostors, having no "authority from Christ to speak in his name."

Now this very Vicar of Owston Ferry, while refusing to allow Mr. Keet to style himself "Reverend," would not only call *me* so, but would deem it a violation of his own church principles to do otherwise. For I have never been excommunicated, or "unfrocked," or deprived of my "holy orders," even though I am the most determined heretic, and snap my fingers at the absurdity of Episcopal ordination. Poor Mr. Keet agrees with nearly all the creed of the vicar—certainly in all essentials—and yet is treated with gross discourtesy and unkindness, simply because he was not "regularly ordained."

You in America seem not to care for any titles; and yet this one of "Reverend" is in common use in your country. Why is this? I confess I am curious to know how the titles of "Lord" and "Duke" and "Sir," etc., should be repudiated, while "Reverend" and "Mr." and "Captain" and "Colonel," etc., should be retained. As an Englishman, I see no objection to titles, and there are many grounds on which they can be defended; though like everything else they may be perverted or made too much of, yet their use works well in the main. So the title of "Reverend" seems to me to be useful and good, as that of "Colonel" or "Doctor," to indicate what a minister's occupation is. You may just as well repudiate them all, as any one of them. But because I would admit the title of "Reverend," I would apply it indiscriminately to the clergy and ministers of every church and every sect. To apply it exclusively to one is equivalent to calling all the rest "quacks"; is to assume in the most impudent manner that no one is right but ourselves; that there is a virtue in the fingers of bishops, by which a man may be endowed with spiritual or supernatural powers.

If the High Church party, with the Bishop of Lincoln to back them, succeed in establishing their exclusive right to this title in law, they will find

nothing in all they have done for years past has been so damaging to their own interests, so likely to rouse resentment and indignant opposition to their claims.

But such a success is about the last thing probable from the court of final appeal. Whatever blunders that court may make on theological and even legal matters, it takes good care to make its decisions accord with popular feeling. This it is sure to do in such a delicate question as that which the Reverend Mr. Keet has raised; and I shall be utterly astounded if he does not easily obtain a verdict in his favor from the supreme court of final appeal.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S.E., June 5, 1875.

Communications.

REGARDING GRASSHOPPERS, FASTING AND PRAYER.

"We demand that the appointment, by 'the President of the United States, or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.'—*Demands of Liberalism.*

Probably no better illustration of the wisdom of the above requirement, as one of the steps towards a complete separation of Church and State, could be found than in the late proclamation of the Governor of Missouri.

It is to the credit of the secular press that they have not let the matter pass without a vigorous protest, as the following article from the *St. Louis Globe* of June 3 will attest:—

"It is one of the evil effects of that lack of contradiction which surrounds clerical teaching that, when the clergy step down into the arena of contradiction and discussion, they find themselves in a strange world; and, handling strange weapons, do sometimes damage their adversaries, but invariably damage themselves,—they place themselves at a disadvantage and do injustice to their cause, which, under more judicious advocacy, would show to better advantage. This oft-repeated truth is illustrated afresh by the *Christian Advocate*, which takes 'the secular papers' to task for having spoken 'flippantly, not to say sneeringly, of the Governor's proclamation, and equally so, at least indirectly, of the idea of prayer for the removal of such calamities as those referred to'—to wit: grasshoppers.

"Hereupon the *Christian Advocate* intimates that this is 'a sneer at our holy religion.' If the Governor's proclamation is a part of anybody's holy religion, it is certainly a sneer at that religion to sneer at the proclamation; but we beg to assure the *Christian Advocate* that, in the selection of this new article of faith, it has neither the warrant of Scripture nor the consent of its subscribers. And if its position is true, and if a Governor's proclamation, either against grasshoppers or any other infliction, is to become, either *ipso facto* or by the consent of any religious body, a part of the religion of that body, then either the body or the Governor ought to be abolished. The objections to a union and incorporation of Church and State have been so strong that they have hardly seemed to need new reinforcement, but it is certainly a novel position and a novel objection when the identification of Church and State is so complete that one cannot criticise a silly message as it deserves without being told that it is an insult to somebody's holy religion.

"Here we can afford to let the *Christian Advocate* drift out of notice, and further criticise the Governor's message, on the ground that, no matter what may be the status of the prayer question, or the efficacy of the prayer remedy, the purely civil Governor of the State is, under no circumstances, the proper authority to solve the question, or to apply the remedy. If one Governor, by right of his office, shall tell us when to pray or what to pray for, then another Governor may, by right of his office, tell us when we shall not pray, and shall recommend to us the things that we shall not pray for. This would be only carrying out the principles of the *Christian Advocate*, yet we should doubtless find the *Advocate* protesting quite as zealously against such an irruption of the executive into the domain of religion, as it now protests against objection being made to an irruption of the very same kind,—a usurpation of functions not provided for in the Constitution, nor sanctioned by any of its provisions.

"We trust our position is so clear that there is no possibility of its being misunderstood, even by a clerical journalist. As one of the secular papers which have spoken flippantly, not to say sneeringly, against the proclamation, we feel free to say that we do not believe that the locust plague is one of those afflictions against which it is reasonable to pray; at the same time we are fully aware that many devout and conscientious Christians differ from us, and, in their daily habit of lifting up their hearts to God and referring all things to his will, they often are moved to pray for his direct interposition to remove these causes of human misery. But with these good people we have neither discussion nor conflict; on the contrary, they would be the first to agree with us in the assertion that the Governor is not the proper person to set them to praying by proclamation; and that in assuming a religious authority, as he has done, he has intruded into a domain where he is not wanted. He is not only the Governor of those who believe in the direct efficacy of prayer, he is the Governor alike of the just and of the unjust. The Protestant and the

Jew, the Catholic and the Infidel alike recognize him as Governor, and claim an equal right in his official acts; and they claim also an equal right to protest against his carrying out, in this cosmopolitan principle, the religious observances which are fitted only for the homogeneous little communities of the early Colonial days."

The sequel, however, shows up that unfortunate proclamation in a still more ridiculous light. This the *Springfield Republican* refers to, calling the Governor's attention to the report of Prof. Riley, State entomologist of Missouri, and to the Professor's prediction.

The *Republican's* article is as follows:—

"W. M. Grosvenor writes from St. Louis to the *New York Tribune* that the grasshoppers are Rocky Mountain locusts, whose home is on the high and dry plains; and that the insect which appears this spring in Missouri is merely the hatching out of the eggs deposited last year. Fortunately the stock is not improved by transfer to a moist climate; but, on the contrary, thousands of eggs have been rotted by the spring rains, and thousands of insects have perished and are perishing by the same cause. The insects hatched are wingless for the first forty days, and hence their progress about the country is very slow; and long before the forty days are over they will all have perished. There is a parasite, also, which kills vast numbers of them. In short, the locusts have got too far east, and can't stand it. Prof. Riley, the State entomologist of Missouri, comes out of the campaign with vastly more credit than Gov. Hardin; and, if the latter had taken occasion to look over the professor's last report, in which just this state of things was predicted, he probably wouldn't have issued such a proclamation. It would have been very sensible, on the contrary, to have informed the people what to expect, and to have advised them to go on with their spring's work, without fear of devastation."

The closing lines of the above articles show that the proclamation was the cause of direct injury to the people. Scaring them with the idea that they were again to be devastated by the plague, and that there was no hope but in falling down on their knees and imploring supernatural aid, many were of course deterred from work.

How much better would have been a public reference to the scientific report of the State entomologist, encouraging the people to be hopeful, and to labor on!

W. F. P.

NEW ORLEANS, June 6, 1875.

AN OPEN LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "CHRISTIAN STATESMAN."—

Dear Sir,—I have to thank you or some kind Christian friend for a copy of your paper containing a couple of marked articles, one on "Catholicism," the other on "Prohibition," which I read with interest; but my attention was chiefly attracted by the leading article, the address of Rev. R. H. Pollock, D.D., on the "Christian Amendment," endorsed by you. This address contains such remarkable statements that I am tempted to challenge some of them.

First, however, it would be desirable to ascertain whether you "Christian patriots" invite or tolerate discussion: whether you are willing that the other side should be heard at all, or whether you are resolutely bent on an *ex-parte* exposition of the case. Hoping that, like Milton, you are willing to "let truth and error grapple," I venture to make a few inquiries, and pen a few thoughts suggested by the address in question.

The writer (or speaker) says: "There is no plank between these opposing platforms, which is either broad enough or strong enough for a single man to stand on"—meaning the Liberal platform and the Christian Amendment platform.

Ever since the development of the "uniformitarian" theory of geology by the late Sir Charles Lyell, and its startling application to the cosmogony of Genesis, I have been reading in numerous works of which Hugh Miller's *Testimony of the Rocks* and Herbert Morris' *Science and the Bible* are specimens, that there was no conflict between the Bible and Science, or in other words between Christianity and Secularism. But here in the *Christian Statesman* the "irrepressible conflict" is openly acknowledged; those who do not see it are censured, the danger is pointed out, and a remedy is suggested,—i. e., the placing of "all Christian laws, institutions, and usages in our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the nation." "Such an amendment to the constitution as shall suitably express our national acknowledgment of Almighty God as the source of all power and authority in civil government; of the Lord Jesus Christ as the ruler of nations, and of his revealed will as of supreme authority." Then he complacently adds: "We do not ask that anybody shall make this his personal creed,"—in a word, that the proposed amendment is a perfectly harmless affair.

I observe that this same conflict is recognized by another party,—I mean the Church of Rome. We read in the preface to *The Infallible Authority of the Pope*, by F. H. Weninger, a Jesuit priest (1869) as follows: "The armies of Truth and Error are drawn up in sight of the whole world, and prepared to meet in a decisive combat for the very life of Christianity." It seems that the holy Father, equally with the Rev. R. H. Pollock, recognizes the situation. He also proposes a remedy, and censures those who do not approve of his policy. His remedy was the promulgation of the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope; and the following year (1870) the Council of the Vatican at the dictation of Pius IX. declared: "Consequently such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are of themselves irreformable, independent of any consent of the Church;" and in his Syllabus the

Pope condemns as pestilential errors the following propositions:—

"Every man is free to embrace and profess that form of religion which, guided by the light of reason, he holds to be true." "The Church has no power to employ force, nor has she any temporal power."

These extracts show the purpose for which the dogma was promulgated; namely, to give to the Catholic Church absolute spiritual and temporal control. Laying aside all disguise, Father Weninger proceeds:—

"It is time to define our position more accurately, and let our enemies feel our strength, and the utter impossibility of engaging us in any compromise."

That is certainly candid. Rome means to crush out all liberty of conscience, and openly avows it.

The following frank confession is earnestly recommended to your consideration: "It is worse than useless to disguise our real sentiments in the face of facts which stamp themselves upon our whole outward deportment, and which reveal to reflecting minds the real nature of our conduct."

Now I would in all kindness desire to ask you Christianizers of the Constitution a plain question. Why not emulate the example of this Jesuit priest, and honestly avow your real purpose?

It would at least gain you the respect of your opponents, and that is a consideration not always to be despised. Why keep up the flimsy pretence that you do not intend to make unbelief "odious," when all the world knows that you and Rome are aiming at the same result? She through the infallibility of a man, you through the infallibility of a book,—she through traditionary "apostolic succession," you without even that pretence to authority.

To notice all the assumptions and specious fallacies contained in the Rev. Pollock's address would be an endless and comparatively fruitless task; a few must suffice.

1. "We do not ask a union of Church and State. We do ask that there be a union between the State and Christian morals."

Query. Is not this creating a distinction without a difference? In what does Christian morals differ from Secular morals, *except in the observance and enforcement of church dogmas*? True, you do not propose a union of Church and State; you simply propose to make the State the slave of the Church.

2. "We do not propose to disfranchise those who cannot adopt these principles." Then he proceeds to prove it by asserting the readiness of Jews, Infidels, and Atheists to perjure themselves for the sake of the spoils of office. Shame on such argument! A cause that requires it must be sadly deficient in better material.

3. "The laws and constitutions of most of the States contain these principles more or less distinctly stated."

Then why not be satisfied? Why this solicitude about the Constitution of the United States?

Do you see the sceptre departing from Judah, and does desperation whisper in your ear that your only safety lies in the *coup d'etat* proposed?

4. "Is it a fact that Jesus Christ is the Ruler of Nations? Is the revealed will of Jesus Christ of supreme authority in the nation? If these questions must be answered in the affirmative, there would be an end of controversy."

Certainly; but it so happens that there is not an absolute necessity for answering them in the affirmative, and in point of fact a very great number of American citizens do not so answer them. Yet these same parties under the Constitution as it is have some rights that you are bound to respect. Is it because you do not wish to respect these rights that you want that instrument changed?

5. "Are we a Christian nation?"

Certainly not, and the fathers never intended that we should be. "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the United States."

6. "Contrast the social life of a people under the influence of Christianity with the morals of a country without it; Paris with any city where the gospel has moulded society."

New York, for instance, or even Brooklyn, the "city of churches" (and scandal). Had the reverend gentleman any statistics before him when he made the above felicitous comparison?

7. "The acknowledgment of the Bible as the supreme law is necessary to secure the rights and liberties of the people." What kind of liberty? Liberty to be stoned to death for gathering sticks on Sunday (Num. 15: 35)? Or liberty to be butchered by one's own brother for a defection of faith (Ex. 32: 27)? Or the right to murder one's dearest friend if he preaches the "God of Science" (Deut. 13: 6)?

When the Constitution is pruned and grafted to your satisfaction, and subordinated to the Bible, I am just the least bit anxious to know who are to be the interpreters of the new "supreme law." Will it be Bishop Simpson & Co., or will it be Cardinal McCloskey & Co.?

Then, too, will it be King James', or the Douay version? I anticipate a lively time while these points are being settled. Do you imagine that the millions of Liberals, Spiritualists, etc., of this country are going to submit quietly to the stamping-out process? If you do, you have read history to little purpose. Christianizing the world so far has cost the lives of about 20,000,000 people. How many do you propose to add to this number in order to Christianize the United States?

You certainly must see that "a severe and irresistible logic connects" your project with such consequences as these.

Listen to the pious Archbishop Manning. He says: "The right to depose kings, excommunicate individuals, and lay kingdoms under an interdict, is

the essence of that royal authority of Christ with which his vicegerents on earth are vested."

What the "royal authority of Christ" means, when interpreted by Catholics, the world knows to its sorrow. What will it mean when interpreted by Protestants? Time will tell.

Yours inquiringly,

HARRY HOOVER.

CURWENSVILLE, Clearfield Co., Pa., May 1, 1875.

[We are informed that the above article was refused publication by the *Christian Statesman*.—Ed.]

SIGNIFICANT.

MR. ABBOT:—

Permit me to make a few extracts from Judge Ould's address of welcome at the Christian Associations' International Convention at Richmond, Va., May 26:—

"I do not propose in this address of welcome to suggest the various topics of discussion that will probably arise, but I cannot refrain from mentioning one or two whose importance is grave enough to justify their consideration. . . . I refer to the observance of the Sabbath in our cities and towns, and to the effort now so formidably made to drive the Bible from our schools. . . . The Sabbath is a civil as well as religious institution; it has its terrible penalties in both directions. The nation which disregards it cannot prosper; nay, cannot live. . . . As to the exclusion of the Bible from our schools, it seems to me to be sufficient to say that it is the Word of God; and why His articulate utterances should be kept from the youthful mind in the course of its tuition, while the doubtful and uncertain voices of Nature are to be studied and pondered to ascertain the duty and destiny of man, is beyond any honest comprehension of mine. These two matters, and perhaps others which might be named, are peculiarly within the sphere of action of the Christian Associations of our land, and of the lay members of which they are chiefly composed, if therein the cause of your Master is put to any peril. On your return to your homes, convert your thousand Association Halls into as many armories and camps, wherein will be fashioned and polished the weapons of your warfare, and where your legions will gather to lock their shields together against the threatening hosts of unbelief; and may He, in whose cause you put on the armor, grant you the victory! . . . Soldiers of the grand army of the Captain of our Salvation, all hail!"

Who will say this does not mean fight? Will our friends who have no fears of further encroachments upon our rights, and a determined adherence to those already gained, still assert there is no danger? Will they not heed this warning? What makes this matter all the more significant is: this is the first convention of the Young Men's Christian Association held in the South since the war, and the cordial reception of the numerous delegates from all parts of the United States and British Provinces, and the enthusiasm manifested, shows the cost of the effort and the rejoicing over the successful reunion of the rebel Christians South and the Union Christians North in putting down the rebellion of infidelity. They have met with that intention; they have organized for that purpose. They mean business. Shall we not profit by their example, and organize the liberal forces for the contest, and put our armories in order? Shall we not have a thousand Liberal Leagues, all in good working order, wherever to meet them, as early as July 4th, 1876? Read the signs of the times, O ye fearless liberals, and awake to the true condition and position of both parties! A word to the wise is sufficient.

ELLA E. GIBSON.

ELWOOD, Atlantic Co., New Jersey, June 9, 1875.

SHALL WOMEN HAVE THE BALLOT?

MR. EDITOR:—

This question of woman suffrage seems no nearer a solution than when it was first raised, and I see no reason why it should not be, when the way appears so clear. If, as your correspondent F. H. G. thinks, only one in eleven desire the ballot, why should she not have it? And if she had it, how are the remaining ten compelled to bear any "grievous burden"? Women would be happier, if they knew they had equal rights with men, and could vote when they chose. Her claim to the ballot is not based alone upon the right, if she desires; but the matter of "taxation without representation" is a very important point.

To come down to the essence of the question, there are too many voters already. If the present number was cut down one-third, at least, the welfare of the nation would be just as well, if not better; secured. Taxes are raised by the vote of some miserable, ignorant beings who know nothing, and care less, of what they are doing, save that they have voted. The German lands upon our shores, and in a short time is pronounced an American citizen, provided his religious views are Orthodox; and he has a word to say, and an influence to exert, in making the laws of our country. The English and Irish come, and in due course of time are installed as American citizens, and in their blustering manner tell us what we must do.

And latterly the African is thrust before our face, and we are told that he too is our superior. His ignorance is of no consequence; but, as soon as he votes, he is considered an intelligent American, and stands on an equal footing with the best men of our country. If all these take precedence of the enlightened women of our land, what may we not hope for? I do not advocate female suffrage in the general sense in which it is considered. I would have it limited, and at the same time I would limit the number of male voters. No man should cast a vote unless he could read and write, and was subject to taxation,

and fully understood all that pertains to our national government. I know no reason why such wholesale liberty is given to the reckless and unprincipled portion of the country, as it present is the case.

Beings who call themselves men reel past the "wrongfully disfranchised ones," and wantonly vote out of their purses such an amount as they see fit, while they themselves go "scot free," thinking meantime that it is worth something for women to be in a country where they are protected. Glorious privileges! Are such things right? Are they just and equal? It can be made just and equal by prohibiting such men from voting; and, if the franchise be extended to women, let it be only to such women as are free-holders, intelligent, and honest.

If our girls must attend the same schools with our boys, if they are to be admitted to all the colleges and all branches of learning, why not educate them to be equal participants in every avocation of life, practice law, medicine, preach if they wish, hold office, make laws, and vote? If the one of F. H. G.'s eleven that desires the ballot is capable of voting for the protection of the ten, why deny her the right any more than the "lords of creation"?

I would say to all men that what is mine is mine, and what is yours is yours, and that I have just as much right to say to you that you shall pay your money to build this schoolhouse, as you have to say that I shall pay my money to build that town hall.

Equality is equality; but the term is wofully misconstrued sometimes. If, then, as Gail Hamilton once said, "the ignorant, drunken, and stubborn rustic has been voting as long as the scholar and gentleman at his side," why in Heaven's name refuse the intelligent women the same right? Let those vote who desire to, and those who do not can remain at home, as they now do; there would be nothing compulsory in the matter, while at present there is.

ALBION, Wis.

MARTHA J. ATWOOD.

CHURCH ENTAILMENT.

TIPPECANOE CITY, Ohio, June 10, 1875.

The truth of any proposition, it is often said, "lies in a nutshell." Our forefathers thought the safety of republican institutions required that property be not entailed; therefore they abolished the laws of primogeniture and entailment of property. Why did they do so? Plainly, to prevent the accumulation of large estates in families, judging from experience that such accumulations were dangerous to governments except in the hands of the governing class. To secure the permanent existence of our republic, they prohibited entailment, and gave the ballot to the people.

If property largely accumulated in the hands of individuals is dangerous to our republic, even when taxed to its equal share, will not the accumulation of property in churches be much more dangerous, especially when exempt from all taxation? The Massachusetts Commission argue that, because property once given to the church can never be reclaimed by the giver, being entailed to the church by the giver, therefore it should never be taxed! If our forefathers were right, no property should be entailed to any church; and, if entailed, it should be taxed the heavier. We know history proves that accumulation of property in churches is dangerous to governments. We have full demonstration in Italy and Mexico. I wish the Commission, or some one, would undertake to demonstrate that property entailed in a church is less dangerous to governments than when entailed in families.

By so doing, they will oblige many, I know; for I have heard many express a desire to hear such demonstration. Or, if they can, let them show such entailment is a blessing to any one. E. L. CRANE.

SHALL WE SPEAK OUR CONVICTIONS?

Although the profession of heretical views does not cost every radical the "salary" that is so frequently spoken of, as one of the pleasant associations which the progressive minister finds it so difficult to surrender to the requirements of free thought, yet few who live in the country, where public opinion on the subject of religion exercises despotic sway over the private reason and conscience, can express unorthodox principles without suffering a social ostracism which is not less hard to bear than the loss of pecuniary favor.

Many readers of THE INDEX, who live in cities of intellectual culture, where free thinking is respected and liberal opinions prevail, have perhaps no adequate idea of the feeling with which an "infidel" is regarded in communities where the Orthodox religion is inculcated by ignorant and bigoted preachers, whose illiterate and credulous followers have no higher oracle than the incoherent utterances of the pulpit. My first impressions of an "infidel," received from this source, were horrid. The mere thought of "Tom" Paine chilled my whole being, although the ministers from whose revival exhortations I had received my idea of his character had perhaps never read a word of his writings. He was delineated to my youthful mind as a monster of such enormous wickedness that even the God he had defied could not determine the full extent of the punishment he deserved till the "end of time," when the total influence of his pernicious work could be estimated. The term "infidel" was made comprehensive enough to embrace all degrees of unbelief, from the mildest form of scepticism to the most radical atheism. We had no distinction and classification of heresies in our rustic community; the hideous word "infidel" characterized all who dared to question the dogmas of the church; and those who persisted in rejecting the tenets of the traditional religion which had shackled the reason and conscience of our fore-fathers were represented as wretches from whom the "wooding spirit of mercy had

forever taken its flight," who were "given up to hardness of heart to believe a lie that they might be damned."

To be thus thought of is what it costs now to be an infidel of any degree in some communities. What I wish to ask some of the older advocates of free thought who read THE INDEX, and who have battled long against the pertinacity of conservatism in religion, is whether it is better to declare one's views boldly in such a community, and suffer the misrepresentation and persecution that would inevitably follow an avowal of scepticism, or to be non-committal on the more radical points of unbelief, and attack only the grosser forms of superstition; waiting for the progress of general intelligence to render the less patent absurdities of Orthodoxy more vulnerable.

I could derive but little personal benefit from the solution of this question, for I have already "crossed the Rubicon" in defining my religious views in this community. I have already "burned my boats" on this hostile shore, and there is but one way for me to return to the cherishing and respectable patronage of Orthodoxy, and that is through "faith and repentance." But I should be glad to hear from some of the veterans of the cause on this subject.

OZARK, Mo.

H. CLAY NEVILLE.

CHRISTIANS WITHOUT CHRISTIANITY.

ST. PAUL, Minn., May 25, 1875.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I think that James Freeman Clarke can consistently call himself a Christian, as there seems to be but little material difference between his position and that of Orthodoxy; but how people claiming to be radical Unitarians can so style themselves is beyond my comprehension. Yet we have them here in St. Paul, as well as elsewhere. They would say: "I am a Christian, but do not believe in the divinity of Christ." "I am a Christian, but do not believe in hell or a personal devil." "I am a Christian, but do not believe in vicarious atonement." "I am a Christian, but accept only such parts of the old and new Testaments as seems to me to be of intrinsic worth." "I am a Christian, but do not believe in a triune God." After all this, what is left but *natural morality*, or at most "love to God and love to man"? though Christ was the originator of neither. As well to say, during the war, "I am a republican, but a free trader, a pro-slavery man, opposed to the vigorous prosecution of the war, and a believer in State sovereignty." When the "Christ in the Constitution" Amendment is adopted, we shall see whose definition of Christianity will be the standard; the "radical" Unitarian will, I fear, stand no better chance than the "anti-Christian." In the meantime, is it not "whistling against the wind," trying to convince them of the inconsistency of their position? The fact seems to be, they have not outgrown their old reverence for the Christian name. Christianity is respectable; if consistency forces them outside it, they will not be consistent. Therefore, say I, let them alone. You have stated your position; to me it seems unanswerable; anything they have offered thus far seeming more of the nature of apology than argument. Truly,

W. H. D.

A FRANK CORRECTION.

EDITOR INDEX:—

As between yourself and Mr. LeSueur, I think you are right. When I read Mr. LeSueur's article headed "Words, Words, Words!" I supposed the heading to be his own selection, and any person competent to understand his criticisms must have seen the thing in the same light. But while I can conscientiously support your position, I have to regret that mine in relation to "motives" is not defensible. The only thing I can offer in extenuation is that it was my Christian experience that had begot in me the habit of questioning motives, when I was pressed uncomfortably hard by argument. I therefore receive Mr. LeSueur's slight rebuke with a desire to profit by it; and, if he will read my communication again, substituting the words "erroneous conceptions" for "unworthy motives," I think he will admit that the logical force of the article, so far as it bears on the main question involved, remains intact; and that he is wrong in his inference that I could see no other way of turning his position than by imputing unworthy motives. Z.

"LABOR COST" THE "LIMIT OF PRICE."

MR. ABBOT:—

Many writers, like Mr. Linton in THE INDEX long ago, suggest and urge "labor cost" as the proper "limit of price." To me the thing is unjust, absurd, and impossible in practice.

For twelve years I and my neighbor worked land of like soil and like richness. I raised carrots for less than half the "labor cost" that he did. Which of us should determine the price of carrots? The first year his carrots cost him less labor than mine. He saved many days of labor at the expense of three times as many in the years following. I urged him to adopt my plan, and let no weeds go to seed on the lot. He laughed, but never adopted it. This literal and truthful statement is a sample of what may be seen every day. I got fair wages for my labor. He did not. Could he justly demand a part of my money? But which of us should have determined the "labor cost" of carrots the first year? and which after that?

AUSTIN KENT.

STOCKHOLM, N. Y., June 2, 1875.

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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WHOLE No. 288.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———. Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

TWEED seems likely to get out of jail, but not out of the pillory of public disgrace, which is worse.

WHY was not Gen. Robert Toombs at the Centenary, to "read the roll-call of his slaves on Bunker Hill"? Even he would have been cheered, with a quiet smile at the memory of his prophecy.

THE "Keeley motor," which promised to supersede the steam-engine, is denounced by the *Scientific American* as a juggling exhibition. The prospect is that the new invention will soon be scuttled with a hole in its keel—eh?

THE JURY in the Father McGlew slander case, already noted in these columns, disagreed in their verdict. Two votes [were for the plaintiff and ten for the defendant. But the only noteworthy result of the trial is that a Catholic priest admits the "validity" of a merely civil marriage; which is a concession, however, that binds nobody, and would not be made by the Pope.

THIS is a specimen of the gospel preached by Rev. Dr. Webb, of Boston: "If a Vigilance Committee should, from a beam stretched from yonder belfry, hang high as Haman the murderer of Mabel Young and the murderer of the South Boston children, the effect would be salutary." When the pulpit thus openly incites to mob violence and Lynch law in a civilized community, it does but abridge its own influence and shorten its own days.

A NEW Liberal Association has been formed at Cleveland, Ohio, its object being, "by an untrammelled interchange of opinion, to promote right thinking upon all subjects of vital interest to mankind as individuals or members of community." President, E. D. Stark (an old friend of THE INDEX); Vice-President, Mrs. A. B. Copeland; Secretary, Thomas Lees; Treasurer, J. D. Varney; Librarian, Miss M. H. Lees; Directors, Joseph Gillson, E. D. Stark, C. H. Merrick.

THE PREDICTION of a "split" in the Free Religious Association, to which Mr. Frothingham very properly replies in another column, was not a very wise one. Nothing was less in our own mind, when we overhastily objected to a recent vote of the Association, than that such a result could ensue. We have never desired an "anti-Christian plank" in the Association's platform, and have repeatedly said so. All we desire is that it shall contract no "entangling alliances"; and the moment we became convinced that the sympathy-resolutions did not involve that consequence, we at once withdrew all objections to them. But there never was the slightest danger of a "split," so far as we know; that would be too absurd altogether.

THIS ebullition of petty tyranny shows that Catholicism would bite as sharply as ever, if it had not become nearly toothless under the forceps of American secularism: "A case which is interesting New Haven people is that of a man in that city who owned a lot in the Roman Catholic cemetery, in which two of his children were buried, and was also an Odd Fellow. Last week he died; but the priest denied him burial in his own lot, on the ground that he forfeited his right of burial in consecrated ground by joining a secret society. His widow complained of this, when the priest offered to make it all right if she would sign over to him all the money she should receive in aid from the society; but this she refused to do, and thus the case now stands."

GENERAL POPE'S report on Indian affairs brings to light most shameful neglect by the Department of the Interior to furnish the Indians with the stipulated supplies. Responsibility for Indian outbreaks must henceforth rest where it belongs. Contractors and rings have plundered the Indians beyond endurance; border roughs play Ahab to Naboth and steal his vineyard; the people of the whole West, with appar-

ently few exceptions, are in favor of extermination, and rejoice to see starvation goaded into a warfare that can end in nothing else; while the government has connived at this cumulative wickedness till every honest citizen is made to feel himself an involuntary murderer. At last the army officers have united in protest, and forced an exposure which lies and tricks cannot any longer suppress. Is it too much to expect that justice will be done at this late day?

THE NEW YORK *Independent* thus notes the action of the Rochester Board of Education which was mentioned in THE INDEX of June 24: "The Rochester Board of Education last week passed a resolution by a vote of twelve to four declaring 'that all religious exercises of any nature be prohibited in the public schools.' The Rochester *Democrat* says that before the adoption of the measure the opinions of the leading clergymen of the city were obtained in regard to the propriety of reading the Bible in the public schools; and, as a matter of fact, it was found that they were nearly unanimous in favor of a discontinuance of the practice, as unnecessary and anti-democratic in principle. It further says that the resolution is approved by the general sentiment of the people. Rochester has thus planted itself squarely upon the American idea of secular education by the State; not by any means implying or claiming that such education is all that children need, but taking the position that it is all that the State can furnish at the public expense. Who should complain? Nobody. Who will complain? Religious sectarians, and these only. Whether the sectarian be a Protestant, a Catholic, or a Jew, makes no difference in the character of the complaint."

THERE is no possibility of mistaking the spirit of the Bunker Hill Centenary, or that of the comments on it by the Southern press. It is like the hearty handshake of two school-boys who have quarrelled, have had their fight bravely and fairly out, and, the cause of quarrel being removed, are drawn to each other more than ever. Any one, however, who should infer from the recent demonstrations at the North that the South could now with impunity renew its mad attempt at secession would be very obtuse. General Sherman spoke bluntly but kindly, on the evening of the Seventeenth of June, what it is very well to have explicitly understood on all hands. At the Loyal Legion's reception at the Parker House, he said: "I have been struck with one thing since I have been in Boston, and you must excuse me if I look at things in a very plain sort of way. There has been a most extraordinary purpose, it seems to me, to attract our friends of the South. You have not only held out to them the right hand of friendship, but you have coaxed them to come. There was always a kind of sympathy between Boston and Charleston, I think. Extremes meet always, and sometimes they show, like weathercocks, which way the wind blows. I think these two cities, Charleston on the one hand and Boston on the other, show which way the wind blows; that there is a general feeling in the North to encourage the South to come in and be a hail fellow, well met. It is very much like the Scripture parable of the prodigal son. You not only give them the right hand of fellowship, but you kill for them the fatted calf. I say that is all right, gentlemen, but, if General Fitz-Hugh Lee be here, I tell him not to draw an unfair inference from that fact. If we come here as we have, and work side by side with each other in the national cause, with like energy and force, they must not presume upon this kindly feeling. Good friends make good enemies. I profess to be a Yankee myself; and those of the old Yankee stock can make first-rate friends, but they make devils of enemies. With this preliminary I can give a hearty welcome to any one who fought in the South against us, provided he promises never to do so again. [Tremendous applause.]"

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New Thoughts and True Thoughts.

BY O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

The writer of the book *Ecclesiastes* begins his lament over the vanity of things by affirming that there is "no new thing under the sun." The author of *Revelations* closes his prophecy of the better time by the declaration, "Behold, I make old things new." The first is a backward looking man, tired evidently with his experience of the past, and hopeless of what may be before; a man of low temperament, sceptical, distrustful, unbelieving, of small motive power, dull relish, and feeble anticipation, who sees nothing but monotony in existence. The other is a man of eager heart, forward-looking, sanguine, full of bright anticipations, ready to believe in every fresh promise and to seize every waiting occasion, sure that, whatever the past may have been, the future must be more. There are these two classes of men, the believers in the old without being happy in it, the believers in the new without comprehending it. They differ sometimes in temperament, sometimes in fortune, sometimes in mental training; but, howsoever they differ, they disagree in this at last, that, where the one looks backward for truth, the other looks forward for it. The backward-gazers are well-known. They love old things because they are old—old pictures, old books, old furniture, old manners, old customs, old prejudices, old ideas, old beliefs. They have a respect, sometimes an unreasoning respect, for old things of all kinds, seeming to think them more solid, sincere, and serviceable than new things. It is an impression of theirs that men used to be more truthful than they are to-day,—were less vain, pretentious, and greedy. They will not undertake to prove this by facts or argument, but they are persuaded of it, and the persuasion is too deep to be altered. It is a mood of mind. The forward-gazers are distinguished by the opposite qualities. They welcome every novelty. They adore freshness; the last fashion is the prettiest; the last discovery the most important; the last invention the most useful and remarkable. They are apostles of newness, and are hard to convince that anything was ever quite so good, so happy, so desirable, as the last thing. We need not press either of these classes of people to a declaration of the philosophy on which they proceed, or the principles from which they reason. In most cases they have no philosophy; there are no principles; reason is not employed. It is matter of taste and feeling, of association and animal spirits. They are both right and both wrong.

Philosophy, however, does come in when antiquity and newness are made tests of truth. Here feeling is much less active and prominent than thought. There are those who deliberately maintain that mankind tend by nature to degenerate, that the race was in better condition once than it is now, that we only repeat the lessons of other ages, weakening them in our repetition, and only rehearse the practices of past generations, doing mechanically what they did with purpose. There are those, on the other hand, whose faith in progress is so strong that what their neighbors call "newfangled notions" are in their view revelations; every new idea is, from the reason of things, an inspiration, and every successful attempt to substitute a new belief for an old one is another step from darkness into light. The comparative merit of these two philosophies, if such they can be called, I have no intention

to discuss, or even to pronounce upon. I am aiming at a single point; namely, the value of either antiquity or novelty as tests of truth. Is a belief more likely to be true for being new or old? Or does its truth depend on other considerations entirely, which do not, except indirectly, imply either? The beliefs we are concerned with here are beliefs in religion; not in politics, society, philosophy, art, but in sentiment and faith.

There are two views of Christianity, for instance. On one side men affirm that a special revelation was made through Jesus Christ and his apostles. To them it was imparted in its fullness. To them was committed every idea, every sentiment, every essential belief. There is the faith in its purity and wholeness. There, in record, tradition, memorial, it may be found; and thither to find it you must go. Get as near as you can to the apostolic age, and you approach the sources of the religion; for, after the apostolic age was ended, the corruptions began; debates, controversies, speculations, infusions of idle philosophy, divisions, opposing sects, jealous churches followed rapidly, as time went on, till the unity of the faith was broken, the harmony disturbed, the truth filtered away. The religion became several religions. The supremacy of the Church of Rome was one calamity, the disintegration of it was another; the Protestant reformation shattered the already bruised and dismembered body; Protestantism fell asunder into a multitude of conflicting parties; doctrine after doctrine was disputed; belief after belief was infringed upon; rite after rite was discredited,—the original substance was by degrees attenuated and diluted, till Universalism came, then Unitarianism, then Rationalism, and only a shadow remained of the mighty form that descended at first from the skies. To recover the faith, we must, say these Christians, go backward. The further back we go, the closer we shall be to the original sources. The oldest belief will be the truest. Fix the date of a doctrine, and you decide its worth. The latest belief is, by that mark alone, condemned.

Under the inspiration of this theory, the worshippers of antiquity have industriously ransacked the stores of the past. They have re-edited the fathers of the Church. They have brushed up their Greek and Latin, their Syriac and Arabic; they have pushed their researches into archæology; they have reproduced, as far as was possible, the features of the primitive age. The Ritualists live in this persuasion, ascribing virtue to symbols, colors, emblems, ceremonies, according to their remoteness from modern times. A custom that would seem meaningless, a form that would be called insignificant, a dress that would be pronounced tawdry, a ceremony that would be ridiculed, if exhibited by men and women of their own generation, is regarded as beautiful and venerable because brought from some distant period. They may not understand it; they may not profess to understand it; still, if it is old, they cherish it. Nay, if it is very old indeed, they deem it presumptuous to try to understand it. The mystery of it is too sacred to be pried into by vulgar eyes. The veriest trumpery is treasured as truth, if the forefathers' forefathers prized it as such.

These people test truth by antiquity. There are other people who, with equal sincerity and obstinacy, test truth by novelty. They reason in this way: "Grant," they say, "that at a certain point a revelation may be given; grant that Jesus and his apostles were its organs. Still what they received was the soul of it, not the body; the germs of it, not the full fruit and flower. The stream took its rise at that point, but it did not confine its flow to that space; it did not empty into its fountain. The stream was destined to pour its regenerating flood across continuity, to broaden through centuries of time. Like every river, it widened and deepened as it flowed on. Its sentiments took form; its thoughts assumed shape in doctrine; its beliefs developed by the action of the human mind; its suggestions were carried out in usage and rites; its faint glimpses at truth brightened into splendid theologies. The Greek Church, the Roman Church, the English Church, were separate branches of the immortal river, determined in their course by the territory over which they flowed. Protestantism exhibited the intellectual capacities of the religion,—its numerous sects, emphasizing, each in its way, a special doctrine, and all together giving complete expression to all the possible phases of opinion, drawing out in clear phrase and with exhausting ingenuity all the latent insinuations of thought. Gradually these dogmatic forms, inevitably hard at first, soften and yield; larger interpretations are given; the heart claims its proper share in the development of the original substance of faith. First Universalism lays stress on the fatherhood of God, a point which in the unfolding of the divine attributes had been overlooked. Then Unitarianism brought into prominence the dignity and capacity of man, which had been forgotten in the effort to render justice to other aspects of human nature and human life. Then Rationalism had its word to say, respecting the prerogative of the human mind to apply the laws of reason to the records of the religion, to sift the knowledge from the ignorance, the truth from the error, and exhibit the full reasonable beauty of the faith in the view of thoughtful men. Each step," say these Christians, "was a step in the direction of a perfect disclosure of the truth first communicated to Jesus and the apostles. Each reform was an improvement; each innovation was a discovery. Each generation added purity and richness to the thoughts which expanded as they entered on wider reaches of the human mind. The last term is the most satisfactory. The most complete interpretation of the religion is that offered by the newest and most free-thinking men. The last moment is the supreme moment."

The friends of this theory are on the watch for new

discoveries in opinion. They are of Pastor Robinson's mind, that more light may be expected to break from God's Word; and they are not satisfied with the old word, but listen to catch new utterances from other quarters than Judea and Galilee. They accept the last opinion, however strange, uncouth, unreasonable it appears in the light of pure intelligence. It may be an opinion that, if found in an old book, in a volume of the Fathers or the Schoolmen, they would repel. It may be an opinion that, if encountered for the first time in the writings of a Romanist divine or a Calvinistic theologian, they would laugh at as absurd; but, being, as they think, new, a discovery of modern thought, they hail it with enthusiasm. To these people fancies, whims, the creations of raving imagination, are received as revelations which, as having the seal on them of the latest moment, they are pledged to accept.

The peculiarity of these two classes is that they make chronology the test of truth. They try beliefs by dates. For their opinions they refer to the almanac. It is this peculiarity I wish to call attention to, and to raise question upon.

And, first, I wish to show that the test is wholly deceptive and illusory; in either case worthless. The antiquity or the novelty of a belief may have an incidental connection with its truth or falsity, but only an incidental connection; essentially they have no bearing on it whatever. An ancient opinion may be true or false; a modern opinion may be true or false; and the truth or the falsity will be judged on grounds with which the dates have no concern. We may say that all beliefs, whether old or new, are at the same time both true and false—true in relation to the age and the people that held them, who did their best to believe rightly according to their ability; and false in relation to other ages and people who, having more light, could see further. The most grotesque, outlandish, and obsolete opinions must have seemed true once, or they would not have been entertained. It is hard to conceive that millions of people believed in an everlasting hell, and in the damnation of infants unbaptized, because they enjoyed it. They must have seen what to them was sufficient reason for such atrocious doctrine. The belief in total depravity is scarcely such a belief as men would press to their bosoms, unless they felt constrained to by what were to them impregnable facts. If they took them on the assertion of priests, they must have felt constrained to put confidence in the assertion of the priests. To us such things are intrinsically incredible, because our minds are confronted by facts and arguments with which they were not acquainted. Is it said that in our age these facts and arguments are apparent, while in an earlier age they were not, and consequently it is a matter of chronology? I reply, it is not time, but the action of the mind in time, that makes us cognizant of the new grounds of belief; and there are questions, and momentous questions, too, in which the attitude of the mind is everything.

Speaking as a rationalist, I say that it by no means follows that, because a doctrine is new, it is therefore true. The older doctrine is often the truer. For example: We hold that a noble theism, intelligent and moral, free from superstition, airy, sunny, sweet, is truer than tritheism, with its incarnations, mediators, saviours. But the first was held by enlightened Hebrews some centuries before Christendom; the latter was held by Christian teachers some centuries after. The first is held now by believers in the faith of Israel, who read the Old Testament Scriptures; the latter is held by members of the faith of Christ, who make appeal to the Scriptures of the New Testament. In our minds, there is no question that the belief in the divine forgiveness is truer than the belief in the pitiless doctrine of an implacable wrath. But the former belief was written in the Jewish Talmud at the time Jesus was born, and the latter became the dogma of the Christian Church more than a hundred years after, and continues the doctrine of the Church to this day.

To multitudes of people now, the doctrine that in the hereafter character will unfold itself gradually under experience and discipline is more rational, and therefore more true, than the doctrine that probation closes at death for all persons, and that their everlasting destiny is decided in a moment once and for all time. Yet the former doctrine has been held by the Roman Church for hundreds of years under the form of Purgatory, or the period of purification, while the latter has distinguished the later system of the Protestants. On other points, moral freedom, for instance, and human ability, the doctrine held by the older creeds is more rational than the doctrine held by the more modern. In these cases the newer opinion was not the truer, and answered less to the demands of correct thought. The Greek philosophers, who had faith in the action of the healthy human mind, seem to us nearer the truth than the Christian theologians, who placed their faith implicitly in the inspired letter of the Bible; but the former faith is credited to the old world, while the latter is peculiar to the modern.

Antiquity and newness constitute no test whatever of truth. Antiquity and newness are themselves relative terms. The oldest beliefs were once new; the newest beliefs will one day be old. Heresy changes fast into Orthodoxy; Orthodoxy once was stigmatized as heresy. Unless belief has something to recommend it besides its antiquity, its antiquity will presently become its tomb; unless belief has something to recommend it besides its novelty, it will probably never grow venerable by becoming old. The solemnity of truth is quite abolished by the habit of trying it by such flimsy tests. The opinions are worth nothing that are allowed to rest on such foundations. For in the one case they are prejudices, stubborn in proportion as they are stupid; in the other case they are whims, conceited in proportion as they are fan-

tastical. There is no sense of the importance of opinions, no feeling of their sacredness, when they are put at the mercy of a time-table. The Conservatives who accept doctrines because they boast a long pedigree, and the Radicals who accept doctrines because they are of to-day, are alike and equally foolish. They who repudiate beliefs which were never heard of a generation ago, and they who repudiate beliefs which were entertained a generation ago, can scarcely be said to hold beliefs in any earnest sense. The test of truth is more exacting than that.

By what title, then, are we ever justified in claiming for our beliefs the august designation of truth? Let us consider this point a moment.

1. I should say, first, that every belief worth holding must accord with the best certified facts of knowledge. It must be more than a speculation, however plausible; more than a surmise, however ingenious. This is the primary significance of truth,—accordance with what is established; that is, with facts; for they alone are entitled to be called established. Prophecies cease and "knowledge" passes away; but truth is ever the same. The old derivation of truth was from *trou*, to think or opine. The truth is what one *troweth*,—what I *trow*, what you *trow*, what anybody happens to *trow*. It is reduced to guess work, notion, fancy; to a matter of speculation. But, since we have known Sanscrit, and have been able to go to the root of the matter, we have discovered that the word comes from *dhru*,—that which is fixed or certain; not by usage or habit, but by the author of Nature. Would you know the truth about God, let the theologians go; never heed what the Church says, or the Scripture, or the rule of tradition. Read the tablets of the earth, listen to the silent speech of the stars, ponder the order of the world, collect as many data as possible from the experience of human life, and draw inferences from those. Your theory of God, though it satisfied every proof text, and fell in line with the theologians of every communion, would be worthless, if it could not face an earthquake or a rattlesnake, or adjust itself to the economies of a rose-leaf. A hundred texts will not outweigh a single fact. Mr. Talmage thinks to deal a deadly blow at Universalism by showing that it is not countenanced by the Bible. What if it is not? If it explains the sense or soul of the order under which men live, it can dispense with such biblical applause; if it cannot explain that order, all Scriptures of the nations will not save it. Mr. Mill decides that the facts of the world, so far as we discern them, do not warrant the belief in a God perfect in goodness, wisdom, and power; the misery of mankind makes it evident, he says, that He is wanting either in justice and benevolence, or in the ability to carry out the dictates of His true and loving nature. If so it be, so we must confess, though the confession be a scandal in the view of the Christian world. Ludwig Büchner contends that the facts of the universe do not justify an intelligent belief in any God outside of humanity; and Schopenhauer was of opinion that the only deity the facts of the case imply is the kind of deity who usually goes by the name of *de il*; inasmuch as, on the whole, this is the worst possible world. These are all very modern opinions, in their new shape. Some of them must be untrue. But they have this merit, at least, that they do claim to be sustained by facts, and the men who promulgate them are earnest in the study of facts.

And this is the most remarkable peculiarity in the advocacy of new beliefs,—a disposition to seek and find warrant for them in Nature. The belief in providence, the belief in human nature, the belief in a hereafter, the belief in moral laws and moral ends in the aims and purposes of creation,—one and all, refer to this as their ultimate guarantee. It is a hopeful sign for the future; for it indicates that, in the coming time, we shall know what we believe, and why we believe it.

2. Another test of true thought is that it tends to increase human happiness. It may be a question whether happiness be the end and aim of life, but at all events unhappiness is not. To make men happy may not be the highest achievement of a religious system, but a religious system that has no effect to make men happy will scarcely stand justified in the regards of mankind. If it could be proved that the Roman Catholic faith had in its palmy days blessed its portion of the human family with the consolations that all men crave, quieted their fears, raised their hopes, quickened their affections, allayed the poignancy of their sufferings, healed their animosities, promoted domestic unity and social fellowship, strengthened the bonds of amity between orders and classes, mitigated the evils of violence and rapacity, and created a garden where there had been a wilderness before,—if it could be made to appear that it had lightened life's burdens, and taken from death its terrors, we should be inclined to accord to it, so far, our cordial sympathy. We should not wrangle over the form of a government that produced an orderly, peaceful, prosperous, thriving, improving society; that opened the sources of plenty, set on foot measures for the general recreation, and removed the causes of penury, suffering, discontent, and dissension. Whether it were called despotism or democracy would matter little. If any government could promise these good things with fair hope of realizing them, it would be universally acceptable. If any religion could promise this, and give ground for thinking it could accomplish it,—call the religion what you might, Brahman, Buddhist, Hebrew, Mohammedan, Italian, Greek, English, German,—the name would signify little. If Calvinists could produce a happy family as the result of their system, the speculative horrors of the system would be excused, as we excuse the ugly look of the surgeon's instruments, as he spreads them out to be handy for an operation that is to save a precious life. The chemist says that the blackest substances produce the brightest flame.

The light that nightly illumines our dwellings is a product of noxious gases which men cannot inhale and live. The most delicious fragrance is from flowers that have their roots deep in ooze and mire. So if peace of spirit, loveliness of disposition, tranquillity of mood, could be shown to proceed through some fine alchemy from total corruption, eternal decrees, vicarious suffering, everlasting damnation, we should marvel at the law which brought such delightful effects from such hideous origins, but should gratefully take the result, washing our hands of responsibility for the causes.

What if religious systems were to vie with one another in their endeavors to make the world happier, accepting heartily this test of their value! Put all other considerations aside, drop all other lines of defence or advocacy, and see what you can do, with the tools in your hands, not to relieve want by almsgiving, not to deaden pain by stupefaction, but to make men's lives more sunny, their week days less painful, their Sundays less dismal, their toil less harassing, their joys less infrequent and unsatisfactory, their apprehensions fewer, their outlooks pleasanter. We will look on with impartial regard, and will honestly award the prize to the successful champion. And if it be the Pope of Rome who shows us first an Italy sunny with song, and a Spain glowing with vineyards and gorgeous with a beauty it has only dreamed of in the past, then in his favor we will lay our prejudices aside. But it will be of no use to show us the reverse of all this, and then point to his dim antiquity in justification of his claims. For whether or no men ought to like happiness better than anything else, they unquestionably do, and with or without leave of the almanac will accept the sunniest faith as the most rational.

3. A third test of a true system is its effect to make men human, to repress crime, discourage violence, disconcert fraud, reduce the caste spirit to its lowest terms, promote the sympathy of kindness, and substitute equity for injustice. A system that alienates, separates, erects barriers between classes, foments strife and division, arouses jealousies and antipathies,—though it had every sanction of antiquity and authority on its side, though it could quote the whole of Scripture for its purpose, and point to long lines of priests and the allegiance of races of men—would have no claim to the attention of thoughtful people. What can a doctrine say for itself that claims by virtue of its divine superiority the right to put down other doctrines by force, and so keep up a perpetual war of opinion, a war raging over the whole area of human nature, war of spirit and brain, and very likely of blood too? Is not that pretension alone sufficient to condemn any system, new or old, and to consign it at once to the limbo of obsolete errors, fictions, and superstitions? What can a doctrine say for itself that fosters a sectarian spirit, creates a new and insolent aristocracy on the basis of Orthodox belief or conduct, establishes an order of nobility whose badge is membership in an evangelical church, and grants to this nobility the privilege of looking down with scorn on people whom, without the least regard to their intellectual, social, or personal character, they choose to call heretics, infidels, or atheists? Is such a system to be sustained on the ground that it is extensively believed and is accepted by the best fashion of the modern world? I do not mean to say that opinions may not be true in reason without reference to their social consequences. But their social consequences come in as part of the mass of considerations which justify them to reason. They are that portion of the considerations which touch us most nearly, the portion with which, being in immediate contact, we are immediately concerned. By applying them to systems of opinion, applying them honestly and wisely, how many beliefs that agitate and perplex mankind would disappear forever!

We have found ourselves in the number of those who profess the newest style of opinions. Not because they are the newest; that on the whole makes them suspected. They have no weight of authority from general consent or wide experience behind them; they are untried; criticism has not subjected them to its laws. It is quite possible, nay, it is more than possible; it is probable, it is more than probable; it is certain, that passion for novelty, restless love of freedom, conceit, flightiness, and lawlessness, have a share in their making. The company in which we find ourselves is not in every respect the most desirable, in as far as it comprises so many who have broken away from intellectual restraint, and, like school boys, forget everything serious in their pleasure at having a holiday. The mental atmosphere is thick with wild speculations, fanciful theories, visionary dreams, born of the simple exuberance of liberty, the ecstasy of emancipation. The newness excuses everything. Philosophies multiply in the teeming brains of men and women who, having clipped the shells of their new birth, soar like butterflies, assuming their sunny day to be an eternity, and the fields they fly over to be the world. Without knowledge, or culture, or training in the schools and methods of thought, ignorant of the commonplaces of information, and of the first principles of reasoning, they fling out upon the air their bubbles of conjecture, and fancy them, as they float away brilliant in the sunshine, to be precursors of the aerial vessel that is to carry us across oceans and mountain ranges, annihilating the time and space which have so tormented common minds. Heedless of the practical tendencies of their speculations, or rather taking the beneficence of those tendencies for granted because the speculations themselves look so fair, they scatter their seeds of feeling about, careless whether they fall on rocks, or on thorn-bushes, or on sandy ground; believing in fact that, as they fall, they will pulverize the rocks into soil, and transform the brambles into rose-bushes, and convert the sand into rich loam.

The thoughtful will remember that truth is a serious thing, found with trouble and kept with cost, a treasure that they are no more likely to have than the Spanish mountaineer, the Italian monk, the Turkish devotee, or the Indian Yogi, unless they dig for it, and are not likely to commend to others except they can make it really commendable by its purity. Ours is a position of peculiar danger from carelessness and lightness of mind. If any people should be in earnest, they should be who, applying new methods to an old world, suggesting new interpretations of an old problem, gazing with new eyes into the face of the "Ancient of Days," with no support but their sincerity and no cheer but their faith, undertake to draw fresh water from the "Rock of Ages."

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE PRACTICAL TEACHINGS OF THE "NEW PHILOSOPHY."

This title fairly belongs to that system of which the *First Principles* began to appear by instalments in 1860, and of which the earliest and but rudimentary statements were made by its founder, Mr. Herbert Spencer, in 1852. Taking the latter date, we can say that this system, being but twenty-three years old, is plainly not materialism, which, going back only to Democritus and Leucippus, boasts of full as many centuries. The whole tenor of the writings of Fiske, Huxley, Tyndall, and Spencer should however be sufficient, even without their frequent and earnest disclaimers, to satisfy every intelligent and candid reader, that these great thinkers are not defending any form of that ancient, and we are tempted to say obsolescent, theory, but a new one, standing midway between it and its almost equally aged rival, with which the names of Plato, Coleridge, and Emerson have become so famous. Neither transcendentalism nor materialism can claim any part in Mr. Spencer's discovery, that the law of progress is evolution, which in his own words "is a change from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity, through continuous differentiations and integrations." In other words, progress is a change from that which has sameness of nature and is indefinite and unstable, to that which varies in nature but is definite and stable; a change consisting not only in the increase of differences, but, what is yet more important, in the multiplication of individualities. Such paraphrases are necessary, because the new theory needs new and peculiar terms.

And two of the other most important principles of the new philosophy are shown to hold the golden mean between idealism and materialism, by the ease with which they may be expressed in familiar words. Materialism holds, as its name implies, that matter is eternal; and mind, its outgrowth and product, is dependent on it. Prof. Moleschott says: "Thought is a movement of matter." Mr. Underwood, in his "Plea for Materialism," published in THE INDEX of July 13, 1872, declares that—"We have no acquaintance with, no proof of, anything in the universe except matter." It needs no quotations to show how justly the idealists are called so from their fulness of faith, that mind is eternal and has created matter, which depends upon it. Indeed this faith can sometimes with difficulty be restrained from declaring that ideas are the only realities. The new philosophy agrees with both her venerable sisters, so far as to recognize that both matter and mind exist, and each of them depends on the other. She differs from them both, in not claiming to have measured eternity, though she asserts that both matter and mind are, so far as she can see, permanent in substance in spite of their changes of form, while she finds no reason to believe that either of them has created the other, and therefore accepts them as different manifestations of one unknown reality, or, in Tyndall's words, as "two opposite faces of the self same mystery."

And, again; our ideas of God, duty, and immortality are asserted by transcendentalism to be invaluable and inexplicable intuitions. Materialism denies their value. Evolutionism asserts it; and, what is still better, proves it, by explaining their origin. These ideas we inherit from early generations, when they were but rudimentary and indefinite inferences from experience, through later generations, in which they were continually enlarged, revised, and strengthened, so that they appear innate, intuitive, and transcendental; and indeed are so, as far as our individual experience is concerned, though in reality they are just as much a heritage from our forefathers as is the shape of our insteps, or the color of our eyes. If we can realize how slowly and toilsomely these ideas have thus been formed within us, we shall value them most highly.

And these three principles of progress through differentiations and integrations of the equal importance of mind and matter, and of the formation of our highest ideas by inheritance, have, in many respects, much practical worth.

As we learn how necessarily differences increase with progress, we shall know how to love those who disagree with us, and how to honor all who teach patiently and sincerely as our fellow-workers for the truth. The consistent evolutionist will not merely tolerate his adversaries, but rejoice in all that they are doing to widen that knowledge and strengthen that mental activity, through which alone can we hope ever to reach clear and stable faith. Perhaps the new philosophy can here merely claim to embody and justify the best usage of our age. But this claim, if not a higher one, can also be made in regard to those important reforms in education, which can be defended only on the ground of the equality of matter, or body, with mind. One of these changes is the use of object-lessons, botanical analyses, laboratory work, and drawing on the black-

board, in place of the old way of going round and round inside of the text-book. Even an idealist, like Bartol, knows that "he that can sketch an object with a pencil understands it better than he who recites all its titles in every tribe under the sun." And every good speaker or writer knows the value of illustrations drawn from what is visible and tangible.

A second change, also, in harmony with the dependence of the mind on the body, is the increasing sense of the necessity of healthy surroundings to intellectual, moral, and religious development. We are beginning to see that the student must bathe sufficiently, and have plenty of good food, fresh air, out-door exercise, and sound sleep, or his study is likely to defeat itself.

And recognition of the complementary fact, that the body depends reciprocally on the mind, will help us to realize that hard study not only is compatible with sound health, but, when it does not hinder proper sleep and exercise, is even wholesome in a high degree. College statistics and biographical records show that diligent students are unusually healthy and long-lived. There are plenty of such facts as that Wolf, the great transcendentalist and mathematician, lived to be ninety-five, and Hobbes, the great materialist, to be ninety-one; while Evelyn was eighty-six, Newton eighty-five, Voltaire, Franklin, and Bentham eighty-four, Goethe eighty-two, and Wordsworth eighty; a date already surpassed by one who differs from him nowhere so much as in that sympathy with all progress which keeps Bryant ever young. And in still other fields of thought we find Sir Charles Lyell reaching seventy-eight, the elder Herschel almost eighty-four, and Alexander von Humboldt almost ninety; all three among the hardest students on record.

As activity of body benefits the mind, so activity of mind benefits the body. The new philosophy is likely to establish respect for an active mind in an active body, as one of the best rules of health.

And this philosophy has still better work to do. As Pope Alexander VI. divided the new world between Spain and Portugal, so the Church wishes today to partition off the new world of thought between science and transcendentalism, and make the latter her viceroy over the rich regions of human duties and rights. But science cannot afford to let her rival hold the citadel and metropolis of thought. Materialism has tried again and again to storm the walls, but the attack was made from too low ground to have any chance of success.

Meantime the increasing anarchy in the great city calls urgently for a new and stronger rule, and the new philosophy has only to prove that she can give this without sacrificing any of the old reverence for justice, purity, and love, to have the gates thrown open at her call. Such proof has not yet been fully given, or at least not yet universally been accepted; but the need of it is so pressing, that the writer ventures to offer what seem to him likely to form its chief constituents.

There are five facts, which, taken separately, are not unfamiliar, and are indeed so plain, that no teacher of morality can afford to disregard them, whatever metaphysical or theological theories he may mingle with them. Taken together, they are sufficient to furnish a foundation on which morality can stand alone, and in all probability the only foundation on which she can long stand amid the many changes going on so rapidly.

The first of these facts is that man cannot improve, or even exist, except in society. The qualities which enable men and women to live and work together—like patience, courage, parental affection, domestic fidelity, neighborly sympathy, and self-sacrifice—are thus necessarily encouraged, and developed as conditions of the existence even of savages, while the demands of civilization cause these virtues to be handed down from generation to generation in ever-increasing purity and power, so that they are born with us, and form our best inheritance. A second fact is, that from the experience of the race that some acts of ours increase and others diminish our health, we inherit a growing tendency to like the healthy and dislike the unhealthy ones, so that it comes to pass, that, in the words of Herbert Spencer, [*Psychology*, I., 284]: "Pleasures are the incentives to life-supporting acts, and pains the deterrents from life-destroying acts. The ever deepening experience that virtuous actions are in the highest degree life-supporting, and promotive of happiness, thus makes virtue more and more agreeable to each generation of men. Hence the so-called innate desire to do right which is one of the noblest characteristics of man."

And with these two facts, of the inherited experience that virtue is beneficial, and the inherited habit of liking what is beneficial, should be considered a third, discovered by Hartley more than a century ago, but now gaining new significance,—that of the association of ideas. What we have often done with a purpose we come eventually to do without one, while the beneficial or injurious consequences become even stronger marked, as the original good or bad motive disappears. Thus the miser sinks from loving money as a means of comfort to loving it, even in spite of comfort, for its own sake; while the brave and honest man rises from being so, because courage and honesty are necessities of his existence, into loving them disinterestedly and conscientiously. We can hardly say that any one man has made this great ascent; but, rather, that the race has made it through countless generations, each a little higher than its predecessor, until it has been done so completely, that this generation finds some difficulty in admitting that it has really taken place.

These three facts of the inheritance not only of the knowledge that virtue is necessary to human existence, but of the habit of finding what is thus nec-

essary pleasant, and of the ascent by association of ideas from loving virtue as a requisite of life to loving her for her own sake, are in perfect harmony; but their full value will not be realized until we consider two kindred truths.

One of these is, that no one can be fully, permanently, and securely happy unless everybody else is happy also. Your neighbors' wants threaten your abundance; their misery calls for your sympathy and care, their vice and ignorance limit your virtue and knowledge; and their diseases hinder your growth in health. To have all the happiness you desire you must make happiness universal. Thus originates the love of universal happiness, which gradually rises into disinterestedness by association of ideas.

A still more important fact is that only the higher forms of happiness can become universal. Men cannot all be happy in oppressing each other, for the oppressed are unhappy in their misery, and even the oppressors in the danger of quarrelling among themselves. If all men sought to be happy in idleness and sensuality, many of them would suffer from lack, not only of these fancied luxuries, but of real necessities, while the rest would suffer from disease and mutual strife. It needs little argument to prove that only the noble or holy happiness which is founded on observance of great moral precepts, like those of self-control, self-culture, love, and justice, can be universal. Hopkins and Fairchild, in insisting on the importance of holy, rather than universal, happiness, have not made a distinction, but merely an explanation. And the evolutionist is not obliged to stop to calculate how far every action he thinks of would promote individual or universal happiness, but merely to ask himself, "Is this according to the known moral laws?" These laws having been proved by immeasurable experience to be the indispensable conditions of happiness, he follows them as promptly and reverently as if he thought them intuitively or supernaturally revealed; while for any case where they conflict or do not apply, he has a scientific test ready in the fundamental principle from which they are derived. This greatest happiness test he uses as he does his dictionary, not for every word he speaks or writes, but for every doubtful point he does not at once recognize as an example of known rules and universally accepted usage. He sometimes looks at tendency to promote happiness as a test to show what is right, but never as a motive to do what is right; for such a motive he has already in the desire to do what is right for its own sake. It would not be necessary to dwell on a distinction long ago clearly made by John Stuart Mill and Sir James Mackintosh, between the test and the motives enjoined by the derivative morality, if this fact were not so frequently overlooked by opponents, as it is for instance in Birks' *Modern Utilitarianism*, page 202.

To all candid criticism is respectfully submitted this presentation of the fine facts: that virtue is the indispensable condition of human life and happiness; that she thus becomes dear to man; that he rises by association of ideas to loving her for her own sake; that in the same way he comes to desire universal happiness, first, prudentially, but finally philanthropically; and that this desire leads him rightly to reverence the great moral laws. This statement is not, of course, presented as a finality, but merely as an adumbration of the truth, and as approximative proof of the right of the new philosophy to the throne on which she will yet sit to interpret the divine laws of duty, and declare to all men the way of honor, joy, and peace.

F. M. HOLLAND.

BARABOO, Wis.

BISHOP FERRETTE'S RELIGIOUS LIBERTY PLATFORM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—The rapping of somebody at the door of your sanctum, or some other incident, must certainly have made you miss one sentence or two in my letter to you which you kindly published on May 13; otherwise you would have seen that my "denying that Christianity is a sect," far from being, as you think, my "only" answer to your objection against the articles 4, 5 and 6 of my platform, is not, as I took care to say, "any integral part of my argument against the incorporation of sectarian societies and the validity of sectarian clauses in contracts." My defence of Christianity against the imputation of being a sect was, I said, "a mere personal explanation on my part, in order to enable your readers to know on what different grounds from yours I stand in this respect." I thought that "personal explanation" necessary, lest the prevailing, though perhaps mistaken, impression with regard to the character of THE INDEX, and my writing in it, should cause my position to be understood as one of hostility to Christianity, of which I am, on the contrary, an earnest adherent and defender. The proper course for you, therefore, would have been to leave unnoticed what I said about Christianity, or simply, as a matter of "personal explanation" on your part, to express your dissent from it; instead of limiting your argument to it, as if it were the "only point raised between us." This point was not "raised between us" at all; and, my arguments as to the points really "raised between us" remaining unanswered, a strict regard to the by-laws of dialectic tournament would only require me to restate them, and challenge refutation.

I. CHRISTIANITY NOT A SECT.

But my object being not so much to show myself drilled in dialectic by-laws as to make the public familiar with a new subject, by developing it in various ways, and with my views generally, I will suspend some of the rules, and first the one which prescribes unity of subject; so as to be enabled to deal with

your own arguments, and first with your answer to the question, "Is not Christianity a sect?"

"It is unnecessary," you think, "in order to answer this question, to go into any speculation respecting Jesus, or his purposes, or his ideas." But I humbly submit that, in justice to Jesus merely as our departed fellow-man, nothing is more necessary, before we affix his name to any system, than to go into some speculation respecting him, and his purposes, and his ideas, so as to see whether that system be his or not. Should my name, or yours, be, without our authority, lengthened by some Greek or Latin suffix, and made to designate a doctrine with which we had respectively nothing to do, either of us would certainly resent this as the greatest wrong. Is Jesus called the Lamb of God to mean that he is the only man that everybody may without scruple kill and eat and insult living and dead? That inquiry, respecting Jesus, his purposes and his ideas, before we pronounce anything about him or affix his name to any doctrine or corporation, is simply, on the part of any one, treating another as we would be treated; but on my part it is, beside, an official duty, as I am made, by the apostolic succession of the imposition of hands, his representative, and must therefore know what I represent. The result of my inquiry is, as I stated, that Jesus taught no sectarian doctrines. The prophecies which made Israel, and him, as by his family connections Israel's legitimate king, the centre of all things which are God's glory and earth's peace, he accepted in a spiritual, symbolic sense which had nothing superstitious, any more than there is any superstition in the Free Masons, or any other symbolic society, developing the very same truths through the interpretation of the measures of Solomon's temple or of any other mystic emblem. The very same truths can also be taught and practiced purely and simply, without any emblem; and the question whether it be preferable to teach or practice them thus simply, or embody them in this or that emblem, or myth, or ritual, is a question of taste or expediency, which has nothing to do with sect. Christianity, as I said, is not a religious sect, but a religious order. A man might be a member of the Christian Order, and of ten other orders equally unsectarian, and worship God, besides, purely and simply in the communion of all that part of mankind which belongs to no orders of any sort, without any inconsistency.

II. CHRISTIANITY NOT A "CUTTING OFF FROM HUMANITY."

I do not agree with you that the word sect comes from "secrete, to cut off"; namely, "from the universal fellowship of man." But, even if it did, that would not show that Christianity is any such "cutting off," as Christianity is not a sect. The relation of Christianity to humanity is one not of exclusion, but of substantial identity with a mere modal difference, the difference that may exist between a sentence written in ordinary type and the same sentence written in Italics.

III. PROTESTANTISM AND ROMANISM EXTRANEOUS TO CHRISTIANITY.

As a bishop, as a representative of Christianity, I have a right to protest against your idea that Christianity can be referred as a coordinate variety to any common species, or as a coordinate species to any common genus, with Judaism, Mohammedanism, Presbyterianism, Episcopalianism, or Romanism; or any of them to it as their common genus or species. Christianity is a truth of an order so excellent as to entirely transcend the order of things to which all forms of error, such as these sects are, belong. When I speak thus, it is no new or peculiar opinion that I advance. All the Fathers of the Church and all the Councils agree with me. It will be enough for me to cite the Seventh Canon of the Second Ecumenic Council held A. D. 381, which clear, if not euphonious canon has been for fourteen hundred and ninety-four years the only ecclesiastical legislation on the status and admission of sectaries, and in fact is THE MAGNA CHARTER GRANTED BY THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO PROTESTANT SECTS OF ALL SORTS.

"7. Those who, from the heretics, add themselves to Orthodoxy and to the portion of the saved, are received by us according to the following order and custom. The Arians, the Macedonians, the Sabbatians, the Novatians, who call themselves Pure, the Aristerians, the Tessareskedecates or Tetrades, and the Apollinarists, we receive on their giving libels and anathematizing all heresy which does not think as the Catholic and Apostolic Church of God thinks, and on their being anointed with the holy Chrism on their forehead, eyes, nostrils, mouth, and ears; and while sealing them, we say: 'THE SEAL OF THE GIFT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.' But as to the Eunomians, who are baptized with one immersion only; and the Montanians, who are here called Phrygians; and the Sabellians who teach the confusing of the Father and the Son, and do several other grievous things; and all other heretics (for there are many here, especially those who are coming from the region of the Galatians),—all those who from among them wish to add themselves to Orthodoxy, we receive as heathens; and on the first day we make them Christians, and on the second day catechumens; then on the third day we exorcise them by breathing three times into their face and ears; and so we make them catechumens, and we made them remain for a considerable time in the Church and hear the Scriptures; and then we baptize them."

IV. THE LAW INCOMPETENT TO SEE IN CHRISTIANITY ANYTHING BUT A SECT.

But my assertion with regard to the incomparable excellence of Christianity has, as I said, and can have nothing to do with my argument in favor of disestablishing sects in America and England, and invalidating sectarian clauses in contracts. It can

have no bearing upon that question for two reasons:—

1. While Christianity is not a sect, it stands with regard to sects, such as Presbyterianism, Episcopalianism, Romanism, Mormonism, in a relation of flat contradiction. In thus contradicting them it is right, while they are wrong; but its being right and their being wrong are facts which lie entirely beyond the cognizance of the civil courts, unless we give the courts jurisdiction over spiritual matters. Christianity, therefore, has one external point of resemblance with the sects in this, that it contradicts them as they contradict each other. This point of resemblance is all that the courts are able to see, being incompetent to decide upon the incomparable superiority of its spiritual claims.

2. The possibility of Unitarianism and Free Religion, with both of which I sympathize, being treated by the Courts as sects under the legislation which I advocate, has been by me more than hinted at; and, far from deprecating such an eventuality, I said I would advise both Unitarian and Free Religionists to demand to be treated purely and simply as sects in a civil sense, though in a spiritual sense I assert that they are not sects. I would say the same, only with very much more emphasis, with regard to the Christian Church. The reason why Christianity is not a sect is that it is the true religion; and whether it be the true religion or not, and therefore not a sect or one, is a question which lies entirely beyond the sphere of the civil courts, and which it belongs only to the Christian Church herself to determine. All pretension, on the part of a civil court, to decide whether the Christian Church at large, or a particular Christian society, be true or not, is an assumption of spiritual jurisdiction by the temporal power, to which the Christian Church could never submit without abdicating her independence, and becoming what the Protestant sects of England and America are: mere bureaus of the State government, their ecclesiastical decisions being reversible by the civil courts, and their respective creeds being enforceable against their members by the sheriff: just as in Germany the same official schoolmaster, himself perhaps a free-thinker, is compelled to compel three different species of pupils to recite in succession three contradictory catechisms, the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the Popish; and looks up in the same room those pupils who have "got mixed."

V. SECTARIANISM NOT IN ALL SENSES NOR ALWAYS IMMORAL.

As I said, I do not believe that the word sect comes from *secare*, "cut off," namely, "from the universal fellowship of Man." There are overwhelming reasons to believe that it comes from *sequi* to follow, namely, this or that leader, which is not quite so bad, and in the conditions in which human nature is placed, often necessary in politics, in science, and why not in religion? In all matters in which we have to act, but are not competent to form a judgment of our own, we must act upon the judgment of others whose competency we acknowledge, as a court which acknowledges itself incompetent to judge of medical matters will appoint a medical commission and act upon its report. So will I, having to vote in a city with whose local affairs I am not thoroughly acquainted, be influenced in my vote by the opinion of some old resident in whose judgment I have confidence; and that is sectarianism.

VI. SECTARIAN BRIBERY ALWAYS IMMORAL.

By his judgment, I have said, not by his money; for that would be bribery. In religious matters as well as in political ones, it is not sectarianism, when conscientious and free from mercenary influences, it is sectarian bribery which is immoral.

VII. THE LAW AS IT IS SANCTIONS AND ENFORCES BRIBERY.

I see this bribery in all clauses in private contracts granting temporal advantages on sectarian conditions. I see it in the chartering or in any way incorporating sectarian societies, so as to enable them to enforce their respective creeds on their refractory members by temporal penalties or the loss of temporal advantages. All legislatures have too keen a sense of honor not to resent and visit with exemplary punishment any attempt to influence the vote of their members by bribery. For a legislature to force upon religion and Christianity a dishonor and a nuisance to which it deems itself infinitely too good to submit, is exactly the same injustice as if it forbade an offensive sewer to be built near the State House, but ordered it to be turned into my premises.

CONCLUSION.

Now, then, I have granted to you that, whether Christianity be a sect or not in its spiritual essence, it can only appear as a sect to the carnal eye, the only eye which civil courts have any business to have. I have not granted to you that sectarianism is always and in all senses immoral, but this is indifferent to our argument as long as you admit that "this is a kind of immorality with which the law cannot interfere." This principle, however, which you admit in one sentence, you seem to gainsay in another by opposing my three last articles, which say nothing else, and have no other object than to prevent the law from interfering with religious liberty. Of their being to that effect I can give no better proof than letting them speak for themselves:—

ARTICLE 4. No incorporation of sectarian societies.

I submit to the whole of mankind that to incorporate sectarian societies is a dealing with them, and that not to incorporate them is a not dealing with them.

ARTICLE 5. All clauses in private contracts, granting temporal advantages on sectarian conditions, to be null and void in the eyes of the law.

I take the whole of mankind as my witness that to

consider a thing as null and void is a not dealing with it, and that to consider it as valid and enforce it as such is a dealing with it.

ARTICLE 6. All property at present owned by sectarian societies to become, on a day to be fixed by law, the absolute civil property of the members of each such society, irrespective of religious conditions.

The principles embodied in articles 4 and 5 once admitted, the abuses having grown under the present legislation must, of course, be dealt with and put to an end. Of this there are only two means, confiscation by the State, a vulgar and violent process repeated to nausea by all governments in succession, and the new and elegant process which I recommend for the United States.

I remain, dear sir, truly yours,

JULIUS FERRETTE.

CAMBRIDGE, June 1, 1875.

THE PATRIOTIC OUTPOURING.

No man who loves his country can read unmoved the reports that come to us from Boston. Certainly no Baltimorean can read them without feeling his heart swell, and realizing that the last prejudice, no matter how bitter it has been, is being expelled, and the groove it made obliterated forever. Massachusetts has taken Maryland to her bosom with an impulse as grand as it is generous, and Maryland's heart thrills and throbs a joyful response. Great communities are embracing in spirit, and the affections of the people are being welded into an endless family tie.

The longing, the yearnings of two great sections are finding expression at Bunker Hill, and are reconsecrating all who come, and all who are represented, as Americans and brothers. The quickened pulses and the filling eyes around the spot where Warren fell leap along the telegraph to hearts and eyes turned as proudly and as hopefully to the North. Every kindness there touches a chord of gratitude here. Every stirring strain that fires the blood upon Massachusetts soil thrills a Southerner, and draws him nearer as a brother restored. Every emotion there is reflected here to-day.

Baltimore, above all, feels this family reunion. With manly candor and chivalrous impulse she recalls the fact that Boston has something to forgive, and that a testimonial from her means generosity, fraternity, and patriotism indeed. She cannot forget that in an hour of madness she lifted her hand against her brother, and struck him down in her streets. Had it been in the open fields of war she would have less to reproach herself with, since the 19th of April would have been but one of the mass of human errors which make up the aggregate contributions to a mistaken sense of duty. But happening as it did, and under the peculiar circumstances of that incident, she feels that she has something more than the rest of the South of which to repent, and for which to be forgiven.

Like a true and noble brother, Boston forgets even this and extends its cordial arms and holds our representatives in a warm embrace. Truly, we are brothers. Only brothers in heart, in spirit and in faith could do this. The more prominent the Confederate the more generous is her greeting; and Baltimore, whose one sin stands conspicuous above the rest, is assured above the rest with a special demonstration. Who is there now who would oppose the going of the Fifth Regiment? Who now doubts the wisdom of that trip? Who now can belittle the influences it exerts? Who that does not rejoice that we have seized the proffered hand, and received its genial pressure, and partaken of its reassuring hospitality? None but the vilest demagogue who would trade upon the passions of the people, and profit by the misfortunes of his country, would have it otherwise; would fail to see the significance of this event, or would find no cause for rejoicing over this happy augury. The people are coming together; Nature and nationality are speaking frankly, and unbosoming Americans under the inspiration of a glorious opportunity. We feel that a brighter sun has arisen upon the republic, and a happier day dawned upon the country.—*Baltimore Evening News.*

MANY YEARS ago, Mr. Swain, then editor of the *Public Ledger*, was hailed at the corner of Eighth and Chestnut Streets, by a very excited individual who informed him, in the most emphatic terms, "I have stopped your paper, sir;" and proceeded to explain the why and wherefore, all the time gesticulating wildly. "My gracious, sir, you don't say so! Come with me to the office, and let us see if we cannot remedy the matter. It grieves me that any one should stop my paper." Arriving at the office, Mr. Swain said, "Why, my dear sir, everything seems to be going on here as usual; I thought you had stopped my paper." Then and there the excited gentleman, whom the long walk had by that time partly cooled, said that he had stopped taking his "one copy" of the *Public Ledger*. Mr. Swain was profuse in his apologies for having misunderstood the meaning of his late subscriber's word, and regretted that he had given him the tramp from Eighteenth Street to Third. The gentleman went on his way home, a wiser if not a better man. Before he left, however, he ordered that the *Ledger* be still sent to his address.

A NEW ORLEANS minister recently married a colored couple, and at the conclusion of the ceremony remarked: "On such occasions as this it is customary to kiss the bride; but in this case we omit it." To this unclerical remark the indignant bridegroom very pertinently replied: "On such occasions as this it is customary to give the minister ten dollars; but in this case we will omit it."

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

THE ENGLISH CAPTAIN.

FROM THE DANISH OF CARL BAGGER.

BY JOHN SAVARY.

An English fleet was in the Danish sound.
But neither they nor yet the Swedes on shore
Could guess the riddle, whither was it bound?
They saw from Kronborg how the squadron bore
On to the entrance and then stopped surprise
Held them in doubt of the intended blow,
While dark foreboding like a cloud did rise,
And Denmark guessed and feared, but did not know.

All sails were furled; the water imaged back
The swaying palaces with haughty air;
Each oak colossus, hollow, huge, and black
With human beings was at anchor there.
The boys in blue looked anxious for a foe;
But none appeared, none answered their halloo.
A sailor is, in every land, you know,
A friend of laurels and red roses too.

On board the flag-ship, where the colors flew
Of the grand admiral in the morning breeze,
Unwonted stir and preparation grew
From early dawn—and men were thick as bees.
All brows were bent, all eyes stared on, when late
The chief appeared with orders closely sealed:
Lord Gambier opened them; the lot of fate
Leaped out, and news, important news revealed.

"Sail!"—sounded harsh the order of the king—
"Where Denmark's fleet secure at anchor lies;
What craft you see, that out of harbor bring,
And make war well, but offer peace the prize.
The Danes have built a fortress strong and new:
Some other power before us might get in;
Be quick and bold,—King George doth promise you
Abundant spoil, if you the stronghold win."

The news like wildfire ran among the tars;
Cheer rose on cheer above the roomy decks;
The crews throughout gave vent to loud hurrahs,
Glory and plunder every one expects.
But one young captain there, of all on board,
One only felt not joy, but rather grief;
He kept his silent thought like sheathed sword,
Till he permission craved to speak the chief.

"Sir Admiral"—the captain thus began—
"I was but young when first I crossed the seas;
At fourteen years, with Nelson in the van
At Aboukir, I snuffed the battle-breeze.
West Indian corsairs I have tracked afar,
I chased and seized,—the galleys did the rest.
A scar or two I brought from Trafalgar,
But these were hid by orders on my breast.

"What England did in war against the French,
Historians blazon with becoming pride;
What I, untaught in battle yet to blench,
Did to the pirate—or I gaily cried,
'God and King George!'—and, firing every time,
I hulled with shot Napoleon's ships on flame:
Ah, that was glory, that was not a crime;
But this—'tis robbery—I die for shame!"

"I swore to follow, keeping still in sight
The flag of England; where it goes, I go
E'en to the death in fair and honest fight,
But scorn to take advantage of a foe.
The glass of policy distorts the view,
The magnet guides a sailor through the wars:
He steers by Justice for a compass true,
And takes his bearings by God's sun and stars.

"Yet none shall say mine oath I ever broke,
Sworn to defend the flag whose folds still kiss
The breeze of heaven above our castled oak;
The fleet is not in danger, honor is:
Sail on—for me, I shan't obey the king,
Although he spake as Emperor of Rome:
Yea, God forbid,—I seek some other thing,
Adventures new and strange and far from home."

Then overboard he threw himself, and drowned.
Rash fool! you call him dreamer weak and vain.
The noble swimmer to the bottom found
His way beneath the Kattegatt's watery plain.
In depths unstirred by angry voices' strife
He stays mid wreck and sea-weed floating loose;
No sound of battle can recall to life
The generous captain sunk in salt-sea ooze.

The fleet right on to Copenhagen sails.
But far from where the battle was to be,
The unknown captain lay; the sea-mew wails
His blue-cold corpse at bottom of the sea.
When to the surface he rose up once more,
Some Swedish fishermen, on starry night,
Found him and carried in their boat ashore,
And staked his epaulets by candle-light.

On Skane's shore to north of Helsingborg,
They buried him in a renowned land.
There were no falling tears, no rising surge
Of human sorrow: but the hard-ribbed sand,
His grave, gulls trample on; yet there, they say,
On misty moonlight nights a wraith is seen
To beckon where the Scottish highlands lay,
For homeward he will seek the Island green.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 26.

W. H. Graham, \$2.25; William Ellis, \$10; Cash, \$2.25; Wm. Dudgeon, \$5; Anton Bransch, \$20; Seavey, Foster, & Bowman, \$39; F. A. Maxse, \$7.10; Cash, 85 cents; J. G. Dodge, \$1.50; J. H. Terens, 20 cents; John Range, 20 cents; A. Wagner, 20 cents; F. Heyroth, 20 cents; J. Peter & Co., \$3; C. Sterne, \$1.60; S. & H. Vogel, \$1.60; E. Fezandie, \$3; M. Shove, \$3.20; Charles Bonsall, \$3; Marvin Kent, \$3.20; S. F. Schild, \$3.20; John Hendrie, \$1; N. M. Hatch, \$1.60; Mary M. Singleton, \$4.27; M. M. Secor, \$5; H. T. Appleby, \$3.20; Electa Halcomb, \$2.75; J. L. Davis, \$1.60; N. Colby, \$3.20.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 1, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
ABRAM WALTER STEVENS, Associate Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRANCIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), Editorial Contributors.

A LETTER from Charlottesville, Va., from a teacher who is just leaving the work in which she has served for nine years, gives the following cheering words: "When I look back over the nine years I have been here, I can hardly believe that this is the same place. In my impatience and haste it has often seemed as if the wheels of progress had ceased to move; but when I remember the spring I came here nine years ago, the change is very apparent. In those times I used to write two, three, and four letters per day for the colored people. Now I am never called upon, as there is scarcely a family in which they have not some one who can wield the pen. Then it was a rare thing for a colored man to have a home of his own. Now I can count dozens of neat cottages (in sight of my window) built and owned by colored men. Although there is much to discourage and sadden, the prospect is cheering, for I truly believe the colored people are improving mentally, morally, religiously, and physically, and with the colored people I feel that the South must rise or fall. I am glad to give my testimony of the cheerful side, although I do not ignore the side of ignorance, superstition, intemperance, dishonesty, etc., which are so frightfully prevalent here." Such teachers are the true peace-makers between North and South. E. D. C.

WHEN some three years and a half ago, in the "Impeachment of Christianity," we said that the Christian religion "teaches that Christ will save those alone who have lost all faith in themselves," and thus "extinguishes that noble sentiment of self-respect without which all high virtue is impossible," a highly respected critic thought we were unjust to Christianity. Quite unexpectedly the Hon. Henry Wilson, Vice-President of the United States, in a recent letter published by the Boston *Advertiser*, has (of course unintentionally) come to our rescue. Mr. Wilson is a Christian of mark in the Orthodox party, and is as well qualified to bear testimony on such subjects as any of his fellow-believers. The New York *Tribune*, it seems, has said "sundry unkind things" of him; but he recently allowed himself to be interviewed by a *Tribune* reporter, answering his questions with suavity and fulness. A Washington journal, not named by Mr. Wilson, is disgusted with his complaisance, which it declares may be "excellent Christianity," but is neither "self-respect" nor "manliness." To this Mr. Wilson replies by pleading the duty of forgiveness, and says: "If I can act in the spirit of 'excellent Christianity,' I can afford to let my 'self-respect' and my 'manliness' take care of themselves." Whether it was Henry Wilson the Christian or Henry Wilson the politician who pocketed the vilifications of the *Tribune*, and meekly submitted to be afterwards catechized by it for its own purposes, we do not inquire; perhaps it was a "little of both." But what interests us is the relative value which this Christian statesman explicitly places upon "excellent Christianity" on the one hand, and upon "self-respect" and "manliness" on the other. He evidently expects that his own sentiments on this point will be echoed and applauded by his Christian fellow-citizens, as we do not doubt they have been. The only reason we refer to his letter at all is that his Christian consciousness, reflecting very faithfully, we think, the Christian consciousness of all ages, clouds and darkens the natural perception that manly and womanly self-respect is the one great jewel of human character, which should be guarded as above all price, whatever else is sacrificed or lost. He who "lets 'self-respect' and 'manliness' take care of themselves" has nothing else that is worth taking care of at all.

THE LITERARY USE OF THE BIBLE IN SCHOOLS.

In the subjoined letter, Mr. Frothingham is so kind as to correct our misunderstanding of his recent article on "The Bible as a Text-Book."

NEW YORK, June 25, 1875.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

In your article in the last INDEX (June 24th) on "The Bible as a School Book," you fall into a misapprehension of my meaning, which, though trifling, may as well be corrected. "If we understand him," you say, "Mr. Frothingham would at present either leave the Bible in use as a book of Divine Revelation, or else have it used as a literary text-book." Certainly, if the choice lay between these two alternatives, I should choose the latter rather than banish the book entirely. But not having, as my article frankly declared, the smallest hope that the Bible would, in good faith, within any assignable period, be admitted to use as a text-book, my opinion, often and emphatically expressed, is that the book should be disused altogether in the public schools, till such time as it can be used as other literature is used. My article was suggested not by your essential position, with which I agree, but by the wording of your third "Demand," which had been criticised as too sweeping. The use of the Bible as a text-book, or the recommendation of such use, would prove that radicals do respect and value the Bible as a product of the human mind, and oppose its present use, on dogmatic grounds purely; in other words, that they object to the use now made of the book, not to the book itself.

Faithfully yours,

O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

It appears that there is no essential difference between Mr. Frothingham's views and our own on this subject. The fourth of the "Demands of Liberalism," like the rest, was designed to apply to the present time, not to that remote period when the scriptures and institutions of Christianity will be universally considered as natural products of human faculties. No practical movement to use the Bible in the public schools as a text-book of any kind could be honestly carried out to-day, or for many long years; because the prevalent opinion of the character of that book is such as to render it certain that the ostensible literary use of it would be a mere blind or cover for a furtive religious use of it. When the time comes for the scientific teaching of Comparative Religion in our higher educational institutions, the Bible must be studied just as much as the Koran or the Analects of Confucius; though we doubt whether such a study as that could ever be pursued with advantage by scholars within the limits of the public school age. This, however, as we conceive, is the only important use that could well be made of the Bible as a text-book; namely, as the great authority on Jewish and Christian mythology. As literature merely, the Bible will have so many rivals that it could only be one of numerous text-books in that department. Mr. Conway's most admirable *Anthology* introduces quite as much of the Bible, perhaps, as is necessary for literary purposes.

But the case is quite otherwise with regard to the historical use of the Bible in schools. We should as soon think of treating the *Iliad* or the *Aeneid* as history, as we should of treating the Bible in that way. The constant supernatural element alone deprives it of all historical pretensions. Until subjected to a critical process at which the believer's hair must stand on end, it would be abuse of the young mind to teach Scripture stories as credible narratives. The Bible is no more history than a bushel of unshelled corn is a crisp johnny-cake.

When judged by the true canons of literature and history, the Bible-bubble will shrink back into small dimensions, and no longer be kept at its present state of inflation by the breath of superstition. The really admirable writing in the Scriptures would fill an astonishingly small number of pages, though these few pages will live as long as the alphabet itself. The Bible as a whole has value only in the eyes of Christian credulity, of poetic imagination, and of scientific criticism. It is best to accustom the public as soon as possible to these inevitable conclusions, which, however, are not the ground on which the demand for the exclusion of the Bible from the schools properly rests,—that is, the simple equity of the case. It gives us great pleasure to be corrected by Mr. Frothingham as to the intended and real purport of his article, and to find that his influential name cannot be quoted on the wrong side of this very important public question.

An article of our own in THE INDEX of February 26, 1870, called out by a brief communication in the

same issue, is so germane to this subject that we venture to reproduce it here. It will be seen that our views are not new ones, but were fully expressed over five years ago:—

QUESTIONS.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Will you oblige me with answers to the following questions?

1st. Is it your belief that the Bible should be utterly excluded from the public schools, even as a text-book, or are you only opposed to the forced reading of it as an exercise in which all must join?

2nd. Do you believe that the law should prohibit all use of the book, as it does immoral or licentious works?

3rd. If so, do you not believe that the Declaration of Independence, and such of the national hymns as allude to God, should likewise be excluded?

4th. Should not essays containing religious allusions, and declamations from Webster, Curran, Parker, and a host of others, containing like allusions, and especially speaking of God and heaven, also be prohibited?

5th. In fine, should not a censor be appointed, in order that all allusion to Deity or religious faith may be excluded from the school-room, lest the children should become impressed with the idea that this life is but a preparatory school from which humanity goes forth to a higher, nobler, and purer state of existence in a great hereafter?

I have carefully read your article, "Romish and American Education," but am unable to ascertain precisely to what extent you go. INQUIRER.

ANSWERS.

In another column will be found certain questions respecting the use of the Bible in the public schools, addressed to us by an unknown correspondent. It is the usual practice of editors to take no notice of anonymous communications—a practice we adopt. But we make an exception in the present case, and propose to answer these questions as unambiguously as possible.

1. The reading of the Bible should not be allowed as a religious exercise in schools supported by public taxes, for the simple reason that these taxes are imposed for educational, and not religious, purposes. No matter whether all the scholars are obliged to join in the exercise or not,—no matter whether all are obliged to listen to it or not,—the school taxes are raised under false pretences, if they are used for any but educational purposes. No religious exercise, whether reading from the Bible, singing hymns, offering prayer, or any other act of worship, can be permitted without converting the public schools into religious institutions to that extent. This general objection is strengthened by the facts that reading the Bible without comment is not only a religious, but also a Protestant Christian exercise; and that Catholics as well as Protestants, Jews and "infidels" as well as Christians, must pay the school taxes. We are therefore opposed to any and every use of the Bible in religious exercises in the schools.

But "Inquirer" suggests that the Bible may be used as a "text-book,"—thus betraying a half-consciousness that it ought not to be used in the schools for religious purposes; and, since halfness is the chief characteristic of Protestantism, we surmise that "Inquirer" is a Protestant. Text-book for what? Let us see.

For science? The Bible will hardly serve as a text-book for geology in these days, or for astronomy, or for any other science known to us. It is at present the chief obstacle to the advance of the sciences, and would be worse than useless as a scientific text-book. The Berlin clergyman Knaak, denying that the earth moves round the sun, illustrates the kind of science which is derived from the Bible.

For history? The criticism of Niebuhr and his successors, pitilessly exploding the myths and miraculous narratives of Livy, has been applied to the Bible by Ewald, Bunsen, Strauss, and a host of others, with similar results. No well-informed school-committee would recommend the Bible as an historical text-book; and, foreseeing its treatment in the hands of competent instructors in history, we suspect that "Inquirer" himself would rather see the Bible quietly withdrawn from the schools altogether than treated as a text-book in this manner.

For morals? Some have defended the use of the Bible in the public schools as a text-book of morals; and possibly "Inquirer" may refer to their arguments. But the Bible will fare no better as a treatise on ethics than as a treatise on science or history. The worst morals are taught in the Bible as plainly as the best. The maledictory Psalms are as much a part of it as the Beatitudes. There is the same need of careful and independent discrimination in its ethical as in its scientific or historical teachings.

The only subject on which the Bible is really a text-book is religion—Jewish and Christian; and it is precisely this subject which, on account of the conflict in public opinion concerning religion, ought not

to be taught in the schools at all. We are therefore opposed to the use of the Bible in the schools "even as a text-book."

2. We believe that the law should strictly prohibit all use of the Bible in the schools as a religious exercise; and that there is no reason for using it as a text-book on any subject which ought to be taught there.

3 and 4. We believe there is no more reason for excluding the Declaration of Independence, the national hymns, essays containing religious allusions, or declamations from Webster, Curran, Parker, and others, simply because they allude to God or heaven, than there is for excluding Homer or Virgil for alluding to Zeus and Jupiter, Tartarus and Elysium. These works are all used for literary and other legitimate educational purposes. If the Iliad or the Æneid were used in the worship of mythological personages, they should be excluded for the same reason that the Bible should be excluded,—because they would be used for religious, and not educational purposes. Or if they were used to inculcate the ethics of Hellas and Rome, they would be as ill-fitted for text-books as the Bible. They are used, however, with perfect propriety, for purposes of literary culture and the study of ancient languages, notwithstanding their mythological allusions; and when thus used, we should be the last to exclude them from the schools. Neither would we prohibit any purely literary use of the Bible itself; although it is so plainly impossible, at present, to use the Bible for any purely literary purpose, that we should look with extreme disfavor on any attempt to smuggle it into the schools under pretence of its literary character. Our objections on this point will be obviated when rational views of the Bible are thoroughly disseminated throughout the community.

5. The answer we have just given to interrogatories 3 and 4 contain by implication our answer to this interrogatory. The radical position on the subject of using the Bible in the schools is altogether too strong to be reduced to absurdity by any such irrelevant questions. Of course no "censor" should be appointed to sift out of general literature all its religious allusions. We, at least, cherish no ambition for the appointment, nor shall we volunteer to draw up a catalogue of objectionable works or passages. THE INDEX is not the pope's *Index Expurgatorius*.

We have thus answered the questions raised with directness, and, we trust, with courtesy. But we would not be understood as treating the Bible with contempt. For its many beautiful and noble words, we feel as true an appreciation as the stoutest stickler for its enjoined use in the public schools. They make a part, and a very precious part, of the religious literature we have all inherited from the past. But they are so mixed with other words which can be approved neither by an educated intellect nor by an enlightened conscience, that thoughtful persons are compelled to winnow the wheat from the chaff. This, however, has nothing to do with the main question. If every verse in the Bible taught a lesson as grand as the Golden Rule, none the less would the Bible be used improperly, if used for religious purposes in our common schools. As long as the people are divided in religious sentiments and convictions, just so long will it be a grievance to a portion of them for the State to show any partiality towards the religious sentiments and convictions of the rest. The schools are for ALL. Let them, then, be so managed as to aggrieve NONE.

ANTI-ANTI.

A split in the ranks of the Free Religious men is predicted. The *Christian Register*, with commendable perspicacity and alertness, announces it as an already accomplished fact. To the members of the Association the fact is not apparent. The Association was formed as a power of resistance to sectarianism. Its enemy, its only enemy, is the sectarian spirit, ecclesiastical arrogance, dogmatical pretence and assumption; the disposition on the part of any sect however large, any party in religion however popular; any faith however ancient, rich, or eminent, to oppress or patronize its neighbor. It has been called very justly a spiritual antislavery society. The Association has no quarrel with any form of religion, no prejudice against any form of administration, except in as far as it claims supremacy over others. It has no creed, and supports none. It is neither Trinitarian nor Unitarian, neither Romanist nor Protestant, neither Christian nor Mohammedan; neither theist, atheist, nor pantheist. It is friendly with all and each, or hostile to all and each, according to the attitude assumed in relation

to other forms of belief. This is the essence of the free religious principle. On this it is impossible for the Free Religious men to dispute; and on no other question is dispute possible. A difference of opinion may arise in regard to the attitude of any particular religion; such a difference actually exists, but it is incidental, not vital. The editor of THE INDEX, as is well known, is persuaded that Christianity is both theoretically and practically an enemy to the spiritual liberty of the human race, and is, in all its sects and with all its energies, plotting the overthrow of intellectual freedom. This is an honest conviction, honestly formed, candidly avowed, and fearlessly expressed. He labors hard to bring others to his persuasion. A good many Free Religious men agree with him. Many more do not. It is a matter of interpretation, the reading of facts and signs of the times. If all read the omens as Mr. Abbot does, all would be obliged to take the stand he does against a spiritual upstart and bully. Should his interpretation of the signs change, he would furl the particular banner that waves over THE INDEX office. He thinks he sights a foe which the rest do not perceive, and very properly sounds the alarm: that is all. He and they are enlisted in the same cause, and feel themselves to be. Is his apprehension justified or not? That is the question. Time will decide presently; and the whole army will throw itself on an unmasked enemy, or will remain quiet, an army of observation. If he ventures out with his division to reconnoitre, or, if necessary, to skirmish, the remainder of the army are not bound to follow; and cannot be accused of inconsistency, disloyalty, or timidity if they do not. Vigilance is commendable, even if it be overscrupulous; and courage is praiseworthy, even if it verge on temerity. If he is right, we ought to know it; if he is wrong, we hope he will discover his error in time to avoid serious consequences.

But if a split should be unavoidable, what then? Religion owes its vitality to splits. The respect for unity and organization may be one of the superstitions it were well to be rid of. Men have come to prize unity so highly that they will palter, conceal, dissemble, equivocate, falsify, for the sake of preserving it; and in thus doing they so destroy their sincerity, so eradicate their earnestness, that the unity is only a semblance, and the organization a creaking machine. Honor and policy both favor the frank acceptance of the conditions of dissolution. The law of progress is a law of heterogeneity. When the Free Religious Association follows the example of other associations, and affects a unanimity it does not feel, it is already dissolved by infidelity to its own principle.

O. B. F.

EDUCATIONAL.

We have just received from Washington two valuable circulars of information from the Bureau of Education, both of which are fully deserving of public attention.

No. 1 is "A Report of the Proceedings of the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association." It contains much interesting matter, especially on the workings of the compulsory school laws in Connecticut and elsewhere, on school hygiene, and on industrial drawing. It also gives much information in regard to plans for the exhibition of the educational department at the approaching centennial,—and a letter from the school commissioner in Mexico, which is of interest as showing the desire of the Mexican government to advance the cause of popular education in that country. We are sorry not to see the promised paper of Dr. Ruffner, the superintendent of education in Virginia, and the discussion which was to have followed on the important topic of the relations of the Federal government to a public school system.

No. 2 treats of a novel and interesting subject—Education in Japan. As both our political and commercial relations with this country are constantly increasing in importance, everything which promotes good understanding and mutual respect between the two countries is of special value. A very brief sketch of the history of Japan is given, and some popular errors in regard to its geography and language are corrected. One important statement is that, under the old régime, "nine-tenths of the people could read and write, books were numerous and cheap, and literary associations frequent even in country towns." Yet under the Mikados government a new department of education has been formed, the country divided into provinces, and a regular educational system established.

They report 472,047 students in the lower schools.

Especial attention has been given by the board to the education of women, and also to medical education; and preparations are made for supplying teachers both by normal schools at home and by sending young men abroad to be educated. A specially interesting point for us is the entirely secular character of the schools. There is no mention of religious exercises or studies in the programme of the schools. So jealous of any theological instruction is the government that, while courting the influence of foreign teachers, they have (in consequence of the efforts of some Christian teachers to introduce the doctrines of their church into the schools) resolved that "no Christian divine will be employed even as a secular teacher by the government."

But the picture is not all *couleur de rose*. Much complaint is made of the ill-will and inefficiency of the Japanese officials who are placed over the schools taught by foreigners, and who are naturally tenacious of their authority and rights.

In the character of the students, there seems to be a marked contrast to our Western youths. While reported to be on the whole equal to the Western student, his traits are mildness, docility, good behavior, and good manners; while he lacks the vigor, fire, and rebellious activity of the American boy. If it is possible that we may have developed these positive, aggressive traits at the expense of some equally valuable qualities, the mingling of the Japanese race with our own may be of great advantage to both parties. At any rate, it is a great good to look at them as they actually are, and expand our horizon by finding out how much that is really valuable lies beyond the line of our own country, religion, and race.

E. D. C.

THE GRIM AND THE GRACIOUS.

There are these two elements in life. Which shall we try to cultivate? Every person, one would think, spontaneously should reply, *the latter*. And yet is this the element which, in our individual and national life, we are seeking most to cultivate? There is no more important question for us to consider. Whether we are religionist, philosopher, scientist, or reformer, the art of being agreeable, in the highest and truest sense, is the best art we can learn. For if we are agreeable, then we are peaceable. If we are peaceable, in ourselves and towards all others, then we have heaven on earth. Then death and the future will be of slight moment to us. Life, and the present, will be all in all—our noblest and most serious consideration. Then how to die will be something we shall give little thought to,—any more than how to sleep when we are tired, or how to cast off clothing which we have worn out. Of to-day and not to-morrow we then shall take thought. How to live, to live long and divinely; how to grow, to grow sweet and fair as the lilies,—to this only, then, shall we give wish and heed.

At present, the element of grimness has more than its due place in our individual and national life. There is one thing which we Americans have not learned as yet; that is how truly to enjoy ourselves. We know how to work, but not so well how to play. We can invent, create, overturn, destroy, change, repair, and establish,—we can do anything possible to be done with material things,—but we do not know how simply and purely to be happy; to take life as it comes, and get easy and natural delight from it. Some of the older nations of Europe and the East, though far inferior to us in many phases of civilization, are our superiors in the art of enjoying life. "Heaven lies about us in our infancy," the poet says; but though we of the Occident are much younger than they of the Orient, in many respects we have in our daily life as a people far less of the heaven of pure and simple pleasure than they actually enjoy.

It does seem that the farther we recede from a state of Nature the more nervous and anxious, fretful and worried, in fact the more grim and heavy-laden with care and sorrow, we become. But if this is inevitable, that as we grow away from the state of childhood we grow less simple-hearted and happy, who then but would wish ever to remain a child—a child of Nature—avoiding the state of manhood, and of civilization? If unhappiness really must accumulate with our growing years; if the playful spirit must depart with youth, and only the capacity to work increase with age; if to become civilized means but to become serious and solemn, sedate and austere, painstaking and care-full, hurried and worried, busy and anxious, worldly and ambitious, extravagant and costly, showy and brilliant, bulky and tremendous, self-conscious and morbid,—who then but would wish to die young; or, necessitated to grow old, must also grow

sceptical, cynical, and pessimistic? Surely, no such fate is resting upon us as this! Surely, it is possible for us to grow strong and gentle, wise and simple, rich and modest, prosperous and humble, powerful and pure, great and good, earnest and happy, at the same time. Surely, as years accumulate upon us, as they silver our heads and wrinkle our brows, we may retain the spirit of youth in our hearts, and keep the zest of childhood for all simple joys and pleasures. Surely, we may join the state of Nature with the state of civilization; we may combine innocence with knowledge, artlessness with art, the youthful mind with experienced age.

Our New World civilization is more intellectual and moral than it is æsthetic. We Americans are grim rather than gracious. We take everything in a grim earnest sort of way. Our Puritan forefathers were grim, and their grimness still flows in our veins. Their religion was grim. It clouded the brow, solemnized the face, touched the manners with austerity, suppressed the spirit of mirth and joy. It divided man's faith between God and the Devil; in fact it painted the two so much alike that it was hard to tell which was the more awful. In these days, we are but just fairly beginning to make headway against the stern doctrines of the Puritans. The face of our religion is lighted up with a little more of human gentleness and softness; our houses of worship are not so bare and forbidding; our church music steps with a brisker and airier motion; and now and then pleasure dares to take the hand of piety, and walk together in the same path.

And yet we have much still to learn in the art of being gracious. In matters of reform we have still to learn to be gracious to those who are ungracious, good to those who are bad, humane to those who are inhuman, kind to those who are cruel, gentle to those who are violent, peaceable to those who are wrathful, generous to those who are selfish, loving to those who are vindictive. In morals, we have to learn to be good without being disagreeable, virtuous without being intolerant, just without being uncharitable, honest without being bigoted, conscientious without being conceited, pure without being critical, chaste without being ascetic, temperate without being bound, self-respecting without being proud.

In social manners and amusements, we Americans have yet not a little to learn in the art of being agreeable, and of finding simple and rational enjoyment. Notwithstanding the good degree of culture and refinement which this young country has industriously gained, its social life is still all too stiff and formal. And this is because its social life is not truly social; because it is not based upon what may be called the *ethical-æsthetic* qualities of our nature. There is no true politeness which is not founded on real human kindness and gentle regard for others. The art of being agreeable includes the art of making others agreeable. That circle is not truly polite wherein the spirit of politeness is not infectious and caught by all. If the proud eye so much as look one look, or the critical spirit make so much as the least gesture of disdain, naught can atone for the fault; the charmed spell is broken; the sensitive soul is ill at ease. For condescension is not politeness; only kindness and real magnanimity are that. The host who makes all his guests feel comfortable and self-possessed, by treating all with sincere respect and deference, only he is truly hospitable; only in his house do we find truly polite society, whether the upholsterer has been ever there or not. No aristocracy can practise good manners, when it is made up by leaving out of it the best people. "Ask not, 'Am I in the nobility'; but, 'Is there nobility in me'." When graciousness is in our hearts, then will it shine in our manners. When we learn to mingle with our fellow-men without suspicion, without jealousy, without pride, without scorn, without criticism, without censoriousness,—then we shall have a true social life; and that social life will be full of true politeness and gracious demeanor.

As to amusements, we Americans might learn something of the Germans. The Germans are a particularly social, domestic, and happy race. Their pleasures are simple and moderate, full of abandon, but without excess. Asceticism they abhor; yet their conviviality is hearty and human, in which old and young of both sexes freely and joyously mingle. They avoid our American extremes of prohibition and intemperance, and manage in a rational way to get an immense deal of delight out of the life that now is. We attain the true art of enjoyment when we learn to be happy without being foolish, jolly without being rude, gay without being silly; when we learn to go a merry-making without getting de-

moralized, and a pleasure-seeking without becoming vapid or vicious. We must learn that all life is given for play as well as work, for enjoyment as well as for service. We must learn that all things are ours—ours for use; neither for abuse nor disuse. He who for any purpose sequesters himself from social life, wrongs himself and his fellow-men. We all belong to each other. We all must learn, therefore, to live out our life freely and joyously, balancing it fairly between work and play, the useful and the agreeable. In fact, when we can learn to make the useful and the agreeable one, then our life will be a song in which no note of inharmony evermore shall be heard.

A. W. S.

Communications.

GRASSHOPPERS AND PRAYER.

Among the telegrams which appeared in the Western papers of June 3, I find the following:—

"KANSAS CITY, June 3.—Our people are generally observing the proclamation of Gov. Hardin. The grasshoppers in consequence began their flight westward this morning in immense masses, and are still flying. Danger is apprehended in Kansas from the number which have gone over."

Commenting upon this flight of the grasshoppers, the *Globe-Democrat* makes further reference to Prof. Riley and to the scientific probabilities of the exodus of the grasshoppers sometime between the 1st and 10th of June. Here is a portion of the article:—

"It is in no spirit of disrespect to Gov. Hardin, or to the religious interests in which his proclamation is issued, that we assert that his designation of June 3 as a day of fasting and prayer seems to have been dictated by the calculating wisdom of a man of the world, rather than by the unreasoning faith of an humble disciple. 'About this time,' as the almanac says, we may expect a sudden and simultaneous disappearance of the grasshoppers from all sections of the country which they have ravaged. Prof. Riley has shown, and experience has proved, that, as soon as their wings become strong enough to bear them, they fly away, and the fields and gardens of the devastated districts are finally relieved of their presence. These facts have become notorious through the press, and it has been generally expected that the exodus of the grasshoppers would occur between the 1st and the 10th of June. It has already begun. Last Friday and Saturday, according to a dispatch to the *Kansas City Times*, they arose in clouds and flew away toward the northwest from the southern tier of Kansas counties. Farther north their flight is somewhat later, but the *Kansas City Times* of Wednesday assures us that in Jackson County, at that date, the signs of an early departure were multiplying, and numbers of grasshoppers were found with fully developed wings, trying short experimental flights. In a few days we shall have no more of them, except as charity shall be called upon to supply the needs which they have created.

"If Governor Hardin, and others who are so much better than the secular editors, shall claim this anticipated and expected result of known and natural laws as a special interposition of Providence in answer to a large amount of prayer and a small amount of fasting, we shall endeavor to bear with equanimity the odium which they will seek to heap upon us because of our persistence in believing that it is nothing of the sort. We shall also continue to hold to the belief that the governor has allowed his reason to be overcome by what we are compelled to regard as his irreverent ideas of religion. We believe that it is, at all times, a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord, and to pray to be delivered from sin and all manner of evil; but we see no reason to believe anything in connection with the proclamation of Governor Hardin, except that he was sagacious enough to place his day of fasting and prayer in the period at which the grasshoppers might reasonably be expected to fly away."

This subject has developed much bitterness between the secular and the religious press; but especially has the State entomologist been the mark for ecclesiastical arrows.

Unable to find anything against the professor other than his firm belief in the undeviating laws of Nature, Dr. Yeaman, of St. Louis, in his fast day sermon, accuses the professor of "sneering at Providence," and says "that he was not employed for such a purpose." Note the covert threat. With the "God-in-the-Constitution" party once in control, how long would scientific men like Prof. Riley remain in office? But, as might be expected, the charge was false. The reply of Prof. Riley is excellent, and cannot fail to impress the reader that, in this matter, the man of science was far more liberal towards those with whom he honestly differed, than was "the man of God," who from his pulpit sought to bring into disrepute a brother man whose only crime was a dissent from clerical opinion.

W. F. P.

NEW ORLEANS, La., June 9, 1875.

- PROF. RILEY REPLIES TO DR. YEAMAN.

ST. LOUIS, June 4, 1875.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE GLOBE-DEMOCRAT:

Sir,—I see by your to-day's issue that "Dr. Yeaman mentioned a recent remark made by Prof. Riley, the entomologist, to the effect that people might superstitiously suppose that the late rains that killed the grasshoppers were ordered by Providence, but men of science knew they came from natural causes. He thought that Prof. Riley had taken unnecessary pains to sneer at Providence, and that he was not employed for such a purpose."

Now, it happens that I have never made any such remark,

nor uttered any opinion of the kind; and I defy the reverend gentleman to refer to any spoken or written word of mine that would justify him in thus dragging me into his sermon. The statement is made out of whole cloth—it is a figment of the gentleman's imagination, and is lugged in to lend effect, I suppose, to the rest of his eloquence. From a quite vivid recollection of a lecture delivered in St. Louis, in which lecture this same gentleman annihilated Darwin (to his own satisfaction), and repeatedly misrepresented those with whom he (Yeaman) differed, I conclude that such misrepresentation forms his stock in trade, and the basis of his brilliant argument. If the very reverend Dr. Pope Yeaman will be more cautious and exact in his statements about, and references to, others, people like myself, who form the laity, will learn to have more respect than they now have for his opinions, and less distrust of his sincerity and veracity.

The only sentiment I have ever expressed, either by word of mouth or by pen, as to Governor Hardin's proclamation, is contained in the article published in the *Globe* of May 19, where I wrote:—

"I deeply and sincerely appreciate the sympathy which our worthy governor manifests for the suffering people of our western counties, through the proclamation which sets apart the 3d of June as a day of fasting and prayer, that the Great Author of our being may be invoked to remove impending calamities. Yet, without discussing the question as to the efficacy of prayer in affecting the physical world, no one will for a moment doubt that the supplication of the people will more surely be granted, if accompanied by well-directed, energetic work."

"We are commanded by the best authority to prove our faith by our works. For my part I would like to see the prayers of the people take the substantial form of collections, made in churches throughout the State, for the benefit of the sufferers, and distributed by organized authority."

I am rejoiced to know that the last suggestion took shape in a second proclamation, and that it was very generally carried out yesterday, even in the ravaged districts; for at Warrensburg, where I spent the day, quite a large collection was taken up in the Rev. Mr. Rider's church.

My intercourse with Governor Hardin has led me to honor him as a Chief Magistrate whom the State will learn to appreciate more and more, and I hold him in too great respect to have much sympathy with the more flippant ridicule that has been made of the proclamation. Though I may not have over-much piety and faith myself, I at least know how to respect those qualities in others; and however much I believe that the insect which was the remote cause of Dr. Yeaman's yesterday's sermon is governed by natural laws, which should guide us in understanding and overcoming it, the reverend gentleman forgets his calling, and makes himself ridiculous, in charging, for such reasons, that I "sneer at Providence."

C. V. RILEY.

A CHRISTIAN'S LETTER.

[The following letter has been forwarded for publication, with the writer's consent, by a lady subscriber to THE INDEX.—ED.]

ARCADE, N. Y., March 1, 1875.

MY DEAR SISTER ALMIRA:—

Spring commences with mercury this morning at zero. Our correspondence has been for a long time suspended. I do not know who contributed the last missive. Do not know that that is important. I am reminded of you by the sight of THE INDEX, upon which is your name. From which I infer that you are a subscriber to that paper. It is mainly for the purpose of speaking of it and of yourself in connection with it, that I now write.

"The Coming Religion" lecture by F. E. Abbot has attracted my special attention. If I understand the index given by him to that religion, I most certainly hope the inhabitants of this earth may be spared from its general prevalence. There are some good points in relation to its advocacy of good to man by man. All that is good in his "coming religion" is included in and inculcated by the old religion, the religion of the Bible, the Christian religion; which religion he discards as effete and worthless—two thousand years in the rear of the true and the new. I understand Mr. Abbot to set down the God and the Savior of men, of the Bible, as mythical beings, or, at best, as "questionable deities" not worthy a recognition by present and future enlightened men. I understand him that his coming ideal religion is to have a "universal All," to which he gives the name of God. If I get the idea, that universal All is the universe; of which the God of the Bible is the creator.

Thus, becoming vain in his imaginations, his foolish heart is darkened, so that he manifests his folly in glorifying and even worshipping the created rather than the Creator, who to me is the God over all, blessed forever. Amen and Amen! Greatly do I rejoice that no poor, puny mortal can possibly, by his imaginings or by the power of his arm, thus dethrone the Almighty, and give his glory to birds and beasts and creeping things, or even to the greatest of his works—the universe.

This impotent contemner of God not only tramples him under his feet, as a "questionable deity," but adds insult to his prostrate form by robbing him of his name and bestowing it upon his deity. My dear sister, don't, don't, DON'T so despise the God of your fathers, the God of all living beings, the God of the universe, the God of Love, as to substitute any other god for him.

Sincerely and affectionately your brother,
R. W. LYMAN.

MISCELLANEOUS SUGGESTIONS.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

If radicals could well agree, a flag might possibly be erected for them to fight under. Of course it is not to be expected that one radical can consent to be bound by what others may prescribe; but still, so far as they are expected to act in concert, they must have as a basis of such action some convictions in common. The vagaries of faith are to be met by propositions addressed to unbiased reason, and not dodged, but openly avowed; and none the less because some politicians and some conductors of the press show inclination to court favor with the rabble by real or seeming sympathy with idolatrous parade. Not a few seem inclined to look upon a radical as a strange and hideous monster, having reverence for nothing, and necessarily irreligious. But nothing

could be more unjust. Religion has been well defined to be "Man's effort to perfect himself." If that is true, the only way to be truly religious is to take advantage of what is known of Nature's law in using such effort, setting aside everything else as an obstruction. Then where there is no effort there can be no religion. There is no reason whatever for believing that that law was ever changed, suspended, or controlled. So the basis of religion, as distinguished from superstition, is a practical sense of responsibility to the power that administers the moral world by law inherent in the nature of things.

We are not responsible for the mistakes that other people make; but it is charity, if not a requirement of justice, to take the most direct way to call them back from the by-ways of stubborn prejudice or gloomy fancy to the serene path of reason and common sense. It is very easy to make mistakes. A lady, some years ago, who had sympathy with Southern neighbors and horror of abolitionists, being asked what she understood an abolitionist to be, said: "I supposed everybody knew what that was: An abolitionist is one that teaches niggers how to read, and steals them." There was substance of truth in the definition, roughly put as it was, if the claim of property in man involved in it was well founded. So the following definition might be imagined to be substantially correct: "A radical is one who robs mankind of a future state of existence, and of all redemption through the blood of Christ;" as if it would be an easy thing to make a future state by consenting that it would be best to have one, and as if the atonement were not a myth! It would be rough justice to make a farmer lose his and for doubting as to the validity of his title, though no harm would be done if the farm were a castle in the air.

A person considerably more than half drunk, when the subject of immortality came up, said he should be quite ashamed to make no distinction between himself and his dog. Of course he took it or granted that the audience knew which of the two occupied the higher position. It is not all virtue, any more than it is all dignity, in the dogma of immortality. A pious Baptist minister before the war, whose prophetic volubility on the heights and "depths" of the wisdom and love of God in the redemption of the world was at least a match for the patience of some of his occasional hearers, was decidedly outspoken in condemnation of the practice of slavery. But he had occasion to spend a few months at the South; and, when he got home, he was asked by a neighbor whether his opinions on that subject had undergone any change. He said they had, and that he liked the Southern people; and added that, although he did not think that slavery was right in principle, he considered that the wrong done to the negroes was not so very serious after all, inasmuch as it did not extend beyond the present life.

A radical is of course set down as Godless too. But why should the word God, which varies in its meaning according to the measure of intelligence of the person who uses it, make trouble? He who is theist in one man's sense of it is theist in that of another. Not much is required in the way of theology. It will be no loss for common sense to take charge of that. The God whose existence has been taught to children, grown and ungrown, gets no better. Not to mention all his accomplishments, he begins by punishing man for not doing good, while admitting that man cannot distinguish it from bad; and he now holds people to be morally responsible or not having been born under more favorable circumstances. The sooner such a God is got rid of, the better for intelligence and morals.

A few leading maxims calculated to do service in war with superstition, and not coming in conflict with the more elaborate ones put forth in the first or the second volume of THE INDEX, might show themselves as sentinels to guard against the first advances of it; and, being distinctly formulated, they might here and there commend themselves to the opening intelligence of young persons, and thus tend to secure them against the grim demonology which it sometimes takes people many years to outgrow.

A few are proposed, as follows:—

Men's rights and duties being substantially the same in all ages, they cannot without violation of social duty admit any other authority than that of natural reason proceeding upon the final basis of observation and experience; and they have no moral right to accept teachings of dead or living man as final, or as binding on posterity by virtue of any personal authority of his.

If God exists, there is the same reason for knowing that his action is by natural and necessary law, and that that law is the only expression of his will, and there is for knowing that he is God of Nature and all.

All theory of natural antagonism between God and man is absurd, and repugnant to the harmony of the world.

No religion without effort towards improvement; and all improvement upon the sole basis of natural law.

No suspension of any natural law, and no knowledge of the future beyond rational conjecture or inference from the operation of known natural law, ever existed or was possible.

All supernaturalism is superstition; and all superstition is rebellion against God, if God exists; and it involves the idolatrous substitution of one or more false gods for the real one.

No truth can be known to be divine but such as is eternal and can be verified by experience or observation; and natural and divine law are necessarily identical.

Man who cannot perfectly understand the first

element of his own being is not and never was competent to understand the being of God, or to decide or know how much it takes to make one; nor could he communicate to another the knowledge he did not himself possess. It is an absurd or merely poetical fancy to suppose that anybody who was superhuman ever appeared upon earth.

The practice of virtue, justice, and benevolence towards the inhabitants of earth is man's whole duty to God, if God exists; as it is also the principal basis of every respectable man's happiness.

There is no duty to inquire as to a future state of existence, since there is no possibility of proof; and anxiety on that subject is silly impertinence.

The man or child whose sickly imagination gives place to the assumed existence of devils or meddling spirits, is to be censured or laughed at as well as pitied.

Thus might a few leading principles be stated in brief and general form, while we do not forget that truth becomes polemic when confronted with glaring errors; and then no particular inquiry need be entered on here, as to how far churches and church societies may be nurseries of soul-dwarfing prejudice, schools of scandal, or machines to legitimize moral destitution by substituting license of social abuse for law of natural propriety.

We know THE INDEX is in safe hands, and that it is no more inclined to shirk moral than political truth. Much has been done in the way of plain statement of principle. Not with a view to large patronage or present thrift has Christianity been deliberately pronounced inconsistent with the principle of republican liberty. The ring of the late "impeachment" was not the uncertain sound of the trumpet, at which Paul the Apostle says, "Who shall prepare himself to the battle?"

THE INDEX is doing efficient service by the propositions it has put forth and advocated, touching the oppressive union of Church and State in this country; and it holds them forth as the standard of its faith. It can do no hurt in its general, moral, and religious department, to erect occasionally a standard of rational radical faith, without excluding the sentiment which naturally and logically goes with it. It is fit not only that the burdens we labor under, adverse to liberty and morality, should be plainly understood, but that the general principles which show their wicked, abominable, and repulsive nature should be distinctly set forth and widely proclaimed.

CHARLES COLLINS.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Pa., June, 1875.

TEETOTALLY.

DEAR INDEX:—

Not one of that "glorious company" of refectors who help to furnish forth the feast you spread for us each week has brought more piquant pleasure to my taste (nor slighted real nutriment) than he who recently gave us, in "Leaves from my Journal," some tid-bits from the tenderloin of truth, served with such garnishment and condiment of poetry and wit as only your true *artiste* could produce. 'Twas a dish one must smack his lips over, and smile and smack again, or confess himself dyspeptic-splenetic indeed; but that "Bit of Conversation" That "hath its own flavor" so strongly, that an unpurged palate (mine, of course!) must instantly eschew it, though 'twere mingled with pure ambrosia. I half suspect that Mr. Morse introduced it artistically upon the principle of discords in music, and would willingly let it pass so, were it merely disagreeable to me, and not subtly dangerous. As I see it, I must needs cry out "poison!" though the whole board titter at my craziness.

I never could understand how it so often happens, when a philosopher "chances upon a conversation" respecting mooted points of his philosophy, that the other party proves to be a dunce; or, rather, I do not understand why any philosopher should think it worth while to journalize and report his chance conversations with other than persons of sense and discernment. Take, for example, the instance above referred to:—

I chanced to-day upon this bit of conversation:—"I have been a moderate drinker all my life; and, all my life up to the last few years, an immoderate eater."

"A sorry confession."

"Well, as to the eating, should I have totally abstained?"

"I see your point—but drink is poisonous."

"You say right. Drink is poisonous, and especially the water we drink. If you would drink water that is not medicated by cooking, catch it from the sky; and even then look out for the quantity. I tell you moderate or immoderate, in ten cases out of ten, determines the poison or not poison. 'Cool, sparkling water' killeth even like unto whiskey."

"You jest."

"But I flourish on my jest."

"It may 'cause your brother to offend."

"So does my eating meat."

"Then abstain."

"That was my question. Shall I totally abstain from food?"

Would Mr. Morse be kind enough to tell us whether the silly teetotaller really had not wit enough to add: "Certainly, if you can do as well on air alone as I am sure you can without whiskey?" Or did the overfed, moderately drunken, most astute philosopher "come away" before the overwhelmed had time to recover from that final stunner?

I am accustomed to consider this total abstinence question upon what the Swedenborgians call "the plane of simple uses." Is it, in broad sense, of greater use to drink whiskey moderately (admitting the doubtful possibility), or to abstain altogether? If we believe, with Mr. Abbot, [No.—ED.] that the example of total abstinence is more dangerous than the example *plus* the fact of moderate drinking; or if, with Mr. Morse's friend, we are ready to concede that some whiskey is as essential to life and use as food itself; why, then 'tis logical to drink, and there is no arguing with us further on the subject. But if

moderate drinking had no place less morally exalted than the former, or more scientifically tenable than the latter, in which to entrench itself, 'twere easier by far to do away with "the great evil."

Yours teetotally, T. H. EVERETT.
RUSHFORD, Minn., June 20, 1875.

THE "UNKNOWNABLE."

THE INDEX of May 20 remarks as follows: "To affirm an Unknownable is to affirm the known existence of that which it is declared impossible to know at all." Again: "There is a 'rationalism' far more searching and thoroughgoing than Spencer's—the rationalism which claims for reason an empire unbounded by any man's arbitrary limitations—the rationalism of science, which quietly annexes province after province of the supposed Unknownable to its own domain." I am not so egotistic as to presume to discuss this question philosophically, but it does seem to me that there are some facts with which your conclusions above quoted are inconsistent. And first is the fact that science has never explained a mystery. Gravitation, for instance, science names; but further "deponent saith not." Of its essence the Patagonian knows as much as Newton knew. Franklin brought mysteries to view, but there stopped. He annexed no province of the Unknownable. The mysterious nature of what we call electricity becomes more and more apparent as science utilizes it. The mystery of day and night, summer and winter, is increased, not lessened, by the discoveries of astronomy. The astronomer tells us what he sees, but nothing more. Science shows us new mysteries, but reveals no secrets. At every spring of its key of discovery, the existence of the Unknownable is made more apparent. If Spencer is wrong, is it not singular that the most advanced scientists have the strongest convictions of an unknowable element of the universe? The vision of this "open secret" is not vouchsafed to the primitive man. There are advanced thinkers who doubt it *speculatively*, and in deference to their determined loyalty to reason; but their intuitions, based upon a faculty (that of wonder) which must become obsolete if their theory is a true one, are ever against them. "We are fearfully and wonderfully made"; but can we know the Maker's secret? We have annexed the provinces of gravitation, centripetal and centrifugal motions, solar attraction, etc.; but is the real secret of the great mechanic to be revealed to us? It is the first cause that is past finding out. In this direction science has not advanced a hair's breadth. Science reveals law, but not the source of power. The origin of all force is as much a mystery as ever.

But if we can claim for reason illimitable capacity of understanding, why not for ourselves corresponding power and dominion? Our consciousness is certainly positive as to the limitations of our capacity for power, and to my mind no less so in regard to our capacity for wisdom. I think it is Emerson who says, "I give you joy: All things are Knowable." But I am sceptical. Z.

THE CARROT QUESTION.

EDITOR INDEX:—

In THE INDEX of June 24, Austin Kent evidently feels that he has put a *quietus* on Josiah Warren's equation of the commercial relations of mankind, by his statement of the carrot problem.

It appears to me that the same laws which operate all through Nature will obtain here; there will be a "natural selection" of carrot-raisers, and a "survival of the fittest," without protection to those who choose to raise a crop half weeds and half carrots. The ruling prices will be the *minimum* cost at which the market could be supplied, and by the law above referred to we should soon find out who should fix the price of carrots, as well as of all other articles of trade. There are, of course, other necessary conditions of society, differing essentially from present ones, which must be attained before this cost principle would work successfully. A factor of one phase of life may not be arbitrarily applied to other stages of development with success. There must be unity of interests, and a desire on the part of all to contribute to the general welfare. No doubt, exact justice will finally be the foundation upon which mankind will deal with each other; and, when that time comes, men will wonder how the present ideas could have ever ruled the world; just as we do now regarding many exploded myths that were once so potent. As Gerald Massey expresses it:—

"The world is waking from its phantom dreams,
To make out of that which is from that which seems;
And in the light of day shall blush to find
What wraiths of darkness still had power to blind
Its vision; what thin walls of misty gray,
As if of granite, stopped its onward way."

And when this time arrives there will be free trade in commerce, politics, and religion; for none will seek "protection" against his brother man. J. T. C.
AMESBURY, June 20, 1875.

MEN OFTEN speak of breaking the will of a child; but it seems to me that they better break the neck. The will needs regulating, not destroying. I should as soon break the legs of a horse in training him, as a child's will. I would discipline and develop it into harmonious proportions. I never yet heard of a will in itself too strong, more than an arm too mighty, or a mind too comprehensive in its grasp, and too powerful in its hold. The instruction of children should be such as to animate, inspire, strain, but not to hew, cut, and carve; for I would always treat a child as a live tree, which was to be helped to grow, never as dry, dead timber, to be carved into this or that shape, and to have certain mouldings grooved upon it. A live tree, and not dead timber, is every little child.—Theodore Parker.

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EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

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To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

In addition to its general objects, the practical object to which THE INDEX is specially devoted is the ORGANIZATION OF THE LIBERALS OF THE COUNTRY, for the purpose of securing the more complete and consistent secularization of the political and educational institutions of the United States. The Church must give place to the Republic in the affections of the people. The last vestiges of ecclesiastical control must be wiped out of the Constitutions and Statutes of the several States in order to bring them into harmony with the National Constitution. To accomplish this object, the Liberals must make a united demand, and present an unbroken front, and the chief practical aim of THE INDEX will be henceforth to organize a great NATIONAL PARTY OF FREEDOM. Let every one who believes in this movement give it direct aid by helping to increase the circulation of THE INDEX.

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Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

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Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India;" also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

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"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

CARL SCHURZ has been received most flatteringly in London.

WENDELL PHILLIPS is in favor of a third term for President Grant.

TENNYSON'S new drama, *Queen Mary*, is highly praised by the *London Times*.

AMATEUR rifle-shooting would seem to make men brutes. It reduces a company of respectable gentlemen to a mere "team."

THE CONFLICT over municipal appropriations to sectarian institutions is now waging in Baltimore, where it has got into court.

SIR CHARLES DILKE is the owner of the *London Athenæum*. Mr. Smalley considers him one of the rising politicians of England.

OCEAN TRAVEL and land travel are getting mixed. Colonel Gildersleeve, of whose exploits the papers are still full, has just teamed across the Atlantic to Cork, and then sailed to victory over "Green Erin" to Dollymount.

WHAT NEXT? Here is an advertisement from *Nature* of June 3: "NOSE MACHINE.—This is a contrivance which, applied to the nose for an hour daily, so directs the soft cartilage of which the member consists, that an ill-formed nose is quickly shaped to perfection," etc., etc.

THE TOTAL property valuation of New York State for 1875 is \$2,366,780,102; that of New York City is \$1,100,943,699. The former is an increase of \$198,472,229, or 9.15 per cent., as compared with 1874—a much higher rate than ever before known. This is a remarkable exhibit, considering the business depression.

SAID James Russell Lowell at the Harvard Commencement dinner: "The old motto of the College was *Veritas*; the one substituted for it was *Christo et Ecclesie*." So Harvard is dedicated now, not to "Truth," but to "Christ and the Church." Professor Lowell thought the substitution was made "because there was necessarily no manifest difference between the two." But, while the College is forgetting the difference, the world is finding it out. The undergraduates, who rarely go into the ministry now, make the newer motto every day more ridiculous, and show that the College is a bit of a hypocrite in professing a devotion to the Church, which is pretence only.

THE QUESTION of inflation is looming up again as the great political issue. To feel all the humiliation and disgrace involved in a depreciated currency, one need only travel a few days in Canada, and see his country's money universally discounted and despised. It would take a nation of knaves to vote that promise is performance, and deliberately to set out on the road to repudiation; and it would take a nation of idiots to discuss very long the question whether inflation is that road or not. That the United States place some value on their public credit, we certainly believe; and, if they do, the infamy of some recent platforms will soon sink the latter out of sight.

PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON recently exhibited great bravery and great modesty at the same time, as thus described by a correspondent of the *London Globe*: "A few days ago Dr. Russell Reynolds was being driven in a four-wheeled cab from Charlton Station, near Blackheath. The horse became restive and ran away, and the position of affairs was critical, for not far off there was a precipitous, unprotected bank. Over this the animal would certainly have plunged had not its progress been stopped by the young Prince Louis Napoleon, who, happening to be close by, sprang forward, seized the horse by the head, and pulled him up. The Prince, who was

dragged along the muddy road for a considerable distance, was not recognized by the gentleman whose life he had thus gallantly saved at the risk of losing his own, and when asked for his name replied—without, however, giving it—that he was very glad to have been of some service, and that doubtless they would meet again."

THIS item is from the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of July 1: "F. R. Ladd, a heavy real estate owner in Springfield, has refused to pay his taxes for 1874, because of the injustice of the non-taxation of church property, and his real estate has been advertised for sale by the tax collector." When a large property-owner feels the injustice of church-exemption keenly enough to make such a heavy sacrifice as this rather than submit to it, it is about time for the public to look at the matter seriously. Mr. Ladd has a most just cause of protest in the fact that the non-taxation of church property unfairly increases his own taxes; and the cause of human rights may be as well served by his sturdy refusal to pay them as it was by John Hampden's famous refusal to pay the twenty shillings of ship-money to Charles I. It is necessary to know whether American citizens are to be taxed to support the churches; and every staunch Liberal should thank Mr. Ladd for so courageously forcing this question to an open issue.

THE EARTHQUAKE in South America and the inundation in France, by which misery has been wrought on such a frightful scale, show how limited is the control of natural forces, which is possible to man. Science cannot hope to get the mastery of the Titanic energies which now and then burst forth with such devastating and appalling fury. What does it all mean? Human conceit is infatuated enough to imagine this boundless universe built up for man's accommodation, and the folly may escape detection in ordinary times; but it passes comprehension that such events as these should not strip the veil of vanity even from the clerical mind. Small indeed are the ends of human ambition, and small they seem to him who is not besotted with vulgar egotism. Nothing can protect us from a crushing sense of our own insignificance, except a resolute reverence for the infinite majesty of virtue and the infinite grandeur of intelligence. After all, there is nothing great but mind; and if Nature is less than Mind, she is a mouse that has borne a mountain.

EX-PRESIDENT WOOLSEY, of Yale College, in his Phi Beta Kappa address at Cambridge last week, declared that he "did not believe in universal suffrage"; and, to our great regret, this opinion was received by his audience with a burst of applause. In the main, his oration was a most noble one; yet it is a reason for grave disquietude, when the most highly educated part of a nation are infected with scepticism touching the fundamental principles on which that nation is built. Is the republic, then, based on a falsehood or a mistake? No power in the universe can ever succeed in limiting a suffrage which has once been universalized; it is idle to be wailing over what is now irrevocable; it is shallow and superficial to assume that the momentous experiment of self-government by the whole people is a failure, because the cultured element considers itself alone fit to rule. This is conceit—the conceit of a culture which is one-sided and incomplete. No doubt universal suffrage will fail to bring the millennium; but it is the only just principle, and in the long run justice is the corner-stone of prosperity. Why shake one's head because everybody votes, instead of vigorously following up universal suffrage with universal education? Let the republic believe in both; and the result will be a millionfold better than if it adopted the nostrum of quidnuncs and restricted suffrage by some nominal test.

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 FOR APRIL, 1875.

BY WILLIAM D. LESUEUR.

To man alone of all sentient beings is it given to regulate his own inward life, and so govern his thoughts that, instead of being dependent on momentary sense-impressions, they shall follow a path, and proceed in an order, of his own determining. The lower animals have thoughts, but their thoughts are chained, as it were, to the objects that suggest them; and their lives may thus be conceived as broken into an indefinite number of separate movements, each dominated by its own special impression. When a horse stops at a gate at which he has been accustomed to stop, I cannot believe that he retains what we would call a remembrance of any of the previous occasions on which he has done so, or that he distinguishes in any way between his last act of the kind and former ones. He stops, as we say, mechanically, by virtue of an association established between the visual impression of the gate, and the order to stop so often given at the same point. How this may be we know from our own experience, for we continually find ourselves doing things in the same way, sometimes much to our own inconvenience. Very many acts of forgetfulness are the result simply of the force of established habits: we have some special thing to do at a certain time, something out of the usual course, but, trusting ourselves to our daily routine of duty, we are insensibly carried past the point at which the special action was to be performed, and are only reminded of it when, perhaps, it is too late. The very attempt, however, to keep a thing in mind is a mark of the higher intellectual development at which human beings have arrived; we cannot imagine such an attempt being made by any of the lower animals. It is our prerogative to contemplate our own thoughts as phenomena: in other words, man has risen to self-consciousness, and with self-consciousness comes the impulse, and not the impulse only but the power, to control the successive manifestations of his life. In the self-consciousness of man, Spirit, to use the language of the Hegelian philosophy, realizes its own essential freedom. The forms in which it clothes itself perish, but it remains; and it thus recognizes itself as superior to change, the true type of the incorruptible and eternal.

The freedom of the spirit, however, is realized in different degrees in different races, and individuals. Throughout a large portion of the human family the life of sense predominates altogether over the life of thought; and man is seen as the slave of passion, and of custom, rather than as master of his own faculties and destinies. There is, no doubt, a radical distinction between the thought even of savages, and that of the lower animals; but if the glory of mankind is to be found in the power of self-control and self-education, and in the possession of interests wholly unconnected with the physical appetites, there are numerous races of men to whose humanity little glory can be said to attach. Among savage tribes there seems an absolute lack of capacity for the exercise of abstract thought, or any disengagement of the mind from material objects and interests; but I am not sure that in civilized communities we do not sometimes witness what, strictly judged, is a more painful subject of contemplation; namely, a kind of voluntary ignorance of all the

nobler springs of human action, a voluntary clinging to a mode of life, such as, in all its moral elements, might be lived by beings very far down in the scale of civilization.

In cases of this kind how much should be attributed to sheer inferiority of organization in the individual, and how much to the lack of favorable formative influences? The balance is often difficult to strike, but probably no case comes under our notice in which we are not disposed to believe that, *had circumstances only been different*, a better result might have been brought about. Strange characters, no doubt, are born into the world; but what these might become under a thoroughly natural and healthy system of education no one, perhaps, is in a position to say. Certain it is that, by unwise and vicious methods of education, many a naturally good disposition has been spoiled, and gifts of intellect that might have proved of the highest value to society have either been condemned to uselessness, or directed into positively mischievous courses. The great dramatist has told us of a "divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will." This may perchance hold true of human destinies; but in the development of human character it would seem as if Nature did the rough-hewing, and left education and circumstances to do the shaping. And the shaping is a great deal. The turn that it gives to our thoughts, our interests, our tastes, our manners, may make all the difference between happiness and unhappiness, between success and the want of it; may make our lives noble or make them mean; make them a blessing to the world or a burden even to ourselves. Very few human beings have even moderate justice done to them in the way of education. Carlyle has said: "A wise, well-calculating breeding of a young, genial soul in this world, or, alas, of any young soul in it, lies fatally over the horizon in these days." The statement is an extreme one; but, to those who know how to read Carlyle, it contains a truth. "Wise and well-calculating breeding" does not lie completely "over the horizon," even in these days; but, like all excellent things, it is rare. To make it more common is the one great problem in education; a problem, however, the full importance of which few appreciate. By education is too commonly understood the mere acquisition of "useful knowledge"; in other words, of an equipment for the great life-struggle for wealth. The moulding of the character, the awakening and strengthening of the intellectual powers, the cultivation of the tastes and the emotions, scarcely enter into the popular idea of education at all. Yet surely an education that makes no provision for these things is unworthy of being offered to a being like man, susceptible of reverence, of love, of disinterestedness, of admiration, of enthusiasm for the true and the beautiful; a being formed for rational inquiry and discourse, and capable of governing his life by devotion to high ideals. That there is in average humanity a capacity for something better than we ordinarily see, is proved by the success that attends the efforts of all really eminent teachers. One man like Dr. Arnold gives a tone to the thoughts and sentiments of hundreds of youths, so that those whom he has trained are distinguishable by their intellectual and moral qualities for the rest of their lives. A recent writer in *Blackwood's Magazine* held that Dr. Arnold made his boys too conscientious; but if there was an error on that side, which I am slow to believe, it was an error that very few teachers could commit if they tried, and one of which very few have ever been accused.

Whether as the result of fortunate, or in spite of unfortunate, influences and agencies, some souls in every generation are seen to rise above the common plane of human existence, so as to derive from the habitual exercise of their higher and nobler faculties an interest at once keen and satisfying. The life that such live is preëminently a life of thought, animated and kindled by strong moral feeling. If we call it "the intellectual life," we shall not, perhaps, use the words very inappropriately, or assign to them more meaning than they are adapted to bear. For is there not in the word "intellect" itself, something noble and imposing, and should we care to dignify with the name *intellectual activity* thought devoted to idle or selfish purposes? In such a life as I refer to, there is a pervading unity of tone and purpose. The man who thinks a noble thought does not distinguish between the mental act and its moral coloring; to him it is simply one moment of his existence. If, therefore, one word is to be chosen to express a life in which high thoughts and high aims are thus harmoniously and indissolubly blended, I know of none more suitable than the word "intellectual."

The first step in this life is to have faith in reason; to believe sincerely, thoroughly, and once for all, that man has faculties adapted for the discovery of truth, and that a faithful use of these must be attended by good results. Such a faith is so natural to the human mind that it can hardly fail to be developed in any one who in youth sees examples, or perhaps even a single example, of its active exercise. In default of living companionship of the right kind, a book casually met with will sometimes awaken the mind to a sense of its powers and privileges; but, in whatever way the effect is wrought, it is always one of the very greatest moment. A too common idea of human reason is that it is a narrow kind of calculating faculty, useful in business operations and in the ordinary affairs of life; but, in wider or deeper questions, more likely to lead to error than to truth. The true view of reason is that it is the *only* faculty man has for arriving at truth on any subject, great or small; so that any truth which reason cannot grasp is entirely out of human reach. If we are to guard against being led

astray by reason, what faculty are we to employ for the purpose? Shall we better ourselves by giving the reins to imagination, or jumping at conclusions with our eyes shut? This is what in certain quarters we are counselled to do, on the understanding, of course, that the conclusions we jump at shall be those of our counsellors; otherwise our faith is vain. Madame de Staël understood pretty well a certain class of philosophers when she wrote: "The defenders of prejudices, that is to say, of unjust claims, of superstitious doctrines, of oppressive privileges, try to call into existence an apparent opposition between reason and philosophy, in order to be able to maintain that reason may lay an interdict upon reason, that there are truths which we should believe without understanding them, principles which we must admit, but forbear from analyzing; in a word, a sort of exercise of thought which serves the single purpose of persuading us how useless all thought is."* There must have been "Grammars of Assent," and treatises on "The Limits of Religious Thought," in those days as well as in these; for here they are described as regards their spirit and purpose to the very letter.

He who once fully realizes that truth is made for man, and man for truth, enjoys a sense of freedom that nothing else can give. He breathes a larger and more invigorating air, and feels himself a citizen, not of the world only, but of the universe. He is delivered from bondage to his own opinions; for he knows now that, though he were proved wrong on every point, there is a *right* elsewhere—that, in fact, only in the light of higher truth could he be rationally convinced of his own errors. The poet Clough, whose life was almost a type-example of what we would here describe, has nobly said:—

"It fortifies my soul to know
 That, though I perish, Truth is so;
 That, howsoever I stray and range,
 Whate'er I do, Thou dost not change.
 I steadier step when I recall
 That, if I slip, Thou dost not fall."

Most men, on the contrary, speak and act as though the fortunes of the universe were bound up with their own infallibility, and as if, therefore, any demonstration of radical error in their opinions would imperil all the happiness and hopes of humanity. Hence follows, by a natural process of development, a kind of fetish-worship of opinions that leaves out of sight almost entirely the question of their truth or falsehood, and looks only at their supposed utility. The more assured a man is of possessing the truth, the more confident should be his outlook upon the world, the more prepared he should be to examine the opinions of those who are so unfortunate as to disagree with him, and ascertain the grounds on which they are held. We find, however, that just the contrary is the case; that people whose opinions rest, as they say, on an immovable basis, are, as a general thing, particularly reluctant to acquaint themselves directly with other forms of belief. They will, perhaps, look into some travesty of hostile opinions prepared for them by hands they can trust; but as for a personal survey of the hostile territory, they would rather be excused. In such cases the thing dreaded is not the loss of truth, but the loss of a persuasion; that truth *may* be on the other side they cannot help at times suspecting; but they are determined never to be brought face to face with the proofs. If they thought that a thorough and candid examination of their opponents' position would confirm them in their present opinions, and set their minds for ever at rest, they would gladly and eagerly resort to it; but they think nothing of the kind. Instead of setting truth above opinion, they set opinion above truth. Truth is a far-off Mikado, a dignified kind of entity always to be spoken of with respect; but opinion is the *præsens divus*, the Tycoon, or, to come back to Europe, the mayor of the palace—the actual ruler of men's lives. Is there no word to express this disposition of mind? Certainly there is: the word is *scepticism*. The sceptic, in any sense of the word, that can live in this century is not he who, after candid examination, decides that he cannot accept this or that system of belief; but he whose mind is full of dark places that he does not care to have illumined; who fears that his structure of belief is tottering, yet dreads to examine its foundations, or even so much as to put out his hand to steady it; who piteously begs everybody near to keep quiet, lest a breath or a vibration should lay the whole fabric in ruins.

Directly opposed to the spirit of scepticism is the spirit of intellectual liberty. He whose thought has been emancipated may find himself compelled to deny, or at least to question, many things commonly accepted; but the general tone of his mind is not negative, but positive. In a certain sense he feels as though he could believe all things, for he is prepared to welcome truth from any quarter, and the universe seems to him full of truth, while error dwindles away to the most insignificant dimensions. Even errors, when understood in their genesis and development, yield up their quota of truth, and may thus serve, like any other objects of study, to help forward the education of the mind.

It by no means follows that he who has arrived at a conviction of the supremacy of reason must make an idol of his own individual reason, or set up any form whatever of self-worship. Of course he will be accused of this, and probably of numerous other absurdities; but he must learn, as a reasonable man, to bear the charge with patience, knowing how plausible it must appear to those who urge it. Reason itself teaches that, in certain matters, the reason of others is to be preferred to our own; and in such cases we shall use our reason simply to guide us to those whom it may be prudent for us to trust or follow. If these, instead of doing us good, inflict injury

* *De la Littérature*, p. 514.

on us, or lead us astray, we pay the penalty of our ignorance, as men have been doing, more or less, from the beginning of the world. Our duty was discharged if we made the best selection that the state of our knowledge, or the information within our reach, enabled us to make. No one knows better than he who believes in reason how to submit to authority; for no one is more impressed than he with the advantage that knowledge has over ignorance, or with the inexorable character of all natural laws. "A pious soul," says Carlyle, writing of his friend Sterling, "we may justly call him; devoutly submissive to the will of the Supreme in all things; the highest and sole essential form which religion can assume in man, and without which all forms of religion are a mockery and a delusion in man." In the intellectual life there is no spirit of revolt, but rather a desire to be brought into harmony with whatever may be recognized as the decrees of Providence or the laws of Nature; in a word, with whatever is permanent and essential in the general constitution of things.

The great truths of the universe are not of any private interpretation—their application is to all mankind, their benefits are for all. He, therefore, who has seen reason in its beauty and its infinitude will feel that his life, at least, must afford some feeble reflection of that which has dawned upon his spirit. He has become a debtor to humanity, and woe to him if he preaches not some kind of gospel. Was the revelation made to him that he might thereafter shut his lips, and live a life of selfishness among his fellow-men? Or can he avail himself of the wider and deeper views of things to which he has been admitted simply to increase his own personal prestige and power? That men cannot be thus unfaithful to the highest gifts it would be rash to assert, but surely it must be hard for them to be; for does not all illumination, like the first rays of sunlight on the lips of the fabled statue, seem to smite into music the very "chords of self," attuning them to a vaster harmony than they had ever before known? There is nothing in the world so catholic as reason. Interests and traditions divide men, and arm them against one another; but reason would unite them, if they would but listen to its voice. Edgar Quinet has well pointed out that what the mightiest church the world ever saw failed to accomplish—the unification of humanity—science, which is nothing but embodied reason, is every day hastening to a consummation. Let me try and translate here a few of his eloquent sentences:—

"This reign of unity, which the Church is still pursuing, Science, in her ceaseless progress, has all but grasped, if indeed she has not fully grasped it. You heap upon her your lofty scorn, but all the while she is accomplishing that which you content yourself with promising. What is she doing? Why, she is the same for all peoples; she speaks, and makes her authority respected in all languages; she brings together different climates, and does away with space. Always in agreement with the vast book of Nature, wide open from East to West, she knows nothing of sects or heresies. She works; she imitates the Creator, and brings Nature to its perfection. While you are discoursing, she is advancing; and the modern world, which you refuse to follow, is resting itself more and more upon her laws, as upon eternal reason, the one truly catholic reason brought to light by the very men you have condemned."*

The intellectual life, therefore, is a life of sympathy with humanity, and of harmony with Nature. It finds its natural aliment in general truths, and the satisfaction of its active impulses in the enunciation of these truths, and, so far as may be, in their practical application to human affairs. All sustained intellectual life must have its root in human interests of one kind or another, and we find, as a matter of fact, that the keenest students, those who grasp at the most encyclopædic knowledge, are those whose labors bear most directly on the progress of society. And here it may be remarked that faith in reason and faith in progress are sentiments so closely allied that they are seldom seen apart. For in what does progress consist, if not in the gradual assimilation, so to speak, by the social organism, of successive discoveries of truth? If, therefore, there are no assignable limits to the conquests of the human mind, there can be none to the progress of society. It has been truly remarked that the idea of progress is a wholly modern one. The thoughts of the ancients seem scarcely to have wandered beyond their own time; and after the introduction of Christianity, the whole stress of human hopes (and fears) was transferred to a future life, this mundane state of existence being regarded as a provisional dispensation which might at any moment be abruptly terminated. Of course men continued to follow their instincts; they married and gave in marriage (though the thought of the approaching end of the world was often an incitement to celibacy); they fought, and traded, and built; but the idea that here on this earth the human race had a glorious destiny to fulfil was one for which the system in which they believed allowed no room. It was with the much-abused French philosophers of the eighteenth century that the idea of progress may be said to have originated. In the face of a hierarchy still powerful and dangerous, they ventured to dispute the doctrine of the total corruption of human nature, and to contend that the free exercise of thought, instead of leading inevitably to error, was the only means by which men could hope to escape from their errors, and to advance in the knowledge of the truth. They held, too, that the free play of human instincts and feelings, instead of involving the ruin of society, would lead to the evolution of a far better social order than the one then existing. That

they were over-sanguine in some of their anticipations, that they expected too much from the mere removal of restrictions on human action, may readily be admitted; but it is their glory to have believed in liberty in a larger sense than it had ever been believed in before; and to have seen in prophetic vision that golden age of the future to which all the noblest minds of the present generation instinctively look forward, and the hope of which grows stronger in the breast of humanity with each succeeding year. The ideas which these men cast abroad worked like leaven in French society, and no doubt hastened the downfall of the corrupt and fast-decaying French monarchy; but to-day, no longer revolutionary in their tendency, they are a faith to thousands, and furnish the inspiration of much noble and unobtrusive effort for the general good.

To lead a truly intellectual life, prizing the perception of truth above the rewards of the world, requires an elevation of character that not every man of superior intellect possesses. The world is ever at the elbow of the man of talent, urging, tempting him to devote to its service—but not in the highest sense—the gifts at his command. A thousand voices cry: "Amuse us, enliven us, startle us, flatter us, or, if you like, satirize us; but, in some way or other, excite and please us, and you shall not have to wait for your recompense. We will pay you cash down, and leave no debt for posterity to settle. Your name and fame shall be in all the newspapers, and if criticism ventures to attack you we will laugh it out of countenance; for are we not the great public, and can we not protect our favorites?" Yielding to such solicitations, many a man has abandoned art and truth, and devoted himself to the ignoble task of gratifying tastes which he recognized as frivolous or vicious. He has given the world what it ordered, allowed it to dictate what he should write, or speak, or create, and he has had his reward in popularity and pay. Perhaps if he has been very successful he has been proclaimed a true classic, and promised an immortality of renown. True classics, however, are not often those who take their own generation by storm,* and are never those who write simply with a view to immediate popularity. The fame of Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton is vastly greater in this age than it was in their own, not only because this age is able to understand them in a wider and deeper sense than the one in which they wrote, but because these great names have received the cumulative admiration of every generation through which they have passed. It is not too much to say that a man who has the stuff in him of a true classic will not be thoroughly comprehended or enjoyed by the mass of his contemporaries, for the simple reason that, in point of thought, he is in advance of them. It rests with posterity to do him full justice, and if he be a writer of the first eminence—a Dante, a Shakespeare, a Goethe—a dozen generations are not too much for the purpose.

There are many enemies to intellectual life, but they may be all classed under the one head as *the world*. One man is tempted to write rubbish for popular consumption, another to compose trashy music, another to fall in with vulgar tastes in architecture or in the decorative arts. Others, again, are summoned to bear a part in the political struggles of their day; and nothing will satisfy the multitude but that they should visibly ally themselves with some existing party organization, and aim at the ordinary rewards of political partisanship or leadership. According to the popular view, ability is, like wealth, a personal possession to be used for the benefit of the possessor; and why a man who has ability should not employ it to procure his worldly advancement, is a mystery that passes all vulgar understanding. Not only so, but many men become irritated and vexed whenever they hear of any one whose apparent aim in life is simply to investigate the truth of things, and bring that truth to bear as much as possible on the minds of others.

Urit enim fulgore suo qui praegravat artes
Infra se positas.

They have an uncomfortable feeling that the business of the world, and perhaps their own particularly, could not go on if truth were generally sought after, or if it were a matter of general obligation to pursue only right ends, and to pursue those only by right means. The man of ideas thus appears to many in the light of a dangerous innovator, simply because, having forsaken the rule of thumb for the rule of logic, and the morality of expediency for that of principle, there is no knowing what doctrines he may some day bring forward for the confusion of society. He may not have announced anything revolutionary as yet, but his method seems to contain in it "the promise and potency" of every form of revolution.

Let a man but renounce his devotion to truth and principle, and the more brain-power he can bring to the aid of a party or cause, the more welcome his alliance will be. He will become a champion athlete in parliamentary or journalistic struggles; weaker men will rally round him; and in due time he may scale the highest seat of power. There will be plenty of work for him to do; plenty of glory to gain. Instead of hiding in obscurity, he will be ever in the eye of the world. Instead of inspiring aversion and distrust by his very talents, he will secure admiration and, in a certain measure, sympathy. Instead of straining, more or less painfully, after a high ideal, he will have success, the great ideal of nearly all the world, brought within easy grasp. The one condition is that he shall do as others do, fight the world with its own weapons, and forget as much as

* "Il n'est pas bon de paraître trop vite et d'emblée classique à ses contemporains; on a grande chance alors de ne pas rester tel pour la postérité."—*Ste. Beuve, Causeries du Lundi*. Vol. 3, p. 40.

possible that he was ever summoned to any nobler task.

"Do you mean then," some one here may ask, "that men of high character and ability should stand aloof from public affairs, and leave them to be managed by men of inferior qualifications, intellectual and moral?" I should be sorry to mean anything of the kind; but this I do mean: that if, to any man in particular, participation in public life involves a sensible lowering of his standards of duty, or the sacrifice of more important principles than any he can hope to vindicate or establish, then for that man participation in public life is an error, if not a crime. And to how many men such as I refer to has a public career of any length involved less than this? Where is the name among men who have been long in politics in this, or, I might almost say, in any country, that is capable of exciting the enthusiasm of rational men? There are party leaders of ability who receive daily flattery from those whose interest it is to flatter them; but where is the man who has shown in the struggle of parties a spirit superior to stratagem, to evasion, to unworthy compromise, the man who has neither alienated his judgment nor sacrificed his conscience, the man upon whom good men may fix their hopes, and whose public virtues the youth of our country may be urged to imitate? We have seen men go into politics who might have been all this, some perhaps who we trusted would be, but—some change has passed over them: to those whose hopes were brightest they are "lost leaders."

If the only choice to a man of intellect were between absolute passivity and nullity, in respect to the political interests of the country, and an active political career with all its moral risks, there would be much to say in favor of the latter course; but such, fortunately, is far from being the case. A man does not need to be a practical politician in order to influence public opinion. As a private citizen he may uphold true principles, and help to guide those around him to right conclusions. The important question, if we would estimate any man's work aright, is not, How widely his name has been repeated? but, What have those who repeat his name learned or received from him? What kind of moral impulse has he communicated to those who have come into contact with him? Surely to have done good to a few is infinitely better than merely to have provided talk for many. When Alcibiades wanted to set the Athenians chattering, he cut off his dog's tail, and no doubt the experiment was perfectly successful. The press in these days furnishes a means of influence second to none in importance, and fortunately it cannot be entirely usurped for purposes of party warfare. There are channels here and there through which disinterested thought can find expression; and the influence which one able and thoroughly impartial writer can exert on public sentiment outweighs that of a score of special pleaders in Parliament or out of it. The practical politicians of the day in England look to the press for direction far more than the press looks to them; the thinkers lay down the law for the doers; themselves unseen, and for the most part unknown, they guide in no small degree the destinies of a great empire.

If the atmosphere of politics is unfavorable to high intellectuality, not less so is the atmosphere of what in a special sense is called "society." The intellectual man, as conceived in these pages, is serious, earnest, sincere; he must put on a mask if he is to appear otherwise; society will have nothing to do with seriousness or earnestness, and though it does not as openly banish sincerity (nobody likes to profess himself, in so many words, "a fraud"), it succeeds in reducing that virtue within such narrow limits that those who fail altogether to see it may well be excused. The intellectual man's converse is with ideas and truths; society interests itself only in the most frivolous and insipid of facts. The intellectual man pursues culture; society pursues common-place. The intellectual man is above all things a man, and, in all his most intimate thoughts, he takes his stand on common ground with the mass of his fellow-creatures; he is raised above them in point of advantages, but he feels the strength of the bond that unites human heart with human heart. His "society" is the world, not that handful of people who usurp the name, and who, with a fatuity almost inconceivable, seem to think that for them the whole economy of Nature was planned, and that, if other classes exist, it is that they may minister to their wants, and supply an effective contrast to their brilliance and gaiety.

But, alas! as a poet I have already quoted has said,—

"The heart is prone to fall away,
Her high and cherished visions to forget."

There is a weak side to even the best characters, a side to which the fascinations of society can appeal with dangerous force; and much of high purpose has e'er this been lost in the whirl of dissipation, or extinguished in the unworthy and ungenerous rivalries that make up so large a portion of fashionable life. But as

"E'en in a palace life may be lived well,"

so it is possible to be in "society" and yet not of it, to observe its forms while rejecting its spirit; what is not possible is to accept its spirit, to adopt its tone, and yet to cultivate the life of the intellect and of the soul. As well try to unite political philosophy with slavish partisanship, or devotion to art with constant consultation of popular tastes.

To very few is it given to devote themselves wholly to intellectual pursuits; but it is by no means necessary to do so to live in the truest sense an intellectual life. As has often been remarked, much of the best thinking, and of the highest order of literary work has been done by men actively engaged in the business of the world. The names of

Bacon, Milton, Clarendon, and Burke would be as seriously missed from the political as from the literary history of their country. It is indeed an inestimable advantage for the thinker who would deal with political or social questions to have had his own share of action in society, provided always the relations into which he has entered with men or with parties have not been such as to cripple or pervert his judgment. In the same way, and with the same proviso, the best narrator of events will be he who can say, "*quorum magna pars fui*." The importance of the proviso has been illustrated in many cases, and quite lately in a very signal instance: Lord Russell has had a very large place in the history of England for forty years past; but his lately published *Recollections* are pronounced by competent judges to be a very faulty and partial record of the period over which they extend.

Be a man's occupations what they may, he must furnish himself with facts before he can theorize with advantage. If any one imagines that the intellectual region is one in which facts become of little importance, he is very greatly mistaken. The only difference between the thinker and other men is that he, having gathered his facts, sifts, arranges, questions them, and thus forces them to yield up whatever of truth they contain. For facts, be it remembered, are not in themselves truths; they are only the material out of which truth can be distilled. By dint of practice, the man of thought acquires a wonderful facility in referring special facts to the class or order to which they belong, and thus obtaining a ready insight into their significance. For persons unacquainted with his method and resources, he might appear to be dealing with matters in a most arbitrary way; whereas, in reality, he is but availing himself of previously-acquired knowledge, or previously-established conclusions. It need not be denied that even great philosophers do sometimes base their theories on insufficient foundations; such mistakes (which men of the world, little as they think it, are making every day of their lives) are incidental to the imperfection of human faculties, and do not arise from any failure to recognize that the whole value and virtue of every theory must depend upon its exact agreement with all the facts it purports to explain. Not the philosopher only, but the poet as well, must have facts in his possession before he can produce any work that shall deserve to live. We think of the poet as dealing in fancies; but who has so wonderful a gift as he in opening our eyes to the facts of the world in which we live? He has seen with his own eyes, and noted a thousand things that have passed before our eyes too, but to which we never gave heed. His verse is more expressive to us than the face of Nature itself. Why? Because his eye is keener than ours, and because he speaks to us in human accents that Nature cannot command. We have lived in the world; we have had intercourse with men; we think we understand pretty well the springs of human action; but here is a man who will tell us all we ever knew, and a great deal more. Whence hath he this knowledge? That sometimes is a mystery, but he has it; and we, who thought ourselves knowing, stand abashed.

The intellectual life should be a life of patience—patience in gathering knowledge, patience in drawing conclusions, and patience in waiting for results. It may be hard sometimes to reconcile enthusiasm with patience; but they may be reconciled, and they must be, if the best results are to be achieved. The patience of the believers in a cause is no less a prelude of victory than their enthusiasm; indeed, of the two it is the fuller of promise. Let cynics or fatalists say what they will, the hope of a rational ordering of human society, the hope of some future harmony of human beliefs, does spring eternal in the human breast. And the hope is one that maketh not ashamed; those who possess it must avow it, and must work towards its realization. Not only in the prophet-minds of every age has it asserted itself, but in the minds of the people at large there has ever been a dim foreboding of some great good in store for humanity. We see not as yet the outlines even of the future edifice of civilization; but we see errors and falsehoods which it is a manifest and immediate duty to combat, and the destruction of which we cannot but believe will hasten the advent of the better time. What the world lacks is faith; it has long been taught that it is very evil, and the lesson has been learned so thoroughly that it is hard now to make people believe that in themselves there are infinite capacities for good, and that nearly all the good they do is done independently of laws or enactments of any kind. The persuasion of an evil often has as serious effects as the evil itself; a *malade imaginaire* may be the most hopeless of invalids. The world is at this moment, to some extent, a *malade imaginaire*; but unfortunately the great multitude of its physicians are exerting themselves only to prolong its delusion.

A great mark of the true intellectual life is simplicity. How can a man who is devoting himself with singleness of purpose to the discovery and diffusion of truth, or whose mind has in any way received the stamp of intellectual elevation, burden himself with refinements of luxury, affectations of pedantry, or any of the multiplied forms of vain-glorious pretence? The more closely a man's attention is concentrated on abstract or general questions, the more his own personality sinks out of sight. It cannot, indeed, be maintained that literary men and savans are always exempt from vanity; but it is undoubtedly true that this failing has very seldom been exhibited by the greatest among them. It is also true that just in proportion to a man's intellectual eminence, to his capacity for high thinking, are we struck by the incongruity of any exhibition on his part of vanity or affectation. It is satisfactory to

note in this matter a marked advance in public sentiment. The literary men of to-day would be ashamed to indulge in personal quarrels such as their predecessors of a century or more ago paraded before the world. They studiously avoid (of course I speak generally) all personal issues, rightly conceiving that their proper business is to throw light on the questions they undertake to treat; not to demand attention for themselves.

No one needs companionship and sympathy more than he who is leading, or trying to lead, an intellectual life: unfortunately none are more often deprived of these advantages. It is easy to have a "chum," or any number of them, if a pipe of tobacco and talk on the local news of the day make up your ideal of social enjoyment; but not if your thoughts run very much on higher themes. In the centres of population the earnest student can probably find a few like-minded; but elsewhere he must, generally speaking, pursue his career solitary and unaided, except by books and journals. A useful thought for such is that others here and there are treading the same path under the same difficulties; for it is cheering to know that we have fellow-laborers, even though we may never see them nor even learn their names. Here are a couple of sentences from Edgar Quinet's *Histoire de mes Idées*, which many, perhaps, may read with encouragement:—

"I had a presentiment that what was wanted was an almost complete revolution in intellectual matters; and, as I saw no one working towards the accomplishment of the change, I fancied myself alone. This feeling of solitude was weighing me down at the very moment when so many immortal works, yet unknown to the world, were being prepared in silence, germinating, as it were, under ground.

"Every one imagined himself alone as I did, and thought and meditated as though upon a desert isle. And yet all were being wrought upon at the same time by the newborn spirit of the century, and all were feeling in their very bones the pangs of moral growth. How many complaints were then exhaled! How many sincere tears were shed! Nature herself groans when she is about to bring to the birth."

The intellectual life is a serious life, but it knows nothing of *ennui*; and its pleasures, to those who have tasted them in their purity, must ever seem the noblest that the constitution of man has placed within his reach. Let me close with a word from one who could speak with authority: "Pure ideas, visible only to the inward eye, are of all things that men can know the most beautiful. To live in them is true enjoyment—happiness with no admixture of cloud."*

DID GERRIT SMITH RECANT?

BY REV. A. F. BAILEY.

A correspondent of the *Liberal Worker*, in the issue of April 21, asks for information on this subject. The hope that this article may throw some light upon it is my excuse for writing it.

I knew Mr. Smith personally for many years; and for five years (terminating in December last) I was minister of a liberal church located nine miles from his home. Consequently I was well acquainted with him; met him frequently at home and abroad, and was associated with him to a considerable extent, politically and religiously.

The most extended conversation I ever had with him on religion took place about two years ago, when I spent a Sunday with the Peterboro Church, and was entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Smith. At that time Mr. Smith's views were positively and clearly liberal. Certainly, Methodists in general would not endorse them, but would consider them dangerous and infidel.

And yet, I can easily see how one unaccustomed to Mr. Smith's manner of expression, especially if he was anxious to make a point in favor of a cherished dogma, might misinterpret some even of his broadest utterances, as indicative of dissatisfaction with and unrest in his thought and belief.

Mr. Keppel, as quoted by "B. F. H.," makes Mr. Smith say: "My old sceptical views trouble me so that I cannot always control them. The thought that there is no life after death comes to me sometimes like a terrible nightmare." I suppose Mr. Keppel did not keep note-book and pencil in hand during his interview with Mr. Smith, so that we may doubt if he quotes him *verbatim*. His statement must stand as his recollection of what Mr. Smith then said, and may be taken, "*cum grano salis*."

Now it happens that this very point was dwelt upon at length, in my conversation with Mr. Smith to which I have alluded. He then said to me, in substance (and I think I quote him almost *verbatim*), "I have in philosophy many open questions: and it will doubtless surprise you to hear me say that among them is that of personal immortality."

Then he went on to speak of the unsatisfactory character of the analysis from physical nature so much relied on by some as proofs of the immortal life: and to say that he found no help in the manifestations of modern Spiritualism. He also told me he was afraid to die; but immediately afterward explained to me that his fear was an instinctive dread of dissolution, and was not based on any apprehensions of future retribution, or fear that all would not be for the best. Further conversation seemed to show that his difficulties were purely philosophical. His faith was clear and serene. He believed in immortality from the side of his religious and emotional nature; but he could not demonstrate it to mathematical nor even to moral certainty, as I suppose Mr. Keppel also cannot do.

Mr. Smith impressed me as having a more genu-

* William Von Humboldt; quoted in an article in the *London Quarterly Review* for April, 1868.

ine faith in immortality, than most people who say they know that they will live forever. But if I had been an Orthodox minister anxious to make a point on the insufficiency of a heretic's faith, I dare say I should have viewed the matter differently. And I very much doubt if he ever made to Mr. Keppel or anybody else a statement materially different from the one made to me.

Mr. Smith, as I knew him, was a Christian-Free Religionist. He believed in Christ; but his Christ was as unlike the Christ of Methodism, as the "Logos" of John was unlike the "Messiah" of the Jews. His Christ was the "Inward Word"; not the Infinite God masquerading in the form of any individual man to the exclusion of divineness in other men. He loved and revered Jesus; and, perhaps, thought him as morally perfect as a man could be. But I think he did not regard him as supernaturally wise, nor as a miracle worker. He did not sympathize with THE INDEX in its assaults upon Christianity. But as to the deity of Jesus in the theological sense, he was thoroughly Unitarian.

I saw very little of him during the last two years of his life. He may have changed his views materially after my conversation with him. But I think he did not, for several reasons.

As I have intimated, Mr. Smith was liable to be misunderstood. His breadth of character and his wide range of vision made him so. He was rational; but he was also very devout. He was so religious that many liberals thought him only half liberalized. The real difficulty was that he towered head and shoulders above his critics. He did not think God was dead, because he had outgrown the image that he had worshipped in his youth. Men thought him inconsistent because he was religious as well as reasonable. They could not understand how a rationalist could enjoy the fervor of Methodist devotion. They were satisfied with light without heat; and, because Mr. Smith was not, they doubted his rationality. Other men were satisfied with heat without light, and because Mr. Smith sympathized with their devotional feelings they assumed that he accepted their creeds. I believe that is the foundation upon which this recantation story rests. I do not doubt that Mr. Keppel honestly believes he died in the Orthodox faith. But I also am satisfied that Mr. Smith never told him that he renounced his heresy and returned to the faith of his youth.

Matters other than theological also tended to draw Mr. Smith into sympathy with his Methodist brethren. In the anti-dram-shop movement, headed by him a few years ago, about four-fifths of his followers were Methodists, while the Liberals generally gave the movement the cold shoulder. He believed in Gen. Grant and the Republican party with all his heart; but in 1872 a large share of his Liberal brethren became "Liberals" in politics, while the Methodists generally stood firm for Grant. All this had its influence with Mr. Smith, who was always in earnest; and who, while self-poised, and amply able to go alone, yet dearly loved the friends who went with him.

Still, I cannot think that his disappointment with Liberals, as reformers, politicians, or religionists shook his faith in the "Religion of Reason." I have no evidence that it did, and I have some strong presumptive evidence that it did not.

During my settlement in Canastota, he annually sent me a sum of money as a donation. About a year before he died Mr. Smith heard that I was about to leave Canastota, for pecuniary reasons; and he wrote to me, urging me to remain, and pledging himself to double his gift, and to make it a subscription in case I remained another year. I did remain, and he fulfilled the pledge.

At that time he wrote me of a young Methodist minister, of some ability, and great earnestness and spirituality, in whom he was much interested. I suppose that Mr. Keppel is the man described.

Now if he had repudiated Liberalism, he would hardly have doubled his gift to support a man peculiarly obnoxious to the Orthodox of that region, because of his heretical influence.

Again, if he regarded Mr. Keppel as his pastor, his family must have been aware of the fact. He would naturally desire that his pastor or some other Orthodox divine should attend his funeral; and his family would not have sent thirty miles for a Unitarian minister, whose acquaintance with him was but slight, under such circumstances.

These are but straws, perhaps, but they are borne onward by a breeze other than that which fluttered the leaves of the *Christian Advocate* and the *Cynosure*.

After all, the unanswerable argument was adduced by "B. F. H.," viz., that if Mr. Smith had changed his opinions he would have made the matter public, and would not have contented himself with confessing to a Methodist minister in a country hamlet. He never hesitated to announce a new departure, nor spared wholesome truth for fear of hurting his friends, or of the charge of inconsistency. He gave thousands of dollars, and some of the best work of his life, to promulgate the "Religion of Reason." Is it possible that with eyes wide open to the error of that religion, he, standing on the verge of the grave, would say no word, and give no dollar to undo the mischief he had wrought? Was the brave and generous old man cowardly and penurious in this, and in this only?

They who knew him best will never believe it. If he died and made no sign to any but Pastor Keppel, it is likely that Pastor Keppel misunderstood the sign he made. That this will be the universal Liberal verdict, I do not doubt. But Orthodoxy will never cease to claim Gerrit Smith as hers in death, even as she claims Washington and Lincoln. And there will be plausibility in her claim. For he often expressed

in Orthodox phraseology the breathings of a Liberal spirit, and so was misunderstood by all.

But for myself, I say, let Orthodoxy take her claim, and make the most of it. Grant, if you please, that Pastor Keppel is right, and that Mr. Smith did retract.

It comes, then, to this. Gerrit Smith gave the prime of his life to the advocacy and defence of the Liberal faith. No boyish fancy, but matured conviction, wrought out in soul-sincerity in the depths of his own experience, led him to our camp; and he was brave while he was in it. If, in the latter days, when his eye was dimmed, and his natural strength abated (as certainly they were, to some extent, a fact of which "B. F. H." does not seem cognizant, but which will be seen, I think, by whoever will compare the circulars sent out by him in the last year of his life with those of an earlier date), the old convictions came back upon him so forcibly that they crowded out the truer and broader thought, and forced him to seek rest in the creeds of his childhood, and safety in the refuges which his better judgment pronounced unworthy, it yet would be nothing strange, unnatural, or discouraging to us. Our appeal then lies from Gerrit Smith weak to Gerrit Smith strong; from the Gerrit Smith who recants his heresy privately and doubtfully, to the Gerrit Smith who proclaimed it publicly and powerfully, in language and with a spirit that thrilled young men as if an angel had spoken to them, or made them eager to take the sword in maintenance of the truths he taught.

We have warmed us at the fires of his inspiration and genius, when those flames leaped heaven high; and their heat is with us still. The rakers among the ashes shall not be grudging the full enjoyment of all that they find therein.—*Sharon, Wis., Liberal Worker, June 2.*

THE TAXATION OF CHURCHES.

The intricacy of this question, its wide and novel bearings, and the confusion of views entertained with regard to it, were all curiously illustrated in a discussion by the Congregational Conference of Rhode Island on Wednesday. It appears that a special point was given to the matter by an agitation now going on in the Rhode Island Legislature in favor of modifying the present exemption of the churches from taxation. Independent of this, however, the question is everywhere attracting the attention of thinking men, and it can only be settled by such open discussion as it appears to have received in this Conference.

Hon. Rowland Hazard laid down the legal principles involved, by remarking that the State as a sovereign power may tax or not, as it sees fit; all taxes, however, must be paid out of an annual product; but in the case of churches, a tax would have to be paid by individuals, there being no product from it. A church is property set apart for the public good, and ought not to be taxed any more than a bridge. He did not seem to see that this argument favored a connection between Church and State (which controls the bridge); but he was afterward admonished that he had conceded too much in admitting that income-producing property was to be taxed, for then the exemption would have to be taken away from certain wealthy churches. In fact, one speaker thought that the whole question was one of limitation. "It is not within the province of legislation," he said, "to tax the worship of God; but if a church is extravagant, putting a million of dollars into a church-edifice, it cannot plead that it should be exempt. Extravagance in religious expenditure is obnoxious to God. Let us have exemption from taxation to the amount of \$100,000."

Another class of speakers took a different view. One said "the church is a sovereign power," having its authority from the same divine source as the State. Another put it in this way: "If government derives its authority from God, what authority has it to tax anything belonging to God?" He did not undertake to define what does not belong to God. A third said that as the church is God's arrangement for blessing the State, and as it enhances the value of all property, it should go untaxed; while a fourth claimed that the church is the best educator of the community, and taxation of it is persecution. At this point a member arose and declared he had not in a long time heard so much Roman Catholic doctrine as during this discussion. If those who had preceded him were correct in their assertion that the secular government has no right to tax a church, the Roman Catholic hierarchy is correct in saying "the earth belongs to the saints, and we are the saints." He claimed that all taxation was, or should be, for the benefit of all, and that the only trouble in this matter arose from having departed from the plain principle of making taxation the payment for protection, and of making no exceptions. General Hoppin, however, declared the whole agitation to be an attempt to secularize religion, and that those who have sanctioned it do not know the path on which they are travelling, nor the chasm that is yawning before them. He thought the whole controversy had arisen from the fact that the Roman Catholic, the Quakers, and the First Baptist Church have a large amount of property exempt.

It is no wonder that one candid minister avowed that this was a case in which his heart went one way and his convictions another. Other blessings, he said, which are not accepted by the State are taxed, because they are not recognized by the State. Thus far the Conference. We will only add that this is a question of the equitable distribution of taxes. The amount of which the churches is relieved is simply thrown on other property. If we were founding a new government some equitable plan would be devised without difficulty, but to dis-

turb inherited rules and principles is another matter altogether.—*Boston Journal.*

PADDY WARD'S EPITAPH.

If this were the time and place, and we happened to be in the mood, we might set ourselves seriously to inquire why men have always found in death and the grave such sufficient food for easy and even cheerful jest. In one of the prints of Holbein's "Dance," the King of Terrors is represented leading a little child away from a cottage, with an indescribable grin upon his fleshless face. Of lapidary fun there is no end, and in the collection of epitaphs many mortals have found a permanent amusement. The same thin partitions which divide wit and madness are all that there is between the lugubrious and the laughable; most of us in the midst of a great sorrow have been tormented by the intrusion of ludicrous thoughts; while at funerals it is not uncommon for something to occur which severely tests our gravity. The humors of an Irish wake have been over and over again related, and now we have the humors of an Irish tombstone.

There was a droll debate the other day at a meeting of the Guardians of the Drogheda Union. It happened in this way: Long ago in Drogheda there lived one Paddy Ward, a jovial gentleman, who took a fancy to erecting his own monument in the place where he intended to be buried. He did so; and upon the stone he caused to be inscribed the following: "Beneath this stone here lieth one, That still his friends did please; To heaven I hope he's surely gone, To enjoy eternal ease. He drank, he sang, whilst here on earth, Lived happy as a lord, And now he has resigned his breath, God rest him, Paddy Ward!" Considering that in ordering this inscription, Mr. Ward had everything his own way, we must declare that it strikes us as singularly modest. The "I hope" is a little ambiguous; but even if by the pronoun Mr. Ward is himself to be understood, a man may surely be pardoned for merely hoping that he is to go to heaven. The candor with which Paddy Ward admits his bacchanalian propensities gives truth to a tombstone which is not always found there, if we may credit the proverb. Having set up this memorial of himself, Mr. Ward, according to tradition, dedicated it by giving a party on the spot; at which he, with all his guests, "got gloriously drunk." In due time he was gathered to his fathers and placed under the stone. When the Rev. Mr. Powderly, P.P., came to rule spiritually over the vicinage, he was greatly shocked and scandalized by the inscription, and he ordered it to be effaced; allowing only the words "God rest Paddy Ward" to remain. Then, indeed, there was a row and riot and rumpus in that parish; and Mr. Owen Markey, taking the matter up, asked for the dismissal of Johnny McGeough, the sexton who had not reported the defacement. Mr. Markey said that so much did he admire the inscription that whenever he had employed a stone-cutter he had always ordered him "to give a little touch to Paddy Ward's tombstone." The Rev. Mr. Powderly being called upon to defend his *prima facie* piece of vandalism, made a most solemn speech to the Guardians, in which he argued the matter thus: "There would be no sense at all in writing that Paddy Ward drank, if it was not intended to convey that he drank too much—in plain English, that he was a drunkard; and the words 'he sang' could only mean that he sang the indecent and ribald songs in which drunkards are wont to indulge; and yet," said Mr. Powderly, "we are told that 'to heaven he is surely gone.'" Was this a thing "to be read" by the children of the "parish," at a time, too, when "the vice of intemperance was spreading over the whole country?" He hadn't in the least injured the stone, but he had given the deceased a respectable, decent, temperance epitaph, with "God rest Paddy Ward!" as legible as ever.

The Board of Guardians appears to have been bothered and unable to come to any decision. Mr. Mangan asked Mr. Markey "if he intended to renew the inscription?" Mr. Markey answered promptly and decisively: "I will, by the blessing of God!" and so the matter was allowed to drop.

At first it seems hard that a man should not be allowed to have an epitaph according to his own taste, though that may not be a creditable one. But the inscription is the business of the living who are to read it. If a man sees fit to set up for his *In Memoriam* something obviously against good morals, it is the right of the public to pull it down. If he wishes to be offensively eccentric in this way, he should be buried in his own back yard, or buy a private and personal cemetery to be funny in.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

THERE IS, however, yet another and more important side to the question. We have not to ask: How has the American system worked in the United States? but, how would it work with us? And even more: we could hardly get so far as to put this latter question, for it must be clear to every calm and sober observer at first sight that at present it would be absolutely impossible for us to make the trial. We have to deal with institutions whose age is reckoned by hundreds of years, and which have in such a manner grown into our life as individuals and as a social and political body, that to tear them asunder with one jerk might prove fatal to our very existence as a nation and as one of the leading peoples of the civilized world. Look at the first Revolution of France, and you will see the awful consequences of such a clean, sharp cut into what has grown into existence in the course of centuries. One must not forget that these institutions are not mere artificial creations. To blow them up over-night is to stab the mass of the people to the very heart in their received ideas, in their cherished habits, in their deep-

rooted prejudices. The mass of our people are about as well prepared to see the American system adopted on a sudden as they are to bow their knees once more to Odin. Look on the Government—this Government, leading the onslaught of the Liberals on the Ultramontanes—and you will see how well we are fitted for a separation of Church and State. Only four weeks ago I wrote you about the new law rendering civil marriage obligatory; now I have to write you that in Potsdam a teacher has been dismissed because he did not go with his bride to a clergyman after having contracted his marriage before a civil magistrate. Dr. Falk felt the unspeakable shame and scandal at least so much as to pretend that there had been also some other reasons at work. But you find prominent men among the Liberal parties openly and unreservedly justifying the course of the Government.

It would take not only a very conceited man but also a very superficial thinker to venture at this time to predict where we shall finally land in this conflict with Rome. Perhaps it will be at the American system, perhaps at a very different thing. Those who are able to look beyond the incidents of the day, and who understand the true nature of this war, should not merely ask where we are standing just now. Let them not turn their backs upon us because we have not yet arrived here or there. Honest and candid criticism we invite, but we think ourselves entitled to sympathy and to a word of cheer as long as we move, if, upon the whole, we are moving in the right direction.—*Berlin Correspondent of the N. Y. Nation.*

AS A RULE we take no stock in the stories of cures effected by "Our Lady of Lourdes," or any other "Lady" credited in these days with working miracles. But there is a possibility that faith in the efficacy of a visit to the famous French shrine will result in at least one remarkable cure. A young Catholic girl named Kane, suffering from blindness, and hearing the wonderful stories that have been told concerning the miracles at Lourdes, secretly took passage for France in the steerage of an ocean steamer. She was soon discovered, and the story of her simple faith so touched the heart of the captain and others that she was kindly taken care of and passed on to Paris. Here other friends were found for her, she was placed under the hand of a skillful oculist, and it is said that she is likely to regain her sight. In that case the Lady of Lourdes will be entitled to a certain degree of credit. The miracle will be the most reliable one yet worked.—*Boston Journal.*

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

MYSTERY.

Could we, to words, the color give
Of radiant hues that burn
Along the sky at Day's decline,
Or Morning's bright return;

Repeat, in pictured syllables,
The tints of budding trees;
When through the blossomy orchard sounds
The murmurous hum of bees;

Translate the warble of the wren,
Sweet prophecy of spring;
When from the south the blue-bird brings
A bit of sky on wing;

Reveal the wondrous miracle,
The charm that gives one rose
Its crimson dress, while close beside
Its pure, white sister grows;

Then speech might fitly shadow forth
The loveliness of Earth;
Yet we should scarce begin to guess
The secret of its birth.

We seek, and ever seek in vain,
The magic force that sends
Fresh life alike through trees and veins,
And each for separate ends.

No nearer to the hidden source
Where Life at first began:
No nearer to the force that shapes
The motes and spheres and Man.

We can but guess,—we can but name
Fair Nature's rhythmic law,
And, face to face with mystery,
Look up to God with awe!

MAGGIE STEWART SIBLEY.

SENECA, Mo., May, 1875.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 3.

Jefferson Patten, \$3.20; Mathias Tiel, \$1.50; C. B. Holloway, 40 cents; Isaac Berry, 20 cents; A. M. Knapp, \$3.20; A. C. Gardner, \$1.50; B. Gardner, \$4.50; Daniel Humphrey, \$3.20; George Draper, \$3.20; W. S. Leach, \$3; H. L. Melton, \$4.40; G. F. Reynolds, \$8; A. Magni, \$3.20; Fannie Dean, 80 cents; D. D. Holmes, 80 cents; Jane Curtis, 80 cents; W. H. Crowell, \$3.20; A. Seeger, \$1.60; D. F. Bruner, \$10; Maggie B. Stone, \$3; J. H. Foster, \$2; Theo. Wehle, \$4.40; F. W. Brown, \$3; Philena Carlin, \$1.50; Sarah E. Whitney, \$3.20; D. Edwards, \$1.60; W. M. Fahnestock, \$1.50; George C. Young, 75 cents; P. B. Sibley, \$4.45; C. H. Lathern, 75 cents; L. A. Treat, \$3.20; Mary E. Nye, \$3.20; John E. Jones, \$9.90; J. Vila Blake, 50 cents; Theo. B. Shepherd, \$2; B. C. Ward, \$1; Carl Von Bergen, \$2; Herbert Bourinot, \$3.75; Dyer D. Lum, 50 cents; T. C. Evans, \$1.20; Sarah G. Russel, \$250; O. L. Ashenfelter, 75 cents.

The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 8, 1875.

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N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

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England, Editorial Contributors.

Is it worth while to be Queen of England, if even her summer residence is in danger of being fixed by act of Parliament?

THE *Independent* is indignant over this outburst of religious conceit, which yet appears in every one who believes in "our Savior": "A camp-meeting advertisement thus reads: 'Christ, the head and general superintendent of our church, has promised to be present and preside.' Cant, pure cant! 'Christ, the general superintendent of our church!' Why not? Would the *Independent* deny that Christ is the general superintendent of its own church? Unaware it is quarrelling with Christianity itself, which is the gospel of "our Savior," or nothing.

REV. WILLIAM HILL, of Bristol, England, preached a rousing sermon in his last will and testament in this style: "As this is to be my final public document, I shall here record my detestation of all State establishments of religion, believing them to be anti-scriptural and soul-ruining. I have for years prayed the King of Zion to overthrow the politico-ecclesiastical establishments of the British Empire, and I leave the world with a full conviction that such prayer must before long be answered. I thirst to see the Church brought down, the Church by man set up, for millions are by it led on to drink a bitter cup. I desire all posterity to know that William Hill was a conscientious Trinitarian Baptist minister, and that he believed infant sprinkling to be from his Satanic Majesty, the keystone of Popery, and, therefore, the parent of unnumbered terrible evils. This delusion must also pass away at the divinely-appointed time, and the immersion of believers, as plainly taught by the Great Teacher, the Holy Ghost, and the apostles, shall one day universally triumph. Man says some water in the face, and that before the child has grace, is what is meant in Jesus' Word by being buried in the Lord. The deadly drinking customs of professors and non-professors are likewise doomed. Heaven dash all error, sin, and the devil from the earth, and cause truth, holiness, and Christ everywhere to prevail. Amen."

REV. CRAWFORD NIGHTINGALE issues "theological postal cards" for the information of the ignorant in things divine. This is one of them: "The Unitarians have not merely a creed, and that a Christian creed, but they have also a creed common to them all. They all believe Jesus to be the Christ. And this, the common creed of all Unitarian churches, is the only real Apostles' Creed as given in the confession of Peter, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' And accepting this creed, the Unitarians rest on the one foundation that is laid, even Jesus Christ, and, standing on this foundation, they welcome to their fellowship 'all who profess and call themselves Christians'; and all Christians who rest on the one foundation that is laid, and on no other, welcome Unitarians to their fellowship. And this is the one Catholic Church of Christ." Mr. Nightingale's unpleasant reminder that Unitarians have a creed irritates the Sharon (Wisconsin) *Liberal Worker*, which does not dare to deny the fact, but indirectly revenges itself on the *enfant terrible* in rather an amusing manner: "Rev. Crawford Nightingale, a down-east Unitarian, utters a weekly chirp in the form of a theological postal card, setting forth various rather attenuated theological ideas. Our good brother will hardly do much execution with these pasteboard pellets. It is, to be sure, the season for bean-shooters and wing-wings, and if this archer on the walls of our liberal Zion fails to penetrate the rhinoceros-hide of Calvinism, he may irritate the Orthodox bull a little until fly-time comes."

TURNING THE OTHER CHEEK.

The morality taught in the Sermon on the Mount is almost universally applauded, and almost universally disobeyed. It is the fashion to praise it as the perfection of ethical wisdom, insight, and beauty—so much so that multitudes of those who see clearly the monstrous unreason of Christian dogmas are blinded to the equally monstrous unreason of a considerable part of Christian morals. Even those who boldly avow their independence and disbelief of the entire "scheme of salvation," in its roots and its branches alike, often fall into merely conventional panegyrics upon the superlative excellence of the Sermon on the Mount, as an epitome of all that is most admirable in the conduct of life, the shaping of character, and the regulation of feeling. What glowing and indiscriminate eulogiums it is customary for the liberal pulpit to bestow on the moral precepts of this discourse, as if they were so extraordinarily wise and enlightened that the unaided mind of man could not possibly be their source! What extravagant encomiums upon them proceed even from moral teachers whose voices are never heard in the pulpit—from professors, editors, lecturers, book-makers,—who cannot be suspected of any clerical bias! Yet not one of all these panegyrists ever attempts to put the Sermon on the Mount into practice, until its precepts have been so modified as to be in many cases absolutely reversed. The reason is obvious, though it would not be confessed; namely, that a world which should really govern itself practically by the unmodified moral precepts of this Sermon would, however greatly improved in some respects, be on the whole a world of idiots, milksops, and sneaks.

To show the full extent of the delusion under which modern society labors, in supposing that it at heart really admires the moral ideas of the Christian gospel, could not be done without a very extended examination and a very minute criticism of these ideas, on the one hand, and a very wide survey of modern society, on the other. Of course, we do not propose anything so thorough now. But we wonder how long it will be before mankind discover the solemn humbug which they unconsciously practise upon themselves, when they fancy that their real homage is given to the religion they nominally (and sincerely enough) profess; and we call attention to this letter from the *Advertiser* of June 30, as the newest illustration of the bog in which a faithful following of Christian morality would leave us all floundering:—

TO THE EDITORS OF THE BOSTON DAILY ADVERTISER:—

I beg you to permit me to reply to your leader of last Monday, which I think not fair to Mr. Beecher.

You intimate that "all parties had implicit confidence" in the court before which the cause was brought, and expected, therefore, a clear exposition of the right and wrong of the matter. On the contrary, there is, I believe, a wide-spread and increasing distrust of the efficiency of trial by jury. I fear your last paragraph imputes to him "intrigue, deception, and prevarication"; but as the phrasing is not clear, I hope you do not mean to do so, and only observe that, if you do, the charge is susceptible of complete disproof, and is therefore an error from which you can be quite cleared. There remains the attribution to him by you of "a want of moral perception, a want of sensitiveness, and a want of courage."

Without troubling you with detail, which presses upon me, of the many important points for a complete defence of Mr. Beecher, which even his powerful counsel have not touched or not fully developed, I submit to you a theory which I think no religious paper, and I am very sure no secular paper, in Boston has applied to the consideration of his case. It is the Christian theory—the theory of the Sermon on the Mount.

Suppose now you take it for granted that Mr. Beecher has tried, as hard as a sincere Christian man could try, to imitate the wonderful Leader, whose great discourse has never yet been lived up to, and whose unexampled precepts are the strongest proofs to-day of the truth, the need, the vitality, of the New Testament revelation. Do not let us assume cowardice, insensibility, moral defect, because we would not have done as he did. Are we trying, you and I, Mr. Editor, to really return good for evil, according to that heart-utterance of the whole teachings of Christ? I confess, for my part, I am not good enough. I don't and I won't. But Mr. Beecher does try, and we, his friends, see better than the indifferent and the hostile what he has got for it. I know very well, of my personal knowledge, that he has been urged for years to turn and fight; and, humanly speaking, we who urged him were right about it. But, Mr. Editor, wicked or good, I believe in God Almighty and immortality, and I dare not say Mr. Beecher will have been wrong when he is dead for seeking, in the city of Tweed and Woodhull, and the *Herald* and the *Sun*, to actually do the fifth chapter of Matthew, especially verse 44: "But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you."

With this key in mind, and with that other wise one, the law not to resist evil directly, but to go on doing good; and with the parallel memory of Paul's strange assertion of his peculiar and exceptional wickedness,—you can on Christian and charitable principles find reasons even discouragingly good and noble for Mr. Beecher's silence and his sense of guilt as responsible for the downfall of a family; and they will equally explain the silence which he will preserve about the parallel case of the charges of Henry C. Bowen.

I wish there had been one single secular paper in Boston to have felt and expressed a hearty, steady, thorough-going belief in the innocence and rectitude and nobility and self-sacrificing endurance of a Christian man, and to do it on Christian principles. But there has not been one.

FREDERIC BEECHER PERKINS.

From the time when there appeared a probability that the Brooklyn scandal would be carried into court, we have scrupulously refrained from meddling with it even by a word; and we intend still to reserve our judgment. Simply for our present purposes, we will assume Mr. Beecher's absolute innocence of the main charges, and concede the truth of Mr. Perkins' theory of the case. What we have to say is this: that, if Mr. Perkins is right, then Henry Ward Beecher's natural character as a manly man has rotted absolutely away under the influence of "the Christian theory—the theory of the Sermon on the Mount"; that nothing we have ever said against Christianity has a tithe of the terrible and withering severity which lurks unperceived in what Mr. Perkins here says; and that, when professed Christians thus do the work of professed anti-Christians, THE INDEX can have little else to do than to point out the superior efficiency of the former's work.

1. "Are we trying, you and I, Mr. Editor, to really return good for evil, according to that heart-utterance of the whole teachings of Christ? I confess, for my part, I am not good enough. I don't and I won't."

This is certainly a commendably frank confession of Mr. Perkins. Not only does he fail to "return good for evil" as Christianity requires, but he does not try to, or even want to! Yet he evidently considers himself a believer in Christianity, and admires Mr. Beecher for undertaking a job which he himself revolts from. We set Mr. Perkins down as a thorough heathen, in spite of the unreal and nominal discipleship by which he plainly deceives himself into imagining he really loves the "Christian theory." In point of fact, as his own words prove, he really hates it; he does not try to live up to it; he consciously and stubbornly refuses to try to live up to it. Well, we like him all the better for feeling so, and for saying so; for he speaks out the unperverted sentiments of the natural human heart, which do him vastly more credit than the intellectual confusion which makes him feel culpable on account of his own honest humanity. In vain the "Christian theory," which he fancies he believes in, commands him to "return good for evil"; in vain he resists the impulse to "turn and fight," instead of being a meek non-resistant,—his natural manhood is too strong for him, and he vehemently breaks out of the Christian traces, on the plea that he is "not good enough" to do as he thinks Mr. Beecher has done. The artlessness with which he lets the cat out of the bag, and betrays the righteous wrath which his whole soul feels against the "Christian theory"—this is charmingly sincere, and is enough to make a cynic rub his hands with delight at the naïveté of his confession. He is as determined an anti-Christian at heart as we are, and the only wonder is that he fails to see it. "I don't and I won't"! That is the very essence of anti-Christianity, awakened irresistibly in the manly mind under the gospel-injunction to turn the other cheek. Why force oneself into admiration for conduct which one cannot conjure up even a wish to imitate? Mr. Perkins will never know what he is, until he discovers that he is a thorough repudiator of the "Christian theory," and at heart an intense believer in the right of forcible self-defence. And that is the ethics of Free Religion.

2. Mr. Perkins, however, while vehemently repudiating for himself the "Christian theory," wants us to admire Mr. Beecher for putting it in practice. Very well: we will assume that Mr. Beecher did put it in practice—that he is absolutely innocent of adultery and impurity of all degrees; that he let himself be charged with these things for years without being stung to "turn and fight"; that he turned the other cheek and took blow after blow with the meekness of Job; and that he did all this because he was earnestly trying to live up to the "Christian theory." What follows? That he allowed the "Christian theory" to eat out the whole pith and core of his manhood, and to make him the object of a pity that

nothing under heaven can prevent from passing over into contempt. If this is what Christianity did for Henry Ward Beecher, and is to do for us,—if it is to make men submit peaceably to false accusations, and forbear to annihilate them by prompt and effectual measures of self-defence,—if it is to favor the ruinous and nauseous “policy of silence,” until society becomes one foulreeking mass of suppressions, intrigues, lies, plots, hypocrisies,—then destiny has in store for mankind no blessing more benign than the eradication of Christianity, and the total, eternal overthrow of its demoralizing ideals. On Christian grounds the “policy of silence” is doubtless to be regarded as the inevitable and legitimate outcome of the “Christian theory—the theory of the Sermon on the Mount.” But on human grounds it is the *reductio ad absurdum* of Christianity; for it shows what measureless floods of misery and mischief pour out of this Pandora’s box of non-resistance. If Henry Ward Beecher is innocent of the crime charged upon him, and the defence now set up is true, then he must stand for ages as the unspeakably pathetic illustration of what woful ruin can be wrought in a character naturally bold, fearless, and manly, by this poisonous “Christian theory” which enjoins submission to evil, when nothing but resistance to it can possibly avert evils a thousandfold greater and more enduring. Whoever or whatever is responsible for the “policy of silence” must bear the blame of the Scandal and its consequences; and if Mr. Perkins can prove that this is the “Christian theory,” he has struck a heavier blow against Christianity than was ever struck by THE INDEX.

A NEW BOOK OF POETRY.

A modest and pleasing little volume, entitled *Exotics: Attempts to Domesticate Them*, by J. F. C. and L. C., will have a threefold welcome: first, for the grace and beauty of the poems themselves; secondly, for the opportunity of acquaintance with some of the best ancient and modern lyrics which it affords to the mere English reader; and, thirdly, as a pleasant communion with its well-known gifted authors, whom we so often meet in the paths of reform and philanthropy, in the garden of the muses. It is pleasant to see father and daughter thus walking hand in hand, and blending these charming studies with severer labors.

Mr. Clarke’s preface is a brief but very interesting treatise on the principles of translation, and gives us the key to his work. He believes that the translation must be as truly a work of art as the original poem, and that it should still stand by itself as a thing of beauty, even were the original author entirely forgotten. He says: “A test question to decide the success or failure of a translation might be this: Can you recite your version aloud, in the presence of men of taste, so as to give them real pleasure? If the poem is worth repeating aloud for its own sake, and gives satisfaction, that is enough.”

Enough, we should say, to justify its existence, but not enough to make it a satisfactory translation. We should add to the test that it should give satisfaction as a true rendering of the thought and expression of the original to one who knew it well; and Mr. Clarke seems to admit this necessity in his concluding paragraph in reference to Matthew Arnold.

Carlyle says somewhere (I am obliged to quote from memory) that there are “two methods of translation; one in which the translator goes over to his author, seeking to reproduce his thought, feeling, surroundings, and peculiarities; the other in which he endeavors to reclothe the author’s ideas in the form of the language into which he renders him.” Carlyle emphatically prefers the former method. Mr. Clarke seems rather to incline to the latter. I have none of the originals at hand, by which I might compare them. But, according to his own test, the authors have certainly succeeded; for the poems are fresh and graceful in thought and expression, and seem to be quite naturalized in their new homes. They are principally taken from the German, the Latin of Horace and others, and from the Gulistan of Saadi. There is a very graceful version of the well-known verses of Maeshherbes on the death of a daughter, which Longfellow has translated. A very happy version is that of Lord Lytton’s Latin verses “To Sleep.” A very charming little poem of Geibel’s on “Spring Thoughts in Italy” is given in two quite different ways by L. C. We suspect the first to be rather a paraphrase; but it is full of sweet natural imagery, and its diffuseness in keeping with its loving thought. In conclusion, I will give only one specimen; and that not so much for its literary or poetic merit, as because it conveys a delicate hint, which

we hope will not be lost on us in our centennial clasping of hands and rejoicings in peace. It is from Saadi:—

TO PHILANTHROPISTS.

“Love with strength as well as meekness;
Love with firmness, not with weakness;
Probe the wound and scarify,
Before the balsam you apply.
Be so benevolent, I pray,
As to drive the wolf away:
Love him, if you will but keep
Some love also for the sheep.”

E. D. C.

CRIME AND CRIMINALS.

Public attention is just now specially called to the momentous problem of the proper mode of dealing with crime and criminals. The recent perpetration of a number of the most heinous crimes, and the recent hanging of several murderers, have introduced a fresh discussion of the subject. In this discussion, it is to be hoped that the question of preventing crime by so improving the conditions of society as to destroy the seeds from which it springs will be lifted into the importance which naturally belongs to it. There certainly can be no thorough treatment of the problem of criminality which omits this aspect of the case. Statistics show that a very large percentage of the criminal class were badly born and badly bred; that the conditions of their early existence were such as to lead almost inevitably to courses of vice and crime. And this being the case, the greatest hope for the ultimate improvement of mankind lies, perhaps, in the direction of those methods which seek to reform these conditions in which the germs of crime are nurtured,—methods that aim rather at the *prevention* of crime than its *cure*. This is a side of the subject that particularly demands the attention of social science and philanthropy; and one, too, that legislation must not disregard. Let benevolent citizens remember, at this season of the year, that something may be done in this direction even by the apparently trifling way of giving the poor children of the cities an occasional pleasure excursion into the country; and at all seasons, that the future security of society depends in no small measure on the kind of treatment which society now renders to the class of destitute and neglected children.

Yet, whatever good results may hereafter come from such preventive methods of dealing with crime, society has still to confront the problem, and will have to confront it probably for many years yet. What shall be done with regard to the crime that is already perpetrated, and with the criminal class that already exists?

That the problem is one of self-protection is manifest. Society must defend itself against the violence of its vicious members. It must protect its peaceful and law-abiding members against the outrage and rapacity of those who respect no law, whether of man or of conscience; it must do this because it is *society*, or a condition of existence in which human beings live together under a common recognition of a social bond.

But the obligation of society does not end, on this question, with the duty of self-protection. It has an obligation also towards the criminal. Society is in part responsible for what the criminal is—not wholly, but in part; is responsible to a considerable extent for the conditions which have tended to make him a criminal. And hence society is justly bound, not only to do the best it can to protect itself against him by placing him where he cannot do further harm to others, but to do the best it can for him by placing him under such conditions that, if possible, he may be reformed. The problem is to find some method of treating crime that shall successfully combine protection for society and reformation of the criminal; some plan of prison discipline that shall restrain the actual criminal, deter the probable criminal, and reform the prisoner.

Nor are these objects so far apart as they might at first seem; nor too far apart to be effectually combined in one plan. On the contrary, it is likely that the method which will best accomplish one will best accomplish the others. If we can only find the natural method of solving the problem—the method that comes nearest to the laws of Nature when she has to perform any operation of adjusting injured or disjointed forces,—we shall then most probably have discovered that to heal in one direction is to heal in all, and that there is really no inconsistency between the disciplines that are necessary to protect society and such as are most effectual for reforming the criminal.

W. J. P.

“THE KEYS OF THE CREEDS.”

It will be unfortunate if a little book bearing the above title should fail to make the impression it ought, as, owing principally to the deadness of the book-market, seems likely to be the case. It is a republication of an English book, written evidently by a man of education, scholarship, and literary accomplishment, who withholds his name for the reason that it might prejudice a certain class against the volume, and prevent its circulation among those who should especially be induced to consider the views the author submits. As the author of *Ecce Homo* remained concealed, in order that the public might discover without assistance from his name the import and purport of his chapters, so the writer of the *Keys of the Creeds* would pique the curiosity of his readers by anonymously flinging down a problem to be solved by unaided criticism.

The book is susceptible of two widely different interpretations, and has already perplexed the reviewers, as anonymous productions of the kind always will. On one hand it is regarded as the ingenious argument of a Romanist, who by playing fast and loose with definitions would persuade people of all opinions—even such as think themselves wholly outside of Christendom, extreme liberals and radical Free Religious men—that the Church of Rome extends to them a cordial hospitality, and really meets their demands by admitting their premises, and representing in symbolical form their conclusions. On the other hand it is regarded as the effort of an extreme rationalist to reduce ecclesiastical forms and dogmatical creeds to symbolical representations of universal ideas that are not peculiar to Christianity or to any other instituted religion, but one purely intellectual and spiritual. The newspaper criticisms of the volume, so far as they have come beneath our eye, have been amusingly off the track; the “evangelical” ones especially so, for they take the volume to be the production of a half-instructed writer who neither knows where he is, nor what he is about; whereas nothing is plainer to us than that he understands both what he is about, and where he is. What the Catholics think of a book which many suppose to have come from their side, and to be a revelation of their cunning, has not yet been declared, to our knowledge; what avowed “infidels,” or unbelievers in all religion, think of it is equally hidden as yet. But the believer in Free Religion cannot but take substantial comfort in it. For whatever may be the writer’s concealed purpose, whether he be a “Jesuit” throwing out a lure, or a “rationalist draining off the essentials of all instituted faith,” he plays immediately and skilfully into his hands. If he be a “Jesuit,” his argument proves his church to be nothing more than a poetical representation, without special commission, exceptional authority, “supernatural” illumination, and infallible truth; and if he be a “rationalist,” his argument proves that all religion has the same root, that all derive originally from Nature, that all must justify themselves to the human mind, and that the superiority of one over another consists entirely in the completeness with which it presents the essential forms of thought. None but a man of educated mind could have written the book; no mere dreamer or visionary could have written it; no fumbler or groper after a clew to an unexplored labyrinth could have written it. To our apprehension none but a thoughtful, reverent, sympathetic, peace-loving, inclusive, reconciling spirit could have written it. But this we shall know when we know the name and character of the author. In the meantime, while this is concealed, let the book be read seriously and in good faith. The chapters are short; the whole thirty occupy but two hundred pages; no words are wasted; the English is clear, simple, and luminous; the statements are plain; there is no affectation of mystery or profundity; and the conclusion is made to rest upon foundations that all can see and test. As we read it, it is an open but manly and modest challenge to the Christian Church to reclaim its birthright by avowing its parentage. O. B. F.

A VERY DIRTY, debased, and ignorant looking man came in to vote in a township of Michigan. Said one of the ladies, offering him a ballot, “I wish you would oblige us by voting this ticket.” “What kind of a ticket is that?” said he. “Why,” said the lady, “you can see yourself.” “But I can’t read,” he answered. “Why, can’t you read the ballot you have there in your hand, which you are about to vote?” the lady asked. “No,” said he, “I can’t read at all.” “Well,” said the lady, “this ballot means that you are willing to let the women as well as the men vote.” “Is that it?” he replied; “then I don’t want it; the women don’t know enough to vote.”—*Grand Rapids Post.*

Communications.

ORATION

ON THE OCCASION OF LAYING THE CORNER-STONE OF A TEMPLE BY THE HEBREW BENEVOLENT CONGREGATION OF ATLANTA, MAY 24, 1875.

BY REV. HENRY GERSONI.

Peace, peace to all friends, far and nigh, in the name of the Eternal! Peace be with you all, and the blessings of God on all of you who are assembled here this day to witness our joy, and to offer us your kind sympathies! We are erecting a shrine wherein we will worship the God of our forefathers according to the rites of our sacred creed. May he bless our labor with success, and may the work of our hands and the meditation of our hearts be acceptable before his sight! Amen.

When the ceremonies of this day were planned by the elders of my congregation, it was suggested to me that I should appear on this occasion in my ministerial apparel. But I have decidedly refused to do so. I am in principle opposed to the ministerial apparel even in the pulpit. Such paraphernalia may be necessary to a religion of the senses, but they are entirely useless—even objectionable—to a religion of the intellect and of the heart. Judaism, since the dispersion of our race, has never required any outward distinction between the pastor and his flock. As there should be no difference between the minister and his congregation with regard to the principles of morality and virtue which they are to pursue alike, so also should all outward distinctions be banished. The congregation ought to know its minister by his moral influence, not by the garment he wears.

Such was the principal reason why I have refused to appear to-day in the ministerial garments. I had another reason for doing so, which bears upon the idea of the work we are performing. Erecting shrines of worship is, to my knowledge, not a religious but a social act. "Thus saith the Eternal: The heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool. What house will you build for me and what place (will you assign) for my dwelling?" Can we, who believe that God is above all comprehension of man, that he is the creator and sustainer of all that is, that he is—according to the Talmudical metaphor—"the place of the universe, and not the universe his place," can we build a house for him or appoint a place for his dwelling? Or can we even say that he is nearer to us here than there, at this time than at any other time? No, we cannot; and we never did say so.

In the principles of Judaism God says: "Wherever I will cause my name to be mentioned, I will come unto thee and bless thee." Wherever there is a heart throbbing with holy sympathies; wherever there is a lofty and unprejudiced mind working for the glory of God or for the elevation of mankind; wherever there is a faithful and steady hand practising what is beneficial to individual and social life—be it in a lowly hut or in a gorgeous palace; be it decked with gold and studded with gems, or covered with rags and bespattered with mire,—God is there; for his grace and glory is always there where his holy name is known and proclaimed in word and in deed, where the principles emanating from a knowledge of him prompt actions testifying to his magnificence. Such are the teachings of Judaism with regard to the presence of the Almighty.

Some modern thinkers who try to free humanity from the bondage of an overbearing hierarchy have in the benevolent ardor of their pursuit drawn Judaism into the question, and have repeatedly represented us as believers in a God who "dwelt behind the curtain" of the temple at Jerusalem. The object of those philosophers is praiseworthy on the whole; may God prosper their work, and humanity remember their names with gratitude! But this gross idolatry—I know no other name for it—which they impute to Judaism, is a sore mistake on their part. They know nothing of our sacred creed, nothing of the biblical metaphor as understood by us in its true sense; and ought not to be so positive in their assertions on that subject. The mistakes occurring in the versions of our Bible, which have had their origin in the Procrustean bed of principles antagonistic to Judaism, ought not to be laid at our doors. Judaism is not responsible for all that her antagonists have made her say or imply.

Thus we do not believe that God dwells or ever did dwell on any particular spot. "His glory fills the universe." Neither space can be assigned for his dwelling place, nor time for his existence.

The custom of building shrines for the service of God has emanated from a deep sense of respect for that worship. The believer could not reconcile himself to the idea of "worshipping God in a tent, while he dwelt in a house of cedars." Why should not edifices inspiring respect be erected for that purpose, as they are built for our physical wants and necessities? This custom was adopted by our ancestors, after they had come into contact with other nations, after they had emerged from the simplicity of an isolated life. Before this had come to pass, they worshipped God in their tents, in the field, everywhere; for they knew that he is omnipresent. The custom of building houses of worship has, therefore, only a social significance and importance, for it was social life which gave birth to it. Judaism keeps this always in view, and therefore we always build synagogues in the style of architecture most approved of by our neighbors, and most suitable to the locality of the place. Moses built a tabernacle, David purposed a temple of cedars, Solomon built one of rocks and cedars, Herod built one of marble; and every portion of our race builds at the present time its syna-

gogue in a style most suitable to its native or adopted land.

And the social significance of our synagogues is the same as has been "the heap of stones" which Jacob erected at parting from Laban. Here is the story of that "heap" and its significance as we find it in Gen. 31:—

"Laban said, Now come, let us both make a covenant which shall be a witness between me and thee. And Jacob said to his brothers, Gather stones. And they took stones and made a heap, and they ate there on the heap. And Laban called it Yegar-sahadutha; and Jacob called it Gal'ed. And Laban said, This heap shall be a witness between me and thee; therefore he called it Gal'ed. And the elevation thereof (betokens) that the Eternal will watch me and thee, when we shall be hidden from one another. And Laban said, Behold the heap, and behold the monument, which I have cast up between me and thee. Let this heap and this monument be a testimony that I will not pass by this heap unto thee, nor shalt thou pass it by unto me for evil (purposes)," etc.

Our places of worship should be of the same significance to us as that monument was to the patriarchs who piled it up. They should remind the believers, that they should not pass by them with evil intentions against their fellow-men. Call those monuments Gal'ed or Yegar-sahadutha, call your houses of worship churches, or synagogues, or mosques,—their significance is always the same. You dedicate them to the worship of the common Father of mankind; and, since you believe in him, you durst not presume any evil thought or action against any of his children, your brothers. "Have not we all one Father?" exclaims the inspired Malachi; "has not one God created us? Why should we be false, man against his brother, to desecrate the covenant of our fathers!"

Alas, that this call which expresses in grand simplicity the world-redeeming truth of the common brotherhood of mankind should be so often disregarded by those who should do their utmost to uphold it. Alas, that preachers and congregations within the sacred walls of their shrines of worship should so often cherish and proclaim ideas just in opposition to that truth! One damns the other because he considers himself redeemed; another one nourishes prejudice against his neighbor because he thinks himself chosen by God; a third one fulminates anathemas against all the rest because they cannot agree with him on the subject of his own importance and potency.

Thus the very edifices which should serve as monuments of peace and mutual good-will become the hot-houses of prejudice, animosity, and perpetual strife. The holy name which is called on those houses is desecrated by the most unhallowed sentiments which the worshippers nourish. If I were in the presence of such people, I would speak to them in the following terms:—

By that heaven that bends above us, an abyss of endless space replete with the glory of God; by those multitudes of revolving orbs, each of them thousands of times larger than the earth, and yet nothing more than a spark of the light of eternal wisdom; by that blooming Nature which surrounds us, enrapturing our senses with the sweet productions of forces we can name but not comprehend; by that life which is teeming around us in millions of forms, and the source and generation of which is forever hidden from the scrutiny of man; by that spirit of God within us which we call intelligence, and which teaches us to perform works much stronger and much more lasting than we are,—I ask you here in the presence of God the Almighty by what span do you measure the greatness or littleness of your fellow-man in the sight of God? Where are the scales by which you determine the burden of your brother's importance in the sight of his and your maker? On what touchstone can you try the quality of your friend's soul? I am a Jew, and I want reason. My sacred tongue, the Hebrew, has no word for faith. The philosophers of my creed teach me to "search reason in belief." What reasonable proofs can you produce that a man who is a good and useful member of society, who by his dealings and actions is a blessing to his fellow-men—what reasonable proofs can you produce to satisfy me that he is regarded as a step-child by your and my Father in heaven, because he does not adopt your ideas on certain points alike unknown to you and him? In the name of the sacred brotherhood of mankind, in the name of Nature which has constituted us all alike, in the name of the God of Nature, who is our common preserver and Father, let us drop the apron-string of our old nurse. She has been a beautiful maiden in olden times, but she is too old and too feeble for us now; her gait is not firm enough to support us, her eyes are too dim to see the right way for us. That nurse is religious exclusiveness, the daughter of religious conceit. She did well enough as long as we could not speak to one another, as long as we were unable to understand each other. We have come to age now; at least, we are old enough to have done so. Let us, then, leave our old nurse alone; let us try to make up our differences between ourselves. Religious conceit has taught us many a good thing in the wrong way; let us try to improve on it. You are a good reasonable people; you will not burn me at the stake for the simplicity of my belief that God is one and incomprehensible, and for the ardor of my hope that this One Incomprehensible will bring about a unity of mankind, a feeling of brotherhood between man and his brother. And I have no prejudice whatever to call you my brothers, and to treat you as such; no matter what you think of salvation, or what hopes you cherish for the future. Let us, therefore, try to understand one another, let not the shadows of the past form an insurmountable wall between me and you.

Thus I would speak to them in the name of my

people; for such are the stirring sounds which I can discern from amid the roll of the wheel of ages. Israel has been issuing them since time immemorial. My beloved race speaks so to friend and foe. Wherever Israel has found a foothold, he has tried to live according to the precepts of his royal bard: "Trust in the Eternal and do good; dwell in the land and feed (thyself) with truthfulness." Our history is our testimony for the past; the actions of our race all over the world at the present time show that we have not changed; and our edifices for the service of the Lord and for the benefit of our fellow-man, our shrines of worship and our temples of charity which we are erecting every year, express our intention to continue in the same path of virtue and benevolence for ages to come.

A small community as we are in this city which has just risen like a Phoenix from the ashes and ruins to which the most terrible calamity of human kind, the calamity of civil war, had reduced her—a small community as we are, here we manifest this day that we are willing to "dwell in the land," and to deal with our fellow citizens in morality and virtue; we are willing to share the fate of our neighbors for good or evil, as it may please God to decree upon us. So let this pile of stones be a witness between us that we shall not pass this place with evil intentions against each other; let it be a monument of virtue and true piety, of brotherly love, of peace, and of harmony between Jew and Christian, between man and his brother forevermore. And may God hasten the time which has been predicted by a Hebrew poet of a modern school:—

"A day will come, so saith the Lord,
A day of joy and grandeur,
When, like the sun in heaven's vault,
The truth will shine in splendor.
And, like the planets round the sun,
All spirits will revolve
Around the truth, whose brilliant rays,
All darkness shall dissolve.

"On that day will the earth resound
With praises of God's glory;
'The word of God forever stands!'
Each mouth will tell the story;
And those who bore his name of yore
Will glory in his name,
For by the wisdom they have taught
From earth was banished shame.
And all the nations of the earth
Will join their hands in love,
For they are children of One God,
The Holy One above."

Amen.

NO DEFINITION.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In Rev. James Freeman Clarke's essay which appeared in THE INDEX of May 13, we are told that "a good definition may be a good thing for speculative purposes; but the practical question in regard to Christianity is whether, on the whole, it is useful to society, or pernicious."

What is this Christianity which is "useful or pernicious to society?" In vain have I sought for the answer in the essay before me. We are there told that, "whether we can define Christianity or not, we all know very well what it is."

A most remarkable statement, coming from one who well understands the utter irreconcilability of many honest minds on this subject!

Take, as a summary of the dogmas renounced by Unitarians, the *Liberal Christian's* leading editorial of January 3, 1874, on "Evolution and Revolution in Religion." Has the English language become so poverty-stricken that the same word, Christian, must apply alike to the believer in those ultra dogmas of Orthodoxy, and to one who has renounced such dogmas as pernicious to society?

Is it not true that nine-tenths of those who claim to be Christians adhere to those dogmas? If pernicious to society (and why else should they have been renounced by Unitarians?), how must Christianity "as a whole" be regarded from that standpoint? The *Liberal Christian* says that the old dogmas have nearly disappeared from the Orthodox pulpit. But not one line has been eliminated from their creeds, articles of faith, or Sunday-school books.

Let one look at the latter, who would catch a glimpse of the soul-cramping ideas dealt out to the rising generation. My neighbor's children sing:—

"Jesus died and paid for all."

Then my children wish to know what he paid for. I give as mild, as Unitarian, a version of the old story as I can; for I desire to be at peace with my neighbors. But that does not save me; the doctrine of atonement and substitution not being indoctrinated into the heads of my little ones, they are soon given to understand by said neighbors' children that their paternal ancestor is an infidel.

To be brief, how do Unitarians know that the dogmas of Orthodox Christianity are not the teachings of Christ? Have they ever proved this?

As proof of the wide difference in opinion on this subject, take a sentence from your correspondence "Z" in the same number of THE INDEX with Dr. Clarke's essay: "If men would keep in mind that in opposing Christianity they are literally doing Jesus' work over again, the name anti-Christianity would not be such a bugbear."

It is probably too late to challenge the record to know precisely what Jesus did say. We know something of the mutilation that record received from its priestly custodians, before it underwent a final sifting at the hands of Constantine's picked jury.

Thank heaven, there are other forces in religion now at work, moving hand in hand with science! If the hungry soul finds little to satisfy itself in the uncertain records of the past, let the living present, teeming with proofs of the divine love and goodness, claim its attention.

What faith is more rational, more calculated to in-

spire us with courage, effort, hope, than the undoubted belief that the laws of the universe, bearing the stamp of infinite love and wisdom, work together for the perpetual progress of those who will place themselves in harmony with them?

But I have wandered somewhat from the battlefield of "definitions." I do not like the dust and smoke of that contest. The peace of Free Religion is far more attractive. But the lines must be drawn. Not for "speculative purposes," but that we may be intelligible in our language, should definitions be clearly made. Until Unitarians can make good their claim to the Christian name (which they have not yet done), Christianity, as defined by the *consensus* of the Church, appears to me the only definition clearly set forth.

NEW ORLEANS, La., June 2, 1875.

FAITH IN GOD.

Amid the toils and disappointments of life, when doubt distorts the face of our destiny with frowns, and the soul tremblingly gropes in darkness, what holy joy to have the gloom dispelled, even for a brief season, by some one who dwells in a higher and serenest world of faith! To those who yearn for a rational and comforting faith in God, who long to see something more than blind, unconscious force behind the phenomena of Nature, Mr. Voysey's letter in THE INDEX of February 25 must be benignly encouraging. The noble and elevating faith in God, which he so humbly yet ably presents, is a belief which I think thousands of earnest thinkers are now struggling to attain. It is this faith that crowns, I believe, human nature with the highest dignity and happiness. Without this belief in an intelligent and beneficent God—a Being to whom we can look, from the mysteries of life and our own impotence, with filial trust—our existence and the universe itself must, sometimes at least, appear gloomy beyond the power of language to describe. I speak now from the highest authority I know—my own experience. As my faith in such a God as Mr. Voysey describes strengthens, life becomes more sublime, real, and happy. This faith gives a grand significance to Nature that makes all things noble. Supported by this faith, man can submit to the inevitable with a heroic fortitude.

But without some idea of a Supreme Intelligence directing the destiny of man, and guiding him by infallible law to higher attainments and more perfect happiness, I cannot conceive how the pains and disappointments of life, the inevitable ills of this existence, can be endured without bitter discontent and despair. Those who regard the phenomena of Nature as the expressions of a "blind necessity" may accept the conditions of life with stoic indifference; but can they meet cheerfully all the events of human destiny? Can they find any rational consolation in the severe trials and afflictions through which all must at some period in their lives pass? Does not the idea of purposeless pain excite rebellious discontent? If there is no Divine sympathy for the human heart, if there is no beneficent design in the chequered destiny of man, how can he obtain the inspiration, the moral courage, to endure and triumph over the inevitable afflictions of his lot? How can man cheerfully resign himself to pain and misfortune without a belief that such afflictions are a part of a grand universal system which has wisdom for its guide, and good for its goal? Without some faith in this direction, the inevitable tendency of human nature would be toward morose selfishness and mad despair. The warm affections, the noble aspirations that invest human nature with loveliness and dignity could not grow with healthy vigor, unless nourished by some faith in a supreme Wisdom and Goodness. It is this faith, vague and faltering though it may often be, which enables man to meet with patient resignation the inevitable ills of life. Thousands to whom philosophy never taught patient submission to the unavoidable afflictions of life, whose culture is so narrow that they cannot escape the persecution of misfortune by fleeing into the cheerful realms of refined thought and fancy, endure with the sublime heroism of Socrates the severest trials of earth, supported alone by this filial faith in God.

It is this simple yet grand faith in a God who sympathizes with the human mind in all the vicissitudes of its earthly development that makes the Orthodox religions, with all their revolting superstitions, so dear to the popular heart. The common soul must have some superhuman power on whose wisdom and goodness it can rely, when its own weakness is realized. Reason grows dizzy and faint in trying to sustain the pressure of life unaided, and the soul instinctively looks up to God, and reposes on the faith that its own weakness is supplemented by an All-sufficient strength.

Whatever may be the belief which science may yet force the human mind to accept, we cannot deny that some conception of a God is the most universal idea now prevalent. A few minds of rare constitution and scientific culture may have no settled belief on the subject, waiting to see what ideas of the universe the future revelations of science shall make terrible; but this is not the condition of many. The great majority of people of all degrees of culture have some belief in a God, which, though in the ordinary course of life it may not be apparent, is nevertheless, in the deep mental exigencies of their experience, their greatest support and consolation. Whatever weakens this belief in the popular mind must, I think, weaken the source of virtue and happiness, until the philosophy of duty and contentment, which the stern doctrine of "necessity" may be able to teach, is substituted for our present ideas of religion. But admitting that such a philosophy might finally be developed out of the ideas of mate-

rialism, which some think the tendency of science at present indicates, it is yet far from the mental grasp of the masses of mankind; and cannot be received with comfort by many, till the whole character of our religious thought is changed. That this belief in a supreme Intelligence, in whom the soul of man finds every ideal that it can conceive, and to whom it can turn in the dark trials of life with filial trust, will grow deeper and stronger as science discloses more clearly the secrets of the universe, I humbly hope. But, whatever may be the effect of the future of science on the idea of a God, whoever cannot treat this idea with the tenderest sympathy is not qualified to discuss the religious thought of this age.

OZARK, Mo.

CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM, AND THE DANGERS FROM BOTH.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Why is it that we hear so much of the dangers from Catholicism, and so little of those from Protestantism; that even radical papers (even the best of them, THE INDEX) have so much to say of Catholicism and its dangerous tendencies, and little or nothing of the dangers threatening us from Protestantism? That even radicals speak but favorably of Protestantism, as if that were all right, and no danger whatever need be apprehended from that quarter? That even Mr. Wasson can accept Col. Higginson's noble words in his last essay (INDEX, June 17) only when applied to religion under Protestant influences? Did not the Colonel speak a great truth, when he said that "he never knew half a dozen men who were logical?" And is it not clear that you, my much misapprehended and therefore much censured friend, are one of these half-dozen, and almost the only one who is heard in THE INDEX, who is alike just to, and yet severe on, all sects,—equally opposed to what is wrong in, and yet tolerant to, all religions?

That Catholicism is worse in its theology and tendencies than Protestantism cannot be denied by even the most unprejudiced and tolerant mind; and yet it seems, nevertheless, that Col. Higginson was again right, when he said: "I don't care what they are logically bound to do to me," as long as they are not logical, and "as long as those inside either organization do not interfere with me." It is true, though, that only the Catholic masses are thus illogical, to some extent tolerant, and "don't interfere with others;" but those representing the Church and shaping its character—the popes, cardinals, bishops and clergy in general—are logical, terribly in earnest, terribly intolerant, and would be as terribly dangerous, if their might were equal to their bad will. There is no denying the fact that Catholicism, if logically lived up to, and Catholic priests if they realize their wishes, are or might become very dangerous.

And yet, I consider Catholicism and its priests less dangerous for America (i.e., in our condition) than Orthodox Protestantism (where I in this article speak of Protestantism I mean mainly Orthodox or Evangelical Protestantism). Paradoxical and illogical as this may seem to most Protestants, yea, even to radicals, it is nevertheless based on facts,—facts little acknowledged, at least heeded, by Protestants, as easily may be proved. And to prove them I need neither deny nor palliate the immensity of the danger of Catholicism and its tendencies, or the craftiness of its priests; and thus far I may please Protestants. But, whatever may be the intensity of this danger, it is greatest merely in theory, and happily very much less in fact. For the general intelligence and enlightenment so remarkably characterizing the nineteenth century exert their benign influence in the Catholic as well as in the Protestant world, if not with equal force and effect, yet with enough to dispel much of the former darkness—to excite the masses and push them at least some distance onward on the path of progress. However immutable the Church, however malevolent her ecclesiastics, the masses have progressed, are no more the same that they once were, no longer to be dragged by the former as they were in past times. An enormous change has taken place among the lay-members of that Church even within the last decennium. Be it remembered, if we would form a just conception of the Catholicism of to-day, we must not, as most of us are prone to do, base our judgment of it upon Catholicism in America, where the general freedom of belief gives to its clergy more freedom to develop their hierarchical character of that Church; it is Europe, it is Italy, Germany, to which we must look to learn the true status of Catholicism to-day. Even here, however, in America, who is not aware of the great difference in intelligence and freedom of thought between the freshly-arrived Irishman and his descendants even in the first generation? Of course, the difference is still greater in the next following ones, and in proportion as they become "Americanized." The rapid increase of their numbers, in which many Protestants see likewise a disquieting source of danger, can therefore forebode no great peril.

In addition to all this, there is yet another very strong point in proof of my assertion. Any possible danger from Catholicism must grow less in proportion as the same danger from Protestantism must, for the same reason, grow greater. Whatever danger, namely, may threaten from Catholicism, or be planned by its priests, they are watched by millions of jealous Protestants, whose Argus eyes will detect any scheme which the craftiness or bigotry of the worst priest could devise, and which will speedily be exploded before it can produce much mischief.

But how is it, on the other hand, with Protestantism? I have stated above, and reiterate it here

again, that Catholicism is dangerous, that more especially its priests are an everlasting source of danger; but is Protestantism not also? Are its ministers less dangerous than the other's priests? The Protestants, because Protestants, will no doubt deny any danger in Protestantism, much of it as they can see in Catholicism; they are apprehensive of no danger from their own ministers, much of it as they fear from Catholic priests. This is just what makes Protestantism the more dangerous, and its ministers the more perilous men, as we presently shall see.

The Catholics, besides being in a minority of one to five or six, are, as we have seen, watched most jealously, its priests especially always being mistrusted; any mischief that they actually should aim at would be timely discovered and prevented; while Protestant ministers are highly respected, revered, looked up to in fullest confidence as reliable guides, believed to be models of all that is good, moral, and righteous, and naturally are supported by their churches and communities in all their plottings. In this, again, consists another great part of the dangers from Protestantism. For are these ministers really so different from Catholic priests? Are they every way so much superior? Is not a priest a priest, whether he be called priest or minister, whether he wears a long black coat or a white cravat? The *genus* is the same; the instincts and endeavors of the one are not a whit different from those of the other. The ruling passion, the class-vice, is the love of dominion, power; and the (Orthodox) Protestant minister craves it, and sacrifices as much for it as any Catholic priest.

But perhaps I shall be told here that Catholicism and its priests are enemies of individual freedom, are opposed to our public schools, while Protestants and their ministers favor both. Are you so very sure of that, my Protestant friends? Of the first part you may be sure, because it is true. But of the second part you cannot be sure; for *that* is not true. You have only been deceived by your confidence in your minister and his preaching. Just look at the "God-in-the-Constitution" party: what "individual liberty" would they grant to those outside their Church? Can Catholics do worse than these Protestants? Can there be any danger so great and as immediate from Catholics? These Constitution-knights have not only the good-will and aid of almost all Protestant churches and congregations, but even the government, congress, legislatures, to back them. What, then, will become of our individual civil liberty, if this party should succeed?

But the Catholics oppose the public schools, and endeavor to destroy that system, I am told; and Protestants, even the God-in-the-Constitution party, favor them. Admitted—as to the charge against Catholics; but denied, as to the claim of Protestants. "Oh, but you are wrong, sir; you are certainly mistaken in this!" Well, let us see who is mistaken. Just put the Douay version instead of King James' Bible into public schools; let the teacher open these with *Ave Marias*, sing Catholic devotional songs, &c.; and then see how friendly these Protestants will be to our public schools, and how ardently they will support that system. They certainly would very soon be worse enemies of the schools and the system than Catholics, to whom equally unjust things are offered by Protestants, now are. For these good Protestants and their ministers are great patriots, and warm friends of our public schools, as long as they are Protestant schools (as they in fact are), but strongly opposed to them when the attempt is made to make them, not Catholic, but merely what they ought to be—free and unsectarian!

And yet these very Protestants claim to be the Christians *par excellence*, and the rest say, *Amen!* They impose their theology and theological notions on everybody—Congress, President, State legislatures; and everybody cowardly submits. Even courts of justice and the laws of the country must conform to their dictates; they rule supremely even in civil matters, and the masses obey. But, not yet satisfied with all this, they strive also to unite Church (their Church) and State, make the latter subordinate to and support the former, acknowledge their own Church as the only State Church; and thus Protestants as the only citizens eligible for office in State and general government, and the rest (unorthodox Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Infidels, &c.) mere dummy-citizens entitled to no rights but to pay taxes and to live!

Who, then, are the more dangerous, Orthodox Protestants or Catholics? From whom is more and greater danger to be apprehended, and who need more to be watched, these Protestants or the Catholics? To a mind that sees things as they are, these questions answer themselves. And yet these very dangerous "Evangelicals" continually cry out "stop thief!" clamor against the Catholics; and the masses, even radicals, too, imitate them and cry also! They thus aid their bitterest enemies, instead of organizing and opposing them! The only remedy seems to be Liberal Leagues and the "Demands of Liberalism." Let us have them!

MORRIS EINHSTEIN.

TITUSVILLE, Pa., June 24, 1875.

WHAT will people say? This question makes the mind homeless. Do right and fear no one; thou mayst be sure that with all thy consideration for the world thou wilt never satisfy the world. But if thou goest straight forward on thy way, not concerning thyself with the friendly or unfriendly glances of men, then thou hast conquered the world, and it is subject to thee. By heeding the question, "What will people say?" thou becomest subject to the world.—Auerbach.

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

ABRAM WALTER STEVENS.

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

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To increase general intelligence with respect to religion;

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual;

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

In addition to its general objects, the practical object to which THE INDEX is specially devoted is the ORGANIZATION OF THE LIBERALS OF THE COUNTRY, for the purpose of securing the more complete and consistent secularization of the political and educational institutions of the United States. The Church must give place to the Republic in the affections of the people. The last vestiges of ecclesiastical control must be wiped out of the Constitutions and Statutes of the several States in order to bring them into harmony with the National Constitution. To accomplish this object, the Liberals must make a united demand, and present an unbroken front, and the chief practical aim of THE INDEX will be henceforth to organize a great NATIONAL PARTY OF FREEDOM. Let every one who believes in this movement give it direct aid by helping to increase the circulation of THE INDEX.

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Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age," an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India," also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

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"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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WHOLE No. 290.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL of this State have refused to commute the sentence of Jesse Pomeroy, the child-torturer.

THOMAS NAST, in one of his late cartoons, posts the New York Tribune as—"Founded by Horace Greeley, and co-founded by Whitelaw Reid."

ROBERT DALE OWEN is reported to have become mentally deranged. The many friends he has won by a long life of probity and purity will be deeply grieved, if the report is confirmed.

ADMIRABLE ROUS defends cock-fighting in the London Times, and writes amusingly enough on his hobby, which one of his profession could hardly be expected to condemn. Indeed, is not the gallant Admiral himself a "Lancashire black-breasted Red"?

MORE than one orator has lately quoted this well-known and apt metaphor of Fisher Ames: "A monarchy is a mighty man-of-war—staunch, iron-ribbed, resistless when under full sail; yet a single hidden rock sends her to the bottom. Our Republic is a raft, hard to steer, your feet always wet; but nothing can sink her."

THE FAMOUS frigate Constitution, or "Old Ironsides," is now in the Philadelphia Navy Yard, hauled up for repairs. But it is proposed to break up her weather-beaten and war-beaten hull, because Congress omitted to make a special appropriation for repairing her. This, too, in the season of Centennials! Even the ghosts of the Guerrière and the Java should rise in protest against such vandalism.

REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE is guilty of improving on the Scriptures, in his fourth of July oration: "The time has happily come when, though one should speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not the TRUTH, he will become as a sounding brass and as a tinkling cymbal." Paul would have done better if he had consulted Dr. Clarke in advance, whose emendation we heartily approve.

APPARENTLY the Republican party intends to commit itself unambiguously to a hard money platform. The Iowa platform declares explicitly: "Gold and silver are the only reliable and permanent legal tender, and we favor the earliest attainment of a currency convertible with coin, and therefore advocate gradual resumption of specie payments by continuous and steady steps in that direction." Such an utterance from a Western State is especially encouraging.

BISHOP WHITTINGHAM, of the Episcopal Church of Maryland, has narrowly escaped an ecclesiastical trial for refusing to put on trial two of his clergy, who had adopted certain ritualistic practices. If people profess to believe in church discipline, why should it not be enforced? The Bishop is not entitled to the least sympathy for liberality, if he shirks a duty imposed on him by his office. But the Church is a mush of concessions now-a-days, too intelligent to believe its creed, too politic to enforce its discipline, and not honest enough to discard either.

GOVERNOR CHAMBERLAIN, of South Carolina, delivered an address to the Yale Law School which on one point of great importance was healthier and truer than President Woolsey's address to the Phi Beta Kappa Society (noted last week). We refer to universal suffrage, which the venerable ex-President declared he "did not believe in," and which the applause of his audience showed that they too did not believe in. But Governor Chamberlain spoke on this subject a high and hopeful word which is a lesson greatly needed by the college graduates who have lost faith in American ideas. In another column we republish this admirable passage of Governor Chamberlain's speech.

DR. CLARKE says that the New York Nation "has

carried its honest hatred of tawdry sentimentalism so far as almost to have invented a new kind of cant—the cant of anti-sentimentalism." This is slightly preposterous, for the Nation has not coined any cant on the subject. As to its anti-sentimentalism, we heartily like it; or should do so, if that able paper did not sometimes confound sentimentalism with the moral sentiment—a very different thing, and one which the Nation is doing its best to foster in regard to the corruptions so prevalent in politics and business. A stern insistence on justice is no more "sentimental" than a stern insistence on "honesty," which is the Nation's hobby. One hobby is as good as the other; success to them both!

WHEN DR. CLARKE is not talking Unitarian Christianity, he talks excellently well, as in more than one passage of his late noble oration of the fourth of July. Among other things he said: "It is not a mere coincidence, but rather a happy Providence, which makes this old city of Boston, the place 'where American freedom raised its first voice'—the Cradle of Liberty a hundred years ago—to become again today the Cradle of Reunion and of National Brotherhood." Yes, Boston was once the Cradle of Freedom, and is now the Cradle of Fellowship; and Dr. Clarke rejoices at it. Why does he not rejoice that it is also the Cradle of Free Religion,—which is Freedom and Fellowship fused into one? If he could only shake off his Christian spectacles, he would see that Free Religion is the very essence of the United States Constitution, which is the summary of all the victories that we are now so enthusiastically centennializing.

TEN YEARS ago we advocated the establishment of negro suffrage at the South on the ground that self-interest would in that case compel the whites to educate their former slaves, and thus fit them for citizenship, which could not be expected if the latter had no political power. It is pleasant to see that things are actually working as we predicted. Says the Memphis Appeal in a recent issue: "All the trouble between the two races in the South can be traced directly to the ignorance of the blacks [?]. It is, therefore, to the interest of the South that the negroes be educated. It is a saving to the tax-paying whites to see that the non-tax-paying negroes are educated. And it is certainly the duty of the Southern States to educate the masses." This belief must spread and conquer; and it ought to reassure the grumblers and groaners over the fact of universal suffrage—which must precede universal education, and not *vice versa*.

UNDER the head of "Foreign Notes," one of the Boston dailies recently had this item of news: "The Katie King imposture has been matched in Paris, but, instead of being allowed to remain simply an exploded humbug, the French fraud has been followed by the trial and punishment of the swindlers. They consisted of a photographer, the editor of a Spiritualist paper, and the inevitable American who always turns up in the novel swindles abroad. They had a thriving business, and were so successful that, although the charge for spirit photographs was but twenty francs, the victims of their delusions voluntarily gave in some cases as high as four hundred francs for portraits of deceased friends. Yet no swindle was ever more palpable. A lady assistant contrived to get some idea of the appearance of the deceased person, and then from a large collection of photograph faces one was selected, stuck upon a doll dressed in white muslin, and a hazy photograph was taken. This was clearly proved, and the 'spirit box' and the collection of photographs used were produced in court. Yet the defence had a superabundance of witnesses whose faith could not be shaken by the exposure. The two Frenchmen were sentenced to a year's imprisonment each, and the American accomplice to six months' confinement."

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[For THE INDEX.]

The Lilies.

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BY W. H. SPENCER.

Consider the lilies, how they grow.—MATT. VI., 28.

I think Jesus was a Nature-lover, there is such an aroma of the fields and flowers about so many of his sermons. He saw God in the lilies of the field; the grass which to-day is, and to-morrow is cut down and withereth; the falling sparrow; the rain that comes alike to just and unjust; the sheep that feed on the green hills, and the shepherd that watches them; the grape-vines with their purple clusters; the fig-trees and mustard seeds, the waving grain, and the sunset clouds. All natural objects around him, the fishes of the sea, birds of the air, flowers of the field, were revelations of the God of Nature and Father of Men.

It is true he respects the "Law and the Prophets"; but dearer than any of the old stories about what Jehovah had said was the voice of the Ever-Present, as he heard it on mountain, in valley, and by the rippling waters of Galilee. "See the lilies, how they grow!"

It was a characteristic of the Nazarene that he was impressed, not so much by the grand and sublime in Nature, as by the beautiful and lovely. He saw God less in tempests and thunder-bolts than in the twittering sparrows and lilies of the field. It bespoke his own gentle, lovely nature; for we see as we are.

The world is full of books about God, but what is so full of God as the flowers! I may get sceptical over books, and cry, "I cannot find thee;" but let me take the simplest flower and look into its face and commune with it a moment, and a light, as from above, comes over our two faces, and my soul sings, "I cannot lose thee!" In the flower I find the Father. Each lily-bell seems to ring out to my ears in a voice soft and sweet,—

"Thou believest in me, believe also in him that sent me,"

And I believe.

To most of us, spring is the loveliest season of the year, perhaps because in the newly resurrected life we get nearer the life-giver. In March how impatiently we look for May! Winter always lingers in the lap of spring,—hangs on like a tiresome lover, till the last minute. Miss Spring hinted plainly enough these two or three mild days in March, that winter had better be gone; but he never takes a hint in latitude forty-five degrees. "Good riddance to you," she finally cried, as the old rheumatic fellow in white hair and furs skulked 'out the back door of the year, and limped off toward the North Pole; "go up to your own house among the icebergs, and look after your school of seals and walrus and droves of polar bears, and let me and my flowers alone!" And we clapped our hands with glee, as we saw old winter vanish under the cover of a north-east storm! Welcome, ever welcome, to sunny-faced, golden-haired spring! Our hearts went out to meet her coming, when she was yet a great way off. How we watched the green tide, as it came rolling up from the south, climbing the hills, winding through the valleys, and bathing the shivering earth with its flood of living glory!

"The brown trees, swelling with buds, become nets to catch the sunshine; and then the golden

sunshine caught turns into crinkled leaf and the whites and crimsons of the blossom. The ferns and mosses and vines, little ones of the woods, steal into the rooky arms and creep up along the bodies of the great trees with loving hug, with no fear that they shall be repulsed. No secret place is left unvisited by spring. The lone plant in a desert, the seed buried under a leaf, the brown bush we put into the cellar last November out of sight, the very potatoes in the barrel, all hear the whisper and feel the touch and turn to life again. Within the room of a sick girl in some foul city-garret, stands a solitary rose in an earthen pitcher, cut off like a caged bird from the companionship of kin. The spring, flying over, knows its child; stops there, and bids the plant and the sick one with it turn again to life and beauty. She works for no eyes. She works for all eyes."

The first wild flower we find in these parts generally is the anemone, or, as we call it, the Badger,—perhaps because we fancy the Badger State a little ahead of her sister States in wide-awake, up-in-the-morning spirit. Then comes the bashful trailing arbutus, very rare about here, peeping through the leaves almost before the snow is gone. Next the blue violet and the blood-root; and, hurrying after, the dandelion puts out her plump yellow face, as unconcerned as though troops of boys and girls were not hunting like greedy wolves to devour her. Close by, the buttercup peeps up with cheek so polished and look so prim, congratulating herself that she was not born an unlucky dandelion to be rooted up just for greens,—while over the brooks, bending low to catch the music of the waters, the downy buds of the willow appeared, and then the poplar and elm; and last of all the lazy oak put on his spring suit, and bid us good-morning as we passed. Six weeks are gone, and spring has thrust her hands down deeper into her basket of flowers, and scattered through gardens cherry blossoms, apple, and plum, lilac, tulip, and snow-ball, peony, pink, and pansy. Wide over fields the white clover has come out, to tempt the honey bee that has appeared expressly to be tempted; and over all is shed the glory of unnumbered roses, while, growing near, are the lilies of the field.

Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these! Take the simplest flower and go through its labyrinthine chambers; note its complicated mechanism, the delicate structure and exquisite finish of every part. It is a tiny cathedral; a miniature universe. What matchless colors! What artist mingled them? Did spring dip her brush in the sunset flame, and borrow of the rainbow its hues?

"Consider the lilies, how they grow." I rejoice every spring morning, and all the summer long, that one need not be a scientific botanist to delight in the flowers. The little girl loves the lily, perhaps as much as Prof. Gray. She knows not the name of one of its parts. If you should describe to her the lily as perianth, funnel-form, colored, of six distinct sepals, spreading or recurved above, deciduous; stamens six, included; anthers linear, style elongated, stigma triangular, etc.,—she would probably take you for a foreigner asking her name, and naively reply: "I am mamma's girl!" Yet the untaught child loves the lily, kisses its pure lips, and preserves it as a thing of beauty and a joy to last for many days. Happy for us, we may love the lily and God in it, though we are ignorant of physiological and structural botany, of the process of inflorescence and the hard nomenclature. Its beauty speaks to us in our mother tongue. Still, it is true, that not half the secret wonders of the floral kingdom reveal themselves except on intimate acquaintanceship. Only the botanist can truly say, "I see the lily; how it grows."

It is not my purpose, however, to-day to analyze the lily or explain the process of its growth, but simply to offer some thoughts which the flowers suggest. There are plants and flowers which remind one instinctively of people he has known or read of.

There is the big, red-faced sunflower friend of ours, and the primrose maiden. Some men ought to be named *lignum-vite*, and some good mothers *balm-of-gilead*. One meets every day the common catnip sort of people. Some children grow up like cotton-wood, and others like the willow or the hickory. Some people, when once introduced, like buckwheat, are intrusive, and persist in coming in and out of season. Others introduce themselves and stick, like quitch-grass and Canada thistle. Some wild flowers, like the Indians, retreat before civilization, while others advance with it. The plantain was called by the Indians the "white man's foot," because it follows his tracks.

The American aloe is a hundred years in getting ready to flower, so are some men; while others, like the gourd or the hop-plant, grow like Jack's beanstalk. The trailing arbutus is quite common in New England, but it is nomadic. I have gone miles to search for it where it appeared the spring previous, and found not a sprig of it. Like the Arab, it had struck tent and silently stole away. Sometimes it seems to prefer gravelly knolls, and then again it seeks the edge of pasture bogs and the shade of the woods. Like some men's opinions, it cannot be depended upon. You never know where to find them, in religion or politics.

There is a whimsicality in some plants that matches any eccentricity in man. Why do a honeysuckle and a bean-vine wind in opposite directions, the one to the left and the other to the right? It is said that either will swing in the wind or sprawl over the ground, rather than turn the other way. They strikingly remind us of that perverse creature of whom it is written:—

"When she will she will,
And when she won't she won't."

Of the freakishness of other flowers a writer offers the following:—

"The keturia opens at nine o'clock in the morning

and shuts at ten, as if it had a visual weakness; while a bed of portulacas never expands unless the sun is out, and the hotter he shines the wider they spread themselves; and the evening primrose waits until he has gone down, and then comes open with a snap, like a subdued kind of fire-cracker. But most unaccountable of all, perhaps, is the night-blooming jasmine. You see a simple tree-like plant, with a plain style of leaf, at the base of which grows a spray of yellowish green tubes, like lilac buds, suggesting more than anything else a string of small candles. You look at them in the middle of the day, and they are 'only that and nothing more'; and you might, if you did not know their ways, forget all about them. But when evening comes forgetting is impossible. The room is full of fragrance, rich as orange flowers, and almost as subtle as violets; and lo, your little candles are all lighted, and from somewhere about them comes that perfume that is so delicious and so mysterious as to its source. The next morning they begin to contract; by noon, the five points are all close packed, and there is no scent to them or about them at all, till night comes on again; and so they continue, scentless through daylight, but of exquisite sweetness when darkness appears." They are the nightingale of the flowers.

The fringed gentian always suggests to me Thoreau. It is found only in the most secluded spots, late in the autumn. It seems to shrink from the sight of man; and, hermit-like, to delight in solitary places. Like the arbutus, it refuses to be tamed. When torn from its native home, it pines away. Bryant's beautiful poem dedicated to this flower is commended to those who cannot see the flower itself.

When the young maiden touches her lips with rouge, and her cheeks with "lily-white"; decks her hat with the ostrich plume, and borrows of the silkworm her covering; and subsidizes hair-dresser, mantua-maker, and milliner,—we see that she has designs on somebody. She doesn't put on that rouge just for the mere fun of it, or to please cat or canary. She has early learned that there is a *utility in beauty*; that a pretty face and neat dress attract; and, to tell the truth, she has arranged her bow to catch a beau, to keep one already caught, or win admiration of those she admires. She is not aware that she is practising an art which the flowers employ. They know the secret of attraction, and they teach us the utility of beauty. Do you imagine that the beauty-spots on the lily, and all the brilliant colors of fuchsia and pansy, columbine and clover, are put on just to please one another, or because they had nothing else to do? Not a bit of it. These gay dresses of the flowers take the eye, and the heart too, of the bee and the butterfly; and where beauty is, they make their morning and their evening calls. It is one of the curious discoveries of Mr. Darwin that flowers have become beautiful solely to attract insects to assist in their fertilization. He adds: "I have come to this conclusion from finding it an invariable rule that, when a flower is fertilized by the wind, it never has a gayly-colored corolla." Thus we see that, in the floral as in the animal kingdom, beauty has its utility, the highest form of beauty being a beauty of mind and heart. But there are, as Mr. Greg has pointed out, some counteracting agencies to the perfect operation of the law of sexual selection and "survival of the fittest" in man which I cannot consider to-day.

How much, too, we may be likened to the flowers in this respect: we are both the creatures of circumstance, dependent on external relations!

Many things are necessary for the lily to flourish.

First, there is sunlight. For every lily a sun, a globe of fire more than one million times larger than the earth, is required.

Secondly, sun-heat. Shut that off—muffle up the sun, and not only lily would soon die, but everything on earth would speedily perish. It has been estimated that if, by any mishap in Nature or judgment of the Almighty Ruler of the universe, we should be robbed of all light and heat from the sun for three days, not a vestige of animal or vegetable life would remain on the globe, unless it were among deep sea fishes and the subterranean inhabitants in limestone caves. Herschell says that the first forty-eight hours after the loss of the sun would suffice to precipitate every atom of moisture from the air in deluges of rain and piles of snow, and there would set in a universal frost such as Siberia or the highest peak of the Himalayas never felt—a temperature between two and three hundred degrees below the zero of our thermometers. That would certainly be rather chilly for our beautiful lily.

Thirdly, not only must it have the sun, but it must have it just at the right distance—not too near nor too far. If our planet should be moved up to where the planet Mercury is, the lily would be burned to death in a few minutes; for Mercury, when nearest the sun, receives ten and one-half times more light and heat than we do, so that, if there are a fauna and a flora on that luminary, they must be very unlike ours. On the other hand, if our earth were removed out to the limits of our solar system—out to where Uranus and Neptune are, the lily would freeze to death in a minute; for their distance from the sun is so immense that the sun would only appear like a bright dog-star, and their climate must be arctic, even in summer; while the winter of the Uranians (if there are any) is more than forty years long, during which period they get not even a ray from their little sun. How dark and frigid that long night must be! If the planet is inhabited at all, it must be by a race of beings entirely different from us, unless there is some special provision for light and heat which we cannot conceive of. It is safe to say that our lily would not grow on arctic Uranus more than on torrid Mercury. It must have the sun just as it is, and where it is.

Fourthly, not only light and heat, but also moist-

ure it must have. For it a sun blazes in the sky, and an ocean becomes a watering-pot. Nature carries barrels of water, on the wings of the wind, to sprinkle the lilies with,—squeezes it out of the spongy clouds, and flings them up against the sun to dry. What a world of care one lily requires! A sun to light and heat it, and an ocean to water it!

Fifthly, it must spring, like the good seed, from "good ground," or it will wither and perish. If it falls by the wayside, the flower-girl will pick it before it has fairly blossomed. If it springs up in stony places where there is not much earth, it will get scorched when the sun is up, and because it has no root it will wither away; or if it fall among thorns, the thorns will choke it and it will perish.

In order to grow one lily, all Nature becomes a servant. Sun and earth, wind and water, are the prime ministers of the lily, and obey its nod. When we see it growing so silently in the valley, we do not realize how dependent it is upon a thousand subtle relations, how it is a creature of circumstance, apparently the sport of the fickle elements, but really a child of destiny as truly as man is, held in the grip of a universal and invariable law, but a law that is good, and spelled with four letters, L-o-v-e.

If the lily is a creature of conditions so is man. He is the offspring of the earth, perhaps, in a more literal sense than we think of. There is some cause for the dark skin of the African, red skin of the Indian, yellow hue of the Mongol, and the white face of the Caucasian. Blood will tell? But there is something back which makes blood.

If all mankind sprang from two parents (which is a mooted question), then it would appear to be external influences alone which make the difference between races of men. If they did not so spring, it is certain that difference in soil, climate, food, and the outer life of people, for many generations, will produce marked divergences from the original type. It is safe to assume that the tropical sun of Africa has had something to do in blackening the skin of Africans, and that the frigid temperature of the arctic regions and their blubber diet has done much to dwarf mind and body of Esquimaux. Physical man is only a complicated vegetable—a plant with a nerve-system. When Nature plants him under the equator, he springs up, but the bud of his energy is scorched by a too tropical sun. When she plants him in polar regions, the sinews of his strength are chilled and shrivel up, and, like the dwarfed fir-trees there, the arctic man is a pygmy. Nations, in order to wax strong and great, must be suckled well by Mother Nature, or, like the lily, they will not grow very much, though they toil and spin with all their might. Icebergs will crush out any one's energy, and tropical heat will dry up any one's vitality. In order for this vegetable organism which we call man to grow and flourish, he must be favored with two things on earth; namely, *soil and climate*. Look at that vast Continent of Asia, and you will see that the regions that have become populous and have attained to civilization are those where the soil is fertile, and climate temperate. All along the southern rim of the Continent, from China around the Indian Ocean States to Palestine, have arisen those great nations—Medes, and Persians, and Babylonians—that warred against the great nations of Greece and Rome further west; while Central Asia, which is for the most part dry and barren steppes or sandy deserts, has been the home of wandering savages, the great hive of those swarms of barbarous Tartars that have at different times overrun China, India, and Persia. Such soil never has borne and never can bear anything but a kind of Canada-thistle civilization. The human lily is choked by the thorns of hard circumstance. Humanity must pack its trunk and get out of that sand, before it can develop, get wealth, wisdom, and power, and found cities and republics. The Arabs, so long as they hung around their little oases in Arabia, and tried to climb up the road of civilization on the camel's back, with the simoom blasting them in the face, could never get higher than the science and philosophy of Moses or the Magi; but when they drew their swords in the seventh and eighth centuries, and struck for richer soil, and captured the gardens of Eden in Palestine, Asia Minor, and Northern Africa, and crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and seized the purple vineyards of Southern Spain, then Arabian civilization reached its zenith and blossomed forth in the best scholarship, science, and literature of the middle ages. Good fertile soil is as essential for nations to grow in as for lilies. Plant men in a desert of Sahara, and they will come to nothing but wandering Bedouins.

Of course, the wonderful progress of Islamism, as well as of Arabian science, was not wholly due to the wealth which flowed from the rich countries they had conquered. As Mr. Carlyle says: "Mohammedanism triumphed with the sword. But where did it get its sword?" Its sword was its fiery zeal for the new-born faith. No question about that. It was a profound religious conviction that conquered. But suppose that same conviction had swept, like a flood, over a desert or a barren rocky land, would a harvest of ideas have rooted and ripened there? The swelling seed-thoughts fell on rich ground, and, because they did so fall, they sprang up and brought forth an hundred-fold.

The river Nile was the great artery that fed the ancient civilization of Egypt. It was the jugular vein of the brain that builded the Pyramids. Sever that, and the Pharaohs and Ptolemies had never been born, and Memphis and great Thebes had never been builded. Nations do not grow on rocks like lichens, nor among thorns more than lilies; they must have loam. Not only were all the great nations of antiquity sown on fertile soil, but also in a favorable climate. If you will look at the map of the world, you will see that it is within a belt of land forty degrees wide that this earth has always

raised her best crop of men—a belt north of twenty degrees and south of sixty degrees north latitude. Above this, it is too cold, and below too warm, to grow men strong in body and mind. Outside of this form of Nature there are thorns that choke and a sun that withers the plant of humanity, or frosts that forever nip the bud of its promise before it comes to fruition.

Nations, almost as much as the lilies, are creatures of circumstance. What we are and what we become depends very much upon where we take root and spring up. Not that we can ever lose our human characteristics. The lily, whether planted in Shanghai or San Francisco, in Boston or Cape of Good Hope, remains a lily—it never springs up a cucumber or a sun-flower; and the Anglo-Saxon if planted in Patagonia or Greenland will never come up a white bear or a whale. He will probably greatly degenerate, but will not revert to the original progenitors of the race. He will remain essentially a man, and perhaps for generations retain his Saxon features; but ultimately he will sink to the level, or nearly so, of the natives of the soil,—lose his refined taste and manners and his mental acquirements and capacity.

A very low thermometer all the year round is incompatible with a high civilization. Man falls as the mercury falls when you get above a certain parallel of latitude, which might be called the civilization line, the limit of the pendulum-swing of intelligence, the mental solstices—when man must follow the sun back to the south, or freeze under the cold light of the Auroras. Keep to this forty-degrees belt of earth, and behold how man with the lily shall grow! Step outside of this charmed circle, and Nature cuts you off almost as surely as the rebel guard at Andersonville and Belle Isle shot down the prisoners who stepped over the "dead line." It is Nature's dead line. God does not save you, if you pitch your tent on the north-west quarter section of Greenland. He cannot afford to send the sun up there just to warm you. He says: "Come into this warmed circle with my chosen ones, and ye shall flourish like the green bay tree." America is there, and, if the sun keeps up his fire, and the poles of the earth stand fast, climate and soil have written for her a great destiny.

How much, too, have the mere circumstances of birth to do with our religious beliefs! If you are born in Mecca, you will probably grow up a Mohammedan; if in Bengal, a Brahmin; in Peking, a follower of Confucius or Buddha; in Rome or Vienna, a Papist; in Boston or Chicago, a Protestant. So that our religion is very much a question of latitude and longitude. What we spring up is largely determined by where we take root and grow.

I would by no means follow out the Buckle-theory of civilization to the extent to which his promises would apparently lead one; but there can be no doubt that climate, soil, and food, or in general the outer relations of men and nations, directly modify their habits, disposition, character, beliefs, and life, and do much to make and mould them into what they are. One wonders whether custom, conservatism, a slavish worship of the past, is not indigenous to the soil of China. Do you say it is in the people, not in the soil? But are the people not of the soil, grown from it, part of it, bone of its rock and blood of its water? It has been suggested that the impression produced by the broad, monotonous deserts of Arabia, apparently infinite in extent, generated in the mind of Arabians the idea that God, like their desert, was One—an unbroken whole, an infinite unit; and, on the contrary, that the mountainous scenery of Hindustan, heaving with earthquakes and smoking with volcanoes along the Himalayas, begat a belief in many gods, and inspired superstition. Their country was broken into many parts, and so was their god-belief; they saw as many god-heads as mountain-peaks.

It is a notorious fact that sailors are far more superstitious than soldiers. The reason is evident. The sailor lives on an ever restless ocean, and is subject to the mercy of winds and waves, the laws of whose coming and going he cannot trace out and explain. The soldier treads on solid earth, and can reckon on the morrow with comparative certainty. But the sailor is never certain what the morrow may bring forth. It depends on the winds, and whence they come or whether they go is a mystery to him. He seems to be at the sport of chance. He cannot see that his ship is always steered by the rudder of Law, bound by the chain that binds the whole universe, whether she sinks or swims; and so his fancy is free to reel off the thread of his superstitions to supply the unseen links. He does it. He sees in the flight of a bird, the spring of a fish, the flap of a sail, the cry of a sea-fowl, and a hundred other casual events, omens of good or ill, and a fortune that favors or threatens. Now as there is thus something about the sea that generates superstitions, as it surely does, may it not be that different scenery and natural phenomena on land may, at least in part, account for the variety and infinite diversity of religious opinions which men hold. Are not our religious convictions more literally the product of the earth than we imagine? But whether they are or not, in so strict a sense, certain it is that our religious convictions are shaped by our intellectual surroundings. We cannot escape the influence of the habits of thought, the fashion of belief, the laws and customs of the people, where we live. We are in a very great degree the children of circumstances. We are the offspring of the forces operating in Nature, both without and within. Our convictions are no more under the control of our will than the tides are. As easily can the tiger-lily change its spots, as we our beliefs by an effort of will simply. We have the freedom of the ship, but we must go with the ship, though we face the storm.

Events are sweeping us on, though we know it not. The Eternal Power directs the thought of the world; man is simply one of his ideas. If you call this fatalism, I call it Providence.

When we realize how much we are the products of circumstance; the resultant of forces beyond our control; how our beliefs are made for us rather than made by us,—does it not inspire you with more patience, toleration, and charity for the follies of belief, and the errors and misdeeds of men?

Another thought is suggested by the text, "Consider the lilies, how they grow." Like man, they not only require a favorable sun and soil for their perfection, and are shaped according to their environment, but I think I see another resemblance. The plants extract from the juices of earth, the dews of air, and the very atmosphere itself, just these elements needed to feed them.

Here in a garden we see growing, side by side, apple, peach, pear, plum, grape—potato, peas, beet, beans, corn, and cucumbers, melons, and mushrooms: what a variety of flavors coming from one source, all dipping their invisible cups into one great common bowl, as the Orientals do in eating! One earth and air supplying such a diversity of wants—apple-blossom elaborating from the crude juices of the soil a pippin or greening or baldwin, just as you please; and a little grape-blossom making over the same kind of sap into a Concord or Catawba, Delaware or Isabella, just as you please. Analyze that sap. It is all the same: presto! Now it is pumpkin, onion, potato—now it is grape, now gooseberry. Nature has an excellent assortment; order what you like, and she will deliver it on your table for dinner. It seems like magic. From one soil and one air she will furnish you a hundred varieties of fruit, as the magician will extract from one hat provision, crockery, and bedding enough for a whole household. Nature is the great magician, the best miracle-worker.

As the generous garden gives to each plant just what it desires for spice and flavor, so, in like manner, does not each human being extract from the great world of truth around us what he needs—at least what he wishes? Is there not a wonderful harmony between the man and his religion? The doctrines he holds seem to fit him exactly. The Catholic head craves a religion of ceremony and show; the Quaker a sober and quiet religion. One is like the poppy or gaudy tulip, the other like the modest violet and retiring arbutus. The great garden of thought gives to each man what he needs. The Unitarian and Universalist want to see every one saved, and so it is to them. They get sweet juices from the earth. The Calvinist seems to demand another belief: God ought to, and therefore God will, damn some people. They get what to us is poison ivy and night-shade. The thought fits their nature, no doubt. Like the old lady (I think it was an old lady) who said that "some people believed that God would save everybody, but she hoped for better things." The "better" state to them is where the noxious Unitarian and Universalist and radical weeds are rooted up from the garden of the future, and flung over the fence. But what if there should be no fence there! No doubt there is such a fence in some brains, but is there in heaven? As a little hair on the object-glass of the telescope will make a great crack in the heavens, so does the fence in men's brains make a fence in their heavens. But whose brain is entirely clear? Are not our God and our heaven and our hell merely a projection of our own mind and heart?

"For aught my eye can discover,
Your God is what you think good:
Yourself flashed back from the glass,
When the light pours on in its flood."

So I believe that we, like the plant, imbibe and incorporate such sweet, or bitter, or bitter-sweet thoughts, from the great world-garden of ideas, as are natural and appropriate.

The crab-apple takes one flavor, russet another, pippin another. But it by no means follows from this that all are equally good. There is a gradation of ideas as of fruits. The Catholic religion is a sect of crab-apple religion. It is not refined. And this brings us to another thought. Though men do imbibe those ideas which at the time appear essential to their peace, happiness, and development, still after a time they must re-adjust their old faith to the new thought, in order to keep the enlarged faculty in harmony with the intellectual surroundings. Their creeds must expand with their growing needs; or, in the language of modern philosophy, they must re-adjust the inner with outer relations, to equilibrate the individual and the environment.

The future will create new demands and must furnish new supplies. The Catholic may be perfectly content in his belief to-day, and it is well; but it is not well that he should always remain content. We must cultivate the faculties of men as we cultivate the wild flowers and fruits of this earth, and transform them into higher and richer species. Our rarest apples, if I understand Mr. Darwin correctly, sprang from a crab-tree species. Our wheat was originally much smaller both in the size of the kernel and length of the ear. Potatoes have not been much changed by cultivation, but they are apparently an exception. Cabbages, in a wild state, are an insignificant tuft of fibrous leaves, resembling a turnip-top. Radishes, beet, celery, parsnip, carrot, grape, plum, peach, strawberry, and in fact almost all of our common edible vegetables, fruits, and cereals, in their wild state were vastly inferior, and frequently quite unpalatable to a civilized tongue. Now they are fit for the table of the gods. What has wrought the change? It is cultivation that has transformed them. The lily is beautiful, but cultivation may clothe it in additional beauty. How many times it doubles the petals of the rose! Fold

after fold comes out. Richer and ever more delicate shades are painted by the light as you let it in. Even so it is with man. Cultivate him, let in the light of knowledge, and he will come out of his crude ideas into riper and richer thoughts. Education is a slow process; but may it not as well transform savages into saints as crabs into pippins? Cultivate your lily, if you would see it grow more beautiful; educate man, if you would see him grow more divine. That is the secret of progress in both.

Let us a moment longer consider the lilies, how they—not grow, but go in autumn. Does man go as they go? The next spring comes, and on the very spot where lily stood another one springs up; but where is the old lily—is that dead? And what is death? It lives, we say, in the new one; it is immortal in its species. Is it so with man? Do we only live in the race?

"You say I must have a meaning—
So must dirt, and its meaning is flowers;
What if our souls are but nurture
For lives that are greater than ours?"

"Often have I," says Thorndale, "when looking up into the sky, seen a brilliant white cloud extend itself across the blue ether, in the exact model of an angel's wing,—one wing, never the angel complete." Such have been, perhaps, our visions of the future life. One wing, only one wing of the angel. But is the other not there—is only one torn wing drifting through the heavens? Does it satisfy your longings for life beyond to know you shall live in the race? That is well; but we pant for more, a personal and conscious immortality. We feel that we are good for something more than to feed flower roots, and to grease the ponderous axles of the universe of thought, or to make mortar and chink of the temple of civilization.

Be content to live for others, you say? Aye—but I must live, in order to live for others. As Mrs. Browning says:—

"Observe it hath not much
Consented the race of mastodons to know
Before they went to fossil, that anon
Their place should quicken with the elephant;
They were not elephants, but mastodons;
And I—a man as men are now, and not
As men may be hereafter, feel with men
In the agonizing present."

Immortality, as Emerson says, "is the eminent hope of human nature." Whatever the All-Wise has provided for the dying lily is all well, we feel; so will it be for dying man. Only let us, here and now, be as true to our better nature as the lily is to the law of its own development, and trusting as sweetly the Father and the Mother of lilies and of men, in the "Land of the Hereafter."

"Art thou not good enough to be a man,
Still be as good as the rose-bush's root;
Silently hidden in the earth, unseen
And unobserved, it gathers secret force;
Puts forth a stalk, then twigs, and on the twigs
Leaves, buds, and roses, even thorns; the roses
It nourishes, with fragrance filling them.
And if thou praisest, aye, or pluckest them,
It never stirs,—it feels within the power
To multiply itself a hundred-fold;
And even the thorns it beareth not in vain;
For when in spring the lamb tears off his wool,
It catches with the thorns each little flake
And holds it fast with patience till birds come
And peck and pilfer it to make their young
A soft, warm nest. And still it never stirs!
Be at least as good as the rose's root,
If thou wilt not be so good as a man."

[For THE INDEX.]

WORDS TO THE MEMORY OF FRIEDRICH WILHELM STRAUSS:

BORN AT LUDWIGSBURG, JUNE 24, 1810; DIED AT DARMSTADT,
FEBRUARY 21, 1873.

[In the preface to a collection of his minor writings, in which are included the funeral discourses, Strauss gives, as a reason for their insertion, his belief that they might prove welcome to all those who, with himself, had at heart the question whether the human race might not at length be old enough to console itself at the graves of its dead with something better than the traditional playing with soap-bubbles. This address was made in the family circle after his burial, on the morning of the 24th of February.—TRANSLATOR.]

MY LOVED ONES:—

We did not wish a funeral discourse to be pronounced at the grave from which we have just returned, because the clergyman who accompanied the remains thither could not have spoken of the deceased from any exact knowledge of his person, his life, and his character. But to say nothing of such a man would be wrong; especially for me, who have already given to many a friend the tribute of a word of remembrance after death. They say, indeed, that grief is silent,—expresses itself in tears, not in words; but silent it shall not remain. After the relief of tears, words and clear thoughts to illumine and dispel its darkness.

But our grief to-day is two-fold: we have to mourn, not his death alone, but his life of suffering. His was no happy lot. Not from fresh, vigorous activity, not from the banquet of enjoyment, has death summoned him; it has but put an end to the suffering of years, to a life full of self-denial and patient endurance. This condition was all the more painful, the more fitted he appeared to be at the outset for an entirely different fate. What rich gifts had Nature bestowed upon him; a clear, keen understanding, a firm, unbending will, a bright and free spirit, sensible to the mirth as well as the earnestness of life, and with all this an ability to work that knew no weariness, a body originally so sound and strong that others of his age might be regarded as weaklings beside him! What seemed unattainable to such endowments, cultivated as he had cultivated them, and enriched with knowledge and attainments extending far beyond the circle of his immediate calling? What a position in society, what an activity for the general good, for the great interests of the State and

mankind, appeared to await him! But in the midst of the first course to such a goal, in the midst of his efforts to establish his affairs on a sure foundation, he saw himself the prey to an insidious disease [of the heart] which at first threatened his life, and finally left him with the certainty that real health was no more to be thought of. What a fate for a young man as aspiring as gifted! The bird that has lost a wing must suit itself to a life which contradicts its nature. Not to act, but to suffer; not to strive for the goods of life, but only to ward off its ills; and he who was inclined to temperate but eager pleasure must learn to deny himself again and again. In that rich, complicated organ, his life, Nature had opened the one register on which in large, black letters is written "Renunciation," a mournful register for the ears of most men, who demand a fuller harmony, a more varied charm, a more rapid transition, but a register which demands a master, and can form a master. By means of it, tones can be produced, deep and thrilling, as by no other. He who embraces as his calling the renunciation imposed upon him can reach by means of it a state of mind that even the more fortunate might envy.

In this sense, as a task set by a higher hand, in the accomplishment of which he fulfilled his duty as a man, did he regard his suffering. He planned a mode of life adapted to his bodily condition, and adhered to it with the firmness of steel. The wider sphere of exertion being forbidden him, he sought to prove himself faithful in the narrower. On the other hand, the larger aspects of suffering were so familiar to him that he was but little disturbed by the petty troubles of life; as that which men commonly call pleasure was denied to him, he knew how to derive little modest joys from the slightest circumstances. While we saw only how much he must do without, he seemed only to feel how much there still remained for him. Hence it resulted that he in his weakness could strengthen those who were more powerful; that on his prostrate form those who stood upright found support; that he who deserved pity and needed consolation had enough and to spare for others.

But only two things made this possible: First, the early culture he had given his mind, on which it could thereafter subsist as on a rich capital. Already at an age which finds recreation only in relaxation, he had found his in the study of earnest works, the best of the native and foreign, the ancient and modern literatures; his thoughts, as well as to the objects which concerned him as merchant, had ever gladly turned to the highest problem of human reflection, the questions of the nature and destiny of man, the conception of God, and had attained to clear and independent results. He had from his earliest years taken an interest in the affairs of the nations, especially of the German,—an interest which by its invigorating and elevating influence helped him through many a dull and idle hour of his later life, and preserved his mind from decay. In the second place, it was rendered possible by the fact that he had never wasted his forces in sensual pleasures, but rather had strengthened them by uninterrupted activity. Thus that strong, firm spirit, which under happy circumstances would have led to bold undertakings, manifested itself as fortitude under misfortunes; and he found within himself the recreation and refreshment which he could no longer find without.

His life is an example to us of two apparently opposite truths. In the first place, indeed, of that old one, how insignificant man is in comparison with fate,—how a breath of the latter suffices to overthrow, like a heap of cards, the proudest edifices of human efforts and projects. In the second place, however, his life was an example of the less frequently acknowledged truth, that against the clear, quiet mind, the pure, firm will, fate after all avails naught,—that it can at most change the form of human conduct, but can in no wise impair its substance or its worth, or even affect the resultant feeling of content,—that under all its aspects, as happiness or misery, health or sickness, wealth or want, it is nothing else than a variously modified opportunity for man to exercise his power, in this way or in that way, in large or in little, acting or suffering, to perform his task, to fulfil his destiny.

But by no means an easy or attractive task was that which fell to the deceased; and he disdained, besides, to make it easier by means which he did not approve. Never did he clutch at those consolations which repose on no other evidence than the wish of man's weak heart that it may be so; never did he rest in a faith simply because others entertained it likewise. To his dying breath, he would hold only to that which he could attain himself, or could comprehend, as based on the general course of natural and human affairs. But with this rejection of the consolations from an unknown hereafter, he by no means meant that man could act in the present without responsibility, according to his own will and pleasure; but rather that he must all the more diligently cultivate the span of life allotted to him, and seek to compress into this short interval the contents of an eternity.

Such conscientious, faithful labors have not missed of their reward. Notwithstanding the hard blow which his plans had encountered from his illness, he succeeded in leaving his family well provided for. He saw the pains which he had taken with the education of his sons, from year to year, more and more compensated by their prosperity and behavior,—the three elder, at least, having already through his provident care entered on hopeful careers. You have, indeed, dear children, met with an irreparable loss; for you his faithful warning, his cautious guidance, would have been desirable much longer. But deem yourselves happy that he has at least been preserved to you so long as to have left in your hearts the complete picture of his nature, and to have been able,

even upon the youngest of you, to imprint the stamp of his mind and character. Let this stamp never be effaced, this picture never fade; think, when your youthful strength is like to fail in work, what your father wrought, his body worn with pain; and, when temptation shall assail you, recall his earnest countenance, not the result of suffering, but already in the vigor of youth frowning upon everything that was low and common. Strive to be sons worthy of such a father; give to all those who have known and honored him occasion to think how your father would rejoice if he could see what you had become; endeavor, as far as lies in your power, to make up for what your mother has lost.

Little did you think, you good woman, on that bridal morning, as I found him who is now dead occupied, during the preparations for the wedding, with a work on philosophy; [it was Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*] little did you think that so sad days would in so short a time succeed the beautiful morning. It was a dark lot that you then drew from the urn of fate; and, if you could have foreseen all the nights of sorrow and anguish that you must watch by your ailing husband, you could hardly have been blamed for withdrawing your hand. But to-day, if you had still to choose, you certainly would not wish to exchange the dark lot which was to be shared with him for a brighter one without him. You would not for any thing miss the remembrance of him, of the life with him; you feel now, precisely through your suffering with him, new powers of forbearance, endurance, of counsel and comfort, have been developed in you, which would never else have unfolded themselves; you recognize now in the course of the sad days which you must pass without him, in the exchange of bodily help on your part for spiritual encouragement on his, your hearts have grown together as they never otherwise could; you see yourself, by this life of trial, lifted to a height where much that fetters and crushes others can have no more influence over you.

What I, his brother, have lost, you all indeed know; yet the whole is known only to myself. That he was my refuge in every emergency of life; that to him, apparently a broken reed, but really a strong oak, I could hold in every blast; that in all cases of doubt I found with him the most faithful and the wisest advice,—that is indeed much; but by no means, however, all. How seldom do two brothers of whom one is a man of business, the other a man of letters, stand in any other relation than that of blood and friendship, in a really intimate connection! And yet this was always the case with us! My scientific strivings have been by no one of my most learned friends more deeply comprehended, more thoroughly appreciated. For whatever I wrote, there was without exception no reader of more account to me than he. His judgment was indeed that of the brother, of the brother who was besides so considerate; but I could always discern from it whether anything had really moved him or not, and only when my work had stood this test was I content with it. This reader, this friend, this counsellor, will henceforth be wanting to me; as to us all, in whatever degree and kind of relationship we have stood to him, his faithful heart, his clear glance, his firm, immovable will will be wanting.

But why think we of ourselves, and not before all of him? Should he have suffered longer for our benefit? And has he not already for us done and left enough that is good? Let us, then, thank that higher guidance that has sent him to us, and with him so many advantages; let us be thankful that, although impaired in powers, he was still left to us as long as he could yet work; let us be thankful that he was not tried beyond his strength, that, when his task was done, his day's work ended, his measure of self-denial and suffering full, the wished-for hour of repose was no longer delayed!

SUNDAY IN ENGLAND.

THE DEPUTATIONS TO MR. CROSS.

Sir,—Disabled, and dependent on others for information, I trouble you with but a few words upon a matter in which I cannot cease to feel interest. If the people are to regard as sincere Lord Shaftesbury's profession of interest in their welfare, made in his speech to Mr. Secretary Cross on behalf of closing the Brighton Aquarium on Sundays, his lordship should propose that we have two Sundays. We have the half of Saturday; we ought to have the whole of it—Saturday as a day of rest from labor, since Sunday is made by Sabbatarians a day of rest from enjoyment. Considering how short are the lives of most of the poor, how slavish their days, how few their rational pleasures, how dreary the outlook of the future is to most of them, how feeble their physique compared with that which Englishmen ought to possess—it is impossible to witness the zeal of the Sunday Destruction Society to deprive them of those Sundays of recreation which no man will give them again on this side of the grave, without indignation at the insolence of the pity and the cruelty of the kindness by which Sabbatarians claim to be animated. If Trade Unions had any spirit of self-respect, befitting the English working people to display, they would confederate never to work on Saturday any more. I have always told those whom I have been able to address, not only to stand up against work on one Sunday, but to insist upon two Sundays. The Sabbatarians have their Sunday; the working people should demand a Sunday for themselves. Of all the Acts of George the Third, those relating to the Sunday are the most infamous. Acts which dare not be passed now should not be tolerated now. The one which has closed the Brighton Aquarium was brought forward a few years ago, and prevented the working people hearing Professor Huxley, Professor Tyndall, and Dr. Carpenter on

Sundays—men who have done more in their day to reveal the sacred mysteries of Nature than all the Sabbatarians since the days of Moses.

Mr. Cross says that he has power to remit the penalties. Is he better informed of the law than Mr. Justice Blackburn, who, in his decision, which closed the Aquarium, said the 21 George III. was passed to put down Robin Hood societies bred of the French Revolution? No such societies are mentioned in the Act, no such societies were mentioned in the discussions in either House of Parliament when the Bill was passed. The Act itself came into force twelve years before the French Revolution occurred. The fines under the Act were recoverable in any Court of Request in the kingdom, on the production of the conviction of the Judge. What Act of Parliament gives Mr. Cross the power of annulling such conviction? And if any Act does, will he be so shabby as to use it, and accept the services of the informer to enforce the law, and then deprive him of the reward provided by the Crown? The informer and spy have been appointed by Act of Parliament the agents of intemperance in the Church, and Mr. Disraeli will warn Mr. Cross "not to tamper with the official hierarchy of an ancient nation." Does Mr. Cross propose to remit the fines for looking at fish on the Sunday, and enforce them against Professor Huxley and Dr. Carpenter who explain the delightful miracles of their structures? Under this Act of George III. no shareholder of the Zoological or Botanical Gardens, as Mr. Cowen has suggested to Mr. Cross, can visit them on a Sunday, for the Act says by no ticket or pretext of any kind for which any consideration has been given shall admission be had, or else the Aquarium Company might issue shilling shareholders' tickets, and let all the world in twice over. The Act declares that any hall or room, even a field, shall be regarded as a disorderly house if such admission be had on a Sunday, and according to Mr. Justice Blackburn's decision a boatman may be fined 25*l*. if he charges you for giving you a pull on a Sunday—for the sea is a "disorderly house" within the meaning of the Act. What is worse, for many for whom I care, there is not a Cooperative Hall in the kingdom in which a lecture or social tea-party can be held on a Sunday if a Sabbatarian chooses to threaten the operation of this Act.

Mr. Disraeli boasts that his Government is the friend of the working people; then let him deliver them from the infamous tyranny of these Acts. We talk of the despotism of France and the influence of the priests in Spain, or Ireland, or Italy, but there are no working-class in the world bound hand and foot on a Sunday as the working-class of England are. Uncultivated in the arts of happy recreation and the refinement of manner which would spring out of it, here the masses have no outlet save drunkenness and brutality. If this social oppression is continued it will bring evil to Sabbatarians one day, when the masses find they are masters, as Mr. Lowe says they will become; the poisoned chalice of intolerance may be poured down the throats of our exemplars who mix the ingredients for the people now. No one respects more than myself the feeling and the right of the earnest Christian to keep the Sabbath-day holy. But when he interferes with the equal rights of others he gives them the right to interfere with him.

The only way to repeal these Acts is to adopt the method devised for the people by Bentham, and form a confederation to enforce them. We may repeal them as we repealed the taxes upon knowledge, when even the newspaper press were in favor of them. The London Company might take out a license for the Aquarium as a place of worship, and license Lord Shaftesbury to preach in it, and his lordship could not object to that; and while he gave out the hymns we could look at the fish, and payment for admission would then be lawful. This is what we did in Manchester in 1841, when the old Cooperative Halls were closed by the same parties.

It is of no use going puling and praying to the Home Secretary, or petitioning Parliament. The Sunday League have done this for twenty years, and will do it twenty years more, earning only the contempt which falls to those who have not the sagacity to fight. If every Sabbatarian Act in the Statute Book was enforced, as it might and ought to be, vexation, confusion, and resentment would be stirred up in every town in the empire, and the working people of England would live no longer under the indignity and humiliation of seeing the great sights of Nature, or breathing the air of God, furtively under sufferance of the Sabbatarians.

I am, str. &c., G. J. HOLYOAKE.
—London Examiner, June 12.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE YALE LAW SCHOOL,
JUNE 30, 1875.

BY GOV. CHAMBERLAIN, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

There is another public question, worthy, I think, of notice here, on which there is a present sentiment so marked and growing as to constitute a tendency. I mean the question of the practical wisdom of the policy under which some seven or eight years ago the so-called seceding States were restored to their practical relations to the Union. I refer particularly to the conferring of the right to vote on those classes of the people who had never before possessed it. It is not to be disguised that there is a popular impatience with the present results of that policy which has gone far to unsettle the public confidence in the wisdom of the policy itself. The grounds of that policy were theoretical and practical. Theoretically it rested on the doctrine of universal suffrage; the rights of every man laboring under no recognized disability, through the elective franchise, to share in the

government of the State and nation. It was claimed that this was the true American doctrine with a few limited and rapidly-disappearing exceptions; that upon the *tabula rasa*, the blank pages once filled by the local governments of those States, should be inscribed the fundamental principle of equality of civil rights. Practically, and to those who approached the question under no bias of theory, this policy seemed the only means of laying a basis upon which the governments of those States could rest with safety against the recurrence of the misfortunes just experienced. In other words, to this class of minds the readmission of those States, with their powers exercised exclusively by those who had so recently yielded their armed resistance to the national authority, was a policy of danger and even madness.

The alternative policies were, first, the restoration of the States with the basis of political power substantially unchanged; or, second, the continuance of direct military supervision. It is clear that public sentiment at that time rejected with impatience both the latter policies. If present practical loyalty to the National Government was essential to a sound policy of restoration, nothing can be clearer than that a vast majority of those who had previously wielded the political power of those States did not present this essential quality in the sense in which it was felt and understood in those States which had adhered to the national cause. On the other hand, the evils of military supervision can scarcely be exaggerated. Such government had no harmony with our system. It was incapable of anything but a very rude adaptation to the wants of the people. It must be temporary, and yet while it lasted its tendencies were adverse to those habits of mind and of action which are essential to any degree of self-government.

The policy of immediate universal suffrage in those States suggested grave objections, chief of which was the ignorance and inexperience of those whom it would introduce to political power. On the other hand it presented three great merits—First, it placed the political power largely in the hands of those who were bound to the Union by no slight or common tie; second, it afforded the means of protecting the civil rights of those who otherwise might be the victims of social and race prejudices too obstinate to be voluntarily laid aside; third, it was in substantial harmony with the theory and traditions of our country. It should have been apparent to those who reflected at a distance, as well as to those who observed on the spot, that under such a policy, errors, follies, crimes, would for a time abound. Ignorance and inexperience on the one hand were matched by injustice and violence on the other. Prejudices old as the communities in which they prevailed, race barriers made firm and high by centuries of slavery, disappointments bitter as death, hopes extravagant as dreams, these were the contending forces, the inevitable conditions of the problem. The results which they have made out among them are, on the other hand, corrupt legislatures, wasteful expenditures, burdensome taxes, ruined public credit, incapacity in high offices, frequent violence and disorder. These are sad experiences surely, and some thoughtful men looking on them lose heart and say, "Better the mailed hand, or the peace of political servitude."

But stay, O patriot, lover of American freedom, and look on this other picture! Have you imagined that the great enduring forces of civilization have lost their power? Has history no lesson to dispel your fears, to call back your departing faith? Scarcely eight years have yet passed, and half the accumulated labors of two centuries are already passing away. Education is already reaching fully two-thirds of those who till yesterday never turned the pages of a book. Property, not by thousands, but by millions, with all its sobering influences, is already in the hands of those who till yesterday did not own their own blood and muscle. Experience, hitherto a sealed volume; responsibility, hitherto an unused sense; the welfare of children, the whole wide circle of humane influences, are already pouring in upon those whose most daring hopes ten years ago did not picture physical freedom even, this side of the grave.

And yet we lose faith? And yet we think our American system cannot stand the strain? Ah, ladies and gentlemen, the government which could stand the strain of two centuries and a half of a system hostile not merely to human rights, but to every form and feature of civilization, will not be moved from its foundations by ten years of tumultuous freedom. Have you forgotten these words of Macaulay: "There is only one cure for the evils which newly-acquired freedom produces—and that cure is freedom. The blaze of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half blind in the house of bondage. But let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it. If men are to wait till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever." It is for us to check the popular impatience which demands from others in a day what with us has been the slow toil and fruit of centuries. It is for us to teach faith in right principles of government, faith in freedom, faith in that approved agency of freedom, the ballot, faith in our American system. Are corrupt Legislatures found only in one section of our country? Has public credit never before been prostrated in the history of our States? Has organized violence never before supplanted for the time reason, justice, and public order? And what have hitherto been our remedies? The restriction of the ballot to the wise and good? The enlargement of national powers? No; we have trusted, wisely, safely trusted to the all-conquering power of experience, of intelligence, of what Coleridge called "the free, permeative life and energy of the State, acting through its organized forms." To such influences let us sternly and confidently commit these present evils.

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

THE VOICE OF SCIENCE.

BY C. APLIN.

I am Truth, Primordial Law,
Creative Power, avenging Might:
Me the Prophet dimly saw,
As he climbed old Sinai's height.
Stern and jealous am I; they
Who my promised land would see,
Me must worship, me obey,
Have no other gods but me.

I am Truth, Progressive Life,
Revealing Light, Inspiring Will:
O'er the earth's wild waves of strife
I will whisper—"Peace! Be still!"
Hast thou other heart's desire,
Idols fair and dear to thee?
I am Master, Lord, Messiah:
Leave them all and follow me.

I am Truth, Eternal Right,
Heavenly Goal, Celestial Way
Up through Evil's darkest night,
Passing to the perfect day.
Cast thy slavish fears aside;
Truth shall make thee strong and free:
I am Prophet, Savior, Guide:
Rise, O soul, and follow me!

PROVIDENCE, B. I.

THE SEA.

[For THE INDEX.]

O sea, I thought to speak thy glowing praise,
Beholding all thy calm and tranquil breast,
The perfect peacefulness of summer rest,
That calls from gentle poet gentle lays;
But lost are words and withered all my bays,
To see thee grandly roll and hear thee roar,
To see the long white lines of spray on shore,
And think how infinite thy works and ways!
O broad and sweeping sea, what might is thine!
Before thee pales the wondrous strength of man;
He can but worship at thy hallowed shrine,
And own the glorious breadth of Nature's plan;
For, sure, thy forces are to us divine,
And teach us more than words of Gospel can!

WILLIAM BRUNTON.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 10.

Noyes, Holmes, & Co., \$1.33; H. C. Neville, \$1.50; Sam'l. Warbasse, 50 cents; J. S. Thomson, \$3; F. M. Holland, \$3; O. N. Preston, \$3; A. L. Whitcomb, \$3.20; Wm. E. Gorton, \$5.25; N. P. Ames, \$3.20; John A. Todd, 75 cents; Edw. C. Post, \$3; Isaac Sherwood, \$5; R. P. Maynard, \$3.70; A. H. Nichols, \$1.50; Claribel Gerrish, \$1.60; B. Gerrish, Jr., \$4.04; H. S. Ware, \$3.20; D. Muncey, \$1.60; B. Vogel & Bro., \$1.60; W. L. Coffenbury, \$3; J. Hull, \$5; Chas. Putnam, \$3.20; J. E. Emerson, \$3.20; J. H. Clifford, \$1.60; S. L. Wheeler, \$2.65.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

RECEIVED.

Books.

QUEEN MARY. A Drama. By Alfred Tennyson. [Author's Edition, from Advance Sheets.] Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1875. Price \$1.50.
JOHN DOBRIEN. A Novel. By Julia Kavanagh. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.
HISTORY OF GREECE. By C. A. Fyffe, M.A. With Maps. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.
JOCELYN'S MISTAKE. By Mrs. J. K. Spender. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1875. [Paper.]
WHAT AND HOW TO READ: A Guide to Recent English Literature. By G. A. F. Van Rhyne. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875. [Paper.]

Pamphlets and Periodicals.

THE CONTROVERSY AMONG UNITARIANS. By the Rev. James C. Street. Belfast, Ireland: W. H. Green, 1875.
SERMONS by the Rev. Charles Vorsey.—May 2: "The Doctrine of the Atonement Immoral."—May 9: "The Atonement according to the Maurice School."—May 16: "The Real Punishment of Sin."—May 23: "The Athanasian *Reductio ad Absurdum*."—May 30: "The National Sunday League."
PUBLICATIONS of Thomas Scott, Esq., No. 11 The Terrace, Farguhar Road, Upper Norwood, London, S. E.—Disestablishment or Reform. By Sir G. W. Denys.—The Adversaries of St. Paul in 2d Corinthians. By R. W. Mackay.—Positive Religion: its Basis and Characteristics. Lectures III. and IV. By the late Rev. James Cranbrook.—Christianity in a New Light.—Clerical "Pooh, Pooh!" Rhetoric.—On the Mediation and Salvation of Ecclesiastical Christianity.—A Review of "The Fallacies of Unbelief." By W. L. Rogers.—Additional Moral and Religious Passages from the Sanskrit. By J. Muir.—Signs of the Times. June and July.
DANTE. By L. F. Soldan. Reprint from the *Western*.
A LECTURE on the Theology of the Coming Man. By G. Eppley, M.D. Lewisberry, Pa.: 1875.
THE GOSPEL OF THE KINGDOM. Vol. I. Boston: Colby & Rich. 1875.
PULLMAN'S REPLY TO TALMAGE. New York: 1875.
ANNUAL REPORT of the Astor Library. Albany: 1875.
PROCEEDINGS of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, at Longwood, 1875.
THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. June, 1875. The Willmer & Rogers News Co., New York, Agents for America.
THE JOURNAL OF SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY. April, 1875. St. Louis: Gray, Baker & Co.
THE POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY. July, 1875. New York: D. Appleton & Co.
THE UNITARIAN REVIEW. July, 1875. Boston: L. C. Bowles.
THE WESTERN. June and July, 1875. St. Louis: Western Publishing Association.
WIDE AWAKE. An Illustrated Magazine for Girls and Boys. Vol. I. No. 1. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.
THE PENNS. MONTHLY. July, 1875. Philadelphia: Penn Monthly Association.
THE HERALD OF HEALTH. July, 1875. New York: Wood & Holbrook.
THE SANITARIAN. July, 1875. New York: 234 Broadway.

The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 15, 1875.

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RICHARD P. HALLLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, Rev. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRANCIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), Editorial Contributors.

THE RELIGION of America is styled by an English journal "pewism."

SAYS the *Liberal Christian* of June 26th: "It seems that Mr. S. H. Morse is guilty of that dreadful thing,—keeping a journal. At least we have some 'leaves' from that book in the last INDEX, and bright and interesting some of them are. Politicians will notice his remarks concerning President Grant, whom he calls 'no ordinary man,'—one who 'has a way of coming to time in emergencies,' which is an offset for some of his reported short-comings."

AT LAKE PLEASANT, in Montague, Massachusetts, the "Spiritualists and Liberalists" are to hold a great camp-meeting and picnic, to begin August 4, and continue through the month. The Fitchburg Cornet Band, a corp of able speakers, tents and board for several thousand people, and reduced railroad fares, are some of the attractions. There will probably be a great gathering, if the weather is fair. For further particulars, see the advertisement elsewhere.

IT is astonishing that so intelligent a gentleman as ex-President Woolsey should make such rapid criticisms as these: "We are constantly met by the assertion that education is going to do everything for this country; that the common school, which supplies ninety-nine hundredths of the voters with their knowledge, will make the children of the land worthy of their birthright and equal to their responsibilities, or at least will lay the foundation which is to be built upon afterwards by the local newspaper and the local politician. But, for my part, I fail to see how all the knowledge that the school will give, and tenfold more, is going to make a self-restrained, trustworthy, contented, unexcitable people, men who abhor a lie and abhor liars, who love fair play, and don't believe an evil report lightly. Where is the education of character to come from? Has the common school ever been equal to this higher department of training, and are there any signs of its enlarging its sphere, or do not all signs point in the opposite direction? The teacher must not tell a child that God hates falsehood, because it is in the Bible, and it would portend on that account a union of Church and State. The formation of character seems to be no part of the school's business." How is it possible to take views so narrow as these? The common school is one of the best places for the "education of character" that can be named, even if Bible precepts should never be preached in it. "Character" includes self-reliance, ambition, energy, pluck, generous emulation, disinterested friendship, a sense of human equality, and a thousand other things that cannot be learned anywhere better than in school life. Truthfulness and honor, to which President Woolsey had special reference, are not derived from abstract eulogiums upon them, or glib assertions that "God hates falsehood," but rather from the experience of human society itself; and the school gives this in the form most useful for children by placing them in the constant society of each other. The liar and the sneak are speedily found out at school, and the common contempt they excite does more to instil right principles of conduct than all the moral platitudes that could be rattled off by a whole regiment of orthodox teachers. It is time to dismiss the notion that practical morality is best taught by sermonizing; which is one of the able-bodied delusions that still lord it over the orthodox brain. It is just such a rough-and-tumble experience of life as is given by the common school that develops the manliest qualities of character; and he has a bat's vision who sees nothing in the public school system but the "three R's."

FORCE AND FEEBLENESS.

"To be weak," says Dr. Maudsley, "is to be miserable."—In a great many senses this is true.

Weakness of body, want of physical health, brings numerous miseries in its train. It may involve positive suffering, and inflict tortures of which the healthy can form only the vaguest conception. When we are well and strong, nothing is more difficult than to recall the actual sensations we experienced in a contrary state. Perhaps it is fortunate that memory fails to keep distinctly before us all that we pass through in periods of great agony, for a clear and vivid recollection of it would but perpetuate the unfitness it creates for common duties. But this easy forgetfulness of past pangs makes it nearly impossible for the physically vigorous to comprehend how great is the misery of the actual victims of disease, who inhabit a region wholly unknown to a large part of their fellow-beings and dimly remembered by a large part of those that have formerly traversed its dread wildernesses; and the isolation thus caused is no slight addition to the acute anguish of aching nerves. When, moreover, sickness demoralizes, as it often does, and renders the invalid a source of constant annoyance to all but the gentle angels that hover pityingly over the couch of pain unrepelled by the exactions, whims, and selfish unreason of its occupant, more miseries accompany physical weakness than can readily be enumerated.

Weakness of mind is exposed to other miseries no less real. Amidst the fierce competitions of so-called civilized society, what pity or mercy is there for him who is inferior to his fellows in brain-power? Does not the weakling go to the wall? Do not the shrewd and the able crowd him out of the "struggle for existence," and either compel him to a practical servitude or trample him under foot rough-shod? The idiot and the lunatic, perhaps, are provided for in great asylums, meant (not always successfully) to be conducted with humanity and wisdom; but how many of those who are scarcely better fitted to battle with the roaring maelstrom of the world are sucked down into its terrible vortex, unfriended and even unheeded? What unnumbered failures in life take place every day for no other reason than simple deficiency of mental power in dealing with its perilous complications? A considerable part of the so-called injustices of mankind are merely the inevitable consequences of narrow foreheads. No artificial arrangement could by any possibility equalize the stupid and the intelligent, or prevent the latter from having the advantage, should both be set in equalized conditions. An equal chance for all is all that justice requires; but till the crack of doom the wise man will make the most of his chance, while the fool will make the least of his. And it is not possible, nor would it be just, in the race of life, to tie weights to the feet of the swift, in order that the swift and the slow might reach the goal together. Justice can only demand that they be together at the start.

Weakness of character has also its inevitable miseries. It is in vain, when the weak will and the strong will are brought together, to hope that the laws of moral dynamics will be miraculously suspended. As well hope that in the scales ten pounds will balance one. Nothing can ever abolish the necessity of conflict in the world of affairs; and, *other things being equal*, the race is always to the swift and the battle to the strong. The value of energy and force of moral character is proportionate to the misery of moral feebleness and flabbiness. Virtue is the stake in the game between tempter and tempted, to be lost or won as that or this has the mightier will. There are few windfalls in this world that possess intrinsic worth; what is valuable must be plucked with pains and danger, and it is the muscular soul that plucks it. In all that touches character, strength is the prime necessity, the indispensable auxiliary, the eternal winner; and if true also in other things, much more is it true in morals that "to be weak is to be miserable."

What a farcical thing, then, is the "gospel of gush,"—which is the very gospel of weakness, of character all corroded and dissolved in mere emotion, of glutinous affectionateness pouring itself out in floods over everybody and everything, and making all creation sticky and unclean! It is, indeed, a caricature or burlesque of the Christian gospel, effacing as it does all the distinctions and boundaries of dogmatic thought and confounding all ecclesiasticisms in a great mutual hug of all saints and all sinners. But, as caricatures are usually made by exaggerating some chief feature of the face into ludicrous disproportion, so the "gospel of gush" is only a somewhat

exclusive emphasis laid upon what is in fact the characteristic principle of Christianity—namely, love; it only exaggerates the importance of this principle in Christianity just as Christianity itself exaggerates the importance of it in human nature. When the Christian gospel teaches that "God is love," that "love is the fulfilling of the law," and so forth, it puts an emphasis on the love-principle of human nature which it altogether neglects to put on other elements equally important. Yet without these latter elements human nature itself is reduced to weakness; and the "gospel of gush," so notorious of late, is so far Christian that it might be defined as the fatty degeneration of Christianity.

Instead of the gospel of love, whether in its regenerate or its degenerate form, the outside world needs, demands, and must have the gospel of strength, of vigor, of energy, power, force. Strength of body, strength of mind, strength of character—these are the important things, compared with which it is quite unimportant that one should turn himself into a spiritual soda-fountain, and work himself up to the syrupy and creamy effervescence of eternal "gush." These ebullient manifestations are neither indicative of nor favorable to genuine manliness. It has been said that "love is the history of woman's life, but an episode in man's." Whether this saying is true or not, it is true beyond question that love alone is not big enough to make a religion out of for the modern world. Vigor of intellect, force of will, and power of conscience, concerning which Christianity has little or nothing to say, are the main requisites of a religion that would escape the fate of the superannuated; and, under whatever name, we should welcome its advent.

INFERIOR AND SUPERIOR.

Perhaps there is no question which a man can put to himself, that is suggestive of more profitable reflections, than this: which company do I like better, and in which do I feel more at home, that of my superiors or my inferiors? For I take it that he who is filled with the desire to live the best life, and to secure the results of the highest culture that is possible to him, will naturally seek the best society that he can find: the society that is the wisest and noblest. And this he will do, because he knows—if he knows what is true—that it is not from books alone that we get our culture, but from the companionship of men and women, out of whose thoughts and experiences books are made. The student and the scholar, who spends his time in his study and in libraries, and who by choice keeps himself aloof from the great toiling, thinking, suffering, enjoying, living world of mankind,—no matter how learned such a man may become from much reading and study, he is only half-cultured and half-educated. Whatever else he knows, he does not know live men and women; and these are the most interesting and instructive things in the world.

But as there is a choice to be exercised among books, so no less is there among men. Ruskin says there are two classes of books; one for the hour, and one for all time. Do we not find that the same distinction holds among men and women? There are plenty of persons that one likes well enough to meet, and laugh and chat with for a little while, but with whom it would be dreadful to think of having to live for weeks and months and years. You can see right through them in a few moments; in an hour or two you have taken a complete look at their characters, have measured perfectly their ability to amuse and instruct you; and any further acquaintance with them is like listening to a hand-organ that plays the same tunes under your window day after day. Then again there are others whom only a very long period of time can enable you to know well, so deep are their souls, so rich and varied their lives, so far-reaching into realities their thoughts and feelings. Such persons are like the rare books which you wish to read over and over, and in which you find some new and profound meaning every time. Of such companions, as of such books, one needs but a choice few to make one's life very much enriched. Sad however is the condition of him who does not seek, and who does not possess, this superior company of books and friends. One wants both. The loss of neither can be compensated wholly by gain of the other. As a good public library is essential to every community, so no less are a few high-toned, noble, pure, cultivated men and women. The privilege of associating with such persons is almost equal to that of going to a university. How even one such man or woman tones up the manners, morals, and ideas of a whole village! Where they have shed the

refined light of their personality, it is impossible but all should think somewhat better thoughts, and live somewhat better lives. It is the rarest piece of good fortune that can fall to any young man or woman, to possess the considerate friendship of such a gifted soul. It creates for them a noble ideal, and helps to keep them loyal to it. And when such an inspired man or woman happens to have chosen the profession of a teacher (as is sometimes the case), and they succeed in keeping the freshness and glory of their spirit unquenched by the awful machinery of our general school system, what an unspeakable source of life and light they are to the youth who are so happy as to be instructed by them! To the latest day of my life shall I bless and revere the memory of a superior man who, in my boyhood, was not only my teacher but my friend as well; and to whose affectionate counsels and ever-glowing appeals I owe many of the best impulses that have quickened my being. When once we have well tasted the rare quality of superior companionship, either of books or friends, we scarcely can be satisfied long thereafter with any inferior associations. Hence it is of the first importance that we early and continuously cultivate acquaintance with whatever is able to become the medium to us of a higher, and constantly higher, influx of life and light.

And yet we must not forget that it requires a very nice discrimination to discover the difference between superior and inferior; to discover where one is, and the other is not. Is it not all gold that glitters? Then, too, all that is not superior, which is in superior's place. Sometimes the really best books have the poorest binding, and bring the lowest price. A second-hand book-stall is a place which often cannot be bettered for buying some of the rarest books which a choice reader wants. So also it is that we have to hunt low as well as high to find the best people. Whom the world scorns or lets alone, in seven cases out of ten that is the one whom a truly wise soul desires to cleave to. Some of the most superior men and women are socially neglected; they find themselves abandoned by society as it runs. Often it is that the very rarest souls in any large community are the obscurest ones. You are quite as likely to find them in the attic as in the parlor, in the secluded room as in the club, in corduroy and calico as in broadcloth and silk, scrubbing the doorsteps or sweeping the stairs as sitting in the drawing-room. Some are superior for one thing, and some for another. Superior and inferior are most times joined in the same character. We need to look sharply, therefore, lest we get the two confounded. Only the humble and the kind heart can guide us—the proud and the scornful one never. The best way, perhaps, is to seek a large experience with all sorts of men and women, giving our best to all, and seeking the best from each,—being ever on the alert for the choice soul, and grappling to it wherever found. It is astonishing how interesting one sometimes finds a so-called wicked person to be! In many respects, one of the finest young men I ever knew had been in a State-prison six years. He was as good when he went in, and better when he came out, than a multitude of people who are too "respectable" ever to be put in such a place. The difference between him and them was that his badness had been found out by the State, while theirs never had. But superior and inferior were alike united in him as in them.

We should remember that the task given us in this life is to live with those we do not like, as well as with those we do; to live with both, so that we shall give them our best without getting from them their worst. A noble soul once said that "it is better to give than to receive." But we cannot give without receiving; and we usually receive just the same kind that we give. What goes from our bosom returns to it again—good measure, pressed down, and running over. Therefore let our hearts fling wide their portals. The more that goes out, the more shall come in. Verily is it so, that what is for us is surely coming to us. What is of *our kind* is as sure to come to us as the needle to fly to the magnet.

A. W. S.

PROFESSOR NEWMAN ON EVOLUTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—I have just read the generally wise and valuable letter of Professor Newman in *THE INDEX* of June 3d, but I cannot comprehend the antipathy of so earnest a believer in progress to the doctrine of evolution. The professor identifies it with that degraded form of fatalism in which the belief in the inevitable power and purpose of Allah, which animated Mohammed to such vigorous action, has assumed in

the effeminate Turk,—a passiveness surely far more to be explained by ethical than by theological influences,—and says that, if slavery had been left to evolution, it would have evolved itself over the larger part of the United States. But certainly the uprising of the North in resistance must be claimed as a main part of the evolutionary force through which America has outgrown its arrested development. What is evolution but the "divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will"?

I am, &c., MONCURE D. CONWAY.

2 PEMBROKE GARDENS, LONDON, June 21, 1875.

Mr. Moncure D. Conway is prepared to deliver Lectures in the United States, during the coming season, on the following subjects:—

London.—The Evolution of London—Haunted London—Scientific and Literary London—Clubs—City Companies—The Lord Mayor—The Arts—Wealth and Poverty—Two Seasons—Things Growing and Things Fading—English Characteristics—Social Tendencies—The Queen and her Court—The Future of England.

Oriental Religion.—Persistence of Religious Types—Physiognomies of Religion—Aryan and Semitic Characteristics—Religious Evolutions in China, Japan, Egypt, Arabia, Persia, Assyria, India—The Indian Book of Job—The Brahmo-Somaj—The Hindu Convert in London—Modern Transformations and Tendencies in the East.

The Devil.—Genesis of Demons—Primitive Dualism—Degradation of Deities—Fallen Spirits—The Natural History of Demons Represented in their Names and Legends—Impediments in the Struggle for Existence—Hunger Demons—Elemental Demons—Animal Demons—Theological Origin of the Devil—Ahriman, Satan, Eblis—The Devil of Popular Superstition—The Devil in Art and Poetry—Milton's Satan—Goethe's Mephistopheles—Science and the Problem of Evil.

St. George and the Dragon.—Light and Darkness—Extinct Monsters—Dragon Forms—Dragon-slaying Deities—Indra slaying Ahi and Vritra—Apollo and the Python—Bellerophon and Chimæra—Perseus and Medusa—How the Mantle of Dragon-slaying Heroes fell on the Cappadocian Butcher, St. George—His Spear and Flag at Rome—The Dragon-slaying Angels and Saints—Myths Spread by Coins—Teutonic Heroes and Dragons—Curious Survivals in France—Dragon Myths in England—St. Petrox and the Serpents in Cornwall—St. Patrick and the Snakes—St. Columba and the Rats—The Laidley Worm—Wormley—The Worms of Sockburn, Lambton, etc.—The Monster Boars of Kentmere, Brancepath, and Oxford—The Dragon of Wantley—The Cemetery of Dead Religions.

The Fossil Man.—The Controversy Concerning the Antiquity of Man, its Rise and Decline—Sir Charles Lyell—The Bone Caves of Europe—Curiosities of Scientific Progress—The Career of Baron De Perthes under Napoleon I.—The Baron's Discovery at Abbeville—A European Congress gathers around a Skull—The Testimony of the Skull—The Method of Science in Verification—The Laying of Old Spectres and the Raising of New.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—There is a general aversion among some free-thinkers to the subject of a future life, which may without offence be termed morbid.

This aversion palpably arises from two features prominent in the Orthodox view concerning a life after death. The one feature is the gross and unwarrantable manner in which that future life has been depicted down to minute details drawn, of course, from the wild fancies of the New Testament, and supported by such poets as Dante and Milton.

The absurdity of any attempt to realize the conditions of a state after death is sufficiently revolting to make men of common sense dismiss the subject with impatience, whenever such airy ground is even approached.

Free-thinkers cannot for a moment be blamed for refusing to consider gravely such perfectly unknowable questions. The other objectionable feature referred to is that rewards and punishments are made the special motives for interest in that future life, and the grounds for the proper regulation of our conduct (or belief) on earth. This is no longer possible to men who have already risen to a morale elevation from which they discern the intrinsic beauty of goodness, and the intrinsic baseness of its opposite. Not to love and pursue goodness for its own sake, regardless of all pain or pleasure which may result from it to oneself, is to be behind the age in which

we live, and to be little better than a pagan. In like manner, only to avoid sin through fear of punishment is to confess oneself to be on a level with the brute or the savage. Admitting to the fullest extent the repulsive character of these features in the Orthodox views of a future life, I venture to say that these are not enough to warrant the free-thinker and the searcher after truth in shutting out entirely all reference to, and thought upon, a life after death.

Premising that it be regarded only as a hope or expectation, and that all attempts at delineation be scrupulously avoided, there seems to me nothing irrational in giving to the subject its *due* place in our thoughts and aspirations. Its *due* place, I say, because the consideration of it must be kept subordinate to our interest in, and our fulfilment of, our duty to each other in the present life; and on no account must it be allowed to absorb our minds in useless contemplation, still less to take up either time or energy which should be spent in the service of mankind.

With these limitations I conceive that a hope for immortality has its very useful and necessary functions. In the first place, as a legitimate encouragement to virtuous action, the hope of a future life is very strong. There can be nothing base or ignoble or selfish in the hope of perfecting our natures, in the desire to increase our own capacity for goodness by the daily practice of what we know to be right. For the love of goodness for its own sake implies that desire, and cannot well be divorced from it. To be good, as well as to do good, is surely typical of the noblest character.

To desire perfection is therefore a noble aspiration. And just as the hope of success in any endeavor gives additional strength and zeal to that endeavor, so the hope of perfection in a life to come will strengthen our efforts to become good here below. To know that when we have reached our highest moral point attainable on earth, our work (as far as our own characters are concerned) will be thrown away, is at the very least a *dampener* on our energies, and, so far as it is realized, a discouragement to our efforts in perfecting our souls.

To hope for a future life is also reasonable to those who hunger and thirst after knowledge. I do not say that any really noble mind would be less eager for knowledge if the hope of the future were shut out; but it would add intensely to his joy in the pursuit of truth to believe that some day he would know the whole truth, or at all events start afresh on his journey of discovery with ever increasing opportunities and powers.

There is surely not a single really scientific man who would not gladly welcome the evidences (if they were forthcoming and trustworthy) that death would be no interruption to his investigations and researches into the mysteries of Nature. I do not say anything should be believed simply because it is pleasant; but merely state it as a matter of fact that the hope of a future life is not inherently at variance with science or the scientific mind, but is simply yet without any foundation in hitherto established scientific facts.

A third ground on which the hope for a future life is reasonable and justifiable is the intense affection subsisting between some persons and their relations and friends.

Many lives would be absolutely darkened; many brains would go mad; many hearts would be broken, if the hope of future life were taken away. Affection—the purest, most unselfish in the world—needs this corollary to justify its indulgence. We are fools to love each other so much, if there is absolutely no ground for hoping that we shall somehow and somewhere meet again. The truest wisdom would be to form no attachments, or to weave them so slightly that there will be no pain when they are riven. And then, where will you find one man or woman out of a million, who could exercise sufficient tyranny over his or her nature as to reduce the affections to the freezing point? We are all under the stern necessity to love—some more, some less—but love we must, enough to give us bitter pain in separation by death, even where the hope of reunion is strong. How unendurable that pain would be when there is no such hope to rescue from despair!

I have said nothing about our nearer approach to God, or on the theological aspect of the question, for I desire to rekindle interest in the subject in the hearts of those who have gone furthest in the track of free inquiry. I ask them not to shirk the question altogether as incapable of rational treatment, simply because as yet there is no evidence for it as a fact. I ask them, too, not to let the monstrosities of

the Orthodox view deprive them altogether of the immense privileges and comfort of entertaining the hope, although it be only a hope, of a life to come.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S.E., June 21, 1875.

Communications.

A SHORT ESSAY ON SELFISHNESS.

If it is true—and I think there are many good reasons for believing that it is true—that “self-preservation is the first law of Nature,” then it inevitably follows that selfishness is the ruling characteristic of man's nature; because selfishness is the most essential quality necessary for self-preservation.

Therefore, for this and other reasons which I shall endeavor to give, it is my conviction that man is, at all times and under all conceivable circumstances, selfish; that the gratification of this particular passion is his constant desire from the time he enters into the world till he makes his exit; that for this he plans, and toils, and suffers, and in many instances even risks his life.

This declaration is very broad and sweeping, and no doubt will strike the ears of many good people as being, not only horrible, but so entirely wild as not to merit a moment's consideration.

Well, let us, if we possibly can, lay aside for a short time the natural prejudices we have in favor of ourselves, and with calmness and honesty examine into the matter a little, and see what the result will be.

There is a common and much applauded saying that “Honesty is the best policy.” I believe that every one, whether saint or sinner, not only admits that this is true, but points to it as an excellent rule for the government of our conduct. Its popularity is universal. On all occasions when morality and kindred topics are discussed, it is quoted with an air of confidence which seems to say, “Here, in this little sentence of five plain, unpretentious words, is contained the sum total of all that pertains to the highest and most refined order of virtue.” This idea is as erroneous as it is popular. True, he who in his intercourse with his fellow-man squares his conduct with it deserves much credit, but not nearly so much as is generally awarded to him.

If we penetrate the true meaning of this popular saying, we shall find to our astonishment, as well as chagrin, that it contains the very essence of selfishness. If we are honest because it is the best policy, then it is patent we are honest because we think it will result to our advantage to be so; in other words, because we think it will pay.

The man who leads an honest life for policy's sake, although unquestionably the better citizen, is not an iota less selfish than he who leads a dishonest life; because both are aiming at the same object; namely, the enhancement of their individual interests. But, honesty being the best policy, the former has chosen the wiser course, and will therefore be more successful in the accomplishment of his desire than the latter.

“Do unto others as you wish them to do unto you” is a rule which, if followed, is the sum and substance of all the religion necessary for the welfare of mankind. It is deservedly called the Golden Rule. It is as near to equity as anything we are capable of conceiving. But, meritorious as it is, it is nevertheless strongly tinged with selfishness. The value of this rule is far beyond the comprehension of the unthinking many. It is impossible for them to see that compliance with it can be productive of any benefit to themselves, and therefore it is to them a dead letter. Those only who have arrived at a higher stage of perfection dimly see its merit. When any of this class live in accordance with it, which is, however, very seldom the case, they do so for the gratification of self. They live in accordance with it mainly for the purpose of counteracting or modifying any evil intentions which others might have toward them—for the purpose of preventing any obstacle being thrown in the way of their progress toward comfort, or happiness, or some other gain: in short, the gratification of their selfish propensities.

If, as happens sometimes, we minister to the wants of the needy or the distressed, we arrogate to ourselves an amount of credit that is both ludicrous and pitiful. On such occasions we suffer our vanity to puff us up into ridiculous proportions. We flatter ourselves that we have done something extraordinarily praiseworthy, and entirely free from anything like self-interest. What shallow-pated simpletons we are, when a little investigation would dispel this illusion! Can we do anything without a cause? Is it possible for us to act without a motive? Reason and common sense answer emphatically, No! Then, if this is so, what motives prompt us to acts of charity, of philanthropy, and the like? Are our motives disinterested? However foolishly we may persuade ourselves into any such belief, the truth is to the contrary. The real and true reason why we do acts of charity, relieve distress, etc., is to get the applause of the community; or, if we happen to be of a finer nature, in order that our own feelings may procure relief. In either case the object is the same; the desire of benefiting ourselves being the first consideration, and the relief of the other party the second. Were it not that our natures are so constituted that, in order to benefit ourselves, we are compelled to benefit the party in need of our assistance, the amount of interest we should otherwise have in said party could not be discovered by the most acute and intent observer.

A mother undoubtedly is honest in believing that

the love she has for her babe, and the watchful and tender care she bestows upon it, are alike free from anything approaching selfishness; and she would feel that great wrong were done her, if told that the opposite was the truth. But it is, nevertheless, positively so. The great love she has for her child springs from the certain knowledge of the fact that it is her own offspring, coupled with the pretty firmly fixed idea that in it she is herself perpetuated; and the reason she bestows so much care upon it is because her nature requires it for the gratification of her own feelings. This gratification of her feelings is solely for her special benefit; and, being for her special benefit, it must be selfishness.

All of us are, in a greater or less degree, sympathetic. This is an excellent quality of our natures. Sympathy is praiseworthy in him who gives it, and generally acceptable to him who receives it. It is the fountain from which spring all our feelings of kindness toward our fellow-creatures. It is the golden chain which links together in affectionate relationship, not only all the members of the human family, but to a certain extent man with the inferior animals. It is, undoubtedly, the most divine (giving the word the popularly accepted definition) of all our attributes. Yet this same sympathy, this quintessence of our most refined feelings, cannot be cleared from the charge of selfishness. Let us take a passing look at the principles which govern sympathy. First, let me say that it is pretty conclusive to my mind that we never give anything, except with the expectation of receiving in return, immediately or in the future, if not more than its value, at least its equivalent. In fact, I think, if I were to say that in every instance we expect a full return with interest added, it would be nearer the truth. It is contrary to the laws which govern our natures to give anything without a recompense, and sympathy is not an exception. Therefore we give play to our sympathy for the minor reason that it is consoling to the other party, but for the main reason that it relieves our own feelings. Whenever another person has succeeded in arousing our sympathy, we immediately become connected, as it were, by an invisible cord, which draws us with such tremendous force that, if we make resistance, our very heart-strings seem in danger of being pulled asunder; and, therefore, if not actually for self-preservation, at least for the purpose of procuring relief from a feeling that is excruciatingly painful, we are forced to move toward the person with whom we are for the time being thus invisibly and inseparably connected.

If further evidence were needed to prove that the ruling characteristic of man's nature is selfishness, it could readily be furnished in such abundance as would fill volumes without limit. It would be an easy task to show that our loves and our hates, our desires and our aversions, our virtues and our vices, our prayers and our curses, yea, and even our honest and maturely-formed religious convictions, are most unmistakably all prompted by this single and powerful motive of selfishness. But let the foregoing suffice.

It will be observed that in these remarks I have not been condemning, or even finding fault with, selfishness. My intention has been far from this. My object and desire has merely been to show the fallacy of notions that are extensively prevalent in regard to what is called unselfishness or disinterestedness. On the contrary, I find no fault with selfishness, except where it exists in too great a degree. In fact, it is impossible for me to banish the belief that selfishness is right, because it is strictly in accordance with the economy of Nature, where I have never yet been able to discover mistakes, but where I have always found everything harmonious and perfect. We know that eating, drinking, etc., are totally selfish qualities, but we know they are absolutely necessary for our self-preservation or existence. Therefore, if it is right that we should exist (of which there can be no doubt, else Nature would not have brought us into being), and if selfishness is necessary for our existence, then selfishness is right.

J. R. S.

PIONEER WORK NEEDED STILL.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Allow me to offer a few remarks on the leading point in Mr. Voysey's truly excellent letter in THE INDEX of June 10. He says: “I am led to infer that the popular mind is much more ready than it was years ago to examine into the truth or falsehood of the Orthodox beliefs. . . . They need at this spring-time of independent thought some help in shaking off their shackles. And this, too, not on the deeper problems of the age so much as on the A, B, C, of Christian tenets; namely, the fall of man, the curse against the race, everlasting hell, and atonement of blood. If this be so, some of us must begin our work over again, and go down to the level of the awakening mind.”

My own experience during the last twenty-five years confirms the correctness of Mr. Voysey's inference. Whenever these strong points of the Christian faith were attacked “without laughing their hopes and fears to scorn, and they were calmly and respectfully reasoned out of their foolish alarm,” their prejudices gave way, their attention and interest were won, and afterward those “deeper problems” were demanded, and eagerly received. The greatest results always followed no holding back the truth for fear of “hurting somebody.” The strongest arguments in an Orthodox community against the plenary inspiration of the Bible, Original Sin, Total Depravity, Election or Foreordination, Free Moral Agency, the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, the Vicarious Atonement, Infant Damnation, and Endless Punishment, were well received, when logically and calmly presented. As then, so now.

I have never for one moment believed, when told

by many reformers that the pulling-down process had been thoroughly done, and that nothing now was required but to build up, that such was the fact; hence my appreciation of Mr. Voysey's article. When I see new and more costly edifices erected for the worship of God, greater efforts made to Christianize the heathen, more money annually expended for Bible and Tract publication and distribution, larger appropriations, donations, and gifts to sectarian colleges, increased efforts put forth to harmonize all religious sects, the Young Men's Christian Association consolidating North and South (see Richmond, Va., Convention, May 26, 1875), and declaring war against infidelity, herculean attempts made to put the evangelical God into the National Constitution; when I see all these demonstrations, and many more, of thrift, culture, power, influence, means, zeal, determination, and numbers united, how can I but feel that there never was a time, since we first began to batter against the strongholds of Biblical and clerical authority, when there was more need of staunch defenders of liberty, of conscience and speech, and opposition to aggressive theology than now.

I have never laid down my battle-axe since it was first raised in 1851; and though others have sowed the seed where the breaking-up plough of the hardy pioneer had made it easy, or gather the harvest that others had planted, I have always been on the defensive, and felt myself called to resist every encroachment of individual right and privilege, and speak against every doctrine, however time-honored and sacred, if I felt it was untrue; therefore, I am still in fighting order, and trust that, while THE INDEX and its supporters are battling for “The Demands of Liberalism,” they will not forget that, before those demands can be granted, the slave power of old theology must give way, and that, before that will yield, much hard pioneer work must be done by some one.

Those reformers who are not in conjunction with Christianity, and only associate with liberal minds, have but a slight conception how deep the root of conservative tradition is still planted in the minds of the people, and how great the need of the exposure of the monstrous doctrines on which rests their hopes of eternal salvation. It is surprising how little many Christians know of their own Bible; therefore, some of us infidels, as we are termed, must do our work over again, and keep on doing it till science takes the place of revelation, and knowledge supersedes faith.

ELLA E. GIBSON.

“PRAYER AGAIN.”

MR. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—I cannot see how any one who had taken the trouble to read my communication on prayer could so utterly fail to see the drift of it as the writer of the communication in THE INDEX of June 17 has done. The only view I took of the province of prayer, in the sense of petition, was that it has no province if God be infinite. This view, whatever its shortcomings, is at least clear. If the printer or farmer idly folds his arms, any amount of prayer, accompanied with any amount of faith, will fail to secure to him the result of labor; and, if with his own hands he sets the type or sows the seed, he cannot, and neither expects nor wishes to, secure any more than the result of his labor by adding prayer to his labor. If by prayer is meant personal effort to secure the object of prayer, or the desire that leads to such effort, then I am ready to admit that it is efficacious. My argument was in the main an *a priori* argument, and the only results spoken of as subject to observation were answers to petitions for material things. I am afraid that the person who calls an *a priori* argument a “material measure” lays himself open to the charge of being an heretical materialist. From my article no inference could be drawn as to my opinions respecting the nature of God, of Christ, or even the efficacy of prayer. I simply tried to show that, if certain views of God are correct, then prayer can have no effect upon him. At the point where the question would naturally come up whether God is infinite or not, I dropped the discussion. But the objects of my knowledge are not all contained within the space occupied by myself; and, if infinite wisdom and goodness were conceded to God, it is not clear how it follows that infinite extension must be attributed to him. Indeed there are those who say that, as God is incorporeal, extension cannot be attributed to him at all. If God does fill all space, there is no room for anything but God; and in holding this view we become pantheists, and Dr. Stearns would say that all pantheism tends to a system of atheism and physical necessity. So that our friend is, I am afraid, in as bad a plight as the “sceptical” young man who pays more attention to his studies than to his prayers. I should not like to call people who pray for rain and food and health “selfish,” “fools,” “hypocrites,” “ignorant,” “idiotic,” and say that their God is “a very stupid, weak-minded God.” I happen to know good people, and people of learning and talent, who make just such prayers. If the fact that Jeremy Taylor recommended them proves him to have been either hypocritical or idiotic in spite of the evidence we have to the contrary, then surely it is poor policy to couple his name with a plea for any kind of prayer. Then “that flower of humanity, Christ,” taught his disciples to ask for bread, and that through fasting and prayer they might have power to cast out the demon of epilepsy with a word.

The fact is, that those who pray for both spiritual and material gifts are more rational than those who pray for the former alone. It is said that we are not to ask God to set aside the laws of the universe in order to minister to our physical wants, but that we may ask for spiritual blessings with the assurance that we shall receive them. By spiritual blessings I take it we may mean comfort in distress, strength to resist temptation, and a quickening of the intellect, so that we may see spiritual things more keenly.

You can comfort a man by making him feel your sympathy, by making good his loss, by showing him he is the gainer by it, or that his loss is only temporary. He can be made more firm by giving him more will power, or (what will in the end amount to the same thing) by enabling him to picture to himself more vividly the evil results of yielding to temptation. A man's intellect can be quickened by altering its constitution, or that of its bodily organ, or by a direct communication of truth. Communion with God, if it means anything, must mean that, as the soul cries out to God, so God speaks to the soul in language intelligible to it, or makes himself more largely perceptible to the inner faculties. Now we know that keenness of intellectual perception and force of will can be cultivated by simply using them in accordance with the laws of their development. There is, therefore, no more reason for expecting God to give us force of intellect or will than strength of body in answer to prayer. Those who believe in God either believe that we find the proof of God and of his leading attributes (if indeed they are capable of proof, and are not among the so-called intuitions of the soul), in the universe by a right use of our reason, or that they are first taught us by revelation, and confirmed by study of the universe. If we know God and his goodness by intuition, or through the Bible, we have all the consolation we need, certainly all any one pretends to have; and surely God cannot be expected to reiterate by special revelation to each soul what it knows by its very structure, or may know through a revelation accessible to all. If we can know him by the study of Nature, again we must not expect him to give us what we can get by simply using our faculties of observing and reasoning.

Precisely the same objection then, whether valid or not, applies to all prayer. But "that we will receive the spiritual blessings, when we pray for them, we feel in our souls." So a friend "felt in his bones" that our Harvard nine were going to win a match game, put up five dollars, and won. The next time they played he had the same feeling, and put up ten dollars, and lost them. He never afterwards had such a feeling in his bones. John Wesley and Whitefield both had the testimony of the Holy Ghost that, in answer to prayer in the name of Christ, God had pardoned their sins and changed their sinful natures into holy ones. But when they had their celebrated controversy about predestination, Whitefield got ahead of Wesley; for the Holy Ghost had testified to his soul in favor of predestination, while Wesley had no counter testimony to give. That people have feelings in their souls I do not at all doubt. But when their interpretation of their feelings leads to illogical conclusions, I do doubt their ability to interpret them correctly.

I have no more to say in criticism of my critic, except that words and not acts are blasphemous. Professor Francis Bowen has made me acquainted with a view of prayer derived by him from Malebranche, and which he thinks obviates any difficulty in conceiving God to answer even such prayers as that for rain, found in the ritual of the Episcopal Church. The theory is in fact that of a preestablished harmony of prayer, and the events transpiring about us and in us. It supposes the infinite past and future to be present to God, and foreseeing from the beginning what would be the future states of mind and body of all his creatures. He so arranged things that in their natural development should be found the answers to the prayers to be made. Now I have great respect for Professor Bowen both as a former instructor of mine and as a thinker of acknowledged ability. Still it seems to me that he attaches too much importance to this theory. It certainly is not without difficulties of its own. Professor Bowen, as all who have studied under him know, is an ardent supporter of free will. I need not say that very many philosophers and theologians and even some of those who believe in free will are not able to believe it possible for God to foreknow the thoughts and actions of a free agent. Then it supposes that God made the universe with its laws, which would not be conceded even by a great many Christians. But to attempt to make the discussion complete would be to make it of interminable length.

W. J. LLOYD.

{ HARVARD DIVINITY SCHOOL,
{ Cambridge, Mass., June 29, 1875.

NOTE FROM REV. MR. JONES.

NORTH ABINGTON, Mass., June 15, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In the *Independent* of June 2, 1870, page 3, middle column, is an article entitled "Boston Theology," beginning near the bottom of the column. A little way from the top of the next column occurs the following passage:—

"The President, O. B. Frothingham, made the opening address, in which he carefully reviewed the past of the Association; and made the clearest statement of its position which has yet been offered to the public. He announced the different basis above referred to,—a basis which will exclude such persons as the Rev. Jesse Jones, who spoke last year, and whose speech was a defence of Evangelism as such. The admission of such speakers in such a way would convert the platform of the Association into a battleground of the sects. All sects are invited, but not as sects."

Now I think no one can read this passage without seeing that it was the most natural thing in the world for me to feel that an organic change had been made in the constitution of the society for the purpose of cutting me off; and that some one who was inside had rather indiscreetly told out of school the *animus* of the action. I am privately told that no such action was taken, and that there is no ground for my conclusion. If so, I am glad to learn the fact.

One thing I beg to add. No Christian can consistently go anywhere except as a Christian, and, if that is sectarian, then as a sectarian. The Church always and every where has rightly been an aggressive, overcoming power, moving with all the energy at its command to supplant every other religion on the globe. I, therefore, as one sent to proclaim the Christian religion, must and mean to be one who sets forth Jesus Christ and his work as the one exclusive religion which is to exclude all the others, and so fill the globe that not a whit of any other religion will be left upon it. Only in such a spirit, which is my view of the very essence of Christianity, can I ever act with any body of people; and when I can thus come, I shall be glad to appear on the Free Religious platform, for I have something to say.

JESSE H. JONES.

[We wish Mr. Jones had quoted more, for he has not quoted enough to explain the "different basis above referred to." Be it what it may, the *Independent* was under an enormous misapprehension, for no "different basis" has ever been adopted by the Free Religious Association than the original one. Mr. Jones can be a member of it with full rights of membership, if he chooses to join it, and is in favor of absolute freedom of thought.—ED.]

THE BIBLE AND TEMPERANCE.

The town of Manchester, Mass., has been much excited of late over the temperance question in its relation to the Bible; whether the "Bible is a temperance Book." The contest between clergymen and free thinkers became so hot, that at last the former sought to decide the question by inviting Rev. W. H. Cudworth to speak on the subject. Undoubtedly Mr. Cudworth has correct ideas on the subject of temperance, and is himself a temperance man; but we should advise him to leave the Bible out of the question, if he expects to bring rational beings to a temperate life. We doubt if any one could have made an abler argument, for there is no argument at all on that side; as he said himself in conclusion, "It may seem pretty thin, but that's the best I can do." When challenged by men on the other side, men who believe in doing the right for its own sake and in following their own moral convictions rather than the teachings of any book, he was completely "non-plussed," and unable to reply with any satisfaction to his audience. His weakest defence was of the passage quoted to him from Nehemiah, which he excused by saying that the "strong drink" was meant for medicine; if so, then why not the fat oxen, &c., as well? He defended Christ's drinking wine in this wise:—

Christ was without sin. Christ drank wine. Therefore, for him to drink wine was no sin. Sin has no respect for persons. If it is a sin for any one to drink wine, it is a sin for any other one to do so.

More absurd was his apology for the turning water into wine. The speaker averred that, as Christ made the wine out of water and not from grapes, therefore it could not be intoxicating; for wine made from water could contain no alcohol. If the accepters of the Bible will admit that Christ could not make alcoholic wine from water, where are all the miracles they depend on for proof of his power? Surely, if he made wine from water, it was wine, and not colored water; else where the miracle?

On the whole, the free-thinkers did not lose much ground by his exposition.

Intemperance is the reigning terror of our country; temperance in all things is its surety for future happiness and well-being; how to secure universal temperance is the present problem. Intemperance will never be conquered by force, either in the form of license or prohibition; and as for the power of the Bible in that direction, we surely do not see any great change for the better in regard to temperance during all the years of the Christian era. It is not the infidels and scoffers who are the drunkards; too often, alas! the church members. There must be a mighty upheaval in a different direction. The people, the children, must be taught *morals* instead of *creeds*, self-restraint in lieu of Bible texts; to study themselves and their relation to the world and each other, and not that to be under the shelter of a church is safety and insurance. This evil must be stopped at the fountain-head: and as the time has gone when distilleries can be shut, the only course remaining is to educate the children from infancy to resist temptation, practise self-restraint, to respect themselves and the God who made them.

LEA.

CHRISTIANITY AND ANTI-CHRISTIANITY.

The definition and the laws which our Christian authorities have made compel any consistent man or woman who has been born of Christian parents to be for or against Christianity. If I am for Christianity, I must believe in its essential doctrines and abide by the laws. If my reason brings me to the conviction that universal liberty and a broader religion of humanity cannot exist with those contending sects of this established form of religion, I must oppose them wherever I am. And just as much as Jesus and the apostles were anti-Jews, I strive to be anti-Christian, and do my part for the development of a better form of religion than Christianity is. All men have religion, but every one thinks his or hers the best; each one has a right to believe so, but to force our belief upon others is arbitrary, and leads us to gross mistakes. Many of our so-called liberal Christians do not accept the definition of the Christian Church, or try to manufacture a new one. They call themselves Christian ministers, and remain in

the Church; but whether they do it for the material support which the Church can give, or from consistent convictions, they themselves must decide. It is a pitiful condition of mind to have had a specific form of religion for eighteen hundred and seventy-five years, and not to have yet a definition of it which all can agree upon. Volumes and sermons seem to have confounded and not expounded.

"Names and sects and parties fall;
Thou, our God, art all in all."

CARL H. HORSCH.

DOVER, N. H., June 30, 1875.

"FREE METHODIST" CAMP MEETING AT OVID, MICHIGAN.

I will not attempt to describe the senseless shrieking and physical contortions claimed as religious exercises; but one noticeable effect of the meeting I would briefly allude to. Ovid is a little village of scarcely more than one thousand inhabitants. To and from this town, on Sunday, June 20, special trains, at half-fare rates, were run for a considerable distance in either direction. With these facilities, considering the nature of the attraction, an enormous mass of human beings congregated.

All of the usual "drinking places," including two hotels, and numerous temporary ones erected for the occasion, were in active operation during the entire meeting. Sunday morning found one saloon supplied with twenty-seven kegs (holding about seven gallons each) of beer for the day's business; which were all emptied at retail long before night, when a team was sent to the nearest brewery for another load.

Probably not less than one thousand men in the town and about the camp grounds were more or less intoxicated. The vices usually accompanying intoxication were not absent. So long as such results persistently follow in the wake of these annual paroxysms in the "cause of Christ," thorough, earnest, conscientious workers in the cause of truth and justice may well be appalled at the magnitude of their undertaking.

G. F. CORBIN.

ST. JOHNS, Mich., June 26, 1875.

AN INSOLUBLE PROBLEM.

TIPPECANOE CITY, Ohio, June 23, 1875.

Solomon is said to have been a very wise man, and I think modern experience is demonstrating it. He says there are three things, yea, four, which were past his comprehension. The three were, "The way of an eagle in the air, the way of a serpent upon a rock, the way of a ship in the sea." It will at once be conceded that to determine the above three things would be no easy matter, and we should not be surprised that even Solomon with all his wisdom "gave it up." But to me at first thought it is a little surprising that he should fail to determine the fourth; the "way of a man with a maid." That Solomon, with all his experience, opportunities, and wisdom acknowledges his inability to determine the truth in this matter is, when closely looked at, but another proof of his great wisdom and the inspiration of the Bible. For only consider what is now going on in our midst: fifty witnesses (more or less), half-a-dozen of the best lawyers in our country, a very learned and impartial judge, have now for three months been trying to determine this very question, and have not yet succeeded. And they never can, for they now have the case in such a state of wretched distraction, that the best thing the jury or public can do with it is to make a very wild guess at the matter, and let "slip." Thus is the wisdom of Solomon and inspiration of the Bible clearly vindicated. Don't you give it up?

E. L. CRANE.

THE RADIOMETER.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., June 18, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In your issue of yesterday, we noticed that Mr. Crookes' discovery of the Radiometer elicits a lively interest among scientists, who seem at a loss how to explain the singular phenomena it presents. At the risk of being deemed ambitious and immodest, we would inquire whether the motion attributed to light, as such, might not result from angular currents of electricity, into which an equivalent of light has been transformed by the wheel acting as a helix? The fact that motion only follows the absorption of light seems to favor such a view. That such transformations occur in the vegetable leaf and many other objects in Nature, by which interesting and important changes transpire, seems highly probable. That light actually enters the opaque tissues of the vegetable leaf, and there decomposes the stubborn compounds for vegetable growth, is doubtful. But that light may be changed by the converging veins and peculiar structure of the leaf into electricity and other forms of force, capable of doing such work as organic change demands, seems possible. If this idea should prove correct, it would aid in solving the curious phenomena of budding and grafting, by tracing the relations between the diversified forms of the leaf, and a corresponding variety of its products of wood, sap, and fruit.

Very truly yours, W. TWITCHELL.

AN ATTENDANT at Mount Vernon, not long since, found a lady weeping bitterly and audibly, with her handkerchief at her eyes. He stepped up to her and said, "Are you in any trouble, madam?" "No, sir," she sobbed. "I saw you weeping." "Ah!" said she, "how can any one help weeping at the grave of the Father of his Country?" "Oh indeed, madam," said he, "that's it! The tomb is over yonder; this is the ice-house."

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"I. This Organization shall be called the
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of man's religious nature and history; and
to this end all persons interested in these
objects are cordially invited to its member-
ship.

"II. Membership in this Association shall
leave each individual responsible for his own
opinions alone, and affect in no degree his
relations to other associations; and nothing
in the name or Constitution of the Associa-
tion shall ever be construed as limiting
membership by any test of speculative opin-
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2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

- ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.
- ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.
- Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.
- ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.
- ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.
- ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.
- ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.
- ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

MISS LOUISE ALCOTT is reported to have received sixty thousand dollars from her writings already, with a fair prospect of more.

MR. JOHN T. DELANE, the editor of the London *Times* for thirty-five years, is reported to have had the offer of a baronetcy from Mr. Disraeli.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY has won a triumph at the Saratoga regatta of which it may well be proud. "Fresh-water colleges" will soon be a title of honor.

SOMEBODY wants to have Queen Victoria invited to attend the national centenary at Philadelphia next year, and the *Independent* indorses the suggestion. Such an invitation would be the height of incivility.

EX-SECRETARY McCULLOCH writes home from London that the country is again disgraced abroad by the failure of some of the States to pay the interest on their bonds. Is there to be no end to such stains on American honor?

DR. PHILIP SCHAFF says that there is talk of bringing before the Pan-Presbyterian Council, at Edinburgh, a proposition for the revision of the Westminster Confession—a bit of audacity which will strike horror to the soul of Professor Morris, who declared that "no man has any purpose in his inmost heart to change or alter it." Even Calvinism has to melt under the sunshine of increasing knowledge.

THE DISCOVERY by Mr. Crookes that light is a mechanical force bids fair to prove one of the greatest scientific achievements of the age. The problem of planetary motion may be closely connected with it; and the hitherto mysterious motion of the comet's tail is already thought by high astronomical authorities to be explicable by it. The progress of science is rapid enough to take away one's breath. Every step she takes leads mankind farther and farther away from the idle hopes and fears of Christianity towards the calm, eternal truth.

NOTWITHSTANDING the seeming successes of Moody and Sankey, the rapid spread of Rationalism in England is so marked a feature of the times that it excites great alarm in Evangelical quarters, as instanced by the Huddersfield *Daily Chronicle*: "Unbelief is gaining such rapid ground—in our Universities as well as in our work-shops, in our learned magazines as well as in the vulgar rhetoric of penny periodicals,—that it must be resisted on all sides. With the precise shade of unbelief we are not concerned. Whether it impeaches the inspiration of Scripture, or rebels against the divine assumptions of Christ, or sees a God in Nature but none in revelation, or insinuates itself with 'light and sweetness' in the cultured and scholarly pages of *Literature and Dogma*, or enunciates itself with the rude blasphemy of Bradlaugh, is to us a matter of indifference."

REV. DR. MANNING, Secretary of the London Tract Society, in a recent address at Cincinnati to the Western Tract Society, stated that, whenever he had visited the schools in this country, and asked, "How do you deal with the religious question?" he received the answer, "We cannot say anything about religion. We have children of all classes—Jews, Infidels, Atheists, Catholics,—and it would not be right if we were permitted to teach religion." "Most reluctantly," added Dr. Manning, "I have come to the conclusion that that is the only alternative, if we would keep the lightning blast of Romanism out of the schools. I have accepted this with great reluctance as the solution of the public school questions here and in England." Thus a dread of Catholicism has accomplished what the love of justice apparently cannot in the Doctor's mind, and he "reluctantly" consents to be honest because honesty is the best policy.

THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION declares that "all synods and councils since the apostolic times, whether general or particular, may err and have erred; therefore they are not to be made the rule of faith and practice, but to be used as a help in both." This states precisely the ground on which Dr. Clarke has so often defended the use of creeds, as "helps," but not "fetters." No doubt the Westminster Assembly sincerely meant to avoid trammelling their posterity by the Confession they adopted. But how all creeds work, and must work, changing inevitably from "helps" to "fetters," is shown in the declaration of Professor Morris, Moderator of the last General Assembly of the Presbyterians, who, notwithstanding the disclaimer of the Confession itself, proclaimed it as "the basis and the test and the standard of our belief."

THE *Christian Union* of July 7 ridicules our regard for the consciences of Evangelical believers on the Bible question as quite superfluous. It changes the whole proposition we were discussing, however, which was, not to insert Bible extracts into school-readers, but to make the Bible itself a "text-book"; and it apparently is quite ignorant that we were considering the case of Evangelical Christians who reverence the Bible as Divinely inspired in the honest old sense of those words. "It will be perfectly safe for Mr. Abbot," complacently concludes the *Union*, "to let 'Christian believers' define their position on this question for themselves." But it will not be safe for any of the parties concerned to let such exceedingly loose "Christian believers" as edit the *Christian Union*, and are equal to the task of believing a dozen different religions consecutively and simultaneously, "define the position" of those who believe in Christianity unbewitched. When this more than semi-rationalistic paper undertakes to speak for all "Christian believers," it is necessary to remind it that it assumes altogether too much, and that there are millions of Christians in this country who still believe the Bible to be unlike all other books, infinitely superior to them all, and not to be put on the level of readers and manuals without offering a direct insult to God. These people are Christians; but, much as we admire the *Christian Union*, we see precious little Christianity in it—except its name.

A "GRAND National Congress of Freethinkers," in which more than sixty organizations were represented by one hundred and fifty delegates, was held at Manchester, England, in the latter part of May. Mr. Bradlaugh was the presiding officer. Each of these Secularist societies has a benevolent fund for the aid of its own poor, sick, or persecuted members; and this undoubtedly gives a social vitality and strength which accounts for the flourishing condition of these organizations. The Congress empowered its President and Council to examine all volunteer lecturers as to their honesty and ability, and to give diplomas to such as were approved; and for no others is the Society to assume any responsibility. A sort of "Free-thinkers' Bible" is also to be issued, containing in condensed form the facts and arguments supporting the Secularist views. A "National Secular Hall Company" was also established by the Congress, for purchasing or building halls throughout the country. A resolution of sympathy with Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, whose ill-health prevented him from being present,—resolutions "greeting in advance a Free-thinkers' Congress to be held in America during the Centennial celebration," congratulating the *Investigator* on the completion of Paine Hall, and sympathizing with the Belgian Secularists,—were also adopted. Why cannot the Liberals of America unite in some efficient way for the prosecution of common ends? The English Secularists put us all to shame by their earnestness, business energy, and determined spirit.

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Mr. Spencer on Social Evolution.

FROM THE LONDON "FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW" OF JANUARY 1, 1875.

BY PROFESSOR J. E. CAIRNES.

Anxious as all who take an interest in social speculation cannot fail to be for the completion of Mr. Spencer's forthcoming work on the principles of sociology, they will scarcely regret that he should have allowed himself to be drawn aside for a time from his principal occupation in order to compose the present volume.* Several reasons concur to make it desirable that such an *avant-coureur* should be sent forth; but it is sufficient here to mention one. With every possible disposition to acknowledge the great services of M. Comte in his masterly *ébauche* and partial development of the science of society, it is impossible not to see that even the elementary principles of this branch of inquiry have yet to be formulated. To constitute these, or at least some portion of them, is doubtless the aim of Mr. Spencer's grand undertaking. It is to this that the labors of his life have been leading up; but if his work is to prove in any sense definitive, it is plainly an indispensable condition that it should be preceded by a tolerably full and thorough discussion of the more elementary doctrines of the new science. Mr. Spencer has not, indeed, waited till now to give the world his ideas on many social topics of the highest importance; but it was well thus to bring together into a single volume his sociological views scattered over many essays, and, by giving them fresh exposition and illustration, to invite fresh criticism. Never before has the conception of a social science been put forth with equal distinctness and clearness; and never has its claim to take rank as a recognized branch of scientific investigation been placed upon surer grounds, or asserted with more just emphasis. The wealth of illustration lavished on the various topics discussed is almost marvellous; and, when one considers that Mr. Spencer has already on hand a great work on the same subject, augurs a rare profusion of resources. The purpose of the present essay, however, is not to render to Mr. Spencer a homage of which he has no need, but to invite attention to some positions of his philosophical system, so far as it has been given to the public, which have scarcely yet received that amount of consideration and criticism which their great importance demands. As will be seen, and indeed has already appeared, the following remarks have been conceived from the point of view of one who fully accepts the possibility of a social science, and who, to a large extent, concurs in Mr. Spencer's conception of the nature of that inquiry.

The part of Mr. Spencer's social philosophy to which he has hitherto given most prominence, and which he has elaborated with most care, is his doctrine of social evolution. The idea was put forward by him many years ago in a well-known essay entitled the "Social Organism";† it has since received further elucidation in a discussion with Professor Huxley in this review; and it has once more been expounded anew, and with fresh illustration, in the present volume. There is a certain sense in which, I presume, the doctrine of "Social Evolution" would be now pretty widely accepted, at least among those

who have concerned themselves with the philosophy of history and kindred speculations. I mean the sense in which it expresses the fact that each stage in human progress is the outcome and result of the stage which has immediately preceded it, and that the whole series of stages, beginning with savage life and ending with the most advanced existing civilization, represents a connected chain, of which the links are bound together as sequences in precisely the same way as in the instances of causation presented by other departments of Nature. Some such assumption as this must necessarily form the basis of all attempts at a rational interpretation of history. But, as enunciated and expounded by Mr. Spencer, social evolution carries with it a meaning much more precise and significant. As his readers are aware, Mr. Spencer insists very strongly on the analogy of evolution, as exhibited in the animal kingdom, whether in the individual animal or in the species, and evolution in human society—in other words, between the development, individual and specific, of the animal organism, and the development of what he calls "the social organism," meaning, thereby, organized social life. He finds in this analogy not merely a metaphor and an illustration, but a type, and even a clue.* Thus he observes a law of development governing the growth of an individual organism from birth to maturity; and, again, a similar law governing the development of species from existence in an all but amorphous germ to the attainment of a very high and complex form of animal life; and he transfers these laws from physiology and zoölogy to the domain of social science; treating them not merely as the means of elucidating social phenomena, but as exhibiting the real character of the processes by which mankind have in fact attained their present civilization, and as foreshadowing, also, the lines along which society in its future development is destined to move. It is, for instance, a characteristic of the evolution of individual organisms under the laws of animal growth, as well as of that of the several species of animals under the influence of the struggle for existence and the law of the "survival of the fittest," that development takes place "spontaneously,"—that is to say, is the incidental result of actions not consciously undertaken with that object in view.† This is evidently so in the growth of an individual animal, and it is no less certainly so in the development of species. In neither case is the progress attained the result of efforts consciously put forth for its accomplishment. And the whole drift of Mr. Spencer's teaching on this subject is to show that the process is similar in the case of human society; that its growth and development are in no degree, or at all events in quite an insignificant degree, the consequence of efforts put forth by those who compose it to improve their social condition, but mainly, if not exclusively, the result of actions undertaken with quite other ends in view. A favorite illustration, accordingly, with Mr. Spencer of the process by which society undergoes development is the growth of language.

"Not only has it been natural from the beginning, but it has been spontaneous. No language is a cunningly devised scheme of a ruler or body of legislators. There is no council of savages to invent the parts of speech, and decide on what principles they should be used. Nay, more. Going on without any authority or appointed regulation, this natural process went on without any man observing that it was going on. Solely under pressure of the need for communicating their ideas and feelings, solely in pursuit of their personal interests, men little by little developed speech in absolute unconsciousness that they were doing anything more than pursuing their personal interest." (Essays, vol. iii., p. 129.)

And this is given as a typical specimen of the "workings-out of sociological processes"—of the marvellous results "indirectly and unintentionally achieved by the cooperation of men who are severally pursuing their private ends." The numerous and complex arrangements which, under the stimulus of individual self-interest, have arisen in this and other civilized countries for the distribution of wealth, and the growth from small beginnings of our vast system of credit and banking, serve as illustrations of the same principle. "When it is questioned," he remarks, "whether the spontaneous cooperation of men in pursuit of personal benefits will adequately work out the general good, we may get guidance for judgment by comparing the results;"—and he proceeds to give examples which could only lead to an affirmative conclusion.

The nature of social development is thus, according to Mr. Spencer, essentially identical with that of development in the animal kingdom; and it is a necessary corollary from this that the course of both should lie along parallel lines. Thus, when we find the individual animal growing from birth to maturity, developing its structure and functions according to a regular scheme; and, similarly, the several species of animals constantly tending, under the in-

fluence of the struggle for existence, to adapt themselves more and more perfectly to the conditions of their environment, and so to rise into a higher and higher order of being; when we find all this, and perceive that the processes by which society is developed are exactly analogous, the conclusion seems inevitable that so it must be also with social evolution,—that here, too, progress and improvement arise by way of spontaneous growth in the natural order of things, and that consequently efforts to advance the common interest are superfluous—much more likely, in effect, to impede and disturb than to assist the harmonious order of human development.

Such, so far as I have been able to extract his meaning from his various essays on this subject, is Mr. Spencer's theory of social evolution. The practical effect of such a doctrine on all engaged in helping forward, according to the measure of their strength, the cause of human well-being, it is not difficult to perceive; nor does Mr. Spencer altogether blink this aspect of the case. In the last two pages of his recent work he has the following remarks:—

"If, as seems likely, some should propose to draw the seemingly awkward corollary, that it matters not what we believe, or what we teach, since the process of social evolution will take its own course in spite of us, I reply that, while this corollary is in one sense true, it is in another sense untrue. Doubtless, from all that has been said, it follows that, supposing surrounding conditions continue the same, the evolution of a society cannot be in any essential way diverted from its general course; though it also follows (and here the corollary is at fault) that the thoughts and actions of individuals, being natural factors that arise in the course of the evolution itself, and aid in further advancing it, cannot be dispensed with, but must be severally valued as an increment of the aggregate force producing change."

Whether this explanation will be satisfactory to those who draw the "seemingly awkward corollary" may, perhaps, be doubted. Mr. Spencer apparently does not rely much on the practical efficacy of his answer, for he at once proceeds to supplement it as follows:—

"Though the process of social evolution is, in its general character, so far predetermined that its successive stages cannot be antedated, and that hence no teaching or policy can advance it beyond a certain normal rate, which is limited by the rate of organic modification in human beings, yet it is quite possible to perturb, to retard, or to disorder the process. The analogy of individual development again serves us. The unfolding of an organism after its special type has its approximately-uniform course, taking its tolerably-definite time, and no treatment that may be devised will fundamentally change or greatly accelerate these; the best that can be done is to maintain the required favorable conditions. But it is quite easy to adopt a treatment which shall dwarf, or deform, or otherwise injure; the processes of growth and development may be, and very often are, hindered and deranged, though they cannot be artificially bettered. Similarly with the social organism."

If I am not mistaken, however, the case of the social organism is not similar. The favorable conditions which it is important to maintain with reference to the individual organism are conditions external to the organism; whereas that condition of social development, the efficacy of which forms the question in dispute, consists in efforts after social improvement made by the units composing the organism. The analogy, therefore, of individual development completely fails us here, unless, indeed, Mr. Spencer supposes the objectors he is addressing to be standing outside the social organism, and proposing to experiment upon it as upon a foreign body. But, not to dwell on this point, the conclusion arrived at is, that "by maintaining favorable conditions, there cannot be more good done than that of letting social progress go on unhindered"; whereas "an immensity of mischief may be done in the way of disturbing, and distorting, and repressing, by policies carried out in pursuit of erroneous conceptions." Indifferent comfort this for the friends of humanity; but it is all Mr. Spencer has to offer. He adds "a few words," however, "to those who think these general conclusions discouraging. Probably the more enthusiastic, hopeful of great ameliorations in the state of mankind, to be brought about rapidly by propagating this belief, or initiating that reform, will feel that a doctrine negating their sanguine expectations takes away much of the stimulus to exertion. If large advances in human welfare can come only in the slow process of things, which will inevitably bring them, why should we trouble ourselves?" A very natural question. And what is Mr. Spencer's answer? Simply that on visionary hopes rational criticisms cannot but have a depressing influence. But "it is better," he adds, "to recognize the truth."

Doubtless "it is better to recognize the truth"; but before accepting as true a doctrine admittedly so depressing, carrying with it such "seemingly awkward corollaries," it will, at least, be well to subject it to a somewhat careful examination. And, in the first place, there is this remark to be made, that no verification whatever has yet been offered, or, so far as I know, attempted, of the theory of social evolution set forth with so much appearance of scientific authority. It represents a speculation transferred from the domain of physiology and zoölogy into that of social inquiry, and the speculation, so transferred, is applied without question or scruple to the interpretation of human affairs; no attempt having been made to ascertain how far the course of these affairs hitherto has corresponded with the doctrine thus formulated. The range of human history now covers upwards of three thousand years, and presents, in a very incomplete and imperfect manner, no doubt, the

* *The Study of Sociology*, by Herbert Spencer. 3d edit. Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

† *Essays: Scientific, Political, and Speculative*, by Herbert Spencer. Second series. Vol. ii. 1863.

** "And yet metaphors are here more than metaphors in the ordinary sense. They are devices of speech hit upon to suggest a truth at first dimly perceived, but which grows clearer the more carefully the evidence is examined."—*Study of Sociology*, p. 330.

† This seems to me to be the sense in which in the main "spontaneity" is used by Mr. Spencer in connection with the subject of social evolution; but, as will hereafter appear, it is by no means the only sense in which it is employed by him even in this connection. In the *Principles of Biology* I find such phrases as the following: "The very conception of spontaneity is wholly incongruous with the conception of evolution" (vol. i., p. 205); and again, "No more in the case of man than in the case of any other being, can we presume that evolution either has taken place, or will take place, spontaneously" (vol. ii., p. 497). In these passages "spontaneity" is opposed to *external influence*; whereas, when employed in the discussion of social evolution, whether in the essays or in the recent volume, it is in general opposed to *deliberate purpose*. As a consequence it is predicated and denied of evolution with equal emphasis.

phenomena of moral, intellectual, religious, and other evolution in numerous societies of men. Surely, before propounding his speculation as a law of human society, from which he is at once justified in deducing consequences of the largest kind bearing upon human conduct, Mr. Spencer was bound to consider what amount of countenance or support it received from the evidence derivable from such fields of research; but from the application of this test he has wholly abstained. Will it be said that our knowledge of past history is so exceedingly slight and untrustworthy as to be unfit to furnish a datum for social speculation, and that verification had thus to be dispensed with as impracticable? Such a defence, it seems to me, is scarcely available in the present instance; for, while it is true that about particular events in history there is in general much room for doubt and for difference of opinion, this is not the case, or is in a very slight degree the case, with regard to certain broad generalizations which come out with considerable distinctness from the study of the past, and which are in effect the very generalizations needed in order to test Mr. Spencer's doctrine. Thus there cannot be much doubt that certain nations have during certain centuries of their history made rather rapid progress in civilization, but have afterwards suffered an arrest, which has in some instances been followed by temporary or permanent decline; while, on the other hand, others, and these by far the more numerous, have continued for thousands of years in a condition almost, if not altogether, stationary. In his work on *Ancient Law*, Sir H. Maine does not hesitate to say that:—

"The stationary condition of the human race is the rule; the progressive, the exception." "In spite of overwhelming evidence," he remarks, "it is most difficult for a citizen of Western Europe to bring thoroughly home to himself the truth that the civilization which surrounds him is a rare exception in the history of the world. . . . It is indisputable that much the greatest part of mankind has never shown a particle of desire that its civil institutions should be improved, since the moment when external completeness was first given to them, by their embodiment in some permanent record."*

Again, it is a point upon which, I suppose, it may be said historians are agreed, that even in Europe for many centuries—starting, let us say, from the age of the Antonines, and ending with the eleventh or twelfth century—the movement in human affairs was on the whole steadily backward; the state of things existing at the latter date being, according to all the main tests of human well-being, far in arrear of the condition attained in the former epoch. It may be that these generalizations are superficial, that the learning of the world is here at fault, and that history better understood would support Mr. Spencer's view; or it may be that the current beliefs on the points in question are capable of being reconciled with the new doctrine. Be this as it may, it is not the less true that the verdict of history, as now understood by its most competent interpreters, is distinctly opposed to the theory of social evolution enunciated by Mr. Spencer. Now this is a fact which has been completely ignored by that distinguished writer; he has simply passed it by as not concerning his argument; and in doing so has, as I contend, set at naught one of the best understood canons of the inductive method—the canon which requires that hypotheses, before being accepted as laws of Nature, or made the bases of confident deduction, should be carefully verified by comparison with all available facts pertinent to the question in hand. M. Comte, who, as regards the particular point under consideration—the necessarily progressive character of human evolution—is at one with Mr. Spencer, understood otherwise the claims of the positive philosophy, and does in fact fairly attempt to grapple with the historical difficulties to which I have referred. It is true indeed his argument is by no means successful—at least so it seems to me—in establishing the required conclusion; but it is, at least, more satisfactory than total silence.

It follows then that Mr. Spencer's theory of social evolution can only be regarded, as matters now stand, as an unverified hypothesis, with this presumption against it, that it is at variance with such knowledge as we possess of the past history of mankind; and the doubt as to its soundness which this circumstance cannot but suggest will, I think, find confirmation, when we look closely into that analogy between the social and the animal organisms on which the whole speculation is built up. In the striking and ingenious essay in which Mr. Spencer first traced this analogy, he frankly admits that it does not run on all fours, and he enumerates no less than four points in which the analogy fails. There will be no need at present to refer to more than one of these: it is to the effect that, unlike the sentient life of animals, which is concentrated in the brain, the sentient life of societies is diffused equally over the entire surface.

"A fact," says Mr. Spencer, "which reminds us that, while in individual bodies the welfare of all other parts is rightly subservient to the nervous system, whose pleasurable or painful activities make up the good or evil of life, in bodies politic the same thing does not hold, or holds to but a very slight extent. It is well that the lives of all parts of an animal should be merged in the life of the whole; because the whole has a corporate consciousness capable of happiness or misery. But it is not so with a society; since its living units do not and cannot lose individual consciousness; and since the community as a whole has no corporate consciousness. And this is an everlasting reason why the welfare of citizens cannot rightly be sacrificed to some supposed benefit of the State; but why, on the other hand, the State

is to be maintained solely for the benefit of citizens. The corporate life must here be subservient to the lives of the parts, instead of the lives of the parts being subservient to the corporate life."*

I have called attention to this admission, because it appears to me to involve very much larger consequences than Mr. Spencer seems disposed to allow—consequences, if I mistake not, fatal to his theory. For what does it amount to? To this: that however closely the two organisms he has been comparing may correspond in certain details of structure and function, the main purposes of the two schemes—the ends for which alone all the contrivances exist, and with reference to which their goodness or badness must be judged—are essentially different; the aim of the one being to sustain the corporate existence, and to contribute to the corporate happiness; while that of the other can properly have regard only to the existence and happiness of the individual elements which compose it. This being so, what can be more preposterous than to erect the modes of organization furnished by the animal kingdom into patterns and exemplars by which to regulate the relations of social life? What does such doctrine come to but a proposal deliberately to sacrifice the substance to the shadow—the ends of social existence to the establishment of a fanciful analogy? The reader of Professor Huxley's essay on "Administrative Nihilism"† will probably remember the passage in which he turns the analogy in question against Mr. Spencer, and converts it into an argument in favor of extending the functions of the State, or rather shows how it might be thus converted.

"The fact is," says Professor Huxley, "that the sovereign power of the body thinks for the physiological organism, acts for it, and rules the individual components with a rod of iron. . . . The questioning of his authority involves death, or that partial death which we call paralysis. Hence, if the analogy of the body politic with the body physiological counts for anything, it seems to me to be in favor of a much larger amount of governmental interference than exists at present, or than I, for one, at all desire to see. But, tempting as the opportunity is, I am not disposed to build up any argument in favor of my own case upon this analogy, curious, interesting, and in many respects close as it is, for it takes no cognizance of certain profound and essential differences between the physiological and political bodies."‡

And Professor Huxley proceeds to point out one of those profound and essential differences which, if the reader will refer to his argument, will be seen to come, in effect, to very much what Mr. Spencer himself had admitted, in his original essay, in the passage which I have quoted. As the reader is probably aware, Mr. Spencer replied to Professor Huxley's attack in an elaborate article, now printed in the third series of his collected essays; but, though he might have claimed to have anticipated the objection urged against him by pointing to the passage in which the failure of the analogy in the circumstance in question was admitted, and even insisted on, he did not take this course. In truth, though he might thus have avoided the *reductio ad absurdum* with which he was pressed by Professor Huxley, and might also have saved his own consistency, he could only have done so by the entire surrender of his main position; for he must have admitted that the all-sufficing analogy, "curious, interesting, and in many respects close," as no doubt it is, was yet, for the purpose of political argument, entirely destitute of cogency; and this was an admission which Mr. Spencer did not see his way to make.

It may still, however, be contended that, though of small account as a criterion in practical politics—in the sphere of what we may call the statics of sociology,—this analogy between the individual and social organisms may nevertheless possess value in reference to the dynamical aspects of the social problem, as throwing light, that is to say, on the course of social evolution. And such, it appears to me, is the case, so long as we confine ourselves to a very primitive stage in the social history of man. In that primitive stage (as Mr. Darwin has taught us), while man remains still a savage, and even perhaps for some time after he has emerged from the savage condition, the influences which mould his social development are substantially the same with those which govern the development of a species. It is not strange, therefore, that evolution in the human and in the animal kingdom should, during this period, follow a very similar course. But a time arrives in the progress of social development when societies of men become conscious of a corporate existence, and when the improvement of the conditions of this existence becomes for them an object of conscious and deliberate effort. At what particular stage in human history this new social force comes into play, we have no need here to inquire. What I am concerned to point out is that it is a new social force, wholly different in character from any which had hitherto helped to shape human destiny—wholly different, also, from those influences which have guided the unfolding either of the individual animal or of the species. We cannot, by taking thought, add a cubit to our stature. The species, in undergoing the process of improvement, is wholly unconscious of the influences that are determining its career. It is not so with human evolution. Civilized mankind are aware of the changes taking place in their social condition, and do consciously and deliberately take measures for its improvement; and this brings us to the central point of our argument: How far have such measures, consciously and deliberately taken by men for their social improvement, affected the course of social evolution?

Measures of the kind in question may be conveniently considered under two heads: those which have been carried into effect through the instrumentality of the State—in other words, the political institutions and modes of government of different countries; and, secondly, those which have resulted from the conduct of individuals, separately or in combination, acting in their private capacity.

Confining ourselves for the present to the former of these, we have to consider Mr. Spencer's doctrine that political institutions are themselves examples of spontaneous development.

"We all know," he says, "that the enactments of representative governments ultimately depend on the national will; they may for a time be out of harmony with it, but eventually they must conform to it. And to say that the national will finally determines them, is to say that they result from the average of individual desires; or, in other words, from the average of individual natures. A law so initiated, therefore, really grows out of the popular character. In the case of a government representing a dominant class the same thing holds, though not so manifestly. . . . Even where the government is despotic the doctrine still holds. . . . So that such social changes as are immediately traceable to individuals of unusual power are still remotely traceable to the social causes which produce these individuals: and hence, from the highest point of view, such social changes also are parts of the general developmental process."*

Understood with the due limitations, there is nothing in this passage that need be objected to; but, in making this admission, we must be on our guard against metaphors. Political institutions may perhaps, in a certain sense, be said to "grow"; but "growth" may be employed, and is in fact employed by Mr. Spencer, to cover very different meanings. The word is, I apprehend, employed in its proper sense when used to express the increase of a plant or animal by a natural process. When it is extended to describe the process by which a species of complex organization is evolved under the struggle for existence from one of inferior type, or, again, the process which takes place when results of any kind—for example, social and political arrangements—come into existence without being deliberately designed, it is employed metaphorically, and the metaphor, it may be allowed, is a reasonable and expressive one. Mr. Spencer, however, stretches the word beyond any of these meanings, and speaks of institutions and practices as having "grown," and as being "spontaneously developed," when they have been deliberately created or adopted by intelligent beings for the precise purpose which they serve. Now this last use of the word appears to me to be unwarrantable, and calculated, in a controversy like the present, to serve as a cover for fallacious inference. On referring to the passage just quoted, it will be seen that the entire plausibility of Mr. Spencer's argument for the spontaneous development of political institutions depends upon his employment of the word in this sense. Institutions are determined by the national will; therefore they result from the average of individual natures; therefore they grow out of the popular character; and they are therefore parts of the general developmental process. To such reasoning the following passage from Mr. Mill's *Representative Government* will serve as a useful corrective:—

"Let us remember," he says, "that political institutions (however the proposition may be at times ignored) are the work of men; owe their origin and their whole existence to human will. Men did not wake on a summer morning and find them sprung up. Neither do they resemble trees, which, once planted, 'are aye growing while men are sleeping.' In every stage of their existence they are made what they are by human voluntary agency. Like all things, therefore, which are made by men, they may be either well or ill made; judgment and skill may have been exercised in their production, or the reverse of these."†

Political institutions, then, do not "grow" in the sense in which plants and animals grow; they are not the "products" of a community in the sense in which the fauna and flora of a country are its products; but are due to causes and to processes of an entirely different kind. Under these circumstances, to describe them as examples of spontaneous development, and to class them with the ordinary phenomena of organic life, is to use language, and to adopt a classification, fitted to obscure and to confound, rather than to elucidate, the problems of social existence.

(TO BE CONCLUDED.)

THE DOWNFALL of Louis Napoleon recalls the cutting repartee which he is said to have received from Lady Blessington. The countess had befriended him when he was a poor adventurer in London, and went to Paris to be near him after he had become prosperous. Much to her chagrin, he paid her no attention; but one day when their carriages were abreast in a thronged street Napoleon said, "Countess, how long do you expect to remain in Paris?" She answered, with dignified and ominous wit, "Only a short time. How long do you expect to stay here?"

* *Essays*, vol. ii., pp. 145-147. "Forms of government," Mr. Spencer tells us in his recent work, "are valuable only when they are products of national character."‡ But, according to the principle contended for in the passage quoted above, all forms of government are "products of national character"—are "parts of the general developmental process"; from which it seems to follow that all forms of government are equally valuable, or—shall we say?—equally worthless.

† *Representative Government*, p. 4.

‡ *Study of Sociology*, p. 275.

* *Spencer's Essays*. Vol. ii., p. 154.

† *Fortnightly Review*, November, 1871.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 535.

* *Ancient Law*, pp. 22-24.

A NEW PLANK IN PLATFORMS.

There have been several political State Conventions within the last month, and in the platforms of several of them a new and vital issue has appeared. Whatever is mentioned in a platform is not only a subject of general interest and thought, but it is something upon which positive opinions are entertained. Yet the subject to which we allude is one that has not been very generally discussed in the papers, and is one of the topics which it is thought unwise to mention. But it is none the less of the most fundamental importance, for it is nothing less than the public-school system. The fruits of the policy of silence upon this subject are shown by the present threatening aspect of the assault upon the schools. Had it been promptly exposed and resisted when it began, it would now be comparatively harmless. But it was thought a dangerous subject to touch. As if a public evil which it is dangerous to touch were not much more dangerous if left untouched. The enemies of the schools wished nothing more earnestly than silence. If they could only be left unobserved, they could sap the foundations, and gain an immense advantage before the alarm was given.

This has been their good fortune. The press generally has been silent, until it is found that the assault is general, resolute, and hopeful, and now suddenly the conventions raise the cry of danger. And danger there is. The public-school system of the United States is threatened, and can be saved only by the Republican party. The chief points of attack have been in the States of Ohio and New York, and the attacking column has been the Democratic party. The leaders of that party know the character of their following. They depend largely in all the great cities and centres of population upon the ignorant foreign-born vote. A very large part of that vote is Roman Catholic, and its political policy is dictated by Rome and its immediate agents, the bishops. The price of its support is acquiescence in the policy of Rome. Consequently the Democratic leaders, orators, and newspapers constantly flatter and cajole the Roman Church and its members, and the propositions in legislatures and conventions to propitiate the hierarchy by special favors and bribes to the Catholic interest proceed from Democrats. The Roman mastery of the Democratic party in New York has been forcibly and constantly set forth in the contributions of Mr. Eugene Lawrence to our columns, and the proposal has been openly made by the Roman interest in the city of New York to overthrow the public-school system under the plea of adopting parochial schools.

The Republicans of Ohio were the first to declare the imperative duty of maintaining the schools as they are. California echoed the declaration; and the Democratic Convention of Ohio, forced to speak, pronounced against sectarian control. Then it confesses there is danger. From whom? Undeniably from the Roman Church. But that church works through parties. And which party has it used in Ohio and in New York? Is it the Republican or the Democratic? Which party did slavery use? Which did secession use? Which does the rum interest use? Which party everywhere depends upon the ignorance and prejudice of the voters? Which is strongest in the slums of great cities, and in the rural parts of the Union where there are fewest schools? That party is the one that Rome uses to overthrow the public-school system; and the Democratic declarations of 1875 in favor of unsectarian schools are just as worthy of respect as the Democratic declarations of 1872 in favor of the equality of all men, and of exact justice to all, of whatever race or color. "When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be." The party that slavery manages is not the party of freedom; that which secession controls is not the party of Union; that which demands inflation is not the party of the public faith; that which sneers at "niggers," and kisses the feet of the White League, is not the party of equal rights; and that which truckles to the purposes of Rome, and buys by subsidies the support of the Catholic vote, is not the party of the unsectarian American public-school system.

Having been forced to show American colors upon this subject, as many a copperhead newspaper in 1861 felt itself compelled to show American colors of another kind, the Ohio Democratic Convention wrathfully denounces the Republican platform, which it was compelled to echo, as "a base appeal to sectarian prejudices." But, if it is so, the Democratic declaration is equally base. The ringing words of the Republican manifest are: "We stand by free education, our public-school system, the taxation of all for its support, and no division of the school fund. Under our Republican system of government there should be no connection, direct or indirect, between Church and State; and we oppose all legislation in the interest of any particular sect. Upon this subject we should not fail to profit by the experience of foreign governments, where the efforts of the Church to control the State constitute an evil of great magnitude, and endanger the power and prosperity of the people." Nothing could be truer, or more plainly said, or more timely and useful than these words. The political attempt that the Roman Church is making in Europe to withstand liberty and civilization it is making here, with the aid of the Democratic party; and the clear and forcible Republican exposure of its plots is naturally denounced by the Democratic Convention as a base appeal to sectarian prejudices.

If there are such prejudices, who has aroused them? Why now for the first time do political party platforms declare that the unsectarian school system must be maintained? Has the Presbyterian, or Methodist, or Baptist, or Episcopal, or Unitarian, or

Congregational sect, or any sect known as Protestant, attacked it? Have the Israelites, or those who own no sectarian Christian name, assailed it? But there is confessedly an assault upon the schools. There is a strong and crafty effort to make them sectarian. It is so powerful and pronounced that the party conventions begin to condemn it. And the whole country knows which sect is plotting the overthrow of unsectarian schools, for it boldly avows its design. It is the Roman Church, by means of the Democratic party; and the Democratic party in Ohio, in order to aid and protect this deadly assault upon the schools, declares that to expose it and to oppose it is to attack religious liberty. That party must hold, then, that to connive at the Roman overthrow of the schools is to maintain religious liberty. This issue alone, were there no other, would give the most vital interest and importance to the election of 1876. The schools are to be saved, and they can be saved only by the Republican party. By the necessity of the case, the Democratic party, could it regain power, would yield to Rome precisely as it would yield to the White League. But, happily, the friends of equal rights and of unsectarian schools need not look to the enemies of both for their protection. The Republican party stands no less for religious than for personal, civil, and political liberty.—*Harper's Weekly*, July 10.

THE VALUE OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

EXTRACT FROM THE ORATION OF REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, JULY 5, 1875.

We have also demonstrated, by our experiment in America, that free institutions can give a wider education to the people than has yet been given by a monarchy or an aristocracy. The people of this country were early so sagacious as to see that the permanence of free institutions depends on the intelligence of the people. And they also saw that this intelligence could only be obtained by a public-school system which would give every child in the land free elementary instruction. When the people are to govern, the people must be educated. A government by the people will not be a government for the people, unless the people are able to know what is really good for them; and, foreseeing that the time would come when women, as well as men, would vote, they have made the schools free for girls as well as for boys. Public free schools are, indeed, the chief defence of a free people. They make standing armies unnecessary, for an intelligent people will always be able to defend itself. No matter how large the sum spent on free schools, this expenditure is the wisest economy, for it increases the wealth and taxable property of the whole State by increasing the producing power of every individual. Educated intelligent labor, as we all know, is vastly more productive than ignorant labor, and, besides this, it has been abundantly proved that education diminishes crime, and in this way is also a great economy. I find, for instance, a paper by that well-known scholar and wise philanthropist, Mr. Charles Loring Brace, in the reports of last year's Prison Congress at St. Louis, in which these facts are given: "In 1871, out of 50,000 prisoners in New York jails, nearly 20,000 could not read or write. Of the illiterate class in the city, which amounted to about 60,000, one in every three had committed a crime that year, for which he was sent to prison, while of those who could read and write only one in twenty-seven was thus guilty." Taking the whole State of New York, it appears that one-third of the crime is committed by the illiterate, who constitute only one-sixteenth of the population. In Massachusetts the proportion of criminals in jail who cannot read or write is usually about thirty percent. of the whole number. In 1871 about one in every twenty of those who could not read or write were sentenced for crimes, while of those who were able to do so only one in one hundred and twenty-six committed these offences.

Now, it may be true that such education as is given in our common schools does not necessarily make Christians, and it is not meant for that purpose. The home and the church are for that purpose. But it is very certain, if there is any truth in facts and figures, that this common-school education does have a strong tendency to prevent persons from becoming thieves, burglars, pickpockets, intemperate, and murderers. Schools cultivate habits of order, regularity, industry, and self-control. They take children from the streets and from idleness. They open their minds to thoughts of large interests. They indirectly encourage what is good and right in all their lessons. To denounce them because they are secular, and do not teach religion, is therefore pure folly. What are Sunday-schools for but to teach religion? No sensible man pretends that when you have taught children to read, write, and cipher, you have given to them all they need in order to become wise and good men and women. But you have given them "the key of knowledge." You have put their feet in the right way. You have reduced their chance of becoming criminals from thirty-three in a hundred to three in a hundred. And you have made it certain that the majority of the voters who are to make your laws, and decide what shall be done with your property, cannot become the blind tools of selfish demagogues.

Mr. Maurice Block, a recent French writer on Social Science (*L'Europe Politique et Sociale*), tells us that in the United States popular instruction comes nearest to its ideal. He adds that it is the only country in the world which can dispense with "compulsory education"; but adds that it is the first country which has declared it to be the right of the community to insist on elementary instruction, quoting the laws of Massachusetts in 1668, and of Connecticut in 1650.

The United States has led the way in giving uni-

versal education to the people, and making this education purely secular; leaving religious instruction in the hands of the churches where it belongs. Holland followed our example, in 1806, by separating the school completely from the Church; and, in spite of the efforts of the Catholic Church, the law of 1857 maintained the neutrality of primary schools. Sweden and Norway also give gratuitous education in primary schools, and make it compulsory on parents. Switzerland has followed this example. Even Turkey has adopted free elementary schools and compulsory education; and it is stated that ninety-five children out of a hundred are in the Turkish schools. All the countries of Europe recognize the right of government to insist on the education of the people. But all, with perhaps one or two exceptions, are behind this country in the sums expended for education, in the proportion of children in the schools, and in the statistics of illiteracy.

We have been able, in the United States, to make education almost universal by making it, first, secular; and, secondly, free. Free schools, supported by the whole community, and carefully abstaining from any interference with religious opinion, have produced this result. In Europe, where the whole power of an absolute government has been at the service of the Church to enable it to educate the people, the people have not been educated. The object of the Church has always been, and very properly from its point of view, not to educate the intellect, but to train the heart in religious sentiments. The Church did not desire that the people should learn to read and write, but that they should be carefully taught the catechism. Consequently, in 1866, the French minister of war reported that out of a hundred conscripts only thirty could read. By tables published in Turin, in 1864, by the ex-minister of public instruction, it appeared that, out of a thousand males in Sardinia and Lombardy, four hundred and sixty-one did not know their letters. In Tuscany, six hundred and forty-one out of a thousand were equally ignorant. In Naples and Sicily, eight hundred and thirty-five men out of a thousand, and nine hundred and thirty-eight women out of a thousand, could not read or write. Since Italy was united, things have improved; yet, by the census of 1864, out of twenty-one millions, less than four millions could not read and write. In Spain, about seventy-five percent. of the people are equally ignorant. In Spanish America, seven-eighths of the people are in the same condition. Meantime, in the whole United States, including young children, the recently emancipated slaves, the poor Southern whites, and foreigners, only four millions and a half, out of thirty-eight millions of the population, could not read in 1870. In Massachusetts, including children and foreigners, only one in twenty is unable to read; and two hundred and eighty-seven thousand out of fourteen hundred thousand are at school. In the whole United States there are one hundred and forty-one thousand schools, and there are more than seven millions of pupils in attendance. The money expended in the whole United States for schools, in the year 1870, was \$95,000,000, or about \$2.50 for every man, woman, and child in the Union. Sixty-four millions of this was raised by taxation for the public schools.

Compare with this vast sum, freely given for education in this country, the trifling amount levied by taxation in England, which in 1867 amounted to less than two million dollars; all the rest of the education of the people of England being left to local endowments and private charities. Twenty years before that time, in 1847, Macaulay, in one of his most powerful speeches, had pointed out how the absence of general education in England had led to terrible riots, the direct effect "of the gross, brutish ignorance of the population, left brutes in the midst of Christianity, savages in the midst of civilization." "No proposition," he adds, "can be more strange than this; that the State is bound to punish its subjects for not knowing their duty, but at the same time is to take no step to let them know what their duty is."

If Macaulay justly charges the ferocious, riotous character of the populace of England to the absence of universal public instruction, we may say, on the other hand, that our own wonderful spectacle on the 17th of June may be partly credited to the influence of our public schools. Massachusetts, with fourteen hundred thousand inhabitants, pays every year for education nearly five millions of dollars, of which over three millions is for its public schools. The county of Suffolk, with a population, in 1870, of two hundred and seventy thousand, had fifty thousand children at school. Is there any other city in the world which could have collected a crowd such as we saw here on that day; so orderly, so quiet, so well-dressed, where you could scarcely find a single drunken or noisy man; a crowd amid which the most delicate lady or child could everywhere go, as safely as in a private parlor? I think, Mr. Mayor, and citizens of Boston, we have a right to take some pride in that remarkable exhibition of the results of a system of universal education, begun by our fathers in 1612, and maintained to the present hour. This great result of republican institutions is not likely to be abandoned. It began with the Puritan fathers of New England. *The Catholic World*, certainly an impartial witness, when it praises the Puritans in the number for April, 1870, says that "it is to the credit of the American people, at least the Calvinistic portion of them, that they have, from the earliest colonial times, taken a deep interest in the education of the young;" and that "the present system of common schools at the public expense" originated among the Congregationalists and in Massachusetts. William Penn, Washington, and Jefferson all exhorted this nation to "educate the people." And since every other system has proved ineffectual, and since our system of free schools, indepen-

ment of every sect, and teaching the poorest child the elements of knowledge, has proved so successful, the people of this country will continue to maintain it, as one of the greatest blessings born out of republican principles, and the methods of a free State.

THE "IMPRESSIVE PREACHER" AS THE REMEDY FOR PUBLIC SCEPTICISM.

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS AT AMHERST COLLEGE, JULY 7, 1875.

BY HON. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

I turn to my other topic, not of inferior importance, and far more difficult to treat, but which I trust I may dispose of more briefly. That is,—

The growth in the Church of indifference on the one hand and ritualism on the other; the former developing into scepticism, the other into superstition,—neither of them healthy symptoms in the Christian world.

Am I right in my observation of this tendency, of merely in America, but over a great part of Christendom? If so, the causes are not, in my mind, far to seek. I shall treat of them here solely in connection with my subject,—the demands of the age upon its colleges.

Religion, the bond between mankind and a sovereign Creator beyond the reach of the senses, is largely compounded of the two strongest passions engrafted in the race. The one, love; the other, fear. These forces irresistibly prompt the worship of that unknown Cause in ways more or less regulated by reason. In one class emotion predominates. In the other, it is in large measure qualified by reflection. The former depends upon effects produced on the imagination through the presentation of images to the sense. The latter is equally maintained by the pressure of arguments forcibly convincing to the reason. So long as these forces moved in harmony under the common standard of the Savior and his revelation, there was no sufficient jar among the arms of faith seriously to impair the unity of the church he founded. But the temptation of temporal power came in, and it opened a door to discord which ultimately rent it in twain. The result we all know. The papal and protestant powers have now for centuries maintained toward each other an attitude of antagonism. But during this interval the condition of these opposing forces has been very differently affected. Whilst on the one side the Roman Church has steadily rallied all its followers upon its central point of union, emotion stimulated by fear, the protestants, planting themselves on the right of private judgment, have seen their unity slowly and steadily unpaired until the multiplicity of conflicting doctrines has completely undermined the strength springing from a common bond of faith.

Thus it turns out that, while the pope has lately been formally invested with powers little short of omnipotence over the faith and duty of countless millions of the human race, the Protestant Church, which once fought against him shoulder to shoulder, then animated by one spirit, and who then won its liberty, finds itself exposed to a danger never dreamed of at the start; the danger of disintegration, spreading so far and wide as even to arrive at indifference, if not the absolute ice of entire unbelief.

It was the master-mind of the eloquent Bossuet who powerfully touched this chord, dissuading doubters wandering in uncertain paths from leaving the only permanent standard of faith. And his argument remains to this day the most dexterous and persuasive of all resorted to by his school. It cannot be disputed that over millions of the race who cling to support from a higher power against the promptings of a tender conscience, and the fear of the torments of the damned, the force of an authority to relieve, sustained by the most effective appeals to the imagination, becomes positively absolute.

Against this powerful array, drawn up to catch the common mind, what has been relied upon as effective to stay the conscience and quiet the terrors of myriads of earnest yet anxious dissidents? The chief resource has been calm appeals to naked reason, maintained by partisan arguments. For awhile this proved strong enough to hold many generations in their places, excellent people as ever lived, stern and zealous upholders of what to them appeared as pious gospel truth. So long as the spirit of controversy was kept alive, no matter in what direction, against Rome abroad or backsliders at home, there was little danger of decay. It is peace and harmony that as bred indifference and desertion. Indifference tolerated the introduction of doubt and uncertainty. Then followed the desertion of churches not provided with especial objects of attraction, either imposing ceremonies, or preachers seductive whether by true dramatic accomplishments or their startling extravagance. On the one hand appeared multitudes crowding toward lame imitations of the splendor of Roman Ritualism, and, on the other, eager devotees to the fantastic sentimentalism of dancing-masters at the pulpit. Then, too, the ice-bound scoffer had the courage to make himself seen, and to pretend that he who saw no future at all was the wisest of the prophets.

This may appear to some of you to be much too charged a picture of the present religious state of Christendom. And, even if conceded to be but partially accurate, I may be asked if I have thought of any counteraction or remedy.

To which I respectfully reply that, if remedy there be, in my belief it must be found in our institutions of education. We must raise up a fresh class of the clergy, thoroughly fitted for the precise conflict to which they are called. I have reason to believe that the study of the arts, which made an impressive and

zealous orator, have by some excellent people been regarded as utterly inconsistent with the character of a grave and pious preacher of the gospel. It is the doctrine, only, which is essential. The manner of communication may be as it pleases God. The consequence of this sort of reasoning has been the production of many very worthy men as teachers, who never studied at all the modes of attracting the attention of their hearers, and who naturally left the experiment to take care of itself. What was the result? Gradual but silent secession, either to cherish indifference at home, or else to go to more stimulating, if not so estimable, preachers. One church, possessed of a star performer, is crowded to its utmost limits; while another, occupied by a far better but less eloquent man, is attended, possibly, by forty or fifty devoted friends, and no more. Is it a matter of wonder that the innocent sufferer should be discouraged? He has missed his path. Why? Because, when he was taught, all that was inculcated as necessary was sound doctrine. The means of making it acceptable to the hearer were wholly overlooked. The demand of the present time is for sympathy, bordering, it may be, upon passion. In my humble opinion there never was a fairer field of action to animate and confirm the shivering confidence of thousands in the pure doctrines of the Savior, than at this moment is presented in these United States. There is great need of a revival, and of successors even to such as Whitefield and Wesley to bring it about. I am an earnest advocate of a special school of instruction directed to this end alone. I want no extravagance, and still less the graces of the dancing-master; but rather the lofty consciousness of power skilfully devoted to the penetration into the innermost recesses of the mind and the confirmation of the reason, and a deep well of sympathy from which to heal the soreness of every faltering heart.

In saying what I have, I mean no offence to those whose province it has been heretofore to teach in this department. Whilst I fully believe that in no country are to be found a greater proportionate number of pious, learned, faithful, and assiduous servants in the Church, I trust it will be no disparagement to them if I frankly confess a craving of many years for a warmer, a more effective, and a more sympathetic manner of communicating their valuable lessons both of law and love.

I know I shall be told, as I often have been, that there is no use of endeavoring to instruct the young to make them masters of the means of leading their fellow-men by oratory; that this is a natural gift acquired at birth, which can no more be created than taken away. To this I can only reply that in my experience, many years ago, while officially visiting the primary schools in the town where I reside, I took some pains to observe the difference in progress between the children there taught to read. There I soon perceived that some learned quicker, and some better, than others; but that none were born readers, and none were unable to learn by teaching. I further discovered that one could do a great deal more with all scholars than another; but I nowhere discovered children able to read at first sight; or, if left alone to get on as best they could, proving good readers at once. So I have met with very bad readers coming from very good schools. As a general rule, the reading followed the will of the teacher. All this did not convince me that any one child was an orator, born like Minerva out of the brain of Jove. What is thus said of primary schools is equally applicable to all advanced teaching in this or other branches of knowledge. It will not be really effective unless the spirit of the teacher be communicated to his pupil as by an electric chain. This sort of teaching is the want of the present age. All the born speakers it has been my lot to hear have betrayed more or less deficiency. I can think of but one thoroughly accomplished speaker in the Commonwealth, and he never failed to impress the hearer with confidence, springing from the most careful culture. I have heard many speak well, who would have done much better if they had had good advice. Away, then, with all this nonsense about innate oratory, or dancing-school instruction! The germs of this power may be more thickly sown in one man than in another; but their full development can only be the result of a careful education; and when the full man comes forth before the view of his fellow-men, where shall you find a more efficient instrument of good, if only his antecedents have been certainly pure? His single voice may not only elevate the character of his own generation, but spread a healthy influence over that of many yet to come.

Neither let any one who ventures upon the study of this art be discouraged by the tone of disparagement which prevails in too many of our colleges. Let him remember that the great orator of Greece, Demosthenes, whose works are even now models of excellence well worth the study of all later generations, signally failed in his first appearance before the people of Athens. Cicero, too, the most eminent of the many gifted speakers in the most flourishing period of the republic, in his first effort betrayed so clearly his ignorance of the proper mode of modulating his voice, that he did not lose a moment to set about the correction of that single defect; and it was not till he was master of it that he trusted himself to speak again. He tells his own story very frankly, and it furnishes a good lesson to those who yet maintain oratory to be a gift and not an art, down to the present hour.

Thus I have spoken of the necessity of a special attention to instruction in our colleges to promote the advance in public usefulness of two classes of men, whom, for different reasons, the country greatly needs—the independent journalist and the impressive preacher.

ITALY AND SPAIN.—You (Jesuits) claim the liberty to instruct. For some centuries you have held in your hands, at your discretion, at your school, under your ferule, two great nations—Italy and Spain, illustrious among the illustrious; and what have you done with them? I am going to tell you. Thanks to you, Italy, of which no one can think nor even pronounce her name without inexpressible filial grief—Italy, that mother of genius and of nations, which has diffused over the whole world the most astonishing productions of poetry and art—Italy, which has taught our race to read, does not to-day know how to read herself! Yes, Italy has, of all the States of Europe, the smallest number of native inhabitants who are able to read! Spain, magnificently endowed—Spain, which received from the Romans her first civilization, from the Arabians her second civilization, from Providence, and in spite of you, a world—America; Spain has lost—thanks to you, thanks to your brutal yoke, which is a yoke of degradation,—Spain has lost that secret of her power which she received from the Romans, that genius in the arts which she received from the Arabs, that world which God gave her. And in exchange for what you made her lose, what has she received? She has received the Inquisition. The Inquisition, which certain men of a certain party are endeavoring to-day to reëstablish with a modest timidity for which I honor them. The Inquisition, which has burned upon the funeral pile five millions of men. Read history. The Inquisition, which exhumed the dead, in order to burn them as heretics. Witness Urgel, and Arnaut, Count of Forcalquier. The Inquisition, which declares children heretics even to the second generation. It is true, in order to console Spain for what you have taken from her, that you have surnamed what you have given her Catholic. Ah, do you know you have drawn from one of the greatest of men that dolorous cry which accuses you, "I would much rather that Spain should be great than that she should be Catholic"? See what you have done with that focus of light which you call Italy. You have extinguished it. That Colossus which you call Spain, you have undermined. The one is in ruins, the other in ashes. See what you have done for these two great nations.—*Victor Hugo.*

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

Just views of life and this great world of ours;
Just views of man and his enlarging powers;
Just views of God—the Infinite Supreme,—
Just views of heaven of which we ever dream:
All these attained would make our life complete,
Would bless our days and make our dying sweet;
And these just views, Religion's perfect prize,
Are seen and known, when Science is the bride!

For Science must with true Religion wed,
Ere life its full and joyous light hath shed;
For Science is the sun that wakes our day,
And grows in grace and ever-widening sway;
And men rejoice beneath its blessed beams,
And spend their lives as in the land of dreams;
And so Religion needs the glowing light
Of Science sweet to make and keep her right!

Oh, such Religion will a blessing be,
As fresh and fair as God's unfettered sea;
And all mankind will share its earnest good,
Be bound as one in love and brotherhood,
And aim for freedom free from faintest thrall,
Our common strife that is so dipt in gall;
For such Religion pure the nations wait,
And Science opens thereto the golden gate!

With darkness men descend to brutal state,
And in the dark for rising light they wait;
Yet fear the light so new as far it spreads,
And man in ignorance saving knowledge dreads;
Oh, cast aside these foolish wars and fears,
Behold the sun of Science warm and cheers;
It blesses earth and heaven with wisest love,
And joins in one the serpent and the dove!

WILLIAM BRUNTON.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 17.

Emily J. Leonard, \$2; C. L. Pierce, 50 cents; T. Lees, \$3.35; A. R. Godfrey, 25 cents; M. H. Dibrow, \$2.20; A. J. Davis, \$1.15; M. C. Perkins, \$10; Richard Owen, 75 cents; Jas. Stoll, 25 cents; J. Deansore, \$1.60; T. H. Johnson, \$3.20; B. A. Cleveland, 75 cents; M. E. Zakrzewska, \$3.70; Frank Lessman, \$3; S. W. Rathbone, \$3.20; A. S. Waite, \$3.20; T. B. Skinner, \$4.40; A. Hanauer, 50 cents; F. Clement, \$3.20; J. Alexander, \$1.50; Jacob Rummell, \$3; Dr. Erich, \$3.20; Henry Shreve, \$3.20; C. Brown, \$5.25; J. C. Kearns, 50 cents; E. Rider, 30 cents; R. Israel, \$3.20; Robert Bailey, \$3.20; Free Reading Room, \$3.20; J. S. Worthman, \$3.20; E. D. Lucas, \$1.60; W. C. Kelley, \$1.20; F. Smith, \$3.20; R. S. Barker, \$3.20; Geo. B. Wheeler, \$3.20; Geo. Allen, \$3.20; Willard Nye, \$3.20; W. Cross, \$1.50; L. C. P. Freer, \$3.20; J. D. Caldwell, \$6; John Curtis, \$6; E. M. Lathrop, \$1.20; W. T. Lewis, \$3.20; J. Solomon, \$3; J. O. Martin, \$4.50; Clara P. Bourland, \$6; Henry Lantz, \$7.50; R. G. Ingersoll, \$6; Louis H. Prince, \$6; H. H. Potter, \$4.50; B. F. Sibley, \$6; J. E. Oliver, \$10; Jerry Brockway, \$1.20; A. Ashton, \$3.20; C. Blakesley, \$5.25; Josiah Gooding, \$3.20.

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N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 22, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO OFFICE, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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SAYS the Manchester (England) *Evening News*: "At this moment the attack upon the tenets of Christian people is made with exceptional vigor by men of the highest intellect, whose position and style command for them the attention which has been denied to the humbler men of smaller culture, who have been exponents of the same sort of unbelief in the past. Where Mr. Bradlaugh would be contemptuously ignored, and his writings left unread, Professor Clifford will appeal to a larger circle, and gain for his arguments consideration and often sympathy. The paper of Professor Clifford, which the Bishop of Manchester made the subject of a special discourse, is a remarkable proof of the increasing audacity of the most enlightened among the assailants of religion of any kind, which rests upon a supernatural basis. The fact that an article of its character should appear in the *Fortnightly Review* is in itself a fact of no little significance. Ten years ago, we may say with certainty, it would have been possible to read an essay of a similar purport only in the *National Reformer*, or journals of a cognate description. It is throughout an absolute denial of a spiritual nature in man."

THIS PARAGRAPH from the *Christian Union* is excellent of its kind, and is a fresh proof of Mr. Conway's brilliant powers as a press-writer: "Mr. Watts, an English artist, has a picture in the Royal Academy which represents Christ seated in mid-air; he folds between his knees five children, one of whom is black, the latter alone being enough to tell the artist's purpose—namely, to represent the races of men in their needs, under the guise of infants. Christ is crowned with thorns, and looks upward to the heavens with an expression of great sorrow; beneath him the earth stretches dark and desolate. This allegory of unity and humanity contrasted with the divisions and persecutions of religions on earth is dedicated to all the churches. The idea of this picture is almost identical with that of Ary Scheffer's *Christus Consolator*. One would think the meaning plain enough for anybody's comprehension; but Mr. Conway says that a group of young ladies, finely dressed, was standing before it, when one said: 'I wonder what five churches he means?' The rest at once took their cue from this profound critic, and made it out to their satisfaction that the five children mean the three English—High, Hard, and Broad,—and the Greek and Roman Churches. In spite of the lack of artistic training in this country, we think it would be hard to match this dulness among the groups of finely-dressed ladies that throng our Academy of Design. But Mr. Conway gives us another example still more amusing. Mr. Boughton has a picture in the Royal Academy, called 'The Bearers of the Burthen.' It shows a powerful fellow, with a brutal cur appropriately at his side, hands in pocket, pipe in mouth, striding along the road, while behind him three women, carrying various burthens (one with an infant), drag themselves wearily along. While Mr. Conway stood gazing with increasing admiration upon the subtle effects of this picture, two well-dressed men came up and looked upon it also. Presently one said to the other, 'What a sad picture. What is a man to do who finds himself in that position? Three women and a baby hanging on to one workingman!' Mr. Conway looked around to see if the critic was joking. He found the face serious. He says: 'I never expected to find in real life that child who, when shown a picture of Daniel in the lion's den, expressed sympathy with one poor little lion in the background, which seemed unlikely to get its share of the prophet; but here it was grown up.'"

THE REPUBLIC'S NEED.

At this time, when so many of our most eminent men—Curtis, Dana, Adams, Woolsey, Clarke, Chamberlain, and others—have been giving their best thought to their countrymen on themes of the highest public concern, it befits every American who cherishes deep convictions on public questions to give them utterance, and not to withhold what may seem to him of supreme importance to the welfare of the great nation in which it is his proud privilege to be a citizen. Even those who have filled no conspicuous station in the public service may yet have somewhat of value to say; and it need argue no overweening vanity in private men to think that what they have to say possesses value. Truth is truth, no matter who may utter it, and lays its solemn obligation on every one who believes himself to have caught even a glimpse of its majesty and glory. All the more incumbent is this obligation, when the people are infatuated with delusion, and worship shams instead of realities; and especially when their honored teachers confirm them in their idolatries.

In his late address to the Social Union of Amherst College, the Honorable Charles Francis Adams discussed two topics:—

"1. The decline of sensitiveness to the force of purely moral obligation in civil life.

"2. The spread of indifference, if not of scepticism, in the Church, on the one hand, and of ritual worship, on the other."

The first of these evils the distinguished orator attributed to the fact that "a principle of corruption" has been suffered to derange the balance of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments of the government, the executive department having been entrusted to "feeble hands," and "a large part of its vital energy having been transferred to, and divided among, those holding for the moment the legislative power." "The surrender of this power of patronage, in a large measure, into the hands of three or four hundred legislators, with no permanent responsibility, is equivalent to the formation of an equal number of beds of corruption, in which the whole welfare of the country is made subordinate to the interests of narrow and selfish combinations of men, spread over the entire surface of the land. Can it, then, be a cause of surprise that there has been a decline of sensitiveness to the force of purely moral obligation in civil life?" From these statements it is unlikely that any observant and thoughtful citizen will much dissent; though the chief mischief lies not so much in the transfer of patronage from executive to legislative hands as in the fact that appointments to office depend on "patronage," when they ought to depend rather on a well-devised and well-administered system of promotion by merit. The remedy proposed by Mr. Adams for this first evil is the "independent journalist," whose influence is to disintegrate parties that have become hopelessly corrupt, and constitute the nucleus of parties of purification.

The second of the two evils, indifference to Christianity culminating in scepticism, Mr. Adams attributes to a rending of the Church through the "temptation of temporal power," and the discord thereby engendered. He points to the conflict of the Papal and Protestant powers, the Roman Church "steadily rallying all its followers upon its central point of union, emotion stimulated by fear," while the Protestants have become almost endlessly subdivided by the "right of private judgment." On the one hand, Papal Infallibility; on the other hand, Protestant disintegration and "indifference, if not the absolute ice of entire unbelief." To earnest controversy against Popery succeeded in the course of time "peace and harmony"; then "indifference and desertion," "doubt and uncertainty"; and at last, by reaction, "lame imitations of Roman ritualism," "fantastic sentimentalism of dancing-masters in the pulpit," and (*horribile dictu*) the "ice-bound scoffer." Such being the dismaying situation, Mr. Adams by way of remedy prescribes "a fresh class of the clergy, thoroughly fitted for the precise conflict to which they are called"—in a word, the "impressive preacher," who is to be armed with the omnipotent weapons of "sympathy," "oratory," and good elocution. "There is great need," he says, "of a revival, and of successors even to such as Whitefield and Wesley to bring it about." Very well: they are not far to seek. All that is wanted is to shorten the furlough of absentee evangelists, and try the effect of our own persuasive Moody and Sankey on the "ice-bound scoffer." If he will not hear them, neither will he hear though one should rise from the dead.

Of the two "evils" thus singled out and deplored by the illustrious orator, one is real and the other

imaginary. It is indeed an evil, a great and terrible evil, that the obligations of a high public morality should sit lightly on the consciences of our public men; although the blame must be laid ultimately on the people themselves, whose toleration of official malefeasance and whose own moral apathy constitute in fact the cause of the bad figure cut by the government of their choice. But that there should be a growing indifference and scepticism with reference to the Christian religion, so far from being an "evil," must rather be reckoned one of the chief signs of national progress. There is no degeneracy, or tendency towards it, in this characteristic of the age; there is no disposition to value truth the less in the disposition to place a less value on the churches. Far from it. The indifference and scepticism do not extend to anything good and true in the churches, for goodness and truth have at least as strong a hold on the human mind as ever they had; they extend only to that which is bad, false, and evidently perishing. No one has cause to fear that such elements of pure morality, such fragments of noble thought, such influences towards better lives and improving social conditions as are contained in Christianity and its institutions, will ever be cherished less sacredly by mankind than they have been in the past. But it is becoming the conviction of thousands of the best heads and hearts of the nation that these good things do not at all depend on Christianity as an instituted power in society, but will only be many times more influential when disconnected from the formalisms, the bigotries, the usurpations, that have marked the career of the Church from the beginning. Instead, therefore, of lamenting with Mr. Adams, we rejoice to see the signs of the time in this direction.

But, even admitting that Mr. Adams is wiser than we in considering the decay of reverence for Christianity an evil, we must still consider his conjectures as to the cause and the remedy of it to be erroneous. The "temptation of temporal power," to which he attributes the evil, was not so much a cause as an effect. It was the very nature of Christianity to aspire to power, temporal as well as spiritual. The claim of the Church to govern society as well as the soul followed irresistibly from the original gospel that "Jesus is the Christ,"—that is, the divinely ordained Ruler of the world. With such a claim, the unity and triumph of the Church could only have been secured by subjugating the entire race to the visible representatives of Jesus, the priests. To resist this claim was the prerogative of free humanity, and the struggles to break the yoke of the Church and to throw off the yoke of the gospel itself were the salvation of mankind from eternal slavery. They did not, and could not, stop with the Protestant Reformation, but continued against the same enslaving principle in Protestantism itself. The "Apostolic Empire" of Rome has always been imitated on a smaller scale by the clergy in all Protestant Christian countries; and what has emancipated man from the former has necessarily tended to emancipate him from the latter too. Witness the tyranny of the Scotch Kirk, so vividly painted by Buckle, and the tyranny of the Puritan theocracy from which New England itself is not yet wholly freed, and will not be till the "Demands of Liberalism" have all been granted. The "temptation of temporal power" lies in the very heart of Christianity, and the only way to conquer it is to abolish Christianity itself.

The battle for freedom, then, involves not only indifference and scepticism towards Christianity, but positive resistance also; and the provocative to this has been the growth of human intelligence. This is the real cause of the "evil" which Mr. Adams deplores. The worst enemy that Christianity has ever had, or can have, is its own inherent falsity—the falsity of the Christ-claim on which it is built. It is the increase of knowledge, the development of thought, the enlargement of liberty, which have been sapping the foundations of the Church, and making mankind "indifferent" and "sceptical." There is nothing accidental in the tendencies mourned over by Mr. Adams; for, when they created the political framework of this magnificent Republic, they organized a force which operates every year with increasing energy to destroy the Christian Church. The United States Constitution is the real Antichrist of this Western world. Its fundamental ideas of popular liberty and equal human rights are subversive of the very foundations of Christianity, and the would-be Christianizers of the Constitution are the shrewdest friends that the Church possesses to-day in this country. But they will fail, no matter how great a commotion they may first succeed in exciting. This we have never doubted. In the great contest between the Constitution and the Gospel, all the evolu-

ing forces of history side with the former: "the stars in their courses fight against Sisera." Now that indifference and scepticism have been organized in the entire political fabric of the Republic, it is vain to lament their existence or growing power; they become daily more and more influential over the minds of the young, and constitute a vast social environment which is training each generation more thoroughly to be *anti-Christians*. The only way to prevent this is to destroy the Republic.

Against such a state of things, how puny and powerless appears the remedy which Mr. Adams proposes—the "impressive preacher"! It will take more than "oratory" and "sympathy" to counteract the combined political influences of the land. More "preacher"! Why, that is trying to cure the patient with a hair of the dog that bit him. All the preaching in the world can accomplish nothing, so long as freedom and equal rights—which are anti-Christianity—are organized in the United States Constitution. The system of government under which a people live is well known to exert a tremendous power over their character and destiny. Preaching has been tried, and failed. It is idle, perfectly idle, to imagine that the future can produce greater preachers than the past has done. If Christianity could not maintain itself against indifference and scepticism when it had the field all to itself, it is fatuity to suppose it can ever regain what it has already lost to science and political freedom. The die is cast, and the "impressive preacher" cannot change it. No: the sceptre is passing away from the Christian religion, and belongs henceforth to Truth, Justice, and Liberty.

What is, in fact, the profoundest need of the Republic? Let us state our own answer to the question which engages now the earnest thought of so many of our purest and most eminent citizens. It is a twofold need:—

1. MORE INTELLIGENCE; and, as the only means to this, MORE EDUCATION. Our common school system should be purified from the last vestiges of church-control, raised to the highest possible pitch of thoroughness and excellence, and defended as the very apple of the eye. Further, every child in the Republic should be required to receive as good an education as the common schools can furnish, either within their walls or at home—leaving all possible liberty as to mode to the parents. And, lastly, higher institutions of learning should be so organized and multiplied that every child may be enabled to acquire the utmost amount of education which his capacity and aspiration fit him to receive. The greatest, most dangerous, and most insidious foe of the Republic is *ignorance*; and all the resources, and all the energies, of the nation should be concentrated on the task of reducing it to its minimum.

2. MORE VIRTUE; and the means to this end is also MORE EDUCATION. Not school or college education mainly, though this, too, doubtless tends to produce a higher average moral condition of the community; but home education, and above all self-education. Parents and guardians need to be infinitely more heedful than the majority of them are with respect to the moral influences that surround their children, and mould their characters in their tenderest and most impressive years. So soon, moreover, as the young child begins to comprehend his own destiny as a self-governing being, he should be encouraged and aided to consecrate himself to high and noble aims,—not mere money-making or mere self-advancement in any shape, but the largest culture of his own faculties of all kinds, and the largest usefulness to his fellow-men. It takes a grand moral ideal to make a grand moral character; and it is partly communicated, partly self-formed. All the external safeguards in the world, all the devices of improved political methods, improved social surroundings, and improved public opinion will fail ignominiously to produce noble citizens, unless the flame of a generous enthusiasm for private excellence and public usefulness is kindled in the individual soul. Nothing can take the place of the high, fixed purpose to live by the laws of the loftiest integrity, honor, and self-devotion. Given this purpose, the result is sure; without it, all else fails absolutely and irremediably. But to create and foster it, the influences of a pure and happy home are imperatively necessary. Would that all the inhabitants of the land were deeply impressed with the consciousness that their own homes are the nurseries of the future Republic; and that they so ordered them as to rear a noble race for the coming years!

In brief, what the Republic needs above all else is the religion of universal consecration to Intelligence

and Virtue; for the spirit which consecrates to such aims as these is religious in the highest sense. It leads to all else that is pure, sweet, beautiful, and true; and nothing can give a great and glorious future to the Republic we all love and cherish except this *Free Religion*.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—I am always doubtful whether your readers feel at all interested in the little bits of ecclesiastical gossip which I send you from time to time; and I can only overcome my hesitation by remembering that it is only through myself that such scraps of information reach your columns.

A Rev. Flavell G. Cook has refused the Lord's Supper to a Mr. Jenkins, one of his parishioners, on the ground of heresy.

Poor Mr. Jenkins' heresy is of the very mildest type, as you will see when the charges brought against him are stated.

First and foremost, he has made a collection of passages from the Bible for the use of his children, from which he has carefully excluded those portions of the sacred volume which a very moderate degree of modesty would pronounce to be "indecent." It is strange, indeed, that the vicar did not single out Mr. Jenkins for special honor for this signal service to the Bible, instead of making it a ground for public disgrace.

Next, Mr. Jenkins, again wishing to rescue the Scriptures from obloquy, has written a little book, declaring that the dogma of endless torment is not the doctrine of Scripture. Last of all, Mr. Jenkins has filled up the measure of his iniquity by denying the personality of the Devil!

This was too much for the vicar's endurance; so he vents his righteous indignation against the offending layman by an interdict which entails upon a believer in Jesus no little pain, and upon a member of society very serious disgrace. Such an interdict is but seldom resorted to, and then only in the case of notorious evil livers,—generally of the "poly-bigamous" sort. Habitual drunkards are seldom excluded from the "Lord's Table." Mr. Jenkins feels the injustice as well as the severity of the stigma cast upon him, and flies for redress to the Court of Arches; where the vicar enumerates the details of the layman's heresies, and argues that no crime can be greater than to inculcate false doctrine.

Finding himself somewhat hard-pressed by Mr. Jenkins' counsel, he mercifully opens a door of escape by which the criminal may gain access once more to the blessed sacrament, and he himself be delivered from penalties that begin to look threatening.

He pleads thus: "Let Mr. Jenkins write me a note saying that he believes in the *Devil*, and I will admit him to the sacrament."

Risum teneatis. But is not this funny?

Verily, Theodore Parker was right in saying that the Devil was the fourth person of the Christian Trinity!

Mr. Jenkins believes in God already, and in Christ; probably also in the Holy Ghost; but he must be "of very little faith" if he does not believe also in the Devil.

One can imagine how the Rev. F. G. Cook's version of some of the texts would read, if he were profane enough to follow the layman's impious example, and compile a new Bible; e.g., we should have the Devil taking the place of Jesus of Nazareth, and saying to his disciple, "Ye believe in God, believe also in *me*." "He that believeth in me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water," &c., &c.

The impety of these paraphrases is not mine, but the good vicar's; who has erected faith in the Devil into an essential article of Christian belief, without which no one can be saved, or receive the Lord's Supper.

I am sorry I cannot append to this little story the *dénouement*; for the Dean of Arches has not yet given judgment.

My first reflection upon it is that poor Mr. Jenkins richly deserves his fate, not for his awful infidelity about the Devil, but for caring a half-penny about the sacrament, and the social advantages derived from admission to it. If people choose to be so deluded, they must take all the other risks with it. If they are afraid of being interdicted and excommunicated, they must not complain of any freaks of despotic power the clergyman chooses to display. If they attach any value to these "ordinances" of the Church, they must pay the market-price for their

enjoyment. Perhaps the season of abstinence enforced by the vicar upon his erring parishioner may lead to the discovery that the deprivation is very slight, indeed, and that the appetite for the Supper has vanished in the interval.

A friend of mine, a real heretic, after some passages of arms with his vicar, was told in solemn tones: "I deeply regret that I cannot allow you to come to the Holy Communion." My friend replied in as polite language as he could summon, "I am not likely to trouble you. Wait till you are asked."

The Church's undertakers are numerous; and they are busy driving in the nails of her coffin. The journeymen are scattered about the country, doing work on their own account, like this Mr. Cook; but the headquarters of this grim business is the Jerusalem Chamber, where Convocation sits day after day, bringing the poor old Church into deeper and deeper decay and decrepitude, and so scandalizing the hearts and minds of sensible men, that Dean Stanley could endure it no longer, but rose, and saying a few words of honest indignation, left the Assembly in disgust.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S.E., July 3, 1875.

Communications.

WHAT'S IN THE AIR?

Only a decade since it seemed ludicrous to think that our free schools, and consequently our civilization, were in peril from the demands of ROME. A man who broached the idea was thought to be dyspeptic, and frightened by the nightmare. What could a mitred, gilded, make-believe monarch, without a realm, strutting, and vociferating big words to keep up the childish illusion of monarchy, do to affect the established institutions of a great progressive people like ours! And have not his worshippers in this country—a small minority—a like interest with ourselves, in education and the blessings of a free government, and do they not soon become assimilated to the genius of our institutions? A fig for the danger!

Now political and religious conventions find it necessary to put into the declaration of their principles that ROME must not be permitted to destroy our free schools! There is alarm to-day. We have waited till the "little cloud" swells menacingly on the horizon, before seeing its significance; and we do not and will not see half that meaning yet. The deluded Roman is making his kingly sway fearfully real. He writes on our ballots and our statute books. We invite his subject to come in; we invest him with the sacred badge of a sovereign American citizen, while he worships not at the shrine of Liberty, but bows obsequiously to the will of a foreign despot, and gives him his first and highest allegiance. A foreign despot has a government within our government; and, though his subjects are in the minority, they often hold the balance of power. *Here lies the secret of our danger: it is the moral weakness and the cupidity of many aspirants for office.* Roman emissaries whisper in their ears: "If you will vote for our measures, our subjects shall vote for you." Thus Rome secures money for her sectarian institutions, and enacts her designs into law; and people wonder that a few years since, New York gave Rome's sect and schools nearly a million dollars, and only about one-tenth of that sum to all other sects. Rome coins hearts' blood, and uses it to obstruct the vital circulation—the free course of knowledge, which she dreads; and our weak-kneed politicians—the ones who love pelf and power more than light and liberty—are the instruments with which she enlarges her kingdom even in the very vitals of our government.

I select the point of our greatest danger first, that all may clearly see it and fortify it by putting in office true men—men who love knowledge and appreciate liberty,—who are above treason and corruption.

When a man sells himself in private, do you not know he will in public? If he is unjust to his neighbor, will he be less so with greater opportunity? Romish cardinals and priests have studied these natures, and know their weak places; should you know less of them? When a man advertises his baseness in a fraudulent contract, a theft called embezzlement, a Credit Mobiller, or State-and-Church scheme, can you not supplement that with—"Moral idiocy; self-preference: utterly unsafe"? *Treason of politicians* to the American idea of civilization is the first reason why our people are called to arouse themselves against the encroachments of a wily foreign despot.

The second reason for this new uprising is in the fact that our own civilization began with and still holds enough of the foreign Roman element to create a general sympathy among us with a certain phase of the Roman demand that our common schools be abolished. Now don't fire up nor faint, good patriotic friend. For has not the average Protestant as great a horror of "Godless schools" as the most servile Papist? Does not the Protestant solemnly warn you of the undermining of our liberties and of moral chaos, unless the schoolteacher drones over a few verses of the Bible, "without note or comment," while unruly boys are pinching each other, and with "hems and haws" and solemn faces practising the first lessons which go to make up a Tammany or other ring "boss"? Why this, if theology can be dis-

pensed with in schools? Or is our common school the most important place for such teaching? Is that an essential part of its work? Then Rome is as right as you are; only Rome insists on her "Regulars" doing this, while you take a militia man. But if our common schools are to teach the sciences, foster intelligence and morality, strengthen personal judgment, and prepare children for free, progressive, earnest life; and if, further, theology and religious dogmas can be taught at home, in church and Sunday-schools, then correct this error by which Rome captures our public sentiment in order to destroy civilization. Fortify this weak place, and teach religious dogmas in their appropriate places, and let our free schools be devoted to other work.

How can we expect to maintain free schools and freedom, if we keep hot the fires in which Rome forges her weapons to destroy them? How can we go on without peril, if we prepare standing room for the enemy and invite him to it? How maintain ourselves, if we leave the weak places in our fortress unprotected, for the foe's approach?

Our own falsehood, that our common schools must be schools for particular religious training, is the door wide open for the same falsehood of Rome to enter in. Our disregard of strict integrity and inviolable morality in our law-makers and executors—these are the two causes of the condition of things, which call for resolutions of important conventions, for earnest resistance to a foreign power that has set up a despotic government on the soil of our government, and holds its subjects to an allegiance prior and superior to their allegiance as American citizens. These are the two occasions for the formation of a public sentiment which shall be as impervious to the power that declares our free common schools "are of the devil and to the devil shall go," as are the rocks of our everlasting hills to the curses and bulls of the pope of Rome.

I do not forget that there are, in the Church of Rome, many pure, sweet, loyal souls, who are clearer of the Romish spirit than are many of other sects. I cherish regard for them as of the apple of my eye; but the pope demands, and most of his subjects yield submission to his will, an active untiring effort to accomplish his designs; he has even sent his cardinal, an entirely foreign "institution," to set up a mimic court, and enforce his commands.

Rome has openly declared that our common schools, the nurseries of intelligence, are a nuisance which cannot and shall not be tolerated. Yet Rome is powerless to hurt them except through our own stupidity or treachery. It is a good sign to see the conventions "resolving." Let our enemies provoke us to good works and vigilance, if we have not enough of the love of right to stimulate us. Thank God for anything that wakes us up and sets the blood to circulating, "for a living dog is better than a dead lion."

O. K. C.]

SYRACUSE, N. Y.

PROPAGANDISM.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—In reply to the interrogatory of H. Clay Neville in a late number of THE INDEX: "Shall we speak our honest opinions?" I would say emphatically, YES.

Although not a "veteran," I may be permitted to indicate the plan of operations which I have found successful in advancing the cause of free thought here. Not to be disagreeably aggressive, yet ready to speak out for mental freedom on all occasions; not to care so much *what* I say as *how* it is said; never to be silent from policy at the sacrifice of principle,—these are a few of the cardinal points upon which I act in daily contact with my fellows. Open discussions, and even public debates, of the living issues and radical problems of the day are indulged in by me on all opportune occasions. Keep cool yourself (I would say), while belaboring your antagonist with logical blows that demolish his position and destroy his argument. By a course of mildness much may be done; you avoid social frowns and the enmity begotten by a pugnacious aggressiveness. Let consistency and honesty go hand in hand. I doubt if an *honest* infidel is ever at a discount in the public mind, when *character* is estimated at its *par value*.

Perhaps no community in the United States enjoys such a profound degree of Orthodox (mental) stagnation as Cumberland Valley, settled and *churched* by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians over a century ago; and yet here, where I do not conceal my views, or keep "mum," I am permitted to worship undisturbed "under my own vine and fig-tree," having suffered neither from loss of reputation, professional sacrifice, or social ostracism. Now and then I'm "pointed out"; but, after all, somehow I like the honor.

Ten years ago, our church-members didn't dance. Now they dance, go to camp-meetings on the "Holy Sabbath," and to the circus on week-days. Even our staid Presbyterians are doing all these naughty things. Then, too, the social picnic, of such frequent occurrence, has introduced new ways among our steady agricultural people, by which they are sometimes brought together by thousands, thus making them more cosmopolitan,—more liberal in sentiment, and more tolerant of those whose mode of thought is foreign to their own.

Next I would speak of the circulation of free-thought literature, in which I have unbounded faith. Just recently it has (as often before) come to my notice that an INDEX, sent out on missionary work, is like "bread cast upon the waters," which finally brings in a return of one or more subscribers from sources least expected. There are many who hunger and thirst for the truth as it is in—THE INDEX, both among church-members and "aliens," who need but have a copy presented to them, when they straight-

way repent and—subscribe. In this way I like to utilize "total depravity." Our young men are seeking for something broader than creeds, something better than "our church," something more saving than "our faith." The *dicta* of the pulpit are not so much accepted in blind, unreasoning faith as formerly by our fathers. The people begin to think for themselves, and there is no difficulty finding readers for THE INDEX and free-thought tracts. The American Tract Society sends out millions of pages annually. Why do not we? True, they have the means, and we have not, owing to the paucity of our numbers. Are we in earnest? Are we doing what we can? We do not pay thousand-dollar pew-rents for the "free gospel"; we do not pay for certificates of honorable membership of the Foreign Missionary Society; and yet it is doubtful if we, in proportion to our ability, contribute one-half as much to our own cause for the world's enlightenment as do the Christians. Free-thought tracts and papers will find a score of eager readers to one of the American Tract Society. Try them. When its course is traced up, it is often a matter of surprise how a little heretical pamphlet will pass around in the community from one to the other. What we need is more of the missionary system, and the spirit of giving which the Church has reduced to a science. Colportage ought to be encouraged. Who will be first to start out selling "Tom Paine" to Christians? We have as good right to make converts as any.

In conclusion, a word on organization. As yet our numbers here in Cumberland Valley are too few and scattered to crystallize into a League, which must certainly be the most efficient mode of active propagandism. Much has been done here within a couple of years. Our cause looks bright. THE INDEX is doing a splendid work, and we are working quietly, chiefly by the circulation of tracts and papers; hoping that the day is not far distant when we shall, for every league of our valley, have a well-organized, working Liberal League.

S. M. WHISTLER, M.D.

NEW KINGSTON, Pa., July 2, 1875.

[What could not be accomplished in the cause of truth and natural manhood with a thousand such spirits as the above article reveals? Positive earnestness, enthusiasm for freedom, and willingness to work together, are what this cause sorely needs to-day.—ED.]

NOT RELIGION AT ALL EVENTS, BUT ONLY RELIGION IN SOME EVENTS.

HIGHWOOD, LAKE CO., Ill., July 5, 1875.

The writer of "Religion at all Events," in THE INDEX of June 24, makes the same mistake as the writers of "Christianity Notwithstanding," and "Buddhism Notwithstanding,"—the almost universal mistake which is made in the popular definitions of all religions by their respective devotees; the mistake of defining religions by those extraneous universal elements of scientific philosophy and morality, which are really no part of the religions themselves, but which are always more or less clearly and perfectly taught in connection with every system of religion.

We do not distinguish an animal from a plant by calling it "an organic being," because the characteristic which we thus assume as a definition of the animal belongs equally to the animal and the plant, and cannot therefore serve as any distinction between the two. On the contrary, we distinguish an animal from a plant by some characteristic which is possessed by the animal, but which is *not* possessed by the plant. For example, among other peculiar characteristics, we popularly but inaccurately distinguish animals from plants by their *peculiar* and *distinctive* powers of locomotion.

In like manner we must distinguish the different systems of religion from each other, and religion itself from any and every other thing in Nature by its *differences* from other things in Nature, and not by its *similarities* to other things in Nature. Now to apply this principle to the subject in hand: if there are elements of truth and goodness taught and inculcated in connection with all systems of religion, it cannot be said that these elements of truth and goodness constitute the characteristics by which the systems are to be defined and judged. On the contrary, those elements wherein they differ and are antagonistic to each other are the true characteristics by which they are to be defined and judged.

If the above incontrovertible principle is admitted, it clearly follows that, however much of truth and goodness may be taught and inculcated in connection with any system of religion, such elements of truth and goodness are no part of the respective religions in connection with which they are taught and inculcated; but, on the contrary, however essentially important such elements may be in and of themselves, they are nothing more than mere adjuncts to the respective religions in connection with which they are taught and inculcated. In reality, all those elements of truth and goodness which are taught and inculcated in connection with all systems of religion, instead of being elements of the respective religions in connection with which they are taught and inculcated, are universal elements of scientific philosophy and morality.

If the above reasoning is admitted, it clearly follows that all religions, defined as they must be by their *distinctive* and *antagonistic* elements, are simply systems of superstitious belief and practice, and as such are to be removed from the world by higher education. It does not follow from the above reasoning that there are not essentially important truths concealed and buried under religious superstitions; but the point to be considered is that the naked

superstitions themselves constitute the essence of the religions, if we apply fair and rational and logical definitions to the subject, while the essential truth lying buried underneath the superstitions, which is no part of the religions themselves, is simply the universal element of sound, scientific philosophy. All religious superstition, notwithstanding the terrible atrocities and outrages against the rights and interests of man to which it always leads, is always underlaid with philosophical truth, which is absolutely essential to further intellectual development. Superstition is a necessary stage of intellectual development. But it *does* follow from the preceding reasoning that, if we call things by their right names, everything that can fairly and logically, and in strict accordance with the canons of a strictly scientific procedure, be called religion, will be banished from the world, if the world shall ever be able to rise above its religious superstitions, and attain to the position of purely scientific philosophy and morality. We claim that this is possible at some time in the future, and is certainly the true ideal.

In support of this position, we claim that there are untold multitudes of individuals who have already attained to this position, not only in the present age, but also in all the historical ages of the past.

If these things are so, they unqualifiedly prove that religion, in all its forms, is only one of the passing phases in the intellectual progress of mankind,—one of the necessary evils connected with human progress, having a necessary basis of essential truth, which must be developed; but, as an organized institution, or system of organized institutions, productive of vast and incalculable evils, when wrested (as it is now, and always has been) to the unhallowed uses of personal ambition and partisan and sectarian power.

If we are correct in the foregoing assumptions and reasonings, then we are authorized to say, *not* "Religion at all Events," and for all people, but only religion for all those who are not intellectually able to rise to the regions of purely scientific philosophy and morality. HENRY H. EVERTS.

PROTESTANTISM FALSE IN SPIRIT.

Our life by its very nature and constitution is one of peace and warfare; and it may have these two distinctive elements coupled in the same act. The mind may be in perfect harmony and peace with itself, and yet at war with the world outside of it. While the individual may be at peace with himself, yet he is, by every consideration, bound to wage war against error in the world around him; but he must do this in a fraternal spirit, with a peaceable disposition. Testing our modern Protestantism by its profession of peace, we advance the proposition that, practically, Protestantism is false to its profession in that it does not exhibit this peaceable disposition.

In proof of our proposition we direct the reader's attention to the prevailing spirit of this system of religion as manifested towards all who differ from it—especially towards the Roman Catholic Church. In the natural constitution of affairs it is impossible to have a pure system of religion, and it is reasonable to suppose that there never will be a church without corruption. Every thoughtful mind will recognize, in our day, a development of religious thinking which makes us believe, beyond power of contradiction, that the true Church is not the Roman Catholic, nor yet is it the Protestant. "By their fruits ye shall know them," by its fruits we charge a large portion of Protestantism as wanting a Christ-like spirit, and we point to its bitter enmity against Roman Catholicism as a proof of our assertion. The true test of any system of religion is the principle ruling that system; if this be correct, the system will be true, and, if the system be true, then must its principle be true also. Protestantism professes to have Christ as its principle; if, therefore, the spirit of Christ pervades it, it is a true system; but if the spirit of Christ does not pervade it, then we must pronounce it false as a system of religion. The grand end and mission of Christ in the world was one of peace; everywhere he teaches doctrines of love and peace; his lips never cursed or defamed; he sent no one to hell merely because he differed from him as a man. But how is it with this Protestantism which professes to exhibit his doctrine in its history and life? Its denominational differences, its sectarian prejudices, and its bigotry,—are these an evidence of peace within its own borders? Members of the same church indulge in calumny and slander. Ministers of the gospel, rather than teach their people a true morality, will inflame their passions against Liberalism and Romanism. Is this loving your enemies? The contradictions and dissensions of Protestantism are its curse. Here we have High Church and Low Church, Ritualism and Puritanism, each maintaining its own claims in a way more devil-like than God-like. Because a man differs with me in his opinion, have I a right to treat him unkindly? Because a man is a Romanist, does that give me a right to say he is forever lost? No, God forbid! And yet this is precisely the principle upon which too many Protestants act.

"But," it may be said, "observe how we are treated by the Romanists; see the heretical curse, the horrid Inquisition and priestly tyranny." Suppose all this to be true; yet are we not told: "Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you"? Judged by this standard, where is our boasted Protestantism to-day? No one has a right to persecute us for our religious belief; neither, on the other hand, have we a right if persecuted, to return the injury; we must return good for evil kindness for injuries.

That there is at the present time an immense

struggle going on in the Church must be evident to every right-thinking mind; and we must acknowledge it to be a legitimate struggle brought about by the force of historical development. Many persons can see nothing but wrong in Romanism; they look upon it as something born of hell. Rather than meet it in open, manly argument, they will heap upon it the vilest abuse, and the most unchristian slang, even. Don't let us contradict the spirit of our own free land and her liberal institutions by denying the right of conscientious worship to any man of any belief.

There is, perhaps, no greater obstacle to the progress of truth than Protestantism itself. A Puritan fanaticism has insinuated itself into our very life, which utterly condemns anything and everything that does not agree with it. Need we wonder that the Church does not prosper more? Think you that the world does not see her contradictions and hypocrisies? The road to heaven is made too narrow, and the fires of hell are made to burn too hotly; there is too much blood about Christianity, and not enough love. The noble principles of Christ's life are not generally exemplified in the conduct of those who call themselves Christians.

O. L. ASHENFELTER.

CARLISLE, Pa.

THE CENTRAL IDEA OF THE GOSPEL.

MR. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—Allow a constant reader of THE INDEX (and withal not an uninterested reader, though not at all of its faith, way, or mode of thinking) to express his thought.

1. It is a fact that the Bible exists.
2. It is a fact that, for the most part, it exists as the accredited archives of a nation. It is the records, papers, etc., preserved as evidence of facts.
3. It is a fact that in this Bible there is a SYSTEM OF IDEAS designated and known as the *Evangelion*, or Gospel.
4. It is a fact that that system, as a whole, is comprehensive of two great classes of truths:—
(a) The things concerning the kingdom of God.
(b) The things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ. Acts i, 3, 8; xii, 19; viii, 20; xxv, 28; xxiii, 30, 31, et al.
5. It is a fact that the central idea of that system, its fundamental concept, is the Messiah. This is its root-idea or ground-truth. So much cannot be denied.

But now the question arises, Is this system the same which has enthroned itself in Bible lands as Christianity, and against which you are levelling your terrible batteries? I say it is not. You say it is. And, hence, to demolish Christianity, so-called, you think (and honestly too from your standpoint) that you must demolish the Bible as well. But this is entirely superfluous, not to say impossible; and the attempt can be justified only upon the assumption that Christianity, so-called, and the Bible are inseparable,—that their relation is that of cause and effect. But this is not true. Modern Christianity, or churchism, is one thing, and the Bible is another and a very different thing. The one is responsible for the other on precisely the same principle that a genuine fifty-dollar greenback is responsible for a spurious fifty-dollar greenback. The Bible is true, and the gospel it contains is the pure, genuine gospel; and the time is sure to come when the one will be most triumphantly vindicated, and the other fully realized.

You can overthrow Christianity, so-called, but you cannot overthrow the Bible. The kingdom of God as therein revealed must and will be restored and permanently established. The divine purpose to establish a theocracy on the earth, immediately over the Jews redeemed from the hand of all that hate them, and restored again to their native land, and through them over the nations of the earth aggregated into one vast empire, and made tributary to the divine dominion—the whole placed under a most righteous system of divine government, and ruled over by that Man whom God has appointed, and given assurance unto all men in that he hath raised him from the dead—must and will be executed. This done, all mankind will know that Jehovah lives, and the Bible is true. He is commensurate to the execution of his own purpose, all the world in solid combination to the contrary notwithstanding.

In your effort to demolish Christianity—and I may add in your success, for I believe it must and will go down—you will undoubtedly overthrow the faith of many in the Bible. But it will be the faith only of those who think with you that modern Christianity is one and the same with the Bible; which it is not. Modern Christianity or Catholicism in its three great branches—Anglicism, Romanism, and Grecism—was born of the mediæval period. It had many and diverse origins. It is the confluence of many streams, and represents the divine original in nothing but name and nomenclature. It is many centuries younger than the gospel. The central idea of this latter system is "the Holy Catholic Church." In the Roman branch it is "the Pope." But this is only another mode of expression for "the Church." Churchism and Messianism are not the same. The necessary logical development of the one is just what we see. The necessary logical development of the other is just what we don't see, and just what the world has never seen, and never can see, until Jesus Christ, the Man-God, returns. He is absent for the time, but will certainly come again. This with me is a matter of unflinching faith. It is my only hope. The world needs, and must have, a Man-God, one who is omniscient, omnipotent, and benevolent,—one to whom men can come, before whom they can bow, and at whose altar they can legitimately worship. Such a Man has

been provided. He was born A. M. 4089. He was dead, but he is alive forevermore. He has been accredited, and ere long all mankind will bow before him, and own him the Lord Jehovah. Churchism roots itself in the great apostasy. Indeed it is the apostasy gone to seed. Messianism roots itself in the truth,—in the eternal fitness of things; and is as yet only in its incipency. The time hastens apace, when what is to-day the tiny rootlet shall become "a great and mighty tree, whose height shall reach to heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of the earth. Its leaves shall be fair, and the fruit thereof much, and meat for all." This tree you cannot destroy. No watchman will ever descend and say, "Hew down the tree, cut off its branches, shake off its leaves, and scatter its fruit." For it is eternal, ordered, and sure. Then save yourself the trouble; for all your blows so deftly levelled at the Bible will only rebound, it may be, to strike yourself with redoubled force. The Bible is true, and its gospel certain.

MACON, Mo.

LABOR VERSUS CAPITAL.

Perhaps this is too deep a subject for *woman* to meddle with; I dare say it is. But as there is no sex in thought, I have a thought which, at the risk of being laughed down, I will venture to give.

The inept error in our system of labor and capital is the unjust *imperialism* of capital over labor. Capital is as inept and powerless without labor as labor without capital. United they are a mighty power; either alone is powerless. They are the two factors of a mighty product; and, if there is a difference in value in favor of either, it certainly is in favor of labor as the primal producer. When rightly adjusted, there is no antagonism between these two factors, but harmonious action toward the accomplishment of the same purpose, the increase of the product which shall be to the impartial advantage of each. How shall this be accomplished? By the *advancement* of labor to a like interest with capital, and the *elevation* of labor to the dignity of capital. That labor is capital, I think, after a moment's reflection, no one can deny. The labor of the laborer is his investment in the business, as much as the capital of the capitalist; not his wages which he might be compelled to draw out for support (which is but a slight equivalent for his labor), but the unnamed and unclaimed advantage which is the product of a combination of his skill with the capital of the capitalist. There is not even a show of justice in all this advantage or disadvantage being turned over to the side of capital. Canvas, oils, and brushes do not make an artist; nor does capital insure success in business; but the skill and management of its working men.

Every laborer should be recognized as a responsible party in the business; should be entitled to a voice in its management commensurate with his interest, and entitled to a share of its dividends. This system would effectually destroy the imperialism of capital over labor, tend toward an equalization between them, put an end to rash speculation, check lavish expenditure, give character and permanency to our business institutions, and also to our laboring class, now a roving people little better than Arabs. In the place of the continually shifting panorama of palace and hovel, we shall have permanent thrifty homes of independent and interdependent capitalists and laborers, and a solid rock as a financial basis, instead of dangerous quicksands. This I know is in part practically conceded on some estates in England, where the laborer is allowed a share in the gains; but nowhere, so far as I know, is the principle acknowledged.

S. E. W.

CAWASERAGA, N. Y., June 23, 1875.

THE ETHICS OF EXCHANGE.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Your correspondent Austin Kent, whom I have known as an author for years, is a very keen critic—a little too keen, perhaps, as I shall attempt to show.

No one, to my knowledge, ever urged "labor cost as the proper limit of price." There are other costs, beside labor cost, which enter into the production of every thing; and hence our formula is—"Cost the limit of price": quite a different thing, as should have been perceived by a man of Mr. Kent's acumen. The above formula is only a maxim like the one called the "Golden Rule," and it does not attempt to determine arbitrarily how Mr. Kent and his neighbor shall exchange carrots or any other products; they two must settle that for themselves. It is quite possible that, though Mr. Kent's neighbor may have been unsuccessful in raising carrots, he might have been quite successful in raising cranberries; and that Mr. Kent could have exchanged with him carrots for cranberries, measuring the exchange by time employed, the only perfect measure of labor or service. For want of space, the only thing that can be said here is that, if raising cranberries is, on the average, attended with more risk, is more unhealthy, disagreeable, dangerous, etc., than raising carrots, these elements will enter into the price in the exchange; and not time alone, though time is nearly always the principal element in production.

The effect of the "cost principle" would be to weed out such carrot-raisers as Mr. Kent describes his neighbor to be, and to compel him to adopt a calling wherein he would be an average producer; such as cranberry raising for instance. In other words, to use a popular phrase, it would put "the right man in the right place." Is there any objection to that?

In conclusion, please allow me to place side by side the only two maxims concerning price that are before the world, leaving all readers to select for them-

selves, according to their degree of moral development, which they will accept for their guidance:—

"Cost the limit of price."

"A thing is worth what it will bring."

E. D. LINTON.

CHARLESTOWN, Mass.

NO SPIRITUAL VACUUM.

A great deal is said about the wrongfulness of undermining the faith of Christians without furnishing them at the same time a satisfactory substitute. The error of these critics consists in their virtual assumption that a spiritual vacuum is any more natural than a physical vacuum. No man ever surrenders an opinion or belief until he sees something else more valuable and attractive. The very fact that he has discovered a dark corner in his soul shows that light has been admitted therein. The faith of him who really believes God is "without variableness or shadow of turning" is vastly more permanent and abiding than his who believes that God will "answer prayer;" yet the renunciation of the latter faith must always be simultaneous with the acceptance of the former. The unspeakable and worse than heathenish absurdity of the stories of miracles can never be eliminated from a Christian's theology, except on the condition of his receiving at the same time a more elevated and rational conception of Deity. Also, as of miracles, the same may be said of those other abominations—supernaturalism in its every repulsive phase, revelation, inspiration, with the whole brood of monsters that have come forth from the prolific womb of superstition, and whose sire is priestcraft.

There is no such thing as unlearning anything without learning something else, and it is impossible for us to destroy our neighbor's religious faith without his accepting something in its place. Truth asks no favors for its own reputation. It will take care of itself. It can never fail under any conceivable or inconceivable circumstances to justify its acceptance. It is not a child that must be *toddled*, nor a sick man that must be humored. It is God's way forever and ever. So do not let us refrain from unsettling anyone's faith for fear we can offer nothing in its place. Should any one even convince an aged father or mother, who may fold their spectacles perhaps for the last time to-night across the old family Bible, of the error of their religious creed, he need not fear but their faith was supplanted by a higher and better one. Let us remember that light advances just as fast as darkness recedes. A blow at error is always in order. Nothing can justify the withholding of it.

Z.

THE BISHOP'S PLATFORM.

UNION, Maine, July 4, 1875.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I should like more information relating to Bishop Ferrette's religious liberty platform. If I understand you aright, you think the State has as good a right to incorporate a religious society, as it has to incorporate a life insurance company. Bishop Ferrette, on the contrary, thinks the State is dealing or interfering with religion, when it incorporates a religious society. Now, the Constitution says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion."

The question to be settled is, Does the State by incorporating a religious society recognize or interfere with religion?

Please give more light on the subject.

Yours truly,

CHAS. A. MILLER.

[We do not think that the State should incorporate a church by special act; but we do not see how it can without persecution prevent the people from incorporating themselves in a religious society under general statutes. But we are open to argument on this subject.—ED.]

MR. CONWAY informs us that a London archæologist devoted a week to the lovely fields of the North, hunting flint arrows. He was overjoyed with his success; implements from the Stone Age were found on every side until he had a large bag full of them. He employed a simple-hearted native to bring this bag of precious relics to a village a few miles off, and himself went on before. In the afternoon the rustic started to follow his employer with the bag; but, the burden being heavy and the day hot, he presently began to wonder what interest the gentleman could have in a bag of stones. This doubt was succeeded by a chain of reasoning, at the end of which stood the conclusion that one stone was as good as another, and there seemed hardly any use in carrying any one particular lot of them three miles on a hot day. Thereupon the bag was emptied of its contents, and borne lightly enough. Of course it was easy enough to fill it again from the roadside just before delivery. The rustic goes home happy with his good wages, albeit still wondering what the gentleman meant to do with "them stones;" the archæologist speeds to London, where he speedily convokes his scientific friends to view his treasures. The scene when the bag reveals its plain turnpike stones must be left to the imagination. At last accounts the archæologist was trying to add the sagacious rustic to his collection of Stone Age specimens.—*Christian Union*.

SOCRATES' PRAYER.—O God, grant me to become beautiful in the inner man, and that whatever outward things I have may be at peace with those within. May I deem the wise man rich, and may I have such a portion of gold as none but a prudent man can either bear or employ.

Do we need anything else, Phædus? For myself I have prayed enough.

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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WHOLE No. 292.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———. Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at a regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT: PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

THE NEWEST THING in coffins is Mr. Seymour Haden's wicker casket, which the Duke of Sutherland recently gave a special entertainment to advertise and recommend.

It is said that there were "fifty thousand people in Central Park on Sunday." What a blessed exchange for the cheerless homes which were abandoned that day by the poor creatures who must get their summer rest in Central Park, or nowhere!

IN BELGIUM the Catholics and Liberals have almost come to blows, in consequence of the former having made their processions more splendid than usual. The peasantry and middle class are grossly superstitious and under the control of the priests to an extraordinary degree.

NOT LONG since our genial neighbor, the editor of the *Christian Register*, inadvertently dropped this utterance, meant to be jocose: "We are usually kept muzzled while on duty at the office." Whereupon a wicked friend whispers to us: "This is the most candid and honest editorial confession we have noticed this summer!"

SAN FRANCISCO must be a frightfully heathenish town. Its population is set down at 275,000; but of this number only some 32,000 are regular worshippers, while 180,000 never go to church at all. What are Moody and Sankey about, to cross the Atlantic for sinners to convert, when there is such a snakes'-nest of them at home?

HERE ARE some of the beauties of the sectarian squabble: "A few days before a man was hanged at Atlanta, Ga., a Catholic priest, two Baptist ministers, and a Methodist, called on him at the same time. They commenced discussing religion, and who had the surest means of saving him, and they became so noisy and violent toward each other, that the jailer had to interfere and order them all out of jail, and the wretch had to get along without any preacher."

M. BUGUET, the French spirit-photographer, was found out by a man who, "hearing of the success of M. Buguet, paid him a visit, obtained a photograph of himself and his wife, who he said was dead, but who was really alive, and carried it afterwards to the Prefecture of Police." On his trial for swindling, M. Buguet confessed his imposture; but one witness, to whom the judge explained that the whole process had been exposed, persisted in believing that the photograph was genuine. Poor Humanity!

QUITE a tempest in a teapot has been excited over Messrs. Moody and Sankey's services at Eton. Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen thought it worth while to protest against them, and to stir up seventy-one members of Parliament to join in the protest. Dr. Hornby, the head-master, put the revivalists on a level with horse-racers, and let the boys do as they pleased about going to the show. About one hundred and fifty of the boys chose to go, and at last accounts were doing as well as could be expected.

MR. WILLIAM H. POOLE, the well-known librarian, has very severely reviewed Bancroft's *History of the United States*, the tenth and last volume of which has lately been issued. Mr. Poole finds Bancroft prolix, turgid, superficial, inaccurate, and radically unjust, especially to all the Revolutionary generals except Washington, to whom he sacrifices everybody. All this is a pointed hint not to write histories which it takes ten volumes and forty years to complete,—a hint that we mean very dutifully to obey.

SAYS the New Orleans *Republican* of July 11: "In the public schools of New Orleans, when first established, the Bible was read without note or comment every day at the opening of each school. In deference to the clamorous prejudices of our Catholic population, the custom was afterward abolished, and

with the exception of an attempt to obtain from one of our numerous State conventions since the war a separate share of the school-fund, which met the failure it deserved, the Catholics of this city have left the public schools unmolested, and satisfied themselves with inducing as many children as possible to attend their own schools. And thus it will be all over the country. The Bible may be banished from the schools, and its reading remitted to the proper place—the church and the fireside,—but the school-fund will not be distributed among the various sects, and the school-system will not be destroyed."

A WRITER in the *Liberal Worker* of July 14 speaks of so-and-so as "the acknowledged leader" of the free religious movement. It has no leader, on the contrary, and will perish the instant it acquires one. When this writer says, "To be a Christian, as I understand it, is to be a disciple of the man Jesus," he stumbles on the precise difference between Christianity and Free Religion,—the former following a man, and the latter following ideas. How hard it is to make a man-follower comprehend those who follow no man! The difficulty is like that of the Chinaman disputing in the story with the Englishman over the relative superiority of Eastern and Western civilization. Advantage on one side being straight-way offset by advantage on the other, the dispute was at last brought to an end by the Englishman's exclaiming, "Well, our civilization must be the higher, because we can comprehend yours, while you cannot comprehend ours." In like manner the free thinker can comprehend the Christian, but the Christian cannot comprehend the free thinker.

THE *Christian Union* of July 14 thinks that the "Free Religious company" is in danger of dissolution because "men whose belief in God and immortality is profound, and those whose attitude toward these themes is one of cool indifference,—those to whom Christianity is vitally true, and those to whom it is dangerous error,—will hardly, we should suppose, care to remain long in the same ranks and under the same flag." Well, so long as the world is puzzled to understand how the love of truth in the spirit of liberty can make men close friends and fellow-workers, so long ought the Free Religious Association to stick together. We, at least, see no "tendency to disintegration" in it; and indeed less than ever before can we believe that any exists. In the case of some of the prophets who so eagerly predict disunion in the Association, the "wish is father to the thought," though we can hardly think that of the *Christian Union*; and we prefer to attribute its croakings to an honest bewilderment which is a fresh proof that the Free Religious Association has still a useful mission to fulfil.

AN ESTEEMED correspondent tells this good story in a recent letter: "A beautiful instance of Christian 'other-worldliness' came the other day under my notice. An excellent and devoted Christian, one whose sermons are long, loving and earnest, and no doubt sincere, but whose business dealings, as some think, are a little crooked at times, told me in all simplicity this story of himself. Attracted by his sober garb and mien, a stranger had seated himself by my friend in the cars, though other seats were vacant, and had entered into conversation concerning a rival sect whose 'laxity' was masked by the 'most straitest' of outward appearances. 'Are they lax in their daily lives or in their views?' I asked. 'In their theology,' said my friend with emphasis. At parting with the stranger, my friend had asked, 'Why did you choose your seat by my side?' 'Because a companion, impressed with your Christian demeanor, had said to me, 'The bark is all right—I wonder if the wood is sound.' There was something very delicious in my good friend's evident certainty that, being Orthodox, his 'wood' was all 'sound.'"

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Mr. Spencer on Social Evolution.

FROM THE LONDON "FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW" OF JANUARY 1, 1875.

BY PROFESSOR J. E. CAIRNES.

(CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.)

I referred just now to the evidence furnished by history bearing on the course of human evolution, and in particular to the two capital facts: first, that, while a few nations rapidly progressed towards a rather high state of civilization, the great mass of mankind, after moving forward up to a certain point, became stationary, and showed no disposition to pass beyond; and secondly, that, during some seven or eight centuries, the direction of political and social movement was, in the case of some of the most important nations of the world, steadily retrograde. These are phenomena which have naturally exercised the speculation of writers on the philosophy of history; and I desire now to call attention to the explanations, or partial explanations, which have been advanced regarding them, by some of the most distinguished of those who have written on this subject.

With regard to the first of these problems—the causes which led to the Greeks, Romans, and a few other peoples making, for a time, rapid progress in civilization, while no similar progress was presented by the great majority of Oriental nations,—Sir H. Maine, in his work on *Ancient Law*, has offered the following as a partial explanation of what he describes as "one of the great secrets that inquiry has yet to penetrate." Writing of ancient codes he says:—

"But, whatever to a modern eye are the singularities of these codes, their importance to ancient societies was unspeakable. The question, and it was one which affected the whole future of each community, was not so much whether there should be a code at all, for the majority of ancient societies seem to have attained them sooner or later; and, but for the great interruption in the history of jurisprudence created by feudalism, it is likely that all modern law would be distinctly traceable to one or more of these fountain-heads. But the point on which turned the history of the race was, at what period, at what stage of their social progress, they should have their laws put into writing. In the Western world, the plebeian or popular element in each State successfully assailed the oligarchical monopoly, and a code was nearly universally obtained early in the history of the commonwealth. But in the East, the ruling aristocracies tended to become religious rather than military or political, and gained, therefore, rather than lost in power; while in some instances the physical conformation of Asiatic countries had the effect of making individual communities larger and more numerous than in the West; and it is a known social law, that the larger the space over which a particular set of institutions is diffused, the greater is its tenacity and vitality. From whatever cause, the codes obtained by Eastern societies were obtained relatively much later than by Western, and wore a very different character. . . . The fate of the Hindu law is, in fact, the measure of the value of the Roman code. Ethnology shows us that the Romans and the Hindus sprang from the same original stock, and there is, indeed, a striking resemblance between what appear to have been their original customs. Even now, Hindu jurisprudence has a substratum of forethought and sound judgment; but irrational imi-

tation has engrafted in it an immense apparatus of cruel absurdities. From these corruptions the Romans were protected by their code. It was compiled while usage was still wholesome, and a hundred years afterwards it might have been too late. . . . We are not, of course, entitled to say that, if the twelve tables had not been published, the Romans would have been condemned to a civilization as feeble and perverted as that of the Hindus; but thus much at least is certain: that with their code they were exempt from the very chance of so unhappy a destiny."*

So momentous may be the adoption of an administrative reform at a crisis in a nation's history. Not less striking is the shaping power of forms of government upon social progress—a force which, I need scarcely say, is recognized in nearly every page of Mr. Mill's political writings. In the opening chapters of his work on *Representative Government*, he refers to the phenomenon now under consideration—the contrast presented by progressive and stationary nations,—and makes upon it the following striking remarks:—

"A people of savages should be taught obedience, but not in such a manner as to convert them into a people of slaves. And (to give the observation a higher generality) the form of government which is most effectual for carrying a people through the next stage of progress will still be very improper for them, if it does this in such a manner as to obstruct, or positively unfit them for, the step next beyond. Such cases are frequent, and are among the most melancholy facts in history. The Egyptian hierarchy, the paternal despotism of China, were very fit instruments for carrying these nations up to the point of civilization which they attained. But having reached that point, they were brought to a permanent halt, for want of mental liberty and individuality,—requisites of improvement which the institutions, that had carried them thus far, entirely incapacitated them from acquiring; and, as the institutions did not break down and give place to others, further improvement stopped. In contrast with these nations, let us consider the example of an opposite character afforded by another and a comparatively insignificant Oriental people—the Jews. They too had an absolute monarchy and a hierarchy, and their organized institutions were as obviously of sacerdotal origin as those of the Hindus. These did for them what was done for other Oriental races by their institutions—subdued them to industry and order, and gave them a national life. But neither their kings nor their priests ever obtained, as in those other countries, the exclusive moulding of their character. Their religion, which enabled persons of genius and a high religious tone to be regarded, and to regard themselves, as inspired from heaven, gave existence to an inestimably precious unorganized institution—the order (if it may be so termed) of prophets. Under the protection, generally, though not always, effectual, of their sacred character, the prophets were a power in the nation, often more than a match for kings and priests; and kept up, in that little corner of the earth, the antagonism of influences which is the only real security for continued progress. Religion, consequently, was not there what it has been in so many other places,—a consecration of all that was once established, and a barrier against further improvement. The remark of a distinguished Hebrew, M. Salvador, that the prophets were, in Church and State, the equivalent of the modern liberty of the press, gives a just but not an adequate conception of the part fulfilled in national and universal history by this great element of Jewish life; by means of which, the canon of inspiration never being complete, the persons most eminent in genius and moral feeling could not only denounce and reprobate with the direct authority of the Almighty, whatever appeared to them deserving of such treatment, but could give forth better and higher interpretations of the national religion, which thenceforth became part of the religion."†

So much as to the diversity of the agencies by which the fortunes of various nations and races have been affected, and the consequent differences in their modes of evolution. I turn now to that other remarkable phenomenon—the arrest of progress amongst the progressive portions of mankind, and its conversion, over a period of some seven or eight centuries, into a course of positive retrogression—what is commonly known as "the decline and fall of the Roman Empire." M. Guizot's explanation of this vast event is well known, and will not lose in authority by the circumstance that it has been fully endorsed by Mr. Mill.

"The causes assigned," says M. Guizot, "are the despotism of the Imperial government, the degradation of the people, the profound apathy which had seized upon all the governed. And this is true; such was really the main cause of so extraordinary an effect. But it is not enough to enunciate in these general terms a cause which existed elsewhere without producing the same effects. We must penetrate deeper into the condition of Roman society, such as despotism had made it. We must examine by what means despotism had so completely stripped society of all coherence and all life. Despotism has various forms and modes of proceeding, which give very various degrees of energy to its action, and of extensiveness to its consequences."

And M. Guizot proceeds to point to the institutions, and in particular to the condition of the municipalities of the empire, as the most immediate and direct of those agencies which helped forward the great catastrophe. The whole responsibility of government, he tells us, without its honors or patronage, and the unshared weight of the taxation of the em-

pire, were concentrated on a single class, the *Curiales*, or the middle-class, of the towns.

"In their fate," says Mr. Mill in his review of M. Guizot's work, "we see the disease the Roman Empire really died of; and how its destruction had been consummated even before the occupation by the barbarians. The invasions were no new fact, unheard of until the fifth century; such attempts had repeatedly been made, and never succeeded until the powers of resistance were destroyed by inward decay. The empire perished of misgovernment in the form of over-taxation."*

These examples will suffice to show the important part played by political institutions in the drama of social development; played, that is to say, by agencies created by the human will in the deliberate pursuit of public well-being. If, however, we accept Mr. Spencer's theory, such historic facts lose all their interpretative force. According to him, as the reader has seen, all forms of government are alike products of the national character; and, further, as appears from his latest publication,† forms of government are valuable just in so far as they are products of the national character. Now the political institutions of Asia, of Greece, and of Rome fall alike under this comprehensive generalization. They were all equally products of the national character; and by consequence they were all equally good. It would seem, therefore, that Mr. Spencer is bound to maintain one or other of the following positions: either that the political institutions respectively of Asia, of Greece, and of Rome had no effect whatever on the social and political development of these countries; or, that they had an equally favorable effect in each case.

Passing now from the political to the private sphere, we shall here again find the human will no less active in consciously promoting (or thwarting, as the case may be) the course of social development. In their private capacity, also, men work for public objects, and perhaps they have in this way as largely affected the course of human evolution as by what they have done through the instrumentality of the State. But this is a part of the question on which I have no need to enlarge in a controversy with Mr. Spencer, who has himself in more than one essay,‡ where his object is to exhibit the superiority of voluntary over State action, dwelt with great force on this very point, and illustrated it with his usual fullness. What, however, does need to be insisted on is, that all such examples of social progress promoted by the conscious and deliberate efforts of men aiming at the results achieved—whether these efforts take the form of State or voluntary action—are in direct and irreconcilable conflict with the doctrine which tells us that social evolution works itself out spontaneously, and exhibits only the incidental result of conduct inspired by nothing better than private and personal objects. I observe, indeed, that Mr. Spencer, in the essay just mentioned, has described the various voluntary agencies to which he refers—such as religious and educational systems, friendly societies, scientific associations, the press, and the like—as "spontaneously developed agencies"; but this is only another example of the laxity with which Mr. Spencer uses certain quasi-scientific terms. I have no desire to be captious about phrases; and if Mr. Spencer finds it convenient to distinguish voluntary from State-created institutions, by describing the former as "spontaneously developed," he is, of course, at liberty to do so; only it must be remarked that, as thus understood, the phrase becomes, at least in the present controversy, a "question-begging" term, since it assumes the very point to be proved. What is to be maintained is, that institutions created by voluntary agency, with a deliberate view to the ends which they actually serve, are not spontaneously developed institutions in the sense in which language is described by Mr. Spencer as "spontaneously developed." "Men little by little developed speech in absolute unconsciousness that they were doing anything more than pursuing their personal interests." But voluntary churches, educational systems, scientific associations, and the newspaper press have not been so developed; they do not, therefore, conform to Mr. Spencer's typical example of "the workings out of sociological processes." It follows that, in referring to the achievements of individuals or associations, in their private capacity engaged in the pursuit of public objects, as factors in the aggregate of forces which produce social progress, Mr. Spencer has himself furnished evidence that social evolution is not "spontaneous," in the only sense in which it is worth while contesting the point; and, on the other hand, that it is largely influenced by causes to which nothing analogous is to be found in the examples of organic development presented by the lower forms of animal life.

But this is not the only way in which the parallelism, for which Mr. Spencer so strenuously contends, fails of realization. In the primitive steps of human history, while man is yet a savage, it is probable, as has already been said, that the law of the survival of the fittest, working through the struggle for existence, rules as inexorably as in other provinces of organic life, and with analogous results. But it is by no means certain that this is so; indeed I need not hesitate to say that the reverse is very palpably the case, so soon as civilization has reached the stage which it has long since reached and passed in Western Europe and Northern America. The progress of civilization modifies the struggle for existence in two leading particulars; first, by developing sentiments which interfere with the rigorous working out of the law; and secondly, by substituting for the mere physical force by which, in a state of nature,

* *Dissertations and Discussions*, vol. i., p. 230.

† *Study of Sociology*, p. 276.

‡ See for example the essay on *Specialized Administration*, vol. iii., p. 161, etc.

* *Ancient Law*, pp. 16, 17, 20.

† *Representative Government*, pp. 41, 42.

the issue is decided, certain moral forces in the form of law and public opinion. The physically weak are rescued by the sympathy of their fellows from the fate which would await them in a state of nature; and the means of subsistence, which in a state of nature are secured to the physically strongest, fall, under a civilized régime, in largest share to those who are most successful in the business of accumulating wealth. The combined effect of these changes is not indeed to get rid of the struggle for existence; that ordeal still awaits the great mass of mankind under all conditions and changes of life; but it does tend very largely to modify the character of the struggle and the result of it. The qualities required for the accumulation of wealth are by no means the highest human qualities—by no means those which qualify most effectually for the task of promoting human improvement; though they are the qualities which, by giving to their possessors the largest command over the necessities and comforts of existence, give them the greatest chance of leaving a numerous posterity, and so of propagating their like. Though, therefore, the struggle for existence still continues, and apparently seems likely to continue even under higher forms of civilization than the world has yet seen, there is no longer the security which existed in primitive times, and which still exists wherever Nature reigns supreme, that it will issue in the "survival of the fittest." I desire, however, merely to indicate here an aspect of the case which has of late received a good deal of attention—to discuss it at any length would carry me far beyond the necessary limits of the present essay—to indicate it as one circumstance amongst others which may bear the evolution of civilized mankind far away from those tracks in which it has moved in ages of barbarism, or in the region of mere animal existence.

Let us now observe the point to which the argument has been carried. In tracing the analogy between the growth of society and that of living beings, whether individual animals or species, Mr. Spencer, while recognizing certain points of difference, has persuaded himself that in all essential conditions the analogy is complete; so truly so, that we are justified in regarding the course of development in the animal kingdom as prefiguring that which ought to be followed, and which will, in fact, be followed in human society. Accordingly, not content with employing the phenomena of animal life as a metaphor with which to elucidate the arrangements of our social condition, he exhibits them as a type or exemplar, according to their conformity or disconformity with which these arrangements are to be approved or condemned; and further announces it as a law of social science that human evolution, as it has in the past followed certain lines of development corresponding to those realized in organic nature, so in the future is destined to continue along the same lines. Now I have endeavored to show that, amongst the points in which, by Mr. Spencer's own confession, the analogy between the social and animal organisms fails, there is one of so vital a kind as in effect to invalidate the whole argument, since it involves the fact that the ends for which the two organisms exist are essentially different—to be contrasted rather than to be likened; and secondly, I have shown that, having regard to the broad generalizations of history, no such well-defined lines of evolution in human affairs are to be found as Mr. Spencer's teaching takes for granted; and that, in fact, great and notable deviations from any course that could easily be considered predetermined or normal have occurred. Lastly, I have shown that the most remarkable of these deviations are traceable, and have in fact been traced by writers on the philosophy of history, to political causes, or to causes allied to political; to influences, at all events, created by, and working through, individual human wills, deliberately—whether wisely or foolishly—aiming at public objects; influences nothing comparable to which has operated in the examples of development presented by the animal kingdom, and which it is a leading characteristic of Mr. Spencer's philosophy to ignore.

Such is the point to which the argument has been carried; and now I must ask the reader to observe the practical tendencies of the two philosophies which have in this examination been brought into opposition. On the one hand there is the philosophy of Mr. Spencer, such as I have just described it, contemplating the career of humanity as fixed with regard to its main direction, as predetermined to move along certain defined, or at least definable, lines of progress; constantly shaping itself under the influence of causes which produce their effects "spontaneously"—the human will, indeed, coöperating towards the result, but only as the corresponding faculty in the lower animals coöperates towards the improvement of their race, by taking part in the struggle for existence, and in propagating their kind;* inevitably gathering up, in the slow process of things, whether men trouble themselves or not, large gains in human welfare. Can we have any doubt as to the tendency of such teachings? As to

its paralyzing effect on laborers in the field of human improvement? Wherefore, indeed, should we trouble ourselves if the result is already certain; if the gain is inevitable; nay, if the most probable effect of our interference will be "to disturb," "to distort," and "to repress"; if the best we can do is "to let social progress go on unhindered"? Contrast with this the teaching of that other philosophy with which Mr. Spencer's has been confronted in this discussion—the philosophy of Mr. Mill, every line of whose writings is instinct with the belief that there is nothing fixed in human fortunes; that it rests with the individual men and women of each generation as they pass, each within the range of his or her influence, to make or to mar them; whose creed it is that social progress is largely dependent on political institutions, which do not "grow" while men sleep, but "are the work of men—owe their origin and their whole existence to human will"; and which, according as in different countries they have been suited or unsuited to the requirements of the time, have in fact helped or hindered human advance; and, lastly, who is so far from sharing Mr. Spencer's optimistic faith in the inevitability of good to come that he warns us against it as a calamitous delusion in words which, it may be hoped, mankind will not willingly let die:—

"Though we no longer hold this opinion [the opinion held by the ancients that the natural tendency of men and their work is to degenerate]; though most men in the present age profess the contrary creed, believing that the tendency of things, on the whole, is towards improvement—we ought not to forget that there is an incessant and ever-flowing current of human affairs towards the worse, consisting of all the follies, all the vices, all the negligences, indolences, and supinenesses of mankind; which is only controlled, and kept from sweeping all before it, by the exertions which some persons constantly, and others by fits, put forth in the direction of good and worthy objects. It gives a very insufficient idea of the importance of the strivings which take place to improve and elevate human nature and life, to suppose that their chief value consists in the amount of actual improvement realized by their means, and that the consequence of their cessation would merely be that we should remain as we are. A very small diminution of those exertions would not only put a stop to improvement, but would turn the general tendency of things towards deterioration, which, once begun, would proceed with increasing rapidity, and become more and more difficult to check, until it reached a state often seen in history, and in which many large portions of mankind even now grovel; when hardly anything short of superhuman power seems sufficient to turn the tide, and give a fresh commencement to the upward movement."†

Thus, according to Mr. Mill, all is contingent—

"Man is man, and master of his fate."

Evolution is, indeed, a law of social existence; but as to its direction—whether upwards or downwards, towards improvement or towards deterioration,—that will be as our characters and wills shall make it. All depends upon the efforts put forth by those who are concerned in the issue. What stronger incentive, what more inspiring motive, can be imagined, for exertion in the cause of human progress?

And here let me remark, that, in the foregoing argument, the great question of the freedom of the human will is not implicated. The conclusions which I have opposed to Mr. Spencer's are the conclusions of Mr. Mill, or plain deductions from his philosophy; and, I need scarcely say, that Mr. Mill held the doctrine of the determination of the will by motives as decidedly as Mr. Spencer himself. The question really at issue is, not whether the will is, or is not, determined by motives, but whether the existence of a certain order of motives acting on the will is not an essential condition in order that evolution should take the direction of social progress. According to Mr. Spencer, the future of the human race may be safely trusted to the action of motives of a private and personal kind—to motives such as operate in the production and distribution of wealth, or in the development of language; left to such influences society cannot but evolve spontaneously, and we have only to wish it "*bon voyage*." According to Mr. Mill, this is not so; social progress needs the support of other and higher aims to keep it in its path; so truly so that if mankind, or some moderate proportion of them, do not rise to the level of such higher aims, and will not by strenuous and persistent efforts labor for social good, "scorning delights and living laborious days," retrogression is certain and inevitable. That is the nature of the issue which has now been raised, and on which students of social science are called upon to exercise their judgments.

But though the argument we have been pursuing does not necessarily involve the question of the freedom of the will, it cannot be denied that it comes into dangerous proximity to that quicksand of philosophic speculation—so much so, indeed, that one needs to guide his steps warily if he would avoid its perils. I call the question of the freedom of the will a "quicksand," because it is one in which, I frankly own, I have never myself been able to find solid footing. Mr. Mill, as is well known, tried to explore it, and believed that he had reached firm standing ground.† He persuaded himself that he could reconcile the power of individuals, by an effort of will, to improve their own characters—to make them other than they would be but for the effort—with the fact that their conduct is determined in every act by the relation of the motives presented at the time to their characters as formed by all the influences which had acted upon them from birth to the moment of action. These two positions Mr. Mill be-

lieved he could reconcile. For my part, I must acknowledge my inability to follow him through his demonstration. Both propositions are, to my apprehension, as true as the strongest testimony of consciousness can make anything; and I, therefore, accept them both, though I am unable to bring them into harmony. The position is, no doubt, unsatisfactory, but it seems to be the only one open under the circumstances; for I fail to see the reasonableness of rejecting a truth supported by the strongest evidence vouchsafed to man, because I am unable to reconcile it with another which rests upon no better foundation. Mr. Spencer apparently holds the latter only of the two positions just indicated; he accepts the doctrine of the determination of the will by motives; but, if I correctly understand him, refuses to admit that an individual has the power, by an effort of will, to make his character other than it must inevitably be. He thus, no doubt, escapes a difficulty; but only, as it seems to me, to encounter another still more formidable. For, on the supposition that self-improvement is impossible, and that, consequently, the whole course of human affairs is predetermined, to what purpose devote ourselves to the study of sociology? To what purpose warn mankind against the dangers of over-legislation? or preach the duty of letting social evolution go on unhindered? Is Mr. Spencer prepared to accept the conclusion that these too—his own words and actions—are but links in the chain of destiny, and that he himself is but a "conscious automaton"?

[FOR THE INDEX.]

SETTING SAILS TO THE BREEZE.

BY DAVID H. CLARK.

It is curious, even verging at times in some slight degree upon the amusing, to notice the facility with which political and religious parties, and their representatives of one kind or another, shift their tactics, and veer from a course which to the eye of others they have been pursuing with unbounded self-satisfaction, whenever the pressure of popular tendencies seems to render it expedient.

There is a strong play of cross-interests and attractions in this world, and not unfrequently it happens that solicitude in respect to consequences and to leadership exceeds the love of truth and sincerity. There is also no little amount of stubbornness and conceit, now and then, even under the guise of amiable and humble qualities. It is very hard for those who have aspired to be leaders of thought and popular sentiment, and may have been such in some good degree, to be convinced they have not reached the outermost limit of possible wisdom, or to contemplate the prospect of some new-born competitor, whose name is yet to be earned, superseding them. It is thus, when society is stirred by a new idea, by some broader view of humanity, of religion, of civil or social relations, or by a clearer perception of truth or justice that, instead of the cordial reception it deserves, it is at first treated with cool indifference by the possessors of prestige and authority, then receives a contemptuous recognition, then is vigorously assailed, and at last wins an espousal (sometimes a quite precipitate one) from these same opponents, of scarcely less ardor and devotion. "It is but a puff of wind," it is said, "or a superficial turmoil that will soon have spent its force and passed away." But, as this puff of wind, or turmoil, increases in volume, depth, intensity, it is pronounced a monster of the deep, or the brewing of a horrid whirlwind, pregnant with calamity, and threatening to engulf all on board; and the old crafts of conservatism make taut their rigging, and crowd on their canvas in proud and exultant assurance that they are on the only path of success and safety.

There are some who thus go forward, in obstinate disregard of all remonstrating voices, to destruction; while others are sufficiently and seasonably wise to perceive that wind and tide are against them, and to adjust themselves to the new conditions. The *modus operandi* differs somewhat in these last instances. Sometimes it is a gradual and wary movement, very cautiously graded to the exigencies of the time. It consists of a short tack in one direction, and then in the other; a slight reef in this piece of canvas, and an additional letting out of that; considerable effort in making sure which way the wind blows. Sometimes an adroit and sudden turn constitutes all that is witnessed, and then a speeding away in the line of the popular currents, as though nothing had happened. The dexterity, self-complacency, and apparent unconsciousness of inconsistency with which these manœuvres are effected, in view of the antecedents, past professions, and protestations of those who perform them, are exceedingly bewildering to ingenuous and simple-minded people. It does not seem strange that one whose convictions have never been especially pronounced should succeed to those of one extreme or the other. But for those of a more positive character to become the allies of opinions and principles toward which they have been, and, until comparatively recently (it may be), in direct and hostile opposition, is somewhat incomprehensible, to say the least. It would seem, for example, very puzzling, if Dr. Miner and the party of prohibition, in the sphere of temperance agitation, should some day become the advocates of moderate drinking, supposing the latter principle at length obtains the ascendancy; or if the American Tract Society, or Unitarian Association even, should eventually become the propagandists of the gospel of pure and simple rationalism. And yet scarcely less marvellous changes have been in the world of ideas and parties.

A very striking peculiarity in respect to these strange conversions is the pretension with which

* Representative Government, pp. 26, 27.

† System of Logic, book vi., chap. ii.

* "When it is said," says Mr. Morley in his work on *Compromise*, "that the various successive changes in thought and institution present and consummate themselves spontaneously, no one means by spontaneity that they come to pass independently of human effort and volition." This is true, but leaves the vital point at large; as may be seen by considering that precisely as much might be said of the development of a species. It is as true of a species as of human society, that the changes which take place in it are brought about through the action of that faculty in the animal which corresponds to the human will. The difference lies in the fact that the animal does not aim at its own improvement, which may, therefore, properly be called "spontaneous"; it comes without being sought; whereas, to quote again Mr. Morley's words, "the world only grows better, even in the moderate degree in which it does grow better, because people wish that it should, and take the right steps to make it better." To call progress so achieved "spontaneous" seems to me, I own, a strange use of words, nor can I see my way to reconciling Mr. Morley's position with Mr. Spencer's.

they are usually associated, of their strict accord with the course hitherto pursued, and disposition to appropriate all the glory and emoluments accruing.

Among those who predicted from afar the issue, here and there one of commanding name and fame receives at length the grudging award of an honored remembrance; but the many of obscurer note, who bore alike in their day the accusation and penalty of mutineers and insubordinates, but with less encouragement and stimulus, or were thrust overboard to perish because of their vision of what those are now entering upon at whose hands they suffered, or because of their fearless and faithful proclamation of the truth now accepted, are forgotten. Such is the common course of progress,—the common history of parties,—not political alone, but religious also.

Their action with reference to new truths and movements of society is always much determined by the seeming prospect they present in respect to popularity and power. It is recorded that the great Nazarene made himself of no reputation; but his disciples are very sensitive to being numbered among such at present, or to being included among the poor and despised.

The American Church, in other days, was almost as a solid body on the side of slavery; but, when emancipation was accomplished, it was suddenly found to be—the Southern portion, of course, excepted—fervidly jubilant on the side of abolition; and the good result was very widely and generally celebrated as the triumph of Christian intercessions and principles. Frederick Douglass having referred to this, somewhat pointedly, in a public address in Philadelphia two or three years since, and maintained that the great iniquity was brought to an end through natural rather than supernatural means, and in spite of, rather than through the aid of, the Christian Church, was taken to task for what were pronounced his "dangerous sentiments"; when he reminded his Christian critics that, if their prayers had been answered, slavery would probably be still in existence.

The manifest tendency to unification that is witnessed at the present time among the different sects of Christendom; the dropping of their peculiar distinctions, and slurring or ignoring of objectionable dogmas; their concessions to science, and efforts to demonstrate its harmony with religion in order to cope with what is called the scepticism and infidelity of the age; the competition of operatic choirs with the attractive power of the preacher (sometimes quite overwhelming it) in the Sunday services, and the substitution of declamation and pantomimic performances, or ritualistic ceremonies and scenic effects, for the direct and sober inculcation of the doctrines of the creed, with the lavish expenditures upon architecture and other æsthetic associations, betray something more than results of progress or the transformations of faith which come of intelligent conviction. They indicate the consciousness of lessening power, and the struggle to regain it; the consciousness of adverse currents, and the effort to counteract their influence; in a word, the setting of sails to the breeze.

The same tendency may be seen in the new tactics and policy which have sprung up in the conduct of Young Men's Christian Associations. These institutions are primarily intended as recruiting offices for the Orthodox army of the Lord, or Orthodox churches. They advertise and present certain inducements and attractions to the class they desire to draw to themselves, for which the expectation is indulged that they will become pious young men. But it is discovered, such is the perversity of human nature, that many young men, not yet made pious, have a fondness for more cheerful and intellectual recreations than prayers and telling religious experiences, and that they may be found elsewhere. The Association under consideration has, therefore, shown a considerable degree of worldly sagacity of late, by a marked departure from the more rigid Christian temper and manners, in correspondent provisions for these youthful tastes, such as popular games,—once classed among the diversions only of the unregenerate and impenitent,—instructive lectures, concerts, social gatherings, and the like. As for ourselves, not happening to possess the felicity of being a member of the Young Men's Christian Association, we have nothing but commendation and praise for these innovations; but, if we were one, it seems to us that we should consider them as tending to lose sight of or relinquish its original purpose.

In speaking of setting sails to the breeze, something might be said, perhaps, of ingratiating and wily politicians who overflow with Christian enthusiasm and eloquence at Sunday-school and other church conventions, and the invitation to, and presence of, civil dignitaries at recent Roman Catholic ceremonies.

Nor is there occasion wholly for censure, admitting even these intimations. Did not the founder of Christianity himself charge his followers to be "wise as serpents (the serpent being recognized as the type of the devil, and particularly distinguished for his craftiness), and harmless as doves?" The former part of the injunction has been more fully complied with, as humanity too often has had sorrowful occasion to feel, than the latter.

There has been a very perceptible indication in some of the leading Orthodox journals of the country, of late, of the effort of setting sails to the breeze. The time was when Universalism was pronounced by Orthodoxy the doctrine with which the serpent tempted Eve in the Garden of Eden; and when its adherents were declared to be in close league with his Satanic Excellency, to lure the doubting and disbelieving to destruction. But the *Independent* condemned the rejection of Universalist delegates by the Evangelical Alliance; and, in reply to animadversions of an eminent divine, with much coolness

and complacency maintained (rather illogically, we think) that belief in a future hell is not a fundamental tenet of the Orthodox system. In the columns of the same paper, it has been declared, on the authority of Professor Schaff, and as a reconsideration of views which he had previously put forth, that it is not impossible that those of the heathen world who never hear of Christ may be saved.

The siding of the *New York Observer*, and other Presbyterian papers (not to mention a preponderating number of the clergy of the same fellowship), with Professor Swing in his trial for heresy, notwithstanding the admission of his rationalistic predilections and palpable departure from the Orthodox confession, was also a sign in the same direction; as was that of the decision of a Presbyterian Assembly in St. Louis a few months since, that a preacher has the right to form his own conclusions in respect to the inspiration of a text of Scripture; and, if inconsistent with a rational judgment, to disregard its authority.

There have been some rather notable indications among Unitarians, of late, of the tendency to which our metaphor applies. When we remember how strenuously opposed the ruling temper and conduct of Unitarianism have been, up to very recent time, to outright rationalism, and how firmly set against all entangling alliances with it; when we remember the efforts to commit it to "statements of belief," and voting down of resolutions looking toward greater intellectual freedom in its national conventions; when we remember its refusal, not two years since, to send a fraternal greeting to the Free Religious Association, at one of these national gatherings,—it seems a little strange to pick up among the editorials of a paper presided over by one who has been the trumpeter of the alarm of "suspense of faith," and the foremost chief of a stationary and exclusive policy, such straws as these: "It would be a wise and safe measure, we think, to invite now all who desire to find the religion of freedom, and the freedom of religion, to stand together, work together, and so possess the land." "The most effective proclamation of our real strength and vital force would be the announcement of a policy of inclusion, of a determination to do all that such an organization might properly do to help men to a solution of the problem how to unite a sweet and strong religious sentiment with absolute intellectual freedom." "It would be an immense gain if we could, once for all, abolish names and tests, and, inviting all in every communion who accept religion as the struggle for nobler knowledge and nobler life, unite in practical endeavor to lay the foundation of the true Catholic Church." These straws show the way the wind blows, and a disposition to set sails accordingly.

More remarkable still were the resolutions brought before the Western Unitarian Conference, and passed without a dissenting vote, and with the special prompting and countenance of one who has been counted among the most Orthodox and uncompromising anti-radicals of the whole Unitarian body, of sympathy with the Free Religious Association, read at its annual meeting in Boston, a few weeks since.

We rejoice in these signs of the times. They are full of cheer and inspiration for radicals. And though, like the person of slow habits who was told that he would be late for the first resurrection, but might be in time for the second, conservatism may miss the ennobling satisfaction of those who earliest descry and announce the truth, and the heroic virtue which is born of the accompanying self-abnegation and suffering, it will be sure to follow in the wake of their more adventurous course at last, and come, sooner or later, to the results of their broader and finer perceptions.

At the ordination of a young man for the ministry in the West, two or three years since, of a family whose name has been brought into unhappy publicity of late, it was reported that the father of the young man who took part in the exercises of the occasion addressed him as follows: "I charge you not to forget that you are the son of your father, the nephew of your uncle, and the grandson of your grandfather." A newspaper, commenting upon these words, said: "We would respectfully advise the young man to forget altogether his family connections, and resolve to build up a reputation of his own, through his own merits and ability." And so in respect to truth and progress, and more especially religion, it is of the highest importance that we should forget wholly our party affiliations and attachments. It is of the first importance that we should put clear out of sight and thought the relation we may chance to sustain to this or that ism or organization, or even Christianity itself. Let us comprehend that sincerity is more than consistency; the attainment of pure and simple truth more than leadership, party success, or power; uncalculating disinterestedness more than fat livings, or a larger share of the loaves and fishes.

NEW MILFORD, Pa.

AN ADROIT ANSWER.—A well-known clergyman made a visit to a well-known banker, and asked to see him in a private room. "I have come to you with a message from dear Jesus. I am in a financial trouble, and I have been looking around for somebody to help me out. I went to dear Jesus and asked him to send me some one who would help me. He named you." "Are you sure," said the banker, "he mentioned my name?" "Oh! I cannot be mistaken about it." "I recollect," said the banker, "that when the Lord sent Peter to Cornelius, he told Cornelius that Peter was coming. I think if the Lord had sent you to me to get money he would have intimated to me that he had done so. As he has not said anything to me on the matter, I must wait till I hear from him."

CONVERSATION OF THE TIME:

OF BEECHER-TILTON.

REPORTED BY S. H. M.

Two friends meet. After exhausting all other topics, one says to the other:—

"Well, what is your opinion of the Beecher-Tilton disagreement?"

"Oh, fie, don't! I haven't—"

"Oh, yes you have some idea, one way or the other!"

"No, I haven't; I have some idea, or no idea, both ways."

"Well?"

"Well, then; I am profoundly sorry all around: for Beecher, for Tilton, for Moulton, and Mrs. Moulton, and last, but by no means least, for poor Mrs. Tilton. I wish I could turn a river of crystal water through that city of Brooklyn, and wash away all its sorrows. There they are, all those people, once friends, now estranged, and the world's talk. The publicity of the thing is damnable. The condonement should have been perpetual."

"You blame Tilton, then."

"No; nobody."

"But there was some fault, somewhere. If Beecher's word stands good, Tilton and the Moultons are villains. If their word is to be taken, he is one, sure. Which is it?"

"You are too scientific for me. I can't deal with people in such an absolute way. There is no villain."

"But some people come mighty near it."

"Oh, I know. But you mustn't say it, for it isn't true."

"Your philosophy blinks facts."

"Then don't press me to use it."

"Well, if Tilton is right, Beecher is in error; contrariwise, contrariwise. How's that?"

"I don't discuss it. Briefly, if you must have it, as between the parties, I think thus: I think Beecher failed to explain his letters. I don't see how to set Moulton's testimony—leaving Tilton out—aside, backed as it was by Mrs. Moulton. The jury say they had great respect for her. How did they show it? By voting 9 to 3 that she lied. It's more of a mystery to me that Mrs. Moulton, judging from all I hear concerning her, could make so direct and circumstantial a charge against Beecher, than it is that he, desperately defending himself, should so defiantly deny it. How those nine jurymen escaped Mrs. Moulton, I don't see."

"I see. They kept their eyes on Beecher. Too bad to pull such a man down. The evidence must be overwhelming to do it."

"Ah! then you do forsake your pure-villain theory. Aside from 'adultery,' as they call it, from 'lying,' as they say, there's a great deal left of Beecher that's worth keeping afloat. Even so it is with all concerned. I've seen boys, losing temper, get off the dry road into the mire, and splatter themselves with mud. But they washed the dirt off, and went on again."

"But this is too serious a matter to be put off with boys' play."

"It was a serious matter with the boys at the time."

"Then I judge that you think Beecher guilty, but you would wipe the whole affair out, and go on as though nothing had happened."

"Words are strange things. We shall probably never quite understand each other until we can do without them. But I will try once more. We can't go on as if nothing had happened. But it is the prerogative of man to act so that nothing that happens shall destroy him. Beecher's Friday-night talk, as you remember, was full of this: only, it was all about himself. It was to be a victory over or in spite of the rest of the world. Now, that is good and bad both. Good—if it must be a fight: good for Beecher; good for Tilton; good all around. But it was bad in that it is a fight. It ought to be by general consent. People talk of the parties to this affair, and speculate as to their future; according to their prejudices, they consign one or the other side to everlasting infamy; or they think they do. Now, society can't afford that."

"What would you do?"

"I would draw a line, beyond which I would carry no 'infamy.' Now, over that we will go on together—Beecher, Tilton, the Moultons, and all. That is, I would credit each and all with what virtue shows itself henceforth."

"Suppose virtue didn't show itself, but there was another mud fight."

"Draw another line, and move on."

"That's a pretty dream; but human nature is made of a coarser material. Why, you would set a premium on villany."

"Tush, my man; you are too easily frightened. Human nature isn't any such poor stuff as you think. While you insist on keeping your 'villany,' you decline salvation. It is the race that is to be saved; not you and me."

"But I can't wink villany out as fact, to suit my theory."

"You can cease to emphasize it as though it were absolute, and overshadowed all else. Put it behind you, and move on."

"And let it steal up with a blow?"

"Roll your life in your napkin, and forget it. Cowardice is more treacherous than villany."

"Tilton might have taken that advice at the start."

"Certainly. It was a lack of all spiritual discernment that opened his mouth."

"But he didn't until Beecher and Bacon fairly

forced him to do so. Few men have greater provocation. It's hard to blame him."

"Nor do I. But oh! what a blessing to themselves, and all the world, could they have kept the privacy that pertained to their own affair! I say it was a lack of spiritual discernment that opened the mouth of Tilton. It was a gross act."

"Bacon called him a 'dog.'"

"He ought not to have barked, if he was not."

"That's too bad."

"Well, I don't mean it *absolutely*. Bacon was not worth noticing. No man is; nor woman, either. At least, not when their speech or action is a challenge to drive you from your own spiritual purpose."

"What is a spiritual purpose?"

"A purpose not to do things grossly."

"Would you never defend yourself?"

"It would be contrary to my idea to accuse others. I would say 'yea,' or 'nay,' if accused."

"Then Beecher's inactivity and silence was all right."

"If he was innocent, his simple 'nay' was sufficient."

"Then you would not appeal to the law?"

"Appeal to the law! What, my man, after the illustration we have just had? Heaven forbid!"

"What will become of one's character, if he can't appeal to an impartial jury?"

"What becomes of it, if he does? Where's Beecher, Tilton, Moulton? Why, there they are, riddled through and through."

"Then you would simply say 'nay,' and let people think what they please."

"I could not help their thinking. But I could mind my own affairs. A man's character, if he have any, is not so flimsy a thing that even a great number of people can blow it away. It is absolute, and will stand by him, you may be assured, though all else forsake him."

"Well, his reputation, then?"

"Oh, that; well that may come and go. Let him keep to his task and wist not. To look after that is like putting out to sea compassless and rudderless."

"Well, then, what is your estimate of Beecher, and Tilton, and Moulton, and all the rest now?"

"I dare say they are all estimable people. That is, they all have their friends who esteem them, and esteem them, too, for their good qualities. See Beecher and his host of friends. Tilton has his friends; Moulton his. Those who know each of them best esteem each of them accordingly. Beecher is more magnetic and flowing in his nature, and wins more to him. Tilton has admirable qualities. And, to-day, he is a wiser and better man than ever; fitter for the world's esteem. Why should there not be a future for him? So far as what the world is disposed to do for him, I am not sure but his chances are better than Beecher's. I mean, if the world treats him with the indifference some think probable. If the tide turns toward Beecher to his (Tilton's) neglect, both will suffer from extreme handling. Beecher with his \$100,000 salary and 'thunders of applause' will have occasion for much 'prayer and fasting.' He's in a scorching sun. Tilton may even be thankful for his comparative shade."

"The papers report that Tilton is in great demand for lecturing this fall."

"Well, I have great faith in him; more than ever. He certainly bore himself like a true man during the trial. I doubt not he will win many friends. But we have talked enough of 'scandal' now. Let us quit, and never do so more."

"Well—I—"

"I have been thinking of a verse or two I wrote some time since, before this bad disturbance came up. If you don't object, I'll try and recall them."

"Do so."

"I called them, I believe,

"TRANSPANTED.

"From heavens afar transplant the God
To our divinest earth;
The seed, the life to quicken all
That hath, or shall have, birth.

"No more apart in regal state
He keepeth his high throne;
Henceforth the servant of our race
Is he, a God we own.

"He worketh now as hitherto;
And evermore will he
His faithful work of love repeat,
The race of man to free.

"The servant of the humblest soul,
Yet none the less a God;
He ruleth in the mind of man,—
The devils fly the rod.

"Howbeit he be sacrificed,
To outward seeming plain;
He keepeth well his task in hand:
The slayers are the slain.

"He is our World-Humanity;
The Nature of us all.
Apart from him no soul is saved—
The Race, or none at all.

"Self-Righteousness, abusing him,
Straight hies for heaven alone;
Back falling soon—unerring fate—
To depth of burning zone.

"There—"

"I forget—there were a few more verses—"

"In process of the ages thus
Is wrought a life divine.
We fall, we rise, we fall again,
Yet still our star doth shine."

"I forget. Well, that is enough, I guess."

"I am sorry you do not remember it all. But I should want to study it a little."

"Well, study away at your leisure. I must be off."

"No more 'scandal'?"

"Not if we can help it."

"REVEREND."

The right of Mr. Keet, the Wesleyan minister, to put the word "Rev." before his name on his daughter's tombstone in the church-yard of Owston Ferry, in England, has been solemnly argued by counsel before the Chancellor of the Diocese of Lincoln, who is a young man and the bishop's son. The facts in the case are already familiar to our readers, and the report of the proceedings in court reads very much like a caricature by some satirist who hated the clergy. The chancellor has solemnly delivered judgment in the case, refusing the citation asked for directing the vicar to allow the obnoxious inscription to be made. It is difficult to read the decision with a grave face. It holds that, if the use of the term "Reverend" implies that the person bearing it is entitled to administer the sacraments, it would be against the laws of the Church to apply it to a Wesleyan minister; moreover, the use of the title was forbidden by the teachings of John Wesley, and the rules of the Wesleyan Conference, which it appears, on a pinch, the chancellor thinks himself bound to enforce. If, on the other hand, it was admitted, as had been contended at the bar, that the epithet "Reverend" was a title of courtesy, and might be given to all persons "worthy of reverence," it must still be denied to Mr. Keet; because, though he might be a very estimable person in private life, and though there might be some strong excuse for his being so bad a thing as a Wesleyan, yet the Church could not admit that a Wesleyan minister was, as such, "worthy of reverence," because he was a schismatic. Besides this, if he was allowed to call himself "Reverend" on his daughter's tombstone, "it might be the means of disseminating doctrines inconsistent with those of the Church." After turning the matter over thoroughly, the chancellor could see no way of granting the application unless the inscription were so worded that it would show that it was only "an asserted title"; or in other words, we suppose, unless Mr. Keet would make it "The so-called Rev. Henry Keet," or the "soi-disant Rev. Henry Keet," or the "alleged," or the "self-styled Rev. Henry Keet," which he is hardly likely to do. He has given notice of an appeal from the chancellor's decision, and the case will probably go to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; but no doubt is entertained as to the final result. He will certainly be allowed to call himself "Rev." on his daughter's tombstone if he pleases. The decision of the chancellor, who is a rather light-headed young man, who holds the place as his father's son, is commented on in the *Times* in terms of not unmerited severity, as it is only prevented from being exasperating and insulting to dissenters by being very absurd.—*Nation*.

IT IS ANNOUNCED that a Philadelphia inventor has discovered a new mechanical force, which, named for its discoverer, is called the "Keeley Motor." An instrument of moderate dimensions, called a "multiplier," is fed with a small quantity of water; and from this water and the air there is developed a force of wonderful power, whose nature would seem to resemble the expansive power exerted by a condensed gas, and whose energy is measured by tons per square inch. If one-tenth of what is claimed for this motor be true, we are on the brink of a revolution equal to that which was brought about by the introduction of the steam-engine. Steam and water-power will become valueless, coal will be in demand only for domestic and metallurgical purposes; and waterfalls will be left in their native wildness, where the lover of Nature can enjoy their beauty unscarred by the workshops of men. It is not yet time to pass on the merit of this invention, the sight of which has as yet been accorded only to a privileged few; but there is one thing which we may be certain of—it does not develop a remarkable mechanical energy without the expenditure of an equivalent amount of fuel of some kind, and the success or failure of the motor, assuming it to be an honest invention, will depend upon the cheapness of this fuel. The conservation of forces is as much a physical fact as the inertia of matter; neither force nor matter can be created or destroyed—the most that can be done is to make an exchange of equivalents. The fuel consumed chemically in cells of the battery is as essential to the telegraph or the electric engine as is the fuel consumed by the fire in a locomotive fire-box; and, in the same way, the "Keeley Motor" is either an ingenious mechanical fraud, or a device by which some new method of consuming fuel is applied to produce mechanical results.—*Nation*.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 24.

J. Russ, Jr., 75 cents; A. Forbes, \$1.45; W. D. LeSueur, \$3.50; Roberts Bros., \$3; D. M. Bennett, 50 cents; Lewis Whitcover, \$2; A. Bate, \$1.80; E. Rees, 85 cents; A. A. Hedge, \$3.50; Maest & Ross, \$4.65; H. L. Higginson, \$3; H. S. Mason, \$1.20; Geo. B. Wheeler, 30 cents; N. B. Guernsey, \$1; M. A. Kirschmidt, \$4.40; D. C. White, 35 cents; C. D. Childs, \$3.20; H. H. Everts, \$1.85; E. Towle, \$1.50; M. F. Whitehead, \$3.20; W. B. Gray, \$1.75; John Bentley, \$3.20; J. D. White, \$3; E. Crosby, \$3.20; J. C. Fargo, \$1.60; R. G. Titcomb, \$3.20; Jacob Reedy, \$3.20; N. T. Allen, \$3.20; M. Houghton, \$3.20; Fred. Miller, \$3.20; Samuel Townsend, \$3.20; R. L. Houghton, \$4.40; Chas. Hamilton, \$3; E. D. Burleigh, \$3.20; M. L. Cummings, \$3.20; D. E. Ware, \$3.20; H. S. Thomas, \$1.62; Lucius Snow, 50 cents; J. C. Delano, \$3.20; Werner Boecklin, \$3.20; H. L. B. Bostwick, \$3.15; D. Dunton, \$3.20; J. W. Steward, 25 cents; J. J. Hoopes, \$1.60; M. Curtis, \$3.20; W. H. Kent, \$3.20; Dr. Haegle, \$3.20; W. P. Rogers, \$1.60; S. J. Matthews, 75 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

WHAT ARE YOU THINKING?

A POOR MAN'S POOR OPINION OF OUR MONEY SYSTEM.

What are you thinking, neighbor,
Who were so clear to see
A good chance, and to go for't,
Ahead of such as me?
You allus could make money,
And used to put things through;
You scarce stopped to be civil,
You had so much to do.

But now you're looking dreamy;
Your hands are by your side;
You stop—and turn—and saunter,—
You're waiting for the tide?
The tide flows in its season,
And it's what I want to know,
If you can give a reason
Why trade should ebb and flow?

The months are many as ever,
And keep increasin', too;
And hands are willin', neighbor,
But there's scarce a turn to do.
The cobbler can't buy clothing,
The tailor can't buy shoes;
And trade, you see, is dying
Of so many Nothing-to-dos.

And all for want of money,
That men can't eat nor wear!
I'll tell you what I'm thinkin'—
Excuse, sir, if I swear,—
I wish the damned invention
Sunk a thousand leagues at sea,
So trade would be unburdened,
And common sense set free.

D'y'e s'pose the honest people
Wouldn't find the honest way,
And the cobbler get his clothing,
And the tailor have his pay?
D'y'e s'pose that trade would suffer
'Cause the usurer didn't thrive—
Him that's sucked the blood of labor
Till its skercely left alive?

You cannot see my point, sir?
'Cause you're looking t'other way!
I wish you would look fairly
At what I try to say.
If 'money makes the mare go,'—
The thing we want to do,—
And by the self-same virtue,
It stops the critter too;

If your money-breeding money
So very ill behaves,
As to lift the few to luxury,
The many sink to slaves;
Till men, like wares, are measured
In dollars, cents, and dimes,
And the priest believes his Bible
To hide usury's worst of crimes,—

Then there's suthin' wrong with money,
Suthin' devilish, you may say;
And it's no particular wonder
There's just the devil to pay!
Say—mustn't a money system
That offers fortune's lure,
Fewer and richer make the wealthy,
More and poorer make the poor?

Yet it's said in all the papers,
If speculation starts,
'Twill move the hands of labor
In all our mills and marts.
'There'll be prosperous times next season,'
Says one, 'or I'm no seer;
And some will make their thousands;
Course, the people'll get a sheer.'

Not much. Some cunning schemers
May, like enough, get rich,
And want new silks and carpets,
And hats and boots and sitch;
And trade be set a-going—
Till the hats and boots are made;
And then—"the market's glutted!"
There's dearth of work and trade.

So speculation's see-saw
Keeps up its idle play
Over the back of labor,—
That's the "business" of to-day!
Paying Paul by robbing Peter
Is all it's ever done;
Poor labor bears the burden,
But never shares the fun.

Keep the people's pockets empty,
Count the toilers but as brutes,
And of course the market's glutted
With a few snobs' hats and boots.
Why not pay 'em, so that they, too,
Can buy your goods like men?
Make the buying thousands millions,
You won't glut the market then;

'Cause, when the working people
Get their sheer of what is done,
There'll be no sight for fortunes,
And men don't work for fun.
Don't think—the thought is impious!—
That, when Justice takes the lead,
There'll be shirking more than working—
Tyrant Waste for tyrant Greed.

Be the love of gold uprooted,
There'll be left the love of praise,
And this will bring the people
Into self-respecting ways.
The working day'll be shorter,
The worker's meed be more,
And joyful labor's chorus
Will charm both sea and shore.

But of such good times the chances
Are surely not right smart
While we're taught "the root of evil"
Springs nat'rally from the heart!
And if heaven threatened to tumble,
Or such a thing might be,
The usurer'd not knock under;
He'd rather wait and see!

I'll tell you what I'm thinking:
The nation's stultified!
Like a corpse, this cussed system
To its culprit back is tied;
In its dream of "making money,"
Its delirium of "per cent.,"
It drives like an idiot,
And seems on ruin bent.

O heavens! can't our wise ones
Unscale their eyes in time
To stay the fearful increase
Of poverty and crime,
Ere 'cumulated evils'
Come on us like a flood,
And the fiend of revolution
Is shrieking, "Bread or Blood"?

I. G. BLANCHARD.

The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 29, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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COIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), Editorial Contributors.

COL. HIGGINSON has handsomely withdrawn his charge that we made "an absolutely false statement" respecting his attitude towards "the anti-church-urruption agitation" [see THE INDEX of June 3], and has honorably expressed his regret for the misapprehension of our language which led to it. Reciprocally, we desire to express our own regret for having supposed that he intended his stricture for editorial notice on our part, which he says was not the case at all, and for having in consequence made public a little difference which would better have been settled privately, as it now has been. It was a case of misunderstanding on both sides, which, we rejoice to say, is now satisfactorily removed.

THIS very kind notice of THE INDEX is from the Newville (Pa.) Enterprise: "We have a warm friendship for the Boston INDEX, because every one of its articles (and it has a host of contributors and correspondents), though representing nearly every shade of opinion, betoken culture in every sentence, and because it furnishes a fund of information obtainable through few other sources. Its topics are: Religion in various phases, from Christian, extra-Christian, and anti-Christian standpoints; politics in its higher sense; science, as applied to the problem of man's existence and in its application to social life; and other matters connected therewith. We recommend it to the attention of religionists generally, and orthodox ministers particularly, not necessarily that they may adopt its views, but that they may understand and appreciate the aims and claims of Free Thought. Further information is given in an advertisement elsewhere."

CALL FOR THE SEPTEMBER CONVENTION.

We have just received the following communication from the Secretary of the Philadelphia Liberal League, respecting the preliminary Convention to be held in that city next September for the purpose of making arrangements for a general Convention of Liberals at the Centennial Exhibition of 1876. The following persons have been elected delegates to this preliminary Convention by the Philadelphia League: Isaac Rhen (President), John S. Dye (Secretary), Carrie S. Burnham, Damon Y. Kilgore, Jesse B. Beam. It will be recollected that delegates were appointed by the Boston Liberal League, at their meeting of May 7, as follows: F. E. Abbot (President), George A. Bacon (Secretary), A. Bronson Alcott, B. F. Underwood, John Wetherbee. The subjoined call is commended to the attention of all who favor such a movement:—

The Liberal Leagues throughout the country are cordially invited to send five delegates each to a Convention to be held in Philadelphia on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of September next, for the purpose of disseminating our principles and of making arrangements for a general Congress of Liberals to convene next year during the Centennial exhibition. It is very desirable that every Liberal League in America should be fully represented at the September Convention. Now is the time to work. The enemies of religious freedom are busy in preparing to utilize human ignorance and superstition for the strengthening and perpetuating of an organized system of mental repression, hostile alike to science, reason, and the right of private judgment in all matters of faith and conscience.

Let us endeavor to overcome ignorance by intelligence,—superstition by reason. Let each League send a full representation of men and women, so that from the combined wisdom of both sexes and all our societies we may be able to inaugurate a new era of impartial justice, perfect freedom, and scientific religion.

As soon as delegates are elected, Leagues are requested to notify the undersigned, and also THE INDEX.

JOHN S. DYE,

Sec'y Phila. Liberal League,

2527 Brown Street, Phila.

PHILADELPHIA, July 22, 1875.

THE QUENCHED STAR.

The press has treated Mr. Beecher, from the first attack of Mrs. Woodhull down to the present time, with extraordinary tenderness. It forbore almost universally to take any notice of the original indictment; with rare exceptions, it gave him the benefit of the doubt all through the feverish and bitter outbreak of last summer; it gave him every advantage during the progress of the six months' trial which has lately ended in a disagreement of the jury, nine in his favor to three against him. No other man would have received treatment which was, on the whole, so lenient; and this fact is due to the just influence of a reputation which had stood second to none among the great names of the last twenty years. Who wished to believe evil of a man whose name was one of the treasures of the generation? There was no right-minded man in the country who did not hope sincerely to see Henry Ward Beecher shake off the toils that seemed gathered about him, and come forth with the added splendor of an absolute and indisputable vindication of his spotlessness. Such, at least, was the earnest desire of THE INDEX, as its columns prove.

Pending the trial—indeed, so long as there appeared to be any probability of fresh light being thrown on the facts,—we refrained from making any comments on this miserable "scandal." It was an unsavory mess to meddle with; the certainty that there were lying and perjury of the most desperate description on one side or the other, and apparently on both, rendered all comment of ours useless and perhaps unfair; the delicacy, perplexity, and unspeakable sadness of the whole case made patient waiting the plain duty of all who were possessed of no accurate knowledge of the facts or persons concerned. But it now seems unlikely that any further data will be given to the public for the present, though it will not surprise us in the least if unexpected and important revelations shall be made at some future time. That both parties have preserved silence as to very important facts (e. g., the nature and grounds of Henry C. Bowen's charges) is clear enough, and they may yet prove morally conclusive to all minds. As the case now stands, however, we feel called upon to give our own opinion here on the main issue.

Briefly, it is this: that the evidence, while not sufficient to convict Mr. Beecher legally, is yet sufficient to produce moral conviction in an unprejudiced mind that he is guilty of adultery. This is a conclusion which we have wished and hoped not to form; but it has been forced upon us despite all prepossessions in his favor. Many considerations have contributed to it, but none more than these:—

1. Three witnesses—Theodore Tilton, Francis D. Moulton, Mrs. Moulton,—have sworn that Mr. Beecher explicitly confessed adultery to them. Judge Neilson, in his charge, dismissed the theory of "conspiracy" and "black-mail" as untenable and utterly unworthy of notice. Against the concurrent testimony of three witnesses, therefore, we have only the defendant's word. What is it worth?

2. If throughout this wretched business Mr. Beecher had shown a high and strict regard for truth, we should have been inclined to accept his unsupported statement as conclusive. But he has not.

In the first place, he had confessedly made himself for years a party to "devices" which were in fact nothing but a series of tricks, frauds, and lies to deceive the public, and for which he must bear the responsibility just as much as the other parties to them.

In the next place, on the outbreak of last summer, Mr. Beecher made in his "card" of July 22 this astounding declaration, to which we called attention in THE INDEX of August 6, 1874: "My published correspondence on this subject comprises but two elements,—the expression of my grief and that of my desire to shield the honor of a pure and innocent woman." This was the bold-faced denial of a third element which the whole world saw at a glance in his then "published correspondence": namely, a profound, acute, and agonizing REMORSE. It was an attempt, to which desperation alone could possibly have prompted him, to cover up a fact as patent as the sun at noonday, and to induce the public to interpret his letters as containing no remorse at all. But in his "statement" to the Investigating Committee dated August 13, 1874, he was compelled, by the loud and universal demand for an explanation of this denied but obtrusively evident remorse, to admit it and assign a cause for it (utterly lame and inadequate, at the best), as follows: "I felt convicted of slander in its meanest form. . . . While I rejected this memorandum [the Apology or Contrition letter]

as my work or an accurate condensation of my statement, it does undoubtedly correctly represent that I was in profound sorrow, and that I *blamed myself with great severity* for the disasters of the Tilton family. . . . There was much there that weighed heavily on my heart and CONSCIENCE which now weighs only on my heart. . . . No mother who has lost a child but will understand the *wild accusations*," etc., etc. Similarly, Mr. Beecher confessed on the witness stand and elaborately strove to account for the penitence, contrition, and remorse which he at first had precipitately hastened to deny.

Again, his statements as to his health have been hopelessly clashing. In the paper above quoted, he says: "In my letter to Mrs. Tilton, I alluded to the fact that I did not expect, when I saw her last, to be alive many days. This statement stands connected with a series of *symptoms*, which I first experienced in 1856. . . . I very seriously thought I was going to have apoplexy or paralysis, or something of the kind. On two or three occasions, while preaching, I should have fallen in the pulpit if I had not held to the table; very often I came near falling in the streets. During the last fifteen years I have gone into the pulpit, I suppose a hundred times, with a very strong impression that I should never come out of it alive. . . . In December, 1870, the sudden shock of these troubles brought on again those *symptoms* in a more violent form. . . . During the last four years these *symptoms* had been repeatedly brought on by my intense work, carried forward on the underlying basis of so much sorrow and trouble. My friends will bear witness that in the pulpit I have very frequently alluded to my expectation of sudden death. I feel that I have been more than once already near a stroke that would have killed or paralyzed me, and I carry with me now, as I have so often carried, in years before this trouble began, the daily thought of death as a door which might open for me, at any moment, out of all cares and labors into a more welcome rest. . . . There are intimations at the beginning and end of this letter [to Moulton] that I felt the approach of death. With regard to that I merely refer to my previous statement concerning my *bodily symptoms*, and that on this day I felt the symptoms upon me." Now these statements were written on August 13, 1874, and affirm the fact of *physical symptoms*, such as almost falling in the pulpit and on the streets, as the ground of his apprehensions; and at that date he expressed the belief that he *had actually been* more than once near a fatal "stroke." Yet on March 17, 1874, about five months previously, he had indorsed and signed a physician's report of an examination of his physical condition, appended to an application for a life insurance policy, in which these questions were asked: "Are the functions of the brain and nervous system in a healthy state? Yes. Has the party any predisposition, either hereditary or acquired, to any constitutional disease? No." When interrogated on the witness stand, April 21, respecting this denial of all disease in his application for insurance and his inconsistent declarations of five months later, Mr. Beecher tried to explain away the *physical symptoms* he had recounted, as being mere *groundless impressions*: "You actually at the time had impressions that your life was precarious, and would come to an end, had you not? Very strong. Now did you ascertain that those impressions were the *symptoms* and came from nervous exhaustion, and were not supported by any facts concerning your health? I did, sir, most thoroughly." From all which it appears that on March 17, 1874, when Mr. Beecher desired to obtain a life insurance policy, he concluded that his fears of sudden death were utterly groundless, mere mental hallucinations not worth even mentioning to his medical examiner; but that on August 13, 1874, when he desired to explain away apparently suspicious references to contemplated suicide, he could still assert that he had had dangerous physical symptoms of apoplexy continuing during fifteen years down to that date, and therefore covering the period when he had sworn to a contrary state of facts.

It is unnecessary to cite other instances of a melancholy tampering with truth which destroys the right of Mr. Beecher's word to that absolute confidence which alone could make it outweigh the explicit and uncontradicted testimony of three witnesses as to his own confessions of adultery. No adequate motive for this testimony, if false, on the part of the Moultons, has been alleged. It must not be overlooked that Judge Neilson, in his charge to the jury, ruled out the supposition of "conspiracy" on their part as wholly baseless in the evidence, and that he said of Mrs. Moulton in particular: "Her manner on the stand, and the opinion which the defend-

ant himself had of her moral character and worth, as stated in his letters, commend her to your respect." Mr. Beecher's word, therefore, is in one scale of the balance, and the word of three non-conspiring witnesses in the other; and we are sorry to say that the former has not the weight which his enthusiastic partisans attribute to it, and which is absolutely necessary to his vindication.

The review of the whole trial by the *New York Times* of July 3 fully deserves, in our opinion, the commendation thus bestowed upon it by the *Nation* of July 8: "The case has been reviewed, evidently by a master-hand, in the *New York Times* of Saturday last, and nowhere else adequately that we know of. We strongly advise any one who wishes to get a clear view of the evidence and its bearings to read that able statement. It leaves nothing worth saying to be said, and its conclusions, as far as they go, are those which we believe will be those of every careful and intelligent man a month hence. Nowhere else have the important points been extracted and set out in a clear light." The chief conclusions arrived at in this article of the *Times* are briefly these:—

1. That the real accusers of Mr. Beecher are not Theodore Tilton and the Moultons, but Mrs. Tilton and Mr. Beecher himself. "It is these two persons who have supplied the evidence which has produced the deepest impression upon the public mind."

2. That the original charge was adultery, which was met by Mr. Beecher in a manner exactly the reverse of that in which an innocent man must have met it, and that his conduct all through was a practical confession of guilt.

3. That there have been eight different replies to the charge made by the defence; but that all the eight are disproved by the evidence, and disprove each other.

On the main question, therefore, we are constrained to believe Henry Ward Beecher guilty of adultery; and we believe that this opinion will spread and prevail at last, unless new evidence of a most extraordinary kind is introduced at some future time. It is a conclusion that brings less pain than would be the case, if a contrary conclusion would suffice to maintain our old respect for Mr. Beecher. But, alas, on no hypothesis does his conduct seem upright, truthful, brave, manly, or decent; and no hypothesis now can save his character with the discerning part of mankind. The dust and clamor of those who are interested to sustain him will not avail to cloud the vision of the great outside world. Despite all temporary seeming, *Henry Ward Beecher is dead.*

Next week we shall republish the article of the *New York Times* above referred to, and state editorially some conclusions we have arrived at respecting the general influence of the "Scandal."

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

In reading the account of the Centennial celebration at Cambridge, one could hardly help being struck by the reactionary and hopeless feeling in regard to free institutions, expressed by the orator of the day and the President of the college, in contrast with the hopeful and manly utterances of the city orator on the Fourth of July.

Is it the influence of classical studies to lead men to glorify the past at the expense of the present, or does this tendency come from a mediæval disposition to doubt of all good in human nature?

The "awful experiment" in government which we are trying, according to President Eliot, and the doubt of Dr. Peabody whether such a man as Washington could now be elected President, are notes of the same tune; and it is one well fitted to depress and dishearten true patriotism, whose root is faith in human nature and human progress.

I can see nothing "awful" in the experiment which we are trying of a universal enlightened democracy. It is a grand experiment, and liable to fail of immediate success from the very largeness and completeness of the problem to be worked out. President Eliot says: "Our country is a Paradise under the shadow of swords." Will he point out a century of history under any other than a free government with less of bloodshed than ours? And the darkest spot in our century's life, the terrible civil war, came from that other experiment, which might truly be called "awful," of trying to compromise right and wrong, and maintain slavery in the midst of a free people. Was it Harvard College, or men who stood in Congress, who were foremost in the protest for the right which conquered in that struggle?

It is a curious question for an American to ask:

"Could Washington be now elected to the Presidency?" when within fifteen years a man like Abraham Lincoln, having the integrity and patriotism of Washington, but with far less of his personal advantages, was elected to the Presidency for two terms, though he had to run counter to the most excited prejudices of the people.

It seems to us this wholesale belittling of our own times and country is paralyzing to the moral energies. The contempt thrown upon public officials tends to perpetuate corruption in office. What we especially need is a high standard of moral truth and purity, and the demand upon our young men to come up to it.

I lately heard a discussion before a Social Science Association, in which gentlemen indulged in the same train of remark, that it was impossible for a man to succeed in politics by a noble and manly course. Nobility and manliness never have smooth sailing all the way through; they could not show their quality if they did, any more than a pilot could get a reputation for bringing in his vessels in clear weather with a favorable wind. But the history of American politics shows, as plainly as all other records of God's Providence, "that he who loveth his life shall lose it, and he who hateth it for the sake of the right shall save it." When John F. Hale, in the State of New Hampshire, then trodden under foot by the worst form of Democratic party tyranny, dared to take his stand against party, he seemed to throw away every chance of political success; but there was virtue enough in New Hampshire to send him to the Senate. When he was taunted that he "stood alone," he made the grand reply which will be remembered when all party triumphs are forgotten: "I came here to stand alone." But soon Sumner stood beside him, who had also "ruined himself" into the Senate.

Our history shows, as all history shows, that cunning, time-serving, selfishness, adherence to party right or wrong, will get its reward in immediate payment of very small coin; but that here, as everywhere under God's moral government, integrity, devotion to right, and unselfish labor for great ends will have sacrifices to make and hardships to endure, but will have the constant encouragement of self-respect, and the ultimate triumph of recognition and true success. The poor boy who determines to have Jim Fiske's millions will be very apt to try his methods; but he will also be likely to have his final end. But he may, like Amos Lawrence, achieve pecuniary success by honest means, and use it for noble purposes. Hypocrisy, which professes to be better than it is, is contemptible enough; but it at least has the merit of acknowledging virtue and paying her tribute, though in false coin. But the present fashionable bravado of holding up vice and crime as popular and desirable things is a far more poisonous and dangerous tendency. To expect good things of the young is the first stimulus towards their performance, and he who holds out the idea that the virtues of integrity, patriotism, chastity, and truth are buried in the graves of the fathers is not likely to assist at their resurrection.

It was hoped that the choice of a young man for President of Harvard College would check its reactive spirit, and give it a new impulse towards liberal thought and heroic life. All must recognize the impetus which has been given to its material prosperity and the elevation of its standard of scholarship. But we yet look in vain to see in it that evidence of new faith and hope in humanity which shall make it the leader of the vigorous young life and thought of our country.

E. D. C.

PRISON DISCIPLINE.

Two or three weeks ago, some remarks were made by me in these columns on "Crime and Criminals." It was there stated that the problem before society for solution is to find some method of prison discipline which shall restrain the actual criminal, deter the probable criminal, and reform the prisoner; and it was added that the true solution of the problem of criminality would accomplish all these objects harmoniously and effectually. Nothing was said in this statement about *punishment* as such for the criminal; though to many minds this covers the whole extent of the problem.

But this omission was designed. For what is called *punishment*, so far as it may be legitimately applied at all, must come within one of the purposes named. It must be of the nature of discipline looking towards the reformation of the criminal, or calculated for actually deterring him and others from similar crime. But punishment in the sense of inflicting

retribution for a past offence, punishment that does not embrace the future good both of the individual trespasser and of society, punishment that consists merely in paying back suffering to the offender for his offence, on the principle of stripe for stripe, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,—all this is of the nature of barbarism, and should have become obsolete before now in civilized society. It has its source in the principle of vengeance. With the great processes of Nature, every transgression of law brings by natural consequence some kind of retribution; but there is no infliction of suffering merely as an arbitrary penalty. The laws of retribution are laws also of healing and redemption. So man is made by Nature to suffer for his errors, not so much for the sake of appeasing a law already broken, as that he, and others through him, may learn to keep the law. If society, in dealing with its offenders, will keep close to these principles of Nature, it will find the true path. On these principles it may restrain offenders; it may lock them up in prison as a measure of self-protection; it may use methods of compulsion on prisoners so far as they may be necessary for preserving order and discipline; but these measures must all be justified on the ground of their use in protecting society and of reforming the criminal. The line that separates these objects from motives of vengeance must not be passed by civilized society.

If we compare the common methods of treating criminals with these requirements, which seem to be demanded alike by reason, justice, and humanity, we cannot fail to see that the established modes of prison discipline fall very short of the purpose. In truth, in the present administration of the prison system, very little is done that aims at the reformation of the criminal at all; and very little that aims, except in a very indirect and ineffective way, even at the protection of society. *Penalty*, apportioned in a very loose way to the measure of past offence, is rather the principle on which prison discipline is administered. These penalties having been inflicted, the prisoners go loose again without any thought on the part of society whether they are more fit for liberty than before, or any care to prevent their falling again into criminal ways. As to reforming the criminal, a good many people are ready to say that it is all chimerical, and deprecate the adoption of means for such an end, as only the product of a weak and vicious sentimentalism. But in fact, this question of reformation has not yet been fairly tested. The system of criminal treatment, even where it is best, needs much remodelling before it can be said to aim earnestly at the two objects of reforming the criminal and protecting society.

In the United States, as well as in most countries of the world, the penal system is at present in a particularly unsatisfactory condition, because it is neither the one thing nor the other. Public opinion is in a state of transition on the subject, passing from the view that the penalty is for vengeance, or at least for the sole purpose of striking terror to the wrong-doer, to the view that it is for the good of the offender and of society. A wiser and humaner sentiment is coming in; yet the laws and the prison establishments are generally based on the old sentiment, and the two do not work well together. The new sentiment must bring new modes and institutions. It cannot work successfully through the old. It cannot, for instance, keep the death-penalty for murder on the statute book, and then save the murderer from the gallows by some flimsy plea of insanity or imbecility. It cannot commit a forger or swindler to hard labor in prison, and then out of compassion, in view of his previous position in society, mitigate his sentence by giving him an easy place, or pardon him out and restore him to the opportunities and privileges of an upright citizen. It is not thus that true humanity will work. It must aim at real reformation of character, and not primarily at restoration to society. Restoration to society should be made dependent on clear evidences of moral reformation, and not on the fact that certain penalties have been borne or remitted by executive pardon.

It is probable, indeed, that under the solution of the problem of dealing with crime which a wise humanity will bring, great criminals will be kept more in confinement than now, and all criminals more than now under the supervision of society. By the principle of indeterminate sentences, and by the establishment of transition institutions for those who show signs of reformation, where they can earn a living and be gradually prepared for restoration to full liberty,—by these methods, combined with edu-

cation both to letters and labor, under the care of wise and humane superintendence, society may both lift up its criminal class and protect itself from their violence.

W. J. P.

TWO SUNDAY VISITS.

Quite recently, kind fortune has permitted me to vary the monotony of city life and office drudgery, by flying visits to two of the loveliest villages in New England. She has further augmented my pleasure by bringing me into the society of exceedingly pleasant people in both places, and face to face with two Sunday meetings of cordial and intelligent liberals.

The first of these places was South Manchester, Connecticut. This village was founded and builded by the enterprise and industry of the Cheney Brothers, who carry on there the largest silk manufactory in the United States. Theirs is one of the old families of Connecticut. Both their father and grandfather before them were men of noted character, distinguished for sound judgment and remarkable liberality, for those days, of religious opinion. When all the rest of their neighbors were Orthodox to the core, these two men, with great bravery and fidelity, stood in succession for breadth and toleration in religion. The consequence is that their descendants are even more liberal, and that they have organized on the spot where their fathers lived a community founded on liberal and enlightened principles; containing many prosperous and happy families, and a degree of neatness, good order, thrift, and elegance which are rarely to be seen in any manufacturing village.

Among other means of amusement and instruction, which the Messrs. Cheney have liberally provided for themselves and the people in their employ, is a large, substantial, and elegant Hall which contains, besides other rooms, a commodious auditorium and a stage fitted up with all the necessary appointments for a theatre. Here, during the week, are held all those meetings of a literary, benevolent, reformatory, and diverting character, such as a community of that kind would naturally desire and undertake. Here, too, on Sundays, is held a religious meeting which is free to all who will attend; and which is quite largely attended by those whose wants are not met either at the Methodist or Catholic church, both of which the liberality of the Messrs. Cheney has assisted to build in their village. This Sunday meeting at the Hall is free in more than the pecuniary sense. It enlists the interest of one class of believers only. The audience which assembles there ranges through all phases of belief from Orthodox to Radical. And the same variety is found in the speakers who are invited to occupy the platform. The Sunday previous to that on which it was my pleasure to address the meeting, Rev. Dr. Peabody of Cambridge was the speaker,—and the good doctor represents the very essence of Christian conservatism. Strange to say, the Orthodox deacon who conducts the Sunday-school, which holds its session directly after the morning meeting, found much in both discourses to approve. He was seen also nodding his head with evident approbation of the remarks which he himself invited me subsequently to make to the Sunday-school,—albeit I spoke to the boys and girls simply of natural religion, as indeed I had spoken to their elders. But in both cases the religion inculcated was so natural, that the worthy deacon could not discover its heterodoxy. May he never learn to be less unsuspicious and sensible, or find that the naturalism to which he gave willing ear shall ever lead him from the true salvation!

I confess that it gave me unusual pleasure to speak to such an audience of various believers, and to know that they all were ready to listen respectfully to any doctrine which might be honestly and reverently taught. It must be in the spirit of truth that such an audience abides; and to have the spirit of truth is, perhaps, better than to have the truth itself: certainly it is better than to be complacent in the thought that the truth is alone in our possession. I was glad, moreover, to see that this diversity of belief did not prevent all these people from working together in the Sunday-school, where, as I understood, life more than doctrine is the subject generally treated upon. It is the liberality of the Cheney Brothers, I believe, which chiefly if not solely supports these meetings; at any rate they would not be sustained, if these large-hearted gentlemen did not lend their indispensable assistance. In my judgment, they show their greater wisdom by exhibiting such breadth and toleration in inviting men of various phases of belief to occupy their platform, than

they would if they sedulously sought each Sunday to impose either radicalism or conservatism upon the people whom they as freely welcome to their hospitable Hall. Free religion does not mean any one's religion in particular, but every one's in order; it means the right of each to hold his religion in freedom, and to compare it as often as he wishes with that of his neighbor.

A few score of miles directly north of this village of South Manchester, right up the charming valley of the Connecticut River, is another village equally lovely and remarkable in many similar respects. This is the village of Florence, in Massachusetts. Here, too, we find silk manufacturing on a large scale, though in this case it is the silk thread instead of the cloth. Here, also, the spirit of liberalism has found a sure abode, and is again the foundation and promotion of remarkable prosperity and happiness. Florence, so far as the course of progress and reform is concerned, is indeed historic ground. Contemporaneously with the establishment of the Brook-Farm Community in this immediate vicinity, a similar community was established in Florence, which flourished for about five years, and was then given up solely for lack of capital to keep it going. But it continued long enough to plant some fine seed of liberalism, which since has borne fruit in another form.

Mr. S. L. Hill was one of the originators in Florence of the Community of which I have made mention. He is an enlightened, liberal, and wealthy gentleman; and he—in connection with Mr. A. T. Lilly, equally broad in his views, and also blessed and blessing with generous means, beside a few other earnest coöperators—was chiefly instrumental in forming the "Free Congregational Society of Florence." This society has recently erected a building for its uses, to which has been given the felicitous and significant name of "Cosmian Hall." Like the Hall erected by the Messrs. Cheney, this is an honor to its builders and an ornament to the village. From its noble and lofty tower is to be seen a country as broad and fair in its every feature as are the sentiments and ideas which from week to week are inculcated under its ample roof. In this Hall, two Sundays after I had been in South Manchester, it was my privilege to speak; and I felt that on no two Sundays of my life had my privilege been greater,—inasmuch as in both cases the audience was composed of as untrammelled people as could well be brought together, who listened and judged with rare impartiality.

In the morning, at Cosmian Hall, the Sunday-school meets, and holds an eminently interesting and sensible service. First, a song; which is usually chosen from J. Vila Blake's excellent little song-book entitled *The Morning Stars*. Then the superintendent (who is a lady) reads any selection which she may have prepared. Another song follows; after which the class lessons are in order. Each class retires to the place allotted to it, which is some private room, or quiet nook in the general Sunday-school apartment. There is an adult class which discusses every Sunday some subject of its own adoption. There is also a class in book-keeping, another in drawing, another in German; also various other classes engaged in such studies as they may severally select. After the class lessons, the whole school reunites in the large room, where miscellaneous exercises are gone through with for about an hour. The boys and girls "speak pieces," read selections, and sing songs. Then the adults try their hand, or their head, at making short addresses. One excellent man, on the day in question, devoted his neat little speech to a condemnation of the practice of chewing gum,—an extremity of reform which somewhat surprised and not a little amused me. But these Florentines are extremely discriminating as to what they both chew and swallow, and nothing goes down with them that they are not sure is good for the system—physical, intellectual, or moral.

In the afternoon, the regular Sunday Meeting is held in the upper hall, which seats about four hundred and fifty, and which is usually well filled. The Cosmians, also, are hospitable to a great variety of speakers; welcoming, so far as theology and sociology are concerned, black, white, and speckled. But they hold together, nevertheless; their unity of spirit in their diversity of belief being a tie which is sufficiently strong to unite them. They, too, have a large stage adapted to theatrical purposes, and every convenience throughout the building for combining amusement with instruction. They are, indeed, a happy family, and dwell together in the beauty of harmony and peace. They have engaged Mr. D. H.

Clark, of New Milford, Pa., to come and live among them—not as a pastor, but as a friend and co-worker; to assist in taking care of their Sunday-school, to look after their general interests, and occasionally to occupy their platform. We found the memory of Rowland Connor, their former speaker for two years, cherished warmly and tenderly among them; as also that of his wife. Mr. Charles C. Burleigh, the veteran and eloquent anti-slavery reformer, who for years has honored Florence by making it his home, still lives among his Cosmian friends, hale and hearty. Long may they all live; and long may these two lone citadels of the broadest liberalism stand in the Connecticut Valley, to cheer and encourage the hearts of all true liberals throughout the land!

In this connection, I am glad of the opportunity to say, that the Florence Society have recently listened with great interest to Mr. S. P. Putnam, and that they cordially recommend him as a worthy fellow and efficient speaker to every other liberal organization.

A. W. S.

Communications.

"TURNING THE OTHER CHEEK."

MR. F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—Although a "stranger in the camp," I desire to say a few words on your article of July 8, on "Turning the Other Cheek," and consequently of the letter of F. B. Perkins accompanying it.

Because your criticisms of the Sermon on the Mount go deeper than Christianity as a doctrine, and because the result of Mr. Beecher's attempts to practise the Sermon's ethics, as reported by Mr. Perkins, is a slander on the human sense, and hence the divine knowledge of Jesus, I wish to be heard. I cannot think you would have us believe that you adopt the present status of Mr. Beecher as the legitimate result of trying to practise Christ's teachings. Nor can you in justice to yourself condemn those grand principles of "ethical wisdom," because Christ said, "Love your enemies."

Free religion, as I understand it, is *absolute* religion; and, if it mean anything, it means the purpose of being and doing right, because it is right. The spirit of the Sermon on the Mount is just that one principle of *absolute* right. "If ye love them that love you, what do ye more than others?" There is a prudential motive in that. The Orthodox do as much! You must do more. You who lean on the Absolute; you who have learned God direct, who see the "beauty of holiness," must not only love those who love you, but you must love all mankind. You must hate no one; must be as loath to wrong your enemy as your friend. Why? Because ye are God's, and "he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good." God can wrong no one; nor can you if you be his children. Because 'tis right. And yet, the reverse side of your creed—judging from your strictures on such principles as "hate not your enemies"—would seem to be, simply, the law of give-and-take; a bundle of prudence—so far "do right as it pays. More than that would make you a 'milkop.'"

No! Jesus was the most manly of men.

Furthermore, it would be manifestly unjust to condemn Christ's morals, taking a single sentence or discourse as the basis; for you forget his fiery indignation against the spoilers of the Temple, and his scathing denunciations of pharisees and hypocrites.

Now of Mr. Perkins' letter: Did Mr. Beecher practice the Sermon's ethics? When charged with a revolting crime of which he was innocent, did the command "love your enemies" induce him to skulk away in mortal terror, without even the manly word, "I am innocent"? And when appealed to by Mrs. Bradshaw, a parishioner and a loving friend, as to whether she should believe the "awful story" told her by Mr. Tilton, did Christ's "do good to them that hate you" keep him from disabusing her mind and relieving her heart of the awful weight of doubt and suspicion that was resting upon it? Or, when Dr. Storrs made an earnest and innocent defence of Mr. Beecher, and denounced his accusers and the plotters against his character, did the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount inspire him to write to Moulton, "That speech ought to damn Storrs"?

In short, does his whole course of action, as proven in the trial, agree or harmonize at all with the most transcendental construction of Jesus' most extravagant utterances?

And doesn't it accord perfectly with guilty human nature,—confessing, resisting, appealing, denying, following naturally simple human emotions?

And now, Mr. Abbot, with all deference and respect, doesn't your anti-Christian leaning lead you to adopt Mr. Beecher's case as the natural result of trying to practise Christ's teachings, and thereby strike at more than Christianity,—even at the foundation of all virtue and religion?

Theodore Parker says: "There are many ways in which Christ may be denied: one is that of the bold blasphemer, who, out of a base and haughty heart, mocks, scoffing at that manly man, and spits upon the nobleness of Christ. There are few such deniers; my heart mourns for them. But they do little harm. Religion is so dear to men, no scoffing word can silence that. And the brave soul of this young Nazarene has made itself so deeply felt, that scorn and mockery of him are but an icicle held up against the summer's sun. There is another way to deny him; and that is, to call him Lord, and never do his

bidding; to stifle free minds with his words; and, with the authority of his name, to cloak, to mantle, screen, and consecrate the follies, errors, sins, of men. From this we have much to fear." 'Tis of this last denial that I write; 'tis against THE INDEX lending itself to godless Christians, helping them deny their Christ, that I protest.

With all good wishes,

I am most respectfully yours,

WM. S. PARKER.

WASHINGTON, Pa., July 12, 1875.

[Mr. Parker has misapprehended us. On the hypothesis of entire innocence of adultery, Mr. Beecher's course has been weak, unmanly, and false in the extreme; and our point was that, if this course was the result of following the "Christian theory" (as Mr. Perkins, and not we, originally claimed), then the "Christian theory" stands condemned by it, as productive of weakness, unmanliness, and falsehood. Further, the Sermon on the Mount, we held, could not be obeyed without the destruction of character; for to change it before obeying it (as all men do practically) is to disobey it, while obeying it without change would involve the same melancholy cowardice and meanness into which Mr. Beecher, even if innocent of adultery, has fallen. His silence to Mrs. Bradshaw was part and parcel of that same "policy of silence" which Mr. Perkins attributes to his fidelity in following the "Christian theory." If Mr. Beecher had denounced and defied Tilton at the start, he would have acted like an honest heathen, instead of "turning the other cheek" as the Sermon on the Mount prescribes. It was a case for a little judicious heathenism, and nothing else.—ED.]

NON-RESISTANCE.

NEW BEDFORD, July 11, 1875.

MR. EDITOR:—

Communications for your small-sized journal ought to be pithy, to the point, and as full of sense as an "egg is of meat." So I have boiled down to a concentrated statement this one.

1. You say (July 8), criticising F. B. Perkins' communication to the Boston *Daily Advertiser*: "If Mr. Perkins is right, then H. W. Beecher's natural character as a manly man has rotted absolutely away." And you say this, because Mr. Beecher is represented as being governed by the rule, "Bless and curse not"; "resist not evil, but requite evil with good"; and you make yourself understood as standing thus:—

If an insult, wrong, or false accusation is made against a person, it is the duty of that person to follow up the same by attack on the perpetrator, instead of "living down" the vile scandal.

What I want to know is, are you misunderstood?

2. By the way, if, as you say, the "terrible and withering severity" against Christianity, in what Mr. Perkins says, "turks unperceived," how did you find it out? Very respectfully,

W. HATCH.

[1. We wish to be understood as distinctly disavowing the principle of non-resistance, moral and physical, but have said nothing to justify the supposition that we favor "attack" on anybody. The right of self-defence we hold to be absolutely precious, though unrecognized by Christianity.

2. "Unperceived" by Mr. Perkins, of course.—ED.]

NOTES ON EVOLUTION.

The philosophy of evolution, as its name implies, is itself evolving with time, and by numerous and various thinkers is being brought from a highly probable hypothesis to an impregnable position as certain truth.

Evolution may be traced as resting partially on three simple laws; namely, aggregation, concentration, and permutation.

Firstly, as to aggregation; the economy of social union finds its primary, abstract statement in *Euclid*, where he says that like solids increase in mass as the cube of like dimensions, and in surface only as the square.

The largest ships and engines are, therefore, most economical, as presenting less resisting surface proportionately to capacity than small ones; very large cities can be best managed municipally, as London and Paris. A vast empire costs less in government than several small ones aggregating the same territory and population.

Accordingly those tribes in the past, wherein sociality was strongest and fullest, were, other things equal, fittest to survive.

And the present loss and discomfort of keeping up small, isolated homes, with separate market-goings, cooking, warming, &c., shall disappear when people can trust each other more, and agree better than now.

Secondly, concentration favors development. Twenty pendulums without resistance might vibrate forever, and never show other than that motion in an arc; but a concentration of the motion of three of them may cause one to gradually increase its amplitude of vibration until it rotates in a circle,—a new and distinct motion, illustrating how a difference in degree may by insensible increments become a difference in kind.

On the same principle, in the physiological division of labor, organisms have progressed by concen-

trating separate functions at particular points, instead of performing all, everywhere, as a polyp does.

A specialist, devoting his life to a single science, achieves a success impossible in a social state of generally averaged culture and employment; and his results become common property for general good.

Thirdly, the laws of permutation show why, as types advance, the gap ever widens between the highest individual and the next.

The numbers 1 to 6, inclusive, yield $1 \times 2 \times 3 \times 4 \times 5 \times 6 = 720$ permutations; the addition of another integer, 7, increases them to $720 \times 7 = 5,040$; and with the addition of every successive integer the permutations are multiplied by the total number of integers.

Two individuals, with nineteen and twenty faculties respectively, may thus differ in possible variety of thought, and therefore in mental power, as one and twenty; hence we can understand the immense difference in primates, between ape and man; and in mankind between Newton and Shakspeare and the next below them.

In arts, the invention of a new one multiplies applications by the total number of arts; and hence the scientific progress of the past hundred years exceeds that of the previous thousand, and we may reasonably expect it to continue in the same ratio.

Some ardent evolutionists believe that progress is absolute; but this can scarcely be, for it would be unequal in Nature to disproporportion the relation between wants and satisfaction, in races or in ages; observation finds no such inequality, and the discrepancy between what may be imagined and what may be realized seems constant.

Uncommon progress in an individual is paid for very decidedly in the discordance and strife between inherited biases and acquired convictions and tastes.

The philosopher may still be uneasy in the dark, though ashamed of it; and, when in mortal danger, transmitted superstition and individually developed intellectual assurances may struggle severely for the mastery.

So excessive animal passions may be active in a mind fully aware of the dreadful results of indulgence; but it is one man fighting all his ancestors at once, and the contest often ends ingloriously.

Many ruptures of friendship in the family, and out of it, come of this unusual growth, and pay for it; parent and child, husband and wife, may have less and less in common as years elapse; for one may be fixed in thought and practice, and the other responsive to every onward impulse.

As a general rule, the better a thinker grows, the more does his circle of enjoyable acquaintance become narrowed.

Mr. W. R. Greg, in his *Enigmas of Life*, has expressed the fear that, as reproduction becomes more difficult and scanty as organisms increase in complexity, there is danger of the few best men being swamped by the many mediocre.

This fear deserves consideration; for while, within certain limits, superiority gives decided value to an individual, still, when the limits have been exceeded, evolution has very probably been retarded.

A key, in metaphor, is always something unlocking or unfolding the hidden; but this refers to only half the business of a key; it is also used to bind, lock up, and secrete.

So men exceptionally gifted in mind, and capable of unfolding the difficulties of Nature, when surrounded by masses of people too ignorant to appreciate their worth, have lent their talents to farther mystification, and hurt their fellows instead of helping them.

There is reason to believe that many eminent philosophers and churchmen have belonged to this sad category; and I have been led to think the same of some acute, intellectual men, whom I have seen in procession following the Host, with uncovered heads, on a hot summer day in Montreal.

Races and societies of men rise pretty much together, and the voice of Nature is not "Be your best," but "Be fit."

The limit to recognizable and efficient superiority becomes evident if we imagine Kepler suddenly to be found among the Sioux. We can believe that the world may not know some of its greatest men, for greatness is known only when allied with the talent or circumstances of publicity, and truths and theories beyond the comprehension of contemporaries have doubtless many times been spoken and recorded in vain.

Wycliffe and Huss came too soon to bring about a Reformation, though better and purer spirits than Luther.

Huyghens, the great Dutch philosopher, clearly propounded the undulatory theory of light; yet it was unnoticed in his times, and was re-discovered a century afterward, when the minds of scientific men had been graded up to receive it.

J. G. H.

MONTREAL, Canada.

SUNDAY-SCHOOLS VERSUS THE GALLOWS.

EDITOR INDEX:—

It is a suggestive commentary on the claims set up for the power and efficacy of Christianity in correcting the morals of those within the sphere of its influence, that nearly all of the recent peculiarly diabolical murders that have been perpetrated in this vicinity were committed by men who were constant attendants at the "sanctuary." A favorite appeal of Christians to parents to send their children to Sunday-school is on the ground that, by not doing so, they are making their children subjects for the gallows. They would have us believe that the catechism is a sure antidote to depravity. But the cases of Pemberton, Piper, Sturtevant, Gordon, and Costley, must be discouraging samples. Pemberton attended the ministrations of Dr. Lorimer. On the Sunday of the week in which the community were

shocked by the news of his fearful crime, Pemberton listened to the screaming of one of the doctor's most powerful sermons, the subject being the superiority of Protestantism over all other *isms*. Now a church that defended and approved the profligacies of Kalloch will tolerate no man in its pulpit who does not make sectarianism the major, and morality the minor, matter of his discourses; and consequently murder is now added to the list of crimes against which many will deem this church a frail defence. Piper, saturated with "Christian influences," a sub-actor in the sanctuary, who had heard "the only revelation of God's will" read through and through, and could explain to one's entire satisfaction how Jesus, though born without having a father, was, nevertheless, the son of David through Joseph his mother's husband, and probably verily believes, as every good Christian should, that Jesus arose from the grave after lying there two days in fulfilment of his promise to stay there three days. Nevertheless, while experiencing the exquisite enjoyment which the contemplation of these elevating and impressive truths afford, and with the hum of "God's word" and the catechism ringing in his ears, snatches a little girl from her guardian, and kills her; yet it is said that Mr. Pentecost thinks Piper sane! If he is sane, what do "Christian" privileges amount to?

Sturtevant, Gordon, and Costley were also graduates of the Sunday-school. Really, Mr. Editor, the objections to being known as a Christian are getting serious.

How can it be expected that Christianity will check crime, when it meets every natural aspiration to good endeavor with the jeer and taunt of being but "filthy rags," unless accompanied with the acceptance of the shocking absurdities of Christian dogmas? When Pemberton heard Dr. Lorimer scream that to abstain from murder would not be set down to one's credit, unless one simultaneously believed that Jesus could and would, in any suitable emergency, change water to wine, what wonder that his already feeble moral sense became still more confused.

Z.

RELIGION.

TIPPECANOE CITY, Ohio, July 1, 1875.

There is nothing so much talked of, quarrelled over, and fought about, as religion. But notwithstanding all this, we hear it constantly sung,—

"'Tis religion that can give
Sweetest pleasures while we live;
'Tis religion must supply
Solid comfort when we die;
And after death its joys shall be
Lasting as eternity."

No wonder, then, that the man—I should say bigot—who believes this should fight for his religion; and no wonder that each tries to force his neighbor to accept his religion, for no other has such virtues in the opinion of each religionist. Here lies the great mistake and pity.

The answer to the question, What is religion? has often been attempted, but I think never yet given, to any thing like universal satisfaction. Will you let me try?

Religion is founded on facts and fancies. The first fact is the individual himself; other facts follow. The individual enjoys pleasures, and suffers pains; and I shall put as another fact, there is a God. By this, I mean there is a power which rules and governs all things according to law; this any one may call a fancy, if he pleases. All living persons have a future; it may be short, but it is certain.

Religion, in its germ, is the sensation of the individual which induces and compels him to believe, to feel, and act in the present, in such manner as will (in his opinion) draw blessings or happiness upon his head from the God I have named, or his God, in the future, no matter how long or short that future may be.

The fancies to which I refer are such as men entertain as to the nature of God; his manner of government; as to what they shall believe and do to please God, and draw blessing on themselves in the future; the length and nature of the future, etc., etc. I suppose all will admit that each individual might do in the present what would make him happy or miserable in the future. Religion having started from the sensation I have named, seeks to find and do such things as please God—his God,—and, as a consequence, bring pleasure to himself. Mr. Abbot defines religion to be an "effort of man to perfect himself"; as if he should have no regard to results of such perfection on himself. This is quite too transcendental for me. I would define religion to be an effort of man to protect himself by perfecting himself; that is, by learning all the laws of that power by which he is surrounded, and by rendering obedience thereto; or, rather, by living in such relation thereto, as will secure to him happiness.

Self is the centre of my system. Let a man certainly learn what is best for himself and do it; and he will do the best possible for all others. The converse of this is also true.

To conclude, then; true religion is founded on facts, and is universal in all. A false religion is founded on fancies which are substituted for facts. All religions will harmonize as soon as all its fancies are got rid of, leaving nothing but facts for a foundation; for the germ—self-preservation—is the same.

E. L. CRANE.

ON THE OUTSIDE cover of a Bible lying on the cabin-table of a Hudson River steamer, are written the following lines:—

"This holy book neglected lies,
No soul with it communes;
While scores of souls sit round about,
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To increase general intelligence with respect to religion:

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

In addition to its general objects, the practical object to which THE INDEX is specially devoted is the ORGANIZATION OF THE LIBERALS OF THE COUNTRY, for the purpose of securing the more complete and consistent secularization of the political and educational institutions of the United States. The Church must give place to the Republic in the affections of the people. The last vestiges of ecclesiastical control must be wiped out of the Constitutions and Statutes of the several States in order to bring them into harmony with the National Constitution. To accomplish this object, the Liberals must make a united demand, and present an unbroken front, and the chief practical aim of THE INDEX will be henceforth to organize a great NATIONAL PARTY OF FREEDOM. Let every one who believes in this movement give it direct aid by helping to increase the circulation of THE INDEX.

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Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. ABBOT, D. A. WASSON, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. WASSON on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. ABBOT, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. WASSON on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. CHENEY on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. ABBOT on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India;" also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

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These publications are for sale at the office of the Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston. The Annual Reports for 1868 and 1871 cannot be supplied, and the supply of others previous to that of 1872 is quite limited. Orders by mail may be addressed either "Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston," or to the Secretary, New Bedford, Mass.

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

"Should any readers wish to know more of such an Association, the first of these selections may meet their desire.—W. J. P."

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ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in public prisons and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the general administration of the same no preference or advantage shall be conferred by discriminatory or any other special privilege, that no religious political system shall be fostered and maintained on a party sectarian basis, and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

- ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be **THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———**.
- ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in:—
Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.
- ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular and thorough, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.
- ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.
- ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.
- ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.
- ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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ARTICLE I.

- SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or restricting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.
- SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or restricting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification of suffrage, it is a qualification to any office or to the trust, in any State, and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or immunities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity on consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.
- SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

GEORGE ELIOT is said to have another novel in preparation, not inferior to *Middlemarch*. She is the first living novelist of Great Britain, and women may well be proud of her.

A NEW paper, called *Both Sides*, with a "Christian Department" and a "Free Thought Department," has been started at Aylmer, Ontario, by J. C. Pankhurst. Price, \$1.50 a year.

MRS. CELIA BURLEIGH, the well-known lecturer and reformer, died at Syracuse on July 26, lamented by a wide circle of admirers and friends.

D. LOTHROP & Co., 38 and 40 Cornhill, Boston, have commenced the publication of a new periodical for children, and they, being the best judges, vote it a great success. The name is *Wide Awake*, and the price is \$2.00 a year.

A COMBINED effort is making among the scientific men of the country, especially among architects and engineers, to secure the popular adoption of the Metric System of weights and measures from July 4, 1876. It ought to succeed, and probably will.

MR. W. F. SCHROEDER'S combination of air-ship and balloon is exciting considerable curiosity. Is it possible that he has really solved the problem how to navigate the air? Some degree of incredulity may be pardoned; but "nothing succeeds like success."

SOME of the criticisms which THE INDEX receives (we forbear to particularize) are such absolute nonsense that the only possible answer is this quotation from the little boy's composition on toads: "The warts wich todes is noted for cant be cured, for they is croneik; but if I couldnt git wel Ide stay in the house."

THE *Nation* writes on "Class Morals and Government Morals." We are glad to be assured on good authority that the government has some morals, after all. Some of its doings might suggest a doubt on that point. But it would not be fair to require the government to be more moral than the people, and the latter will find the government a pretty good mirror of itself.

ACCORDING to the *Cleveland Leader*, the town of Bethlehem, Ohio, has church property valued at \$350,000, which is more than ten per cent. of the whole property valuation of the place. There are 1,200 heads of families, and therefore \$295 of church property to each. The clergy are paid an aggregate salary of \$25,000, which is ten per cent. of the net earnings of the 1,200 heads of families.

PROFESSOR MARSH is entitled to the moral support of the entire country in his effort to break up the systematic impositions which continually goad the Indians to desperation and war. "He has undertaken a very thankless task," says the *Nation*, "having against him the whole force of the Indian 'machine,' with all the money involved in the Indian contract system, and on his side only a strong sense of duty."

REV. DR. BELLOWS is reported in the *New York Times* as having recently said that, "in the Romanist attacks recently made upon the public schools, at one time he favored the idea of the exclusion of the Bible, but a better knowledge of the purpose of the enemy convinced him of his folly." We suspect this report is inaccurate. Formerly Dr. Bellows favored the retention of the Bible in the schools, but afterwards he came out in favor of its exclusion. It would be strange indeed if he should have gone back to the unintelligent opinion.

THE PAN-PRESBYTERIAN COUNCIL has resolved itself into the "Alliance of Reformed Churches throughout the World," and adopted a constitution which includes all churches holding to the Presbyterian system and creed. The preamble recites the objects of the Alliance, which are "to demonstrate unity of belief among Protestants, organize mission work, promote educational and social reforms, and oppose infi-

delity and religious intolerance." That is, to fight Rome on one hand and Reason on the other, which is the everlasting tight-rope dancing of all such unions.

THE MOUNTAIN MEADOW massacre of 1857, now under investigation in Utah, was one of the most horrible tragedies ever enacted. About one hundred and forty emigrants were attacked by the Mormons and Indians, and all murdered except sixteen very young children. Brigham Young and several of his bishops were implicated in this sickening affair, the atrocities of which almost pass the bounds of belief. It is feared that the jury, being Mormons, will convict nobody. When religion is made the pretext for such fiendishness, it can claim no more mercy than a wild beast.

MR. VOYSEY kindly transmits the following item from a New Zealand reader of THE INDEX: "It seems the Lord has been giving everybody the measles in Melbourne. At least the discerning Presbytery there say they 'recognize his hand' in the late epidemic of that complaint. A member proposed a thanksgiving for the abatement of the plague; but, another member having pointed out that it had by no means ceased, the thanksgiving was postponed." It is pretty clear that "the Lord's" credit is not good in Melbourne, and that he cannot get his pay in advance.

MR. R. E. LADD, of Springfield, Massachusetts, whose refusal to pay his taxes because church property is untaxed was recently noted here, has issued handbills announcing a "series of addresses" by himself on the Bible. On the back of one of these handbills he writes as follows in pencil, presumably for publication: "I only refused to pay the church tax, which in Springfield is 47¹¹/₁₀₀ cents on a thousand dollars. The rest I offered to pay, but it was refused; and I refused the 47¹¹/₁₀₀ cents because I believe the church worships a false god. Read Article Second in the Declaration of Rights in the Constitution of the State of Massachusetts." No matter what his reason, Mr. Ladd has a right *not* to be taxed for the support of the church to the extent of a penny; and we hope he will not allow the case to drop here.

MOODY AND SANKEY wound up their crusade in England with a grand testimonial meeting, in which the clergy were invited to declare what the Lord had done for English sinners through these harlequin gossellers. The *London Times* of July 16 says: "Mr. Moody having come to revive religion in England, wished to know how he had succeeded. It will be observed that only those ministers who could give evidence in favor of the revival were invited. The gathering, however, was significant both as a summing up of results, and as showing with what tact Mr. Moody can drive the nail home. Some men would have considered their work finished with the meetings which came to an end last week. Mr. Moody has a keener insight into the fitness of things. He must not only himself be satisfied of his success; he must leave it on the record of the churches, and from the mouths of their ministers, that his satisfaction was no chimera, but an attested fact. His shrewdness, or foresight, or whatever we may call it, was fully justified by the meeting. The hall was crowded in every part, and the audience (about 1500 in all) comprised, perhaps, about 300 ministers of religion, who in the main seemed friends, and many of whom were demonstrative admirers of the revivalists. Mr. Moody himself was altogether quiet and undemonstrative. He opened the meeting by stating that during four months of incessant work in London they had not had one accident, nor had any of the workers in the revival suffered in health. For this great mercy and for all other mercies, let the glory, he said, be given to God. He begged the speakers who followed him to remember this, and say as little as possible of human agency."

The Beecher Trial.

The jury are unable to agree upon a verdict in the Beecher case. The division of opinion which prevails among twelve men who have had the advantage of hearing all the witnesses examined and cross-examined is shared by the public at large. But as we pass beyond the reach of those potent local influences which necessarily pressed heavily on the jury—for a man was under trial who in Brooklyn has been treated almost as a god,—the divisions of opinion will be more strongly marked. There are many who will always hold that the plaintiff's case was fully proved. A second class will continue to believe Mr. Beecher innocent; while a third will consider that the Scotch verdict of "not proven" would have been the only just conclusion to reach. And sensible men throughout the country will, in their hearts, be compelled to acknowledge that Mr. Beecher's management of his private friendships and affairs has been entirely unworthy of his name, position, and sacred calling.

The evidence in the case has been so voluminous that we should ill discharge our duty if, before taking leave of the trial, we neglected to review it with some little care. The case naturally divides itself into four parts. There is first the charge itself, and the train of circumstances surrounding it. This must be considered, secondly, in connection with Mr. Beecher's acknowledged relations toward all the parties. Thirdly, it will be necessary to recall the manner in which Mr. Beecher met the charge. Lastly, we shall have to examine the answers to the charge. We shall endeavor to present a connected narrative of the case, observing strictly the order of events—and in doing this we propose to confine ourselves exclusively to the documents or evidence produced on the trial, and to disregard all outside narratives or statements.

I.—THE ORIGIN OF THE CHARGE.

The defence reposed in a great degree upon the theory that the charge of adultery was never brought against Mr. Beecher throughout the negotiations and correspondence which preceded the trial. In order to maintain this, it is necessary to assume that all the witnesses for the plaintiff committed perjury, and that Mr. Beecher was ignorant of what went on in the internal government of his own church. For Tilton swears, and Mr. and Mrs. Moulton swear, that Mr. Beecher explicitly confessed the adultery to them—confessed it with tears and anguish, and with passionate entreaties for forgiveness or pity. And the "Examining Committee of Plymouth Church" called Tilton to account, in October, 1873—a year before the great public disclosures,—for having, in August, 1870, accused Mr. Beecher of adultery in the presence of Mrs. Bradshaw. It is scarcely possible to assume that Mr. Beecher was ignorant of this fact. It is upon record in the books of his own church.

The direct testimony of the plaintiff and his witnesses cannot, however, be totally shut out from consideration. To take it for granted that all the witnesses on one side are perjurers would, no doubt, be an easy method of settling the case; but to accept that view without question would settle something else besides—it would practically abolish the system of trial by jury. The duty of weighing evidence would no longer be deemed necessary. The wealthy or the popular would be able to commit any offences they pleased, and afterward escape responsibility by saying that their accusers were perjurers. The maintenance of justice, blind to all distinctions of wealth, intellect, or position, is of much greater importance to a nation than the preservation of any individual reputation, however valuable that reputation may be. In this case, then, as in any other, the evidence on both sides must be fairly collated and examined, and the direct testimony of witnesses, where it is conflicting, must be considered in close connection with the indirect and circumstantial evidence. We must see how far the admissions, the letters, and the general conduct of the chief personages involved tend to support or refute their own personal statements. The defence trusts much to a particular set of probabilities which they place before the public. Is it likely, they ask, that a man in Mr. Beecher's position would have committed this crime? It might be deemed sufficient to ask, in answer to that, Is it likely that Mr. Beecher, being innocent, would have written the letters which he did write, and would have pursued the general line of conduct, after a monstrous and unjust charge had been brought against him, which he unquestionably did pursue? The construction of different sets of hypotheses cannot enable us to form a judgment on an issue of this kind. It is the actual conduct of the persons involved in the case, the evidence of their own acts and admissions, which must guide us to a decision.

The counsel on the part of Mr. Beecher have treated the charge as one which originated entirely with Tilton and the Moultons. They apparently overlooked the fact that the real accusers are not Theodore Tilton and the Moultons, but Mrs. Tilton and Henry Ward Beecher. It is these two persons who have supplied the evidence which has produced the deepest impression upon the public mind.

Mrs. Tilton made the first written confession of her guilt on the 3d of July, 1870. The original of this paper was afterward destroyed—but Mrs. Tilton admitted that it once existed. The paper signed by Mrs. Tilton on the 29th of December, 1870, was a partial repetition of her original confession, and it is alleged that this—the only "confession" acknowledged by the defendant's counsel—was extorted from Mrs. Tilton by her husband. The improbabilities which surround the coercion theory are overwhelming. As a general rule, a husband would find it no easy task to compel his wife to take any course

which would bring the slightest discredit on herself or her household. But that the mother of several children, a deeply religious and pious woman (as she is represented by Mr. Beecher to be), should be coerced into writing a charge against her pastor that he had "solicited her to be a wife to him, together with all that this implied," there not being the slightest ground for such an accusation—such a story will seem to every woman in the world to be unnatural and monstrous. But, apart from theories or conjectures, it is clear that, if any undue influence was brought to bear upon Mrs. Tilton, it was when she was made to retract her confession. This statement we have from the woman herself, in a document which has never been challenged. It incidentally admits that the original confession was made, not in December, 1870, but in the previous July. The statement is so important that we must print it entire. It is dated Dec. 16, 1872:—

In July, 1870, prompted by my duty, I informed my husband that H. W. Beecher, my friend and pastor, had solicited me to be a wife to him, together with all that this implied. Six months afterward my husband felt impelled by the circumstances of a conspiracy against him, in which Mrs. Beecher had taken part, to have an interview with Mr. Beecher.

In order that Mr. B. might know exactly what I had said to my husband, I wrote a brief statement (I have forgotten in what form) which my husband showed to Mr. Beecher. Late the same evening, Mr. B. came to me (lying very sick at the time) and filled me with distress, saying I had ruined him—and wanting to know if I meant to appear against him. This I certainly did not mean to do, and the thought was agonizing to me. I then signed a paper which he wrote, to clear him in case of trial. In this instance, as in most others, when absorbed by one great interest or feeling, the harmony of my mind is entirely disturbed, and I found on reflection that this paper was so drawn as to place me most unjustly against my husband, and on the side of Mr. Beecher. So, in order to repair so cruel a blow to my long-suffering husband, I wrote an explanation of the first paper and my signature. Mr. Moulton procured from Mr. B. the statement which I gave to him in my agitation and excitement, and now holds it.

This ends my connection with the case.
(Signed) ELIZABETH R. TILTON.

This remarkable statement seems, in itself, sufficient to settle three things: first, that the woman retracted her confession unwillingly, and then not because it was untrue, but because Mr. Beecher had worked upon her feelings; secondly, that Mr. Beecher taxed her with having ruined him, which it is scarcely supposable he could or would have done had he been an innocent man; thirdly, that even at this late date Mrs. Tilton regarded her husband as "long-suffering," and repented of a "cruel blow" she had dealt him. Would it have been a cruel blow to have withdrawn a wholly unjust charge against her pastor, which had been extorted from her? Or would a wife, who had been the victim of her husband's cruelties and base conspiracies, be likely to describe him as a "long-suffering" man?

That the retraction which she gave to Mr. Beecher was actually dictated by him is proved by another highly important document. It is a letter from Mrs. Tilton to her husband, dated December 30, 1870—the night of the day on which Mr. Beecher obtained her retraction of the original charge:—

MIDNIGHT.
MY DEAR HUSBAND,—I desire to leave with you before going to sleep a statement that Mr. Henry Ward Beecher called upon me this evening and asked me if I would defend him against any accusations in a council of ministers, and I replied solemnly that I would, in case the accuser was any other than my husband. He dictated the letter, which I copied as my own, to be used by him against any other accuser than my husband.

This letter was designed to vindicate Mr. Beecher against all other persons save only my husband. I was ready to give him this letter because he said that upon that matter, the letter in your hands addressed to him, dated December 29, had struck him dead, and ended his usefulness. You and I both are pledged to do our best to avoid publicity. God send a speedy end to all further anxieties.

Affectionately, ELIZABETH.

Mrs. Tilton not only made the charge against Mr. Beecher, but she invariably adopted a tone of penitence for her own crime and sympathy for her husband, in the letters written to that husband when he was at a distance from home. In one of these letters she says of Mr. Beecher: "He has been the guide of our youth, and until the three last dreadful years, when our confidence was shaken in him, we trusted him as no other human being." A letter which makes a still more unmistakable reference to some terrible event in her life, known and admitted by herself and her husband, is that dated from Marietta, Ohio, November, 1870. It is impossible for any person to read it carefully without seeing that it involves an admission of her own grave misconduct in every line. She is writing to her husband:—

When, by your threats, my mother cried out in agony to me, "Why, what have you done, Elizabeth, my child?" her worst suspicions were aroused, and I laid bare my heart then, that from my lips, and not yours, she might receive the dagger into her heart.

Could such language as this apply to an ordinary domestic quarrel; or to any transaction such as Mr. Beecher now says alone marked his intercourse with the Tiltons? What sense or meaning could there be in a woman using it who had merely been the victim of her husband's neglect or brutality? The letter goes on:—

When you say to my beloved brother, "Mr. B." preaches to forty of his mistresses every Sunday, then follow with the remark that after my death you have a dreadful secret to reveal, need he be told any more ere the sword pass into his soul?

There is no pretence here that the "secret" was merely a false charge—no complaint of injustice, no defence of herself, even when she had been accused to her own mother and brother. Nor is it denied that Tilton really had a "dreadful secret" to reveal. The ground assumed is that the husband was ungenerous in disclosing the secret, not that he was guilty of falsehood; for Mrs. Tilton says that she herself elected to tell the secret to her mother; and, taken in connection with the allusion to the forty mistresses, it is difficult to conjecture what she could mean ex-

cept one thing. Again, when, on July 4, 1871, she wrote a letter in which she said that she had been "misled by a good man," we see no other explanation of the passage than that she had been misled—though to what extent the letter itself does not say. Read in connection with the woman's other letters and "confessions," it seems scarcely possible to ascribe two meanings to it.

The charge itself, then, unquestionably originated with Mrs. Tilton, in a confession made voluntarily to her husband, and repeated, as she tells us, to her mother. Her own letters, down to a certain date, substantially repeat her confession over and over again.

II.—MR. BEECHER'S RELATIONS TO THE PARTIES.

The knowledge that such letters were in existence, as those from which we have just quoted, early convinced Mr. Beecher's friends that it would be indispensable to admit the existence of some peculiar or unusual intimacy between Mr. Beecher and Mrs. Tilton. It could not be pretended that they were all written under coercion, because, in every instance save one, they were written to the husband when he was at a distance from the wife. The explanation which was offered in this dilemma was that Mrs. Tilton really had been in love with Mr. Beecher, but that he never returned her affection, and was shocked when he discovered its existence.

Mr. Beecher's admissions in his evidence proved that he was on terms of extreme intimacy with Mrs. Tilton—an intimacy which cannot be usual between pastors and the female members of their congregations, or husbands would hesitate to admit ministers to their households. It rather resembles the position once taken up by the Romish priesthood toward the family, and which led to the scandals that did so much to bring about the Reformation. One incident connected with this long intimacy was related by a man who could have no motive for seeking to injure either Mr. Beecher or Mrs. Tilton. Mr. Richards, the brother of Mrs. Tilton (who gave his evidence with manifest pain and reluctance), testified that on a certain occasion, when he visited his sister's, he was the witness of a strange scene. He thus describes it:—

I called at the house, and was in the upper story—the second story, I think. I descended to the parlor floor, and opened the door of the parlor, which was closed, and I saw Mr. Beecher seated in the front room, and Mrs. Tilton making a very hasty motion, and with a highly-flushed face, away from the position that Mr. Beecher occupied. It was such a situation as left an indelible impression on my mind.

It is hard to believe that a brother would perjure himself in order to make such a statement about an only sister.

Mr. Beecher himself tells us that, prior to the close of 1870, he had been in the habit of making the Tilton dwelling a sort of second home. "I was glad to resort to it," he said; "it was where people could not find me." He admits, too, that he brought the powerful art of flattery to bear upon Mrs. Tilton: "I spoke to her in great admiration of some letters which she showed me which she had written, one in particular, and a variety of such things; it was entering into her life, and, in some sense, giving her an interest in my own." He describes in these words a relationship which a man usually reserves for his own wife, and which he can seldom transfer to another man's wife without danger. Mr. Beecher also stated in his evidence (April 13) that he was in the habit of kissing Mrs. Tilton. Whereupon Mr. Fullerton asked him, "Were you in the habit of kissing her when you went to her house in the absence of her husband?" and Mr. Beecher replied, "Sometimes I did, and sometimes I did not." Again, in his letter to Plymouth Church (July 15, 1874), he admits that there had been indiscretions on his part which caused him the "sharpest pangs of sorrow," while he denied that there was actual guilt. Those, therefore, who say that there never was anything unusual in the intimacy between Mr. Beecher and Mrs. Tilton go far beyond Mr. Beecher himself. They set up a defence (as in other material parts of the case) which the defendant has emphatically contradicted. There was love—but it was unrequited love. In Mr. Beecher's own version of his conversation with Mrs. Moulton on the subject, given in evidence on the 12th of April, he said he had then admitted having "wrought in that good little woman a smouldering fire; that it had burned unknown to me within her, and finally it broke out with such infinite mischief." He also said (April 3) that when Moulton made the statement to him that Mrs. Tilton loved "his [Beecher's] little finger better than Theodore Tilton's whole body," "I accepted it; I had no means of contradicting it." Yet it must seem to the ordinary observer that an innocent man, placed in such a position, would naturally have received such a statement with infinite surprise. Mr. Beecher further admitted that Mrs. Tilton had "allowed the tendrils of her affection to grow up upon him." Whether Mrs. Tilton did indeed act in the way which is alleged on the part of Mr. Beecher—whether she immodestly forced a love upon him which he did not want, and could not return—may be doubted from the evidence; but it is the imputation which the defendant has deliberately fastened upon her. Supposing it to be well-founded, it then becomes hard to understand how Mrs. Tilton can be called the stainless saint and the model of purity which Mr. Beecher himself has described her at various subsequent periods.

There were other parties to the case besides Mrs. Tilton with whom Mr. Beecher was on remarkable terms of friendship. It is true that they are now denounced as conspirators and perjurers—but not by Mr. Beecher himself, as we shall see further on. That Mr. and Mrs. Moulton were frequently consulted by Mr. Beecher throughout these troubled

years, concerning some great and difficult trouble, cannot be questioned, seeing that it rests upon evidence supplied by Mr. Beecher's own hand and from his own mouth.

In his letter to Moulton of June 1, 1873, he wrote: "Your noble wife, too, has been to me one of God's comforters. It is such as she that renews a waning faith in womanhood." And he went on in a strain which it is difficult to make applicable to any of the ordinary relationships or intercourse of life:—

For a thousand encouragements—for service that no one can appreciate who has not been as sore-hearted as I have been, for your honorable delicacy, for confidence and affection,—I owe you so much that I can neither express nor pay it. Not the least has been the great-hearted kindness and trust which your noble wife has shown, and which have lifted me out of despondencies often, though sometimes her clear truthfulness has laid me pretty flat.

These ardent acknowledgments of "services" to a "sore heart" accord, it must be admitted, rather with Mrs. Moulton's version of Mr. Beecher's confidences in her than with the theory of Mr. Beecher's counsel, that she is a low and degraded conspirator and perjurer. In explanation of the above letter, Mr. Beecher himself said, in his evidence, "My whole intercourse with Mrs. Moulton was one which inspired in me a sense of affectionate respect and of gratitude." And again he said (April 12), "Mrs. Moulton was a lady—thoroughbred to my apprehension; and I never heard her say a word that jarred upon my sense of the delicacy and propriety of a lady's tongue." In the same day's evidence, he declared that Mrs. Moulton "was like a bank of spring flowers" to him. And yet all this time, according to the present theory of the defence, she was planning with others a deep-laid and devilish plot against his honor.

Another person with whom he was on curious terms, and whom he permitted to address him in a tone which most men would never have tolerated for a moment, was the mother of Mrs. Tilton—Mrs. Morse. She constantly assumed the position toward him of a woman who had some strong hold and claim upon him through her knowledge of a damning secret. She wrote a letter to Mr. Beecher (dated October 14, no year, cited in evidence April 14), in which she uses this remarkable language: "Do come and see me. I will promise that the 'secret of her life,' as she calls it, shall not be mentioned. I know it's hard to bring it up, as you must have suffered intensely, and we all will, I fear, till released by death." Here, again, is an allusion to a "secret" which could not possibly have been unknown to Mr. Beecher, because Mrs. Morse says she knows he has "suffered intensely" on account of it. What was this secret thus referred to by mother and daughter? Mr. Beecher had asked Mrs. Morse to call him her son, and she writes: "When I have told darling, I felt if you could, in *safety to yourself* and all concerned, you would be to me all this endearing name. Am I mistaken?" There is a still more startling letter from Mrs. Morse to Mr. Beecher, produced in evidence January 14. The testimony shows that it was written in the first week of November, 1870, and its authenticity has never been questioned.

It begins by reproaching Mr. Beecher for not having "attended to the request I [Mrs. Morse] left at your house over two weeks since;" and then proceeds to berate him for not having done anything for "Elizabeth." Presently she goes on thus: "You say, keep quiet. I have all through her married life done so, and we now see our error (*sic*). . . . The publicity he has given to this recent and most crushing of all trouble is what's taken the life out of her. I know of twelve persons whom he has told, and they in turn have told others." Told what? At this period—November, 1870—Mr. Beecher says he had no idea that even a suspicion was entertained in reference to him and Mrs. Tilton. And yet, here is Mrs. Tilton's own mother writing to him in reference to a secret which was manifestly known to him and to her. But mark the extraordinary language which she proceeds to use: "Do you know, when I hear of you cracking your jokes from Sunday to Sunday, and think of the misery you have brought upon us, I think with the Psalmist, 'There is no God.'" She goes on to say that, admitting it all to be the "invention of his [Tilton's] half-drunken brain, the effect is the same, for everybody believes it." She complains of him for not getting her brother into the Custom House, and says "Elizabeth was as disappointed" as herself. And then, referring to Tilton, she says: "He swears as soon as her breath leaves her body, *he will make this whole thing public*; and this prospect, I think, is one thing which keeps her living."

Now, no specific charge is made in this letter; but the whole tone of it is clearly that of a woman who knows that a man has done her daughter a great injury, and feels that she has a claim upon that man. If we ask, "Is it likely that a mother would thus assume her daughter's guilt?" we are met by another inquiry, "Is it likely that a minister of the Gospel would allow a woman to address him in this threatening and insolent strain if he did not, in some way or other, feel that he was at her mercy?" Mr. Beecher handed this letter over to Moulton. Mr. Fullerton asked him why he had done so? He answered (April 19) that Mr. Moulton was "the depositor of all the papers that related in any way, directly or indirectly, to the case." He thus admitted that the letter did relate to the case. His answer to the letter was cautious, but by no means that which any one might have supposed such a man would have returned to so impudent a series of demands.

III.—HOW THE CHARGE WAS MET.

We have next to consider the way in which Mr. Beecher met the charge—and this is one of the vital parts of the case. How an entirely innocent man would have acted, when unjustly accused by an intimate friend of attempting to seduce his wife, Mr.

Beecher's chief counsel, Mr. Evarts, took great, and as some will think injudicious, pains to describe. He said:—

Ah! gentlemen, we must look this crime in its face. Why, there is not a sailor in Wapping, with a trumpet on either knee, badgered and beaten in the debauches of long voyages and frequent ports, but that, if a comrade should venture to suggest to him that he had seduced the daughter of an old shipmate, or the wife of a young comrade, he would bury the sheath-knife in the heart of his accuser. There has never been a coarse and vulgar debauchee voluptuary, that would flaunt his wealth and his vices in the face of our citizens here or in New York, and ride the four-in-hand of his riches, packed with courtesans, the fact that one of his boon companions should accuse him of seducing the companion of his daughter, the wife of his friend, who had been trusted to his care, but that would send a bullet through the heart of his accuser.

That, probably, is the kind of impulse, wrong or right, which most men would feel under these trying circumstances. But when Mr. Evarts laid so much stress upon it, he imprudently forgot how different was the course which his client pursued. Mr. Beecher did not in any way resent the insult. He did not even go to any old and trusted member of his church to take counsel on the subject. He went to a comparatively slight acquaintance—Mr. Moulton. He showed no indignation over an accusation which might well have stirred the most sluggish nature. The first thing which happened after he was commanded by Tilton to resign his position and quit Brooklyn was this: he obeyed a peremptory summons to go to Moulton's house to meet Tilton, on the very night of the Plymouth Church prayer-meeting. It was most inconvenient for him to go; his church expected him; but Moulton, who brought the summons, would take no denial. Mr. Beecher sent a message in hot haste, requesting some one else to occupy his place at the Plymouth Church services. The prayer-meeting was neglected in order that the pastor might be led against his will to an interview with a man who had just ordered him to depart from church and home. He then manages to see Mrs. Tilton, and causes her to write the letter of retraction. This he does unknown to the husband. It is from the wife that Tilton afterward hears that the letter had been written—not from Beecher.

What happened next is still more remarkable. We do not hear of any protest from Mr. Beecher—of any consultation with a lawyer, with Mr. Shearman, or the famous Mr. Tracy. On the very next day he parts with the letter of retraction, and on the day following that, he dictated the celebrated "letter of contrition." That he did say substantially what is to-day found written in that document, no one who reads his cross-examination can for a moment doubt. Mr. Fullerton took the letter clause by clause, and asked Mr. Beecher whether he said this and that, or not? After much dexterous and elaborate fencing with the question, Mr. Beecher was in every case obliged at last to answer, "I did." We must quote one or two examples of this kind:—

FIRST INSTANCE.

Mr. Fullerton.—I call your attention now, Mr. Beecher, still further to this document: "He would have been a better man in my circumstances than I have been." Did you say anything to that effect?

Mr. Beecher.—I did not say that sentence that I recollect, sir; but I said something which I can well understand might have been put down for short in that sentence.

Q.—Did you say anything that conveyed that sentiment? A.—I did.

SECOND INSTANCE.

Mr. Fullerton.—I read another sentence: "I can ask nothing except that he will remember all the other hearts that would ache." Did you say anything that conveyed that idea?

Mr. Beecher.—Not in that bold way.

Q.—Well, how did you say it—did you say that in substance? A.—Not in its apothegmatic form, as it stands there.

Q.—Did you express that sentiment, whether you clothed it in that language? A.—I *discussed* with him.

Q.—Did you express that sentiment? A.—No, not in that close way in which you press me for an answer.

Q.—Well, something akin to it? A.—I can give you almost the very thing.

Q.—Something akin to it—something in that neighborhood? A.—I DID, SIR.

And so on, throughout the cross-examination.

Moreover, Mr. Beecher admits that he wrote with his own hand, at the foot of the letter, "I have trusted this to Moulton in confidence. Henry Ward Beecher." As this fact has been denied, we must once more quote from Mr. Beecher's own evidence:—

Cross-examination of Mr. Beecher, April 15.

Q.—You did not then put your name to that paper for the purpose of authenticating it? A.—I put my name to that.

Q.—I ask you that question, and I want you to answer it. A.—I did not put my name to that paper for the purpose of authenticating the form of its contents.

Q.—You say—"I have trusted this to Moulton in confidence." A.—Yes.

Q.—That is your handwriting, I believe? A.—I think it is, sir.

Q.—Well, have you any doubt about it? A.—No, sir; I have no doubt about it; I think it is.

It is a great tax on ordinary credulity to be asked to believe that Mr. Beecher would have written these words on a letter, and signed his name to them, and then have handed over the letter to a third person for use, without knowing or surmising what were its contents. Moreover, in a note from Mr. Beecher to Moulton, dated June 1, 1873, he thus refers to this document: "The agreement was made after my letter through you was written." Here he distinctly acknowledges it as his own production, and calls it a letter; and he was forced to repeat that acknowledgment in his cross-examination.

And what does this letter say? "I ask, through you, Theodore Tilton's forgiveness, and I humble myself before him as I do before my God." Why? Because Tilton had accused him of seducing his wife? It is strange to find an innocent man, writhing under so outrageous a charge as that, talking of "humbling" himself before his accuser. "I will die before any one but myself shall be inculpated." Inculpated through what? It seems, then, that

there were two persons liable to be "inculpated." This treatment of the charge is less like a denial of it than an admission. "I will only ask him to remember the other hearts that would ache." Why should a man who had been wrongfully accused of seducing a friend's wife write such a letter as this to the friend within three days of the accusation? Who was the injured man—Beecher or Tilton? Beecher, according to the theory of the defence. And yet here, and everywhere else in the case, we find him "humbling himself before Tilton," and pleading for mercy.

Let us now recapitulate the events of five days—five memorable days. How do Mr. Beecher's actions and conduct on those days accord with the theory of his innocence?

Monday, Dec. 26.—Tilton sends a note to Beecher, demanding his retirement from Plymouth Church and Brooklyn. The following is the document—an extraordinary one for an innocent man to receive without taking instant steps to punish or expose the person who sent it:—

DEC. 26, 1870, Brooklyn.

HENRY WARD BEECHER—Sir: I demand that, for reasons which you explicitly understand, you immediately cease from the ministry of Plymouth Church, and that you quit the city of Brooklyn as a resident.

(Signed)

THEODORE TILTON.

Thursday, Dec. 29.—Mrs. Tilton writes her confession.

Friday, Dec. 30.—Mr. Beecher receives a peremptory summons to go to Moulton's house to meet Tilton. He goes. Mr. Fullerton puts this question to him: "Then you went off at the beck of the man who had insulted you on the 26th to know what he wanted?" Mr. Beecher answered, "I did, sir." He is told of Mrs. Tilton's confession, and charged with the adultery. After leaving Moulton's house, Mr. Beecher goes to Tilton's, and induces Mrs. Tilton to retract her charge.

Saturday, Dec. 31.—Moulton goes to Beecher's house, and tells him he has acted basely in forcing the retraction from Mrs. Tilton. Thereupon, Beecher hands over the retraction to Moulton.

Sunday, Jan. 1, 1871.—Beecher dictates the celebrated letter of contrition, in which he "humbles himself before Theodore Tilton as before his God," and pleads for forgiveness.

But now we are face to face with another extraordinary fact. On the 7th of February, 1871—more than a month after Tilton had accused Beecher of a crime which his counsel says would have justified him in "burying a knife" in Tilton's heart,—he writes to Moulton an urgent request that he will make him and Tilton friends again. And he adds: "Theodore will have the hardest task in such a case, but has he not proved himself capable of the noblest things?" So that we are to understand that to accuse an intimate friend and a pastor of adultery is a "noble thing." And the wrongfully-accused man is to go to his accuser and beg his forgiveness. And the false accuser—traitor, villain, perjurer—is to be conceded to have the hardest part to play in the reconciliation. These are startling propositions to lay down; and yet they are the only deductions to be drawn from the theory of the defence. Another difficult fact to explain is that, whenever Mr. Beecher wrote a letter on this subject, he always referred to Tilton as an ill-used man. Thus, in his letter denouncing Dr. Storrs, he says: "I am in hopes that Theodore, who has borne so much, will be unwilling to be a flail in Storrs' hand to strike at a friend." Always there is the same fear of Tilton, and the same anxiety to induce him to be silent.

On the 20th of May, Mr. Beecher, according to his own evidence (given on the 5th of April), went to Tilton's house—not for the purpose of "burying a knife in his heart," but in order to plead again for forgiveness. He thus describes what took place—we purposely follow Mr. Beecher's own narrative:—

I only know that when I went in Mr. Tilton received me moodily, and that after a little conversation and explanation which took place he became gracious, and that he fell into an easy and unbusiness-like chat; and that in the course of it, sitting there in the old-fashioned way in his house, I went up and argued the matter—sat down on his knee in order to make the appeal closer,—and when I was sitting there Mrs. Tilton came into the room and burst out laughing; I recollect the interview, and I think when she came into the room she came up and kissed me very cordially.

Thus, the victim of a charge which is enough to ruin any man, to say nothing of a great minister, never seeks to clear or defend himself; he merely "appeals" to his accuser, and sits down on his accuser's knee to "make the appeal closer."

We are unable to discover any time at which Mr. Beecher attempted to defend himself until the charge against him had been made public through the newspapers. Then, something had to be said and done. From the 30th December, 1870, down to last summer, he was incessantly engaged in a despairing effort to conceal something which, if made known, he felt sure would ruin him. The Moultons evidently knew the secret; and his piteous appeals to Mr. Moulton to help him are on record in his own letters. In all this correspondence, Mr. Beecher constantly represented himself as the offender. Down to so late a period as June 1, 1873, Mr. Beecher wrote to Moulton a letter in which his own culpability and Tilton's past generosity are assumed as perfectly well understood between all the parties. He says in the course of the letter: "Tilton had condoned his wife's fault." Very strange language, considering that the wife had committed no fault. Of course this fatal passage could not be reconciled with the general theory of the defence—that Mr. Beecher and Mrs. Tilton were both ill-used persons, and perfectly innocent of all wrong. Consequently, Mr. Evarts suggested that the "fault" in Mrs. Tilton, above referred to, was that of having divided her affections between her husband and Mr. Beecher. But in a previous part of his speech Mr. Evarts declared that

she had never acted thus; that Mr. Beecher had been "imposed upon" when he was led to believe that she had. One of the most curious features of the defence is the rapidity with which Mr. Beecher's legal advisers have from time to time substituted one theory for another—constructing elaborate chains of explanations, then repudiating them, then returning to them, then discarding them again, and so on *ad infinitum*. Every theory which Mr. Beecher put forward to account for his conduct before the trial was expressly contradicted by himself or his counsel upon the trial. Every theory advanced by Mr. Beecher during the trial is expressly contradicted by his own former admissions and letters.

Mr. Beecher knew, after the 30th December, 1870, that he was accused of adultery. He must have known, months before, that Tilton accused him of it; but it was not until December that he found out that the charge rested on Mrs. Tilton's own confession. The letters, conversations, and negotiations, which from that time forth passed between all the chief personages in this miserable tragedy, obviously proceeded upon the understanding that Mr. Beecher had committed some grave offence, the consequences of which would be utter destruction to him, so that rather than face them he cried out for death. That was the common ground on which all these persons met. It is the key, and apparently the only key, to the long series of letters, compromises, and interviews. The fact of guilt was taken for granted on all sides. It was acknowledged in all Mr. Beecher's interviews with Moulton and Mrs. Moulton; it had been confessed to Mrs. Tilton's mother by herself (as the Marietta letter conclusively shows); and it was proclaimed by Mr. Beecher in all his letters. On the 7th of February, 1871, he implores Mrs. Tilton to trust implicitly to Mr. Moulton's guidance. "His hand it was," he says, "that tied up the storm that was ready to burst upon our heads." What necessity was there for using language of this sort to a woman who had done no wrong, and could have no reason to fear any storm? In February, 1872—exactly a year later,—Mr. Beecher offers to abandon his church and position altogether if Tilton felt disposed to exact such a penalty. "If my destruction," he wrote, "would place him, Theodore, all right, that shall not stand in the way. I am willing to step down and out. . . . I do not think that anything will be gained by it. I should be destroyed, but he would not be saved. He, Elizabeth, and the children would have their future clouded." The last sentence is full of dreadful meaning. It is a plain admission that something had taken place which, if known, would not only ruin Mr. Beecher, but cloud the future even of Tilton's children. What was there to destroy Mr. Beecher in his having advised Bowen to discharge Tilton, or suggesting a separation between man and wife—even if he had done these things? How many acts can a mother commit which will "cloud the future" of her children? Mr. Beecher goes on in this same letter to protest that he is living "on the sharp and ragged edge of anxiety, remorse, fear, despair." Why remorse? And, above all, why fear? Supposing he advised the wife to leave her husband—which is purely a supposition,—why fear for himself?

Even when Tilton reproached Beecher for forcing Mrs. Tilton to retract her charge, what was the minister's attitude? Did he turn upon his accuser in indignation? No; he simply complained that he thought "an unfair advantage had been taken of him." Tilton rejoined that it was he who had acted unfairly, in extorting the retraction. "I argued the point with him," says Mr. Beecher (evidence, April 15). It is difficult to imagine a man, who had been innocently accused of adultery, condescending to argue such a "point" with the scoundrel who had trumped up the charge. Mr. Beecher had obtained a retraction to which, on his own version of the affair, he was thoroughly entitled. He then apologized for having obtained it, and handed it back to Moulton. The ordinary principles or motives upon which human conduct can be explained utterly fail to reconcile such a course as this with conscious innocence.

It is impossible to feel surprise that all the ingenuity of Mr. Beecher's counsel failed to convince the jury, and has failed to convince the public, that Mr. Beecher's method of meeting this charge was worthy of a Christian minister, or could have been prompted by a "conscience void of offence." Mr. Beecher has told a dozen different stories in explanation of his letters and conduct—and every one of them crushes the other.

IV.—THE ANSWERS TO THE CHARGE.

These are so few, when sifted out from the enormous mass of verbiage under which they have been buried by the lawyers, that they can be brought into a comparatively brief compass. The direct replies to the charge are these:—

1. *That no accusation of adultery was ever made.* This, as we have shown, is disproved not only by the evidence of Mr. Tilton and Mr. and Mrs. Moulton, but by the letters of the two persons chiefly involved. There is nothing to support this part of the defence but the oath on the trial of the defendant himself, and with that oath his own previous course of conduct and correspondence are disastrously in conflict.

2. *That the charge was concocted for black-mailing purposes.* Mr. Beecher has disposed of this. He only paid over, from first to last, \$7,000 toward business projects in which Tilton was engaged. So far from exacting money from Mr. Beecher, Tilton, on one occasion at least, expressly refused to receive "any pecuniary or other favor" at his hands. (Tilton to Beecher, May 2, 1874.) As for the \$7,000, Mr. Beecher swore on the trial that he had paid it willingly. "Not the slightest pressure" was brought to bear upon him. (Beecher's evidence, April 20.)

The reader had better examine Mr. Beecher's own words on this subject:—

From Mr. Beecher's cross-examination, April 20.

Q.—Well, did you think that was obtained from you by Mr. Moulton in any improper way? A.—No; that was not my feeling then, at all.

Q.—You did not regard it as black-mail, then? A.—I did not.

Q.—Can you tell how much was paid prior to the payment of the \$5,000? A.—Not accurately, sir; I have an impression that the whole sum amounted to \$7,000—over that than under.

Q.—That is including the \$5,000? A.—Including the \$5,000.

Q.—Was the \$2,000 paid before the payment of the \$5,000? A.—Yes, sir, I think so.

Q.—Did you pay any after the \$5,000? A.—I think not.

Q.—Did you look at any of these payments in the light of black-mail? A.—I did not, sir.

Q.—You felt entirely satisfied with the money you had given? A.—And I rejoiced to be able to give.

Q.—And did it willingly? A.—I did it cheerfully.

Q.—And rejoicingly? A.—And rejoicingly.

Q.—Without finding any fault with anybody? A.—Without finding the slightest fault.

Q.—Or thinking that you had been taken advantage of? A.—I did not dream of it.

Q.—Or imposed upon? A.—Or imposed upon.

In fact, Mr. Beecher admitted that the idea of black-mailing never entered his head until it was put there by those two "smart" lawyers, Tracy and Shearman. Mr. Beecher said it had been "rubbed into him" by these worthy men. Not until October, 1874, did he "give in to them"—that is, not until the Tilton and Moulton charges and papers had been published, and it was necessary to make a public reply to them. It was in that desperate situation, when concealment was all over, and when something must be said to destroy the effect of Tilton's and Moulton's statements, that the black-mailing explanation was first produced. On this point Mr. Beecher's admissions are clear, and they appear to be absolutely destructive of the black-mailing hypothesis. He was asked when he finally surrendered to the Shearman-Tracy tactics:—

A.—Well, I think it was since I returned from the White Mountains.

Q.—Well, when was that? A.—That was about October, 1874.

Q.—Then you gave up, and came to the conclusion that it was black-mail because they told you so? A.—Well, I didn't dare to say in their presence any more that it was not black-mail; I had been so constantly disciplined by them that I did not dare to say it was not black-mail.

Q.—Then they intimidated you, and treated you a great deal worse than Moulton did? A.—Oh, a great deal worse.

Q.—Mr. Beecher, your answer to the question I put to you, whether you now believe that Francis D. Moulton intended to levy black-mail upon you, has not been answered satisfactorily to some of my associates, and I will put it to you again, as to your present belief? A.—Well, sir, if you mean by black-mail he levied contributions for his own advantage on me, I don't think he did.

Q.—Yes? A.—But if you mean that he levied money upon me, using my generous feelings as the instrument, for the benefit of Mr. Tilton, I think he did.

Q.—Well, when did he take the advantage of using your generous feelings? A.—Well, I think he did in regard to the \$5,000, though I did not at the time, and though it is entirely an after judgment and an artificial judgment.

Q.—Entirely voluntary that payment was? A.—It was, so far as I was concerned, perfectly so.

And again:—

Q.—It never occurred to you, then, that the payment of this money, which gave you so much joy in it, was black-mail until you had a lawyer tell you of it? A.—I was fought with and actually beaten into the use of the term. I defended Mr. Moulton up and down, and said he had no thought of the kind. I would not believe it of him, and it was in subsequent conferences that they made me. I was made ashamed of my simplicity—that is, they told me I was green.

In most cases of black-mail, it is generally the black-mailed person who first finds out, by bitter experience, that he has been victimized, and then he goes to the lawyers to get advice as to some means of saving himself. In this case the money was paid "with joy," and it required two lawyers to discover that it was really a black-mailing operation.

3. *That the charge was the result of a conspiracy.* But there must be an *animus* shown before such a theory can be established, and no successful, or even serious, attempt of the kind has been made. Mr. and Mrs. Moulton had no motive for desiring to injure Mr. Beecher. On the contrary, it is clear that they did their best for three or four years to hush the matter up, and Moulton does not hesitate to avow that he "told lies" to shield Beecher during that period, as perhaps most men would have done to save a friend under similar circumstances. The Moultons refused to stand by Mr. Beecher when he denied his own words to them, and then for the first time they were accused of being conspirators. The reward they have met with for endeavoring to shield Mr. Beecher will probably discourage them from attempting anything of that kind in future.

4. *That Tilton makes the charge, knowing it to be false.* Here, as throughout the case, it is the evidence of Mr. Beecher which overwhelms the defence set up by Mr. Beecher's lawyers. For he admits that Mrs. Tilton *did* make the charge. When he went to her room on the 20th of December the following scene took place—described by himself in his recent evidence:—

"Elizabeth, he says that you have told him that I had won your affections from him, and that you had transferred the willful affection to me," and that I think it was, though I will not be certain about that matter; the tears ran down her cheeks, and she made still no response; I went on and said to her, "Elizabeth, Mr. Tilton says that you have declared to him that I have made improper advances toward you," and she was very much agitated; I said, "Elizabeth, have you ever said that to your husband?" and she bowed her head, and then it was that I spoke to her with more emphasis than I had done.

In his cross-examination by Mr. Fullerton, April 15, he was asked why he did not resent the injury which Mr. Tilton had done to him in making the charge. He answered, "If the charge was a correct one he did not injure me." Surely a most remarkable answer. Presently he said, "My conclusion was that Mr. Tilton had reason for making that charge; that he had evidence of it from his wife." Again—

we quote question and answer: "Q.—Then you suppose Mr. Tilton was acting in good faith in making these charges against you? A.—I supposed he had reason to think that I had been a wronger of his family."

One more quotation from evidence which Mr. Beecher's own counsel ought to have read before they persisted in this line of defence:—

Q.—Did you regret it simply as a charge made by Mrs. Tilton? A.—Certainly I did.

Q.—And not as a charge by Theodore Tilton? A.—As a charge that he represented he made from her.

Q.—Did you not understand him as making that charge on his own behalf against you? A.—I had no doubt that he supposed the charge to be as she had written it to him at that time.

It is clear from these admissions of Mr. Beecher himself that he never believed either that Tilton had concocted the charge, or that Mrs. Tilton made it under coercion. In short, he upsets all the ingenious theories put forward by his own lawyers.

5. *The fifth answer is that Mrs. Tilton never confessed adultery.* Several witnesses swear that she did. And the defendant did not venture to call her, although the plaintiff offered in court to consent to her being called. Presumably, she was a hostile witness to the plaintiff, and had he called her he could not have cross-examined her, and of course the other side would have had no motive for doing so. Therefore, when the plaintiff offered to interpose no objection to receiving her as a witness, he did all that he could do.

6. *Mr. Beecher swears he is innocent.* This must, of course, be taken into consideration with the fact that several witnesses swear that he repeatedly confessed his guilt to them. In all such situations, it cannot be assumed that one person alone tells the truth, unless he is borne out by a powerful sequence of circumstantial evidence and his own general conduct. It is clear that Mr. Beecher is not so sustained. Putting aside for a moment the testimony of Tilton and the Moultons, there is a witness whose entire credibility no one has impeached. We refer to Mrs. Bradshaw. She declares that Mrs. Tilton admitted the adultery to her, and said if the charge was ever made publicly she would "sacrifice her husband and deny everything." Mrs. Bradshaw reported this statement to Mr. Beecher, and he did not deny the adultery, but merely spoke of Mrs. Tilton as the "poor child." In October, 1873, this lady—for twenty years a member of Plymouth Church—wrote to Mr. Beecher, asking him whether she "must accept Theodore's awful story for the truth." Surely Mr. Beecher ought to have said No, if he had been innocent. But he did not say it. He merely advised Mrs. Bradshaw [letter of Oct. 7, 1873] not to interfere, and added, "Whatever differences have arisen have been amicably adjusted by those most deeply concerned." Now, here was a distinct appeal to him, made by a valued member of his congregation, to deny "Theodore's awful story"—and he refused to do it. These witnesses were substantially unshaken during cross-examination, and all the documents in the case go to the verification of their narratives. There is some doubt about a date in Mrs. Moulton's evidence; but Mr. Beecher admits that he had a long interview with her somewhere about the time alleged, and the actual date is, therefore, of no importance.

7. *That Mr. Beecher's remorse arose from his having caused Tilton's dismissal by Bowen.* But Bowen swears that this advice did not cause the dismissal in question, and the letters in the case evidently refer to some transaction of a totally different kind. Moreover, Tilton was not dismissed by Bowen until long after he had made the charge against Beecher—so that the charge could not possibly have been prompted by motives of revenge for the dismissal in question.

8. *That Mr. Beecher merely advised the separation of the Tiltons.* It is sufficient to say in answer to this that no reference to the fact appears in any of his letters or conversations. All that he wrote or said manifestly referred to something of a much more serious and ruinous character. But it must also be stated that Mrs. Tilton herself denies ever having even contemplated separation from her husband. "I indignantly deny," she says (letter of Jan. 4, 1871), "that I ever sought separation from my husband." This is one of the numerous letters which Mr. Beecher's counsel found it more convenient to overlook than to explain.

Such appear to us to be the facts in this melancholy case. That they tell heavily against Mr. Beecher will be universally regretted, for it is a mournful sight to see a great preacher of religion resting even under the suspicion of a dark crime. And for the persons on the other side it is impossible to feel pity or respect. That Tilton should have known of his wife's guilt; that he should have gone on living with her; that he should even have consulted with her alleged seducer as to the paternity of one of her children; and that, finally, he should declare on this very trial that she is a "pure, white-souled woman,"—all this puts him a long way outside of the range of public sympathy. As for the woman who has been the immediate cause of these darkened homes and blighted reputations, she may be dismissed to the general contempt of mankind. A city-full of such women would not be worth the trouble and misery which this one has occasioned. She constructed a form of religion to suit her own circumstances and desires, and easily convinced herself that there was nothing wrong in her breaking her marriage vows, and afterward "sacrificing" her husband. She told her husband that Mr. Beecher knew better than he or she did what was wrong or right. "Mr. Beecher seems to have accurately described her ideas on the subject when he says that she held the belief that she, her husband, and Mr. Beecher might form a sort of triple 'friendship,' and 'indulge all their desires without any infringement of the law of God

or the law of morality." She calls it herself a "trinity of friendship." Revolving as such an idea must be to every decent mind, the evidence and letters afford a strong presumption that it was for years entertained by this degraded and worthless woman.

There is only one good result which can possibly follow from this exposure and trial. It may lead people in Brooklyn and elsewhere to distrust the new Gospel of Love, and to allow no priests or ministers to come between husband and wife, or to interfere with family ties, or sully family honor. Lastly, it may induce them to return to the older and safer moorings which alone can prevent society from drifting into chaos. If this should be the fruit of the trial, a scandal which has poisoned the air for six months past will not have been dragged to the light in vain.—*New York Times*, July 3, 1875.

A COMING STRUGGLE.

One century of self-government in this land is nearly ended. It has been settled that ours shall not be a government of caste,—an aristocracy. It has been settled that the national unity shall be maintained. On the threshold of the second century of independence we find ourselves confronted by a third question, which may yet involve the very existence of the republic.

Thus far, it has not been clearly stated by any party organ, or convention. In fact, in three great States—New York, Ohio, and Missouri—it was by some supposed that the question had been finally disposed of within the last five years, by adoption of constitutional amendments prohibiting division of the school-fund. Yet in each of those States the same question still excites sharp controversy, and seems likely to have an important part in the readjustment of party lines. The admission of parochial schools as part of the public-school system is openly demanded. Sooner or later the broad question must be met, "Whether popular education belongs to the State or to the churches."

It is not well to deceive ourselves with the idea that this issue will be disposed of easily. The opposing beliefs on this subject, held with absolute sincerity by multitudes of people on either side, are quite irreconcilable. No compromise between them is possible. With all the fervor of religious faith, many believe that it is a sin to separate religious instruction from popular education. With not less firmness and fervor of conviction, others believe that self-government cannot continue to exist among us unless free, non-sectarian schools are maintained by the State for the education of all its children. By the latter class, it is held that our only safeguard against the evils incident to a broad extension of suffrage, against the growing power of corrupt combinations, and against the increasing tendency towards communism, is the public secular system of education. But the convictions of the opponents of that system are thus plainly stated in the *Catholic Telegraph*:—

"There could, therefore, hardly be a more impudent falsehood than the assertion that a public secular system of education does not interfere with the religion of Catholics. . . . The present system of public schools brands the Catholic faith as a crime, and the American State punishes it yearly by fines equal in amount to the sum which Catholics are compelled to expend after the payment of the school-tax upon the Catholic education of their children."

In view of this sharp antagonism of opinion upon a question touching the very existence of free institutions according to one belief, and the religious convictions of millions of citizens according to another, what can we say of the honesty of those who pretend that this issue is "manufactured" for party purposes? Yet this is the subterfuge to which a very large number of Democratic partisan journals resort. Even the *St. Louis Republican* recently said: "The signs of the times all indicate an intention on the part of the managers of the Republican party to institute a general war against the Catholic Church. . . . Some new crusading cry thus becomes a necessity of existence, and it seems to be decided that the cry of 'No popery' is likely to prove most available. . . . No actual issue calculated to excite the desired feeling being in existence, a fictitious one must be manufactured."

Every one can judge of the honesty of these declarations, who reads the declarations of the *Catholic Telegraph* already quoted, who remembers the demand for the admission of parochial schools as part of the school-system in this State, who recalls the passage of the Geoghan bill by the Ohio Legislature, and the assurances then publicly given that the adherents of the Catholic Church would help the Democratic party of that State in return, or who remembers the incidents of the recent city election in the very city in which the *Republican* is published. It will do Republican partisans no good to ignore this question. It will do the Democratic partisans no good to pretend that "no actual issue exists," and that "a fictitious one is manufactured" for partisan ends. Between those who believe that secular education is wrong, and those who believe that it is a necessity to the maintenance of free institutions, there is not only "an actual issue," but one of the very gravest character, which admits of no compromise. By honest men it will be met with the manly candor, and the respect for opposing convictions, which such men ever hold it their duty to show. Only those who have no convictions of their own, will fail to recognize the strength of earnest beliefs in others.

The Democratic party, especially, cannot afford to treat this issue as a fictitious one, manufactured by Republican demagogues. It so happens that every emphatic demand for division of public-school funds,

recognition of parochial schools, or abolition of the system of secular education, has come from adherents of the Democratic party. It so happens, too, that many of those who have been most prompt and earnest in resisting these demands have acted with the Democratic party as Liberals. The *New York Staats Zeitung*, the most widely circulated German Democratic paper in the country, translated and copied a recent letter in this paper, pointing out evidences of Democratic hostility to the school-system at the West, and strongly enforced the lesson by its editorial comments. The *Staats Zeitung*, of Chicago, and the *Volksblatt*, of Cincinnati, though still supporting the Democratic party, speak very strongly of its tendencies in this respect. The *Westliche Post*, of St. Louis, constantly assails that party on the same ground. It will be said that German citizens are moved to especial feeling on this subject by events in Europe; but no one will deny that the feeling exists. Nor will it be denied by any candid man that the great body of independent American voters has quite as strong a feeling on this question. If the Democratic party supplies from its ranks every assault upon secular education and non-sectarian government, and yet professes to regard the whole controversy as a fictitious issue manufactured by its opponents, it will be very likely to forfeit whatever confidence in its sincerity independent voters may have learned to feel.

The Democratic party in Ohio has met this question much more frankly than some others treated in its platform, and so creditably that, but for honest apprehensions previously aroused, it would put that issue quite out of the coming contest. But, while other topics engross immediate attention, friends of the public schools well know that the opposition is one which may slumber, but will not die; and that, sooner or later, the question must be met manfully, candidly, and decisively. It will not be settled by harsh words, or appeals to prejudice. The system of public schools will stand, because its necessity, as the basis of a free government, will be calmly, courteously, but conclusively, demonstrated.—*N. Y. Tribune*, July 8.

WHEN VOLTAIRE bought of the President de Broses the chateau in which he lived, it was found that in the measurement of the land there was comprised a strip belonging to a farmer named John Panissot, who went to Voltaire to claim his property. The latter would have listened favorably to his demand if he had not been warned that, right or wrong, many farmers surrounding his new purchase were prepared to bring a similar request. Desiring to cut short what he believed to be a pretence, Voltaire rejected the claim, and was arraigned at the tribunal of Gex, where, defended by a lawyer doubtless better than his cause, he non-suited the plaintiff, and was pronounced the owner of the disputed land.

But Panissot determined to appeal from an unjust sentence. As he wanted money for the purpose, he conceived the plan to apply to him against whom he was conducting the suit; and accordingly went to Voltaire's residence, and asked for an interview, which was accorded.

"Ah! is it you, Panissot? What brings you here?"

"My confidence in your uprightness; for I come to beg you to lend me money enough to prosecute my appeal to the court of Dijon from the sentence pronounced at Gex."

"What! do you think that I shall consent to furnish you with arms to fight me, with rods to chastise me?"

"Yes, Monsieur Voltaire; a great man like you, whose works are full of generous sentiments, will understand my confidence in him in this case!"

"But, Panissot, you are attacking my property."

"No, sir, I am reclaiming my own. You doubtless prefer justice to a small bit of land which adds nothing to your fortune, but which lessens my property very much."

Voltaire, surprised at a confidence which honored him, as well as at the firm language of the farmer, acceded to his request, and lent him three hundred francs: The case, carried to the tribunal of Dijon, was lost by Voltaire, who was obliged to grant to Panissot the land he claimed. When the latter came to return the sum borrowed, Voltaire said to him, "Keep it; it will serve to pay the expenses of the first trial at Gex, which you unjustly lost."

THE REV. MONCURE D. CONWAY, in a recent letter from London to the Cincinnati *Commercial*, says: "Mr. Spurgeon is credited with the following, which if not true, is *ben trovato*. He is said to have been taken to task by some Sabbatarian, since he has found it necessary to employ a brougham to take him to church. 'But,' he urged, 'I only sit in the carriage—I don't work.' 'Ah! yes, sir,' said the other, 'but your coachman—think of him!' 'Oh! he is a Jew, and keeps the seventh day Sabbath.' 'But your horse?' 'Oh!' said Spurgeon, getting a little impatient, 'he is a Jew too.' This reminds me of another little story going the rounds concerning one of our Broad Church clergymen, who, being recently on an excursion in Scotland, was vehemently rebuked by his landlady for taking a walk on Sunday afternoon. The clergyman said that he could not see the harm, and replied, 'You know that our Lord himself walked with his disciples in the field on the Sabbath day.' 'Ay,' said the old lady, 'ay, I ken it; and I ne'er thoct any the better of him for it neither!'"

"DEPEND upon it, trust me, that the revelations of science are not in the least degree calculated to lessen our feelings of astonishment. We are surrounded by wonders and mysteries everywhere. I have some-

times—not sometimes, but often—in the springtide watched the advance of the sprouting leaves, and of the grass, and of the flowers, and observed the general joy of opening life in Nature; and I have asked myself this question: Can it be that there is no being or thing in Nature that knows more about these matters than I do? Do I in my ignorance represent the highest knowledge of these things existing in this universe? Ladies and gentlemen, the man who puts that question to himself, if he be not a shallow man, if he be a man capable of being penetrated by a profound thought, will never answer the question by professing the creed of Atheism, which has been so lightly attributed to me."—*Professor Tyndall*.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE TROUT.

At the earliest gleam of the morning beam
I glide through the waters cool,
Through every nook of the crystal brook,
And visit the shady pool.

And whenever the blaze of the sun's bright rays
Scorches the glittering lake,
Secluded I sleep in the arms of the deep,
In the shade of the fringing brake.

I watch the crook in the angler's hook,
And the rod with the golden reel;
And smile as I think, on the river's brink
He may sit till he weary feel.

All unaware, on the startled air,
For the passing fly I leap;
And, like a sprite in the darkness night,
Return to my home in the deep.

I silently glide by the angler's side,
And nibble the quivering fly;
And hear him swear in the upper air,
And laugh till I fairly cry.

I chase the foam in my watery home,
As it floats on the rippling stream;
And all the day, through the misty spray,
I watch the sun's bright gleam.

When the threatening cloud like a funeral shroud
Creeps over the summer sky,
The eagle may scream at the lightning's gleam,
But never I utter a cry;

For safe from all harm where the waters are calm,
Down under the angry wave,
I hear the wind howl, and the thunder growl,
Like the lion in gloomy cave.

Wrecked on the jag of the treacherous snag,
The fisherman's boat is lost;
But little I reck as I watch the deck,
As it sinks by the tempest tossed;

For the wave never rose to over me close,
And the gale never blew down here,
And the storm never beat in my safe retreat,
And nothing have I to fear.

When the breakers rise till they meet the skies,
And the tall ships rock and reel,
I float on the sea with a feeling of glee
That only a trout can feel.

Far out of sight in the azure height
The soaring eagle may rise;
But never I long to warble a song,
Or roam in the treacherous skies.

Whenever the shade of night is laid
On the earth and the waters blue,
I sink to rest in my watery nest,
And sleep till the night is through.

And all the night with her silvery light
The moon is bright in the sky;
At the earliest ray of the dawning day
She fades, but never can die.

When the wintry blast sweeps madly past,
Over the mountain and sea,
With ice roofed o'er from shore to shore,
My watery home shall be.

And never I dream, as I float on the stream,
Of a happier home in the sky;
And never I mourn for a day that is gone,
Or care where I go when I die.

W. A. T.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 31.

Gillett & Company, \$2; J. D. Therley, 60 cents; Warren Griswold, \$10; Joseph R. Brown, \$1.25; Charles Willis, \$1; Max Bricker, \$3.20; Louis Lowenthal, \$3.20; Moses Hays, \$3.20; B. Rothchild, \$3.20; Thomas Tibbets, \$1.60; John Whittaker, \$3.20; David Throne, 30 cents; Mrs. E. D. Schull, \$1.50; J. P. Welch, \$1.60; J. B. Davenport, \$3; Jas. Mackenzie, \$1.60; Scott Stivers, \$3.20; Wm. Gainer, 50 cents; A. P. Creque, \$3.30; J. M. Harrison, 45 cents; O. L. Ashenfelter, 30 cents; A. Pope, 25 cents; American News Co., \$4.35; A. W. Stevens, \$10; B. A. Cleveland, 25 cents; C. H. Ipps, 75 cents; Geo. B. Koener, 10 cents; A. Delahaye, \$3; Jos. Miel, \$3; H. C. G. Montz, \$8; E. Guehlich, \$11; Jos. Robbins, \$6; S. S. Boner, \$6; F. M. Tate, \$6; T. S. Howland, \$6.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 5, 1875.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
ABRAM WALTER STEVENS, Associate Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D.
CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRANCIS
W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), Editorial Contributors.

HERE IS another juicy bit of intelligence which our New Zealand friend contributes to THE INDEX through the kindness of Mr. Voysey: "A Congregationalist wrote to one of the Melbourne papers to call attention to the harmony prevailing among the ministers of that sect. This he attributed to the facilities afforded by their system for 'shunting' any minister that did not give satisfaction to the rest. What becomes of the unfortunate members 'shunted,' the writer does not state." Not being familiar with the special slang of the Australian clergy, we must leave our readers in ignorance as to the precise nature of "shunting"; but it is clear that they adopt the method of the great warrior who "made a desolation, and called it peace."

COURAGE and candor are always admirable, and the New York *Liberal Christian* earned high praise for these qualities, when it said, referring to "God, Duty, and the Immortal Life": "As we believe these three doctrines to be not only in themselves true and beneficent, but also essential parts of Christianity, we are now ready to say without qualification that the function of the Christian minister is inconsistent with absolute freedom. Just in so far as a man denies these doctrines, in so far he is disqualified for an office which implies belief in them." This honorable confession is made editorially in one of the two chief journals of the Unitarian denomination; and it ought to be as frankly and honorably made by the other. Perhaps it will be; we shall see. But meanwhile we must point out that the confession is incomplete. Not only are the three doctrines above named well-recognized limits of freedom among Unitarians, but also the doctrine that *Jesus is the Christ* is an equally well-recognized limit of it. Why is not this included in the confession? Will the *Liberal Christian* please explain?

THE FAILURE of Duncan, Sherman, & Co., despite its melancholy aspects, is brilliantly illumined by the sterling integrity and honor of Mr. William Butler Duncan and his partners, to which we would render a heartfelt tribute of admiration. Unexpected and sudden losses led him to examine closely the state of the firm's affairs; and, although he could easily have raised immense sums by using his unshaken credit, he became satisfied that he was really insolvent, and could not do any more business with justice to his creditors. So he firmly and heroically announced his suspension. Mr. S. L. M. Barlow, counsel for the firm, says: "It is probably the first instance within the memory of living man, either in this country or in Europe, that a large house with ample means to pay their current liabilities, and who could have borrowed \$10,000,000 on their own unsecured notes, have voluntarily determined not to risk any new engagements, not to issue any more paper, and not to receive any more deposits, because they became satisfied in their own minds of their actual insolvency. In fact, Mr. Duncan said to me just before the failure, 'I am insolvent, and I won't incur another cent's liability.'" Well may the papers declare that "all the leading bankers and brokers unite in praising the action of the firm." The whole country will reëcho their praise of such magnificent integrity, which reflects the noblest glory upon it, and goes far towards obliterating the disgrace of the too frequent contrary conduct of other parties. Let the name of this firm be written with golden letters in the history of American commerce. THE INDEX records their action with exultation and pride, and hopes for unstinted prosperity in the future to these men whose example is a beacon to all that shall come after them.

THE MORAL MISCHIEF OF THE SCANDAL.

There has been so much, loud, and ostentatious lamentation, sometimes apparently for the sake of mere effect, over the "demoralizing tendencies" of the Brooklyn scandal, that the cause of truth may possibly be helped by the expression of some independent views on this subject.

That the scandal has had a demoralizing tendency in some directions, we by no means feel disposed to deny; on the contrary, present indications lead to the opinion that this demoralization is likely to prove greater hereafter than heretofore. But we do not find it exactly where it is found by others.

1. Many have deplored the scandal as tending to lower the tone of public morality, by infringing that silence on certain delicate subjects which is regarded as essential to decency and decorum, by fostering pruriosity of imagination among women and children, and by familiarizing the public with discussions which can have only a harmful moral influence. There have been possibly some slight grounds for such fears as these; but we consider them greatly exaggerated. Very little, comparatively, of the immense outpouring of ink on matters connected with the scandal has been on details of crime or filth. So vast has been the range of the controversy that these details have been quite shoved into the background; and, although the topic has been discussed in general society with a freedom proportioned to the interest it has excited, we believe that it has seldom been accompanied, especially among women, with a more than remote consciousness that a repulsive and ghastly charge lay at the bottom of it. There is no evidence whatever of a lowered tone of public morals; every indication is of a contrary character. The universal pain, horror, and disgust at the thought that so eminent a man as Mr. Beecher should even be charged with so atrocious a crime as adultery,—the evidently universal conclusion that such a crime, if proved, would sink him to infamy just as certainly as it would the obscurest citizen of the land,—the herculean and desperate efforts put forth by the defence to prove him innocent, and the knowledge plainly implied that failure in these efforts would cause the towering reputation of Henry Ward Beecher to snap like a pipe-stem before the resistless rush of public indignation,—all these and similar facts show that public opinion respecting the sanctity of the marriage obligation is in the healthiest possible condition; and, by bringing out this truth with a fresh force so startling and overwhelming, the Brooklyn scandal, instead of weakening, has immensely strengthened the cause of good morals. Adultery may be, and perhaps is, a frequent crime; but nothing is clearer than that the energy of public opinion against it is so terrific that the culprit, however lofty in position or enthroned in fame, has no refuge but in the counterfeiting of innocence. Once more is shown the truth of Rochefoucauld's famous maxim: "Hypocrisy is the homage which vice pays to virtue."

No—we do not in the slightest degree share the feeling of those who wish that the lid of this monstrous scandal had been kept shut forever, with all its concentrated impurity and noisomeness sealed up hermetically in the leaden coffin of secrecy. Such a concealment is impossible. The arts of vice and villainy are not perfect enough to seclude such a corpse. Better, indeed, to endure the uproar and dismay of an exposure which shall end in disinfection than to permit the invisible pestilence to steal forth and smite down without warning those who know not what has poisoned them. The only dangerous evils are the secret ones: out with the truth! Nature is sound and wholesome, and can sweeten anything and everything, if she is only suffered to bring her purifying influences to bear. The deliberate covenanting to pursue a "policy of silence" which was but another name for a conspiracy of lies is enough to damn all concerned; and the sudden explosion of such an infernal-machine in the hands of those who manipulated it, no matter with what temporary damage, is infinitely better than the perpetual peril of the vicinage. The scandal that travels by winks, hints, innuendoes, whispers, stabs in the dark, is more demoralizing than that which is put into plain English, and becomes deodorized by publicity. The dirt being there, it is best to have it openly carted away.

2. Instead, moreover, of deprecating the arraignment and trial of a distinguished clergyman accused of adultery, there is one result of these public proceedings which is especially beneficial at this time, and constitutes cause for mutual congratulation among all friends of good morals. During the last

few years the air has been surcharged with a one-sided and deleterious theory of sexual morality which was almost nowhere met with frank consideration, but was allowed to insinuate itself uncontradicted into press, pulpit, and platform utterances to a quite unsuspected extent. We refer to the so-called "free love" theory, which has just been brought to public trial even more conspicuously than Mr. Beecher. The essence of this theory is the assertion of the right of "love" to be absolutely "free" from all restraints, whether considered in its inward nature or its outward manifestations,—consequently, the denial of all obligation of mutual fidelity between husband and wife as such, and the denial both of the duty and the right of society to regulate the marriage relation, as a civil contract which profoundly affects its own most vital interests. It is conveniently forgotten in many quarters that Henry Ward Beecher has the reputation of having been earlier and at least as deeply implicated in the advocacy of this theory as Theodore Tilton ever was, though for politic purposes the defence in the late trial made great capital out of the latter's supposed connection with it. One of its chief apostles, Stephen Pearl Andrews, informed a personal friend of ours (in whose word we have implicit trust) that he himself had advocated this "free love" philosophy in meetings at Mr. Beecher's house some twenty years ago, and that Mr. Beecher had been not only an interested but sympathetic listener. As is well known, the pretext of Mrs. Woodhull's original publication of the scandal was a desire to "compel" Mr. Beecher to come out openly as an advocate of her own cause, of which she claimed him (justly or unjustly) as a secret but timid friend—as, in short, the Nicodemus of the "free love" gospel. How far such statements and claims are based on truth, we do not know; though they harmonize with many other things beyond dispute, which render it by no means improbable that Theodore Tilton, in his earlier intercourse with Mr. Beecher, imbibed opinions which made his mind congenial soil for its subsequent "free love" crop. Be this as it may, however, the Brooklyn scandal was a startling illustration of such results as must necessarily follow from the practical adoption of the "free love" theory; and the *Woodhull Weekly* accepted it as such, when it declared in its issue of August 8, 1874, that Mrs. Tilton's "tender, loving, womanly concensiveness" to Mr. Beecher was "the best and most beautiful of things, the loveliest and most divine of things which belong to the patrimony of mankind"! When the great oracle of "free love" thus explicitly baptizes adultery as "divine," no adherent of that theory will accuse us of the slightest injustice in treating the scandal as a practical illustration of it. If the world does not share Mrs. Woodhull's admiration of the "beauty" and "divineness" of adultery, it will not be because her theory of it has failed to receive a conspicuous and fair trial, according to her own confession, in the greatest scandal of the century.

Now the general anxiety to see Mr. Beecher clear his skirts of the bare suspicion of having been guilty of this "beautiful" and "divine" crime, and even the extreme readiness of great multitudes to accept as satisfactory his lame and meagre explanations of his own self-inculpatory words, show overwhelmingly how infatuated Mrs. Woodhull was, when she dreamed that Mr. Beecher's open advocacy of her cause, if once secured, would ensure a universal acquiescence in it. No one else, apparently, has been so insane as to suppose that Mr. Beecher, if guilty, could stand for an instant against the torrent of public indignation. His sole escape was the proof of his innocence; and the sole possibility of his self-maintenance in the future lies in the success of the desperate endeavors of himself and friends to persuade the public that the offered proof of his innocence is sound. Even repentance would now avail him nought: the day for that has gone by forever. All this does but show that the "free love" theory, despite the sanguine anticipations of its adherents, has made no appreciable headway; but has rather lost ground. The unveiling of its practical consequences, accepted as such, has destroyed the plausibility of its rhetoric. It has been swamped by its own champions. For the next hundred years, the sufficient reply to it will be the two words—"Brooklyn scandal." So far as this result is concerned, it makes no difference whether Mr. Beecher is innocent or guilty; for in either case the public abhorrence of adultery has been pronounced with an emphasis never to be mistaken or forgotten, while "free love" has justified it as "divine." When Mrs. Woodhull, in flagrant violation of her own principle that the re-

lation of the sexes is solely an individual matter which should never be meddled with by public statute or public opinion, tried to force Mr. Beecher to advocate her cause by dragging his private conduct before this very public opinion which she had always denounced as tyrannous,—when she thereby invoked the aid of tyranny in promoting the cause of “social freedom,” and trampled on her own principle for the sake of policy,—she met the usual fate of those who adopt that course, and precipitated an avalanche of ruin on the gospel she sought to recommend. In all these things are manifold lessons for the world, which the world is not slow to learn. The “free love” theory never met such a Waterloo defeat as the scandal has given it; and into this Waterloo its own champions blindly dragged it.

That there is to-day, then, throughout the community a deeper conviction than ever before that violation of the marriage vow is a crime of the most infamous character, and that the “free love” doctrine which would sanction and divinize this crime is hatefully and horribly false,—for so much ought the Brooklyn scandal to be thanked. In these respects its influence has been anything but “demoralizing,” and has only tended to stiffen the public virtue. But we cannot deny that it tends to work demoralization in other ways, little suspected by those who have been most alarmed by it. Some of these must be briefly mentioned here, because they are not likely to be mentioned elsewhere.

1. The power of great organized interests, of combined monetary, ecclesiastical, social, personal, and other outside influences, to destroy the natural effect of evidence and defeat substantial justice, has scarcely ever been more startlingly illustrated; and its tendency is demoralizing in the extreme. Against such evidence, furnished in its most crushing and withering form by the accused parties themselves, but corroborated and intensified by the unrefuted testimony of three witnesses whom the presiding judge explicitly vindicated from the charge of conspiracy, no other defendant could have stood for a moment. The defendant himself has since boasted, in a manner the reverse of dignified and becoming, that his success (if it can be considered such) is due to the power of his character as an honest and credible man. We do not doubt in the least that a great majority of those who have expressed themselves satisfied of his innocence have done so through sincere conviction, and also that this conviction has been arrived at by other routes than close study of the evidence. A popular preacher like Mr. Beecher elicits from multitudes a blind attachment and confidence, however, which is by no means referable to the genuine influence of character; it is their response to the preacher’s “magnetism” rather than to his known and proved principles of action, and is quite consistent with a total disregard of those tests by which alone character can be determined. The fact that Mr. Beecher’s congregation stand by him unanimously at this crisis is explicable in more ways than one, and will not be allowed to influence the mind which insists on basing its conclusions on the real evidence in the case. We see little to admire in the conduct of a congregation which for four years permits the gravest charges to be made in their midst against their pastor’s moral character, and does not insist on an immediate and thorough investigation; we see in such a policy the predominance of partisanship, of ecclesiastical self-interest, of anything except that spirit which alone could entitle their championship to the respect of high-minded men. Still less weight belongs to the conclusions of the outside multitude whose impressions of Mr. Beecher’s character are derived chiefly from his published sermons. It is what a man does, not what he says, that constitutes the real basis for an intelligent estimate of character; and a careful study of Mr. Beecher’s conduct, as disclosed in the evidence, must so lower the estimate to which his character is justly entitled that no clear-headed man will, merely on account of it, dismiss the accusation as necessarily false. Give character its just weight; but do not confound character with popularity. If Mr. Beecher had acted with self-respect, courage, truthfulness, integrity, honor, all through this unhappy business, no one would be more willing than we to regard this proved character as an impregnable defence against assault; but because the reverse is unfortunately true, we find it impossible to regard the passionate devotion of thousands to his cause as a real triumph of fundamental character over calumny. It is too plainly a triumph of blind personal partisanship, of ecclesiastical and social and business interests, of a thousand mixed motives, some honorable and some dis-

honorable, over truth and justice; and this fact is discouraging to all who believe that society has no interests so inexpressibly precious and sacred as these. Here lies a fruitful source of real and dangerous demoralization; for nothing so wounds or damages the moral sense of mankind as to see falsehood triumph over truth, and iniquity in high places crowned with laurels.

2. But this is not all. Unpleasant as it has been to write what is already written, something even more unpleasant remains to be written still. Since the trial has ended, there has been an apparent effort to overawe and bully the public mind into the opinion that the obstinate disagreement of the jury has all the moral effect of an instantaneous and unanimous acquittal. An attempt has been made by powerful social pressure to coerce, as it were, many of the chief clergymen of the country into signing a testimonial or indorsement of Mr. Beecher’s innocence,—carried so far as even to publish in advance some of the signatures *expected*, and thus to place these ministers in the embarrassing position of either signing under a species of compulsion or else being obliged to refuse conspicuously. A salary of \$100,000 has been voted to Mr. Beecher for the year by Plymouth Church, with so much parade and so loud a flourish of trumpets as to force the conclusion that this step is another strategical operation. Public ovations have been made, and others are in prospect, as if the whole nation were a unit in the belief of Mr. Beecher’s innocence. Now it is quite time that the parties (we know not who they are) that have devised these things should be informed that the verdict of the technical jury counts for nothing with intelligent men; that the trial has merely laid the evidence in due form before the real jury, the public; that the verdict of this jury is yet to be rendered, and will probably be slowly formed; that all these ostentatious demonstrations are evidently designed, not to express, but to create the public opinion by which Mr. Beecher must at last stand or fall; and that their inevitable effect is to excite suspicion that his friends do not rely on the evidence at all, but rather on these cheap appeals to mere sensationalism, which will be totally disregarded by all who care for justice and truth. If clamor and stage effects are to decide the issue,—if the policy of persistent vilification and quasi-intimidation are adopted towards all who think Mr. Beecher guilty,—if profession of belief in his innocence is to be made a test of respectability,—it is high time that some independent voices should be heard. Let it be distinctly said that Mr. Beecher’s defence on the trial was insufficient, and cannot be made sufficient by claptrap. Nothing could be more demoralizing than the success of a brazen attempt to browbeat the public intelligence, and carry it by storm against the facts. If the force of these facts cannot be broken before the tribunal of reason, it concerns the cause of public morality that a protest should be made.

And that is why we have spoken. It is with profound reluctance that, believing Mr. Beecher to have been proved guilty by the facts, we have felt compelled by a sense of public responsibility to point out the real demoralization threatened by this wretched scandal. The spectacle of permanently triumphant guilt, and the success of the endeavor to overawe public opinion into paying it homage, would do more to lower the tone of public morality than any amount of scandal literature. It would not surprise, though it would certainly grieve us, to find that this article has cost THE INDEX more than one staunch friend; for more than one of its friends are numbered also among the friends of Mr. Beecher. But THE INDEX was started to promote the cause of truth and virtue, and it must make any sacrifice which this cause renders inevitable. What has been said here has not been said in malice or ill-will or levity, but with a deep desire to discharge faithfully the duty of the hour; and to any who may be offended or aggrieved, we can only say: “Do your duty too, and support such influences alone as shall help you to do it.”

EUTHANASIA.

F. E. ABBOT, Esq.:

My Dear Sir,—THE INDEX of June 17, yesterday received by me, contains an essay from the honored pen of O. B. Frothingham, in which my name is mentioned by him, probably for honor. Yet I think what he says is inaccurate. I cannot remember that I have more than once given utterance concerning Euthanasia. Mr. Lionel Tollemache elicited from me a private letter, not intended for the public eye. He asked leave to print it, and I assented, knowing no reason to the contrary. I had no copy of it, nor

can I find that I anywhere have his printed article which contained it; therefore I cannot now refer to it, and must write from memory; also, from knowing accurately what has long been my fixed opinion.

I hold that in extreme cases the *prima facie* arguments justifying a merciful extinction of life are very powerful; but to admit this into the code of morals, without full, free, and fair deliberation, does not approve itself to me. The danger of abuse is evident. It does not seem to me at all difficult to guard against abuse; but I would have nothing stealthy, and earnestly claim debate. The cases which I adduced from men in the wilderness had no similarity at all to the monstrous cases which “O. B. F.” quotes concerning Fiji; of which I had not heard. As well should I quote Herodotus’ report of people who eat their parents when they think they have lived long enough, though the parents resist and implore. I believe I said, I am aware that there are persons (thoughtful and well informed) who deplore our extreme and superstitious reverence for human life, when life is worse than death, who yet conceal their judgments from fear of public odium. The only conclusion that I remember to have drawn is, that *the matter ought to be freely discussed*. For this I have been assailed with an acrimony that quite surprises me. The editor of an Evangelical organ only recently said of me, “F. W. Newman is a most dangerous man; he is a theist, and teaches that it is right to murder sick people.” So much the more do I say, *the matter ought to be freely discussed*. Until that is done, and we have heard calmly the whole of the other side from men who are *not* fanatical, I could not act upon my own provisional opinion. We want the collective opinion of the most enlightened men on such a matter.

Yours sincerely,

F. W. NEWMAN.

WESTON SUPER MARE, July 14, 1875.

EDUCATIONAL.

Among the late circulars of the Bureau of Education is a very interesting pamphlet, containing “An Account of the Systems of Public Instruction in Belgium, Russia, Turkey, Servia, and Egypt.”

It is extremely gratifying to see the work thus being done for the education of the people in all these countries, so different in origin, government, and religion. The government of Russia seems to have accepted the idea as fully as ourselves, that universal education is the true method of developing the intellectual and moral as well as physical resources of the country. To meet the wants of the wandering tribes of Russia, a novel institution is established, by which any person opening a school in the Steppes, and obtaining twenty scholars, may draw a salary from the government. He loses his position at the end of three years, if his scholars do not show satisfactory progress; and he receives a small reward for every scholar who passes the examination for a higher division. The system of Norway is also recommended for imitation. Here the schoolmaster goes from one district to another, perhaps remaining three months in a place, and giving such instruction as he is able in that time. As the population are thus nearly all taught to read and write, the mother can supervise the children’s studies; so that they, at least, do not forget everything before the teacher comes round again. Perhaps some such system might meet the needs of the scattered population of our Southern States, where an expensive school-system seems at present to be unattainable.

But the most interesting articles are those from the *Revue de deux Mondes* on “Education in Turkey,” and one compiled from *L’Instruction Publique en Egypte*. Here the differences of religion come in to complicate the questions of education; and it is curious to see what a mongrel mixture there is in Turkey. When the French established the Lyceum at Galata Serai, they were obliged to conciliate the differing interests and prejudices of seven differing nationalities and religions among the pupils. The different ablutions and fasts of the Koran, the various kinds of food prohibited by Jew, Mohammedan, and Catholic, the different means of computing time, and the three weekly holidays—Friday for the Turks, Saturday for the Jews, and Sunday for the Christians—must have made school and housekeeping arrangements equally difficult.

Even among the teachers jealousies arose, and the Roman Catholics refused to have their religious rites administered in a Mohammedan country, and the Pope forbade Catholics to send their children to the school under penalty of refusal of the sacrament.

The writer says: "It will be interesting to know what nationalities and creeds furnished the most intelligent and best-behaved children. From this two-fold point of view, the Bulgarians invariably held the first rank; after them, the Armenians; then the Turks, the Jews, and, last of all, I regret to say, the Roman Catholics. The Greeks, with a few honorable exceptions, were badly behaved." A jealousy of the French influence, and its decline after the disastrous Franco-German war, seems to have destroyed the prospects of this school, which still lives, but on a much smaller scale.

All these writers confess that the efforts of missionaries to convert Mohammedans have been entirely fruitless, and that Christians can obtain power with them only by means of education. The Mohammedans show much more tolerance in this respect than the Catholics. Mr. Eaton says: "The armor of the Mohammedans and of other hostile communities was vulnerable only through science. . . . Parents love their children, and wish their advancement. Young men see the way to their success in life through education. They pursue education as a means of power and influence. This light and expansion disenthral the mind from ignorance, from old and dark systems; systems that will not bear the light must go to the wall."

This peaceful propagandism of science will help to bring all nations into truer and more peaceful relations; and so not conversion, but communion, will be brought about, and a sympathy of origin and a unity of aim be detected in all the living religions of the world.

E. D. C.

Communications.

RESTITUTION TO MILTON.

BOSTON, July 17, 1875.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

In your article in THE INDEX of July 15, on "Force and Feebleness," which I like extremely—so much so that I preserve it in my scrap-book,—you attribute to Dr. Maudsley the saying, "To be weak is to be miserable." Milton started this saying in his *Paradise Lost*, and it belongs to him by "right divine." It is altogether too big thunder to steal—or to attribute to a fourth-rate doctor.

Very truly yours,

F. BECK.

[We remembered that Dr. Maudsley—who, by the way, can only be rated "fourth-rate" in joke—quoted the saying; but we forgot from whom he quoted it, and referred it to him rather than steal it ourself. Our acknowledgments are due to our correspondents who have kindly hastened to supply the defect of our memory; though we are a little ashamed to have forgotten our Milton so effectually.—ED.]

JOURNEYS TO THE MOON.

BURLINGTON, Iowa, July 19, 1875.

EDITOR INDEX:—

When I was a boy, I wished that it were possible to visit the moon; and even to-day I think it is a great pity that we cannot have any sort of communication with or knowledge of our supposed fellow-citizens in the other planets. But, as I cannot devise any means for arriving at that desirable result, it remains in the shape of an unsatisfactory wish.

I am reminded of this chronic mania of mine every time you give expression to your yearnings after "hard-money." That political platforms should have hard money planks inserted, is natural. They are constructed to catch votes; and, considering the imperfect knowledge, confusion, and ignorance among the masses on questions of political economy, the knowing ones use such bait as will catch the most gudgeons. But it becomes somewhat of a puzzle when we attempt to classify THE INDEX, whether among the "knowing ones" or the "gudgeons"; since, as in my travels to the moon, you merely express the desire of arriving at a specie currency, without hinting at the means of getting there. "Let us resume specie payments" is as easily said as "Let us go to the moon;" and just about as easily executed. And yet, like most reasonable people, I stand ready to be convinced; just as I am ready to turn Mohammedan, if that peripatetic prophet could inspire me with any faith,—or become a Spiritualist, were any spirit kind enough to give me a call.

The Iowa platform says: "Gold and silver are the only reliable and permanent legal tender, and we favor the earliest attainment of a currency convertible with coin; and therefore advocate gradual resumption of specie payments by continuous and steady steps in that direction." Your comment on this is that such an utterance from a Western State is especially encouraging. To an unconverted heathen like me, this is buncombe, politically speaking; and in a scientific and practical sense it is bosh and confusion.

We are informed that there are one hundred and seventy millions of gold in the country. To resume specie payment, we must reduce our eight hundred millions of currency to two hundred millions,—a gentle reduction, or "contraction," of seventy-five per cent. Please crack this nut for us, before we can have

faith in your voyage to the moon. There are a few more nuts out of the same basket; but let's see you try your teeth on this one first. If you make a success of this, we shall be inclined to make you a present of the lot, basket and all.

Yours drearily, WERNER BOECKLIN.

[Is Mr. Boecklin so extraordinarily "dreamy" as not to know that every nation that ever tried an irredeemable currency was at last forced to come back to specie payments, and that this great Yankee nation has already in the past accomplished this "journey to the moon"? If he is, he had better wake up; after which, he can crack his own nuts at his leisure.—ED.]

A SHORTER ESSAY ON SELFISHNESS.

In THE INDEX of July 15 appeared an "Essay on Selfishness," which might do harm to unformed characters, if not examined and corrected. Its object was to prove that all men are selfish; and its author tried to do this by showing that a great many motives under which we act originate in self-interest. This way would never lead to his conclusion, unless it accounted for all possible motives. So long as one remained not so accounted for, his case would be unproved. His proper course was to state what selfishness is, and then to show that it covers all human motives. Now allow me to show that he by no means does this.

Selfishness is a state of mind in which we think or feel or act in reference to ourselves rather than in reference to others. Consideration of self is not necessarily selfish, but to be so must be accompanied by neglect of or injury to others. Where others are not concerned, there can be no selfishness. To aim at excellence in life and character from a desire to improve one's nature to the very utmost is not of itself selfish; but to think so much about self-culture as to neglect one's neighbors is so. It is selfish to devote time and money to secure my own salvation so long, but only so long, as a poor man remains whom I might by that money and time relieve. The care of health is not selfish until it becomes greater than is necessary, and sacrifices opportunities of helping others. There is nothing selfish in the desire to save one's life, unless doing so involves injury to others. The writer of the article referred to is wrong in saying that eating and drinking are "selfish qualities." There is no element of selfishness in either until the indulgence of the desire is inconsistent with our duty to somebody else. It would be simply an abuse of language to say that John Brown acted selfishly, when he took a glass of water before leaving his prison cell for the gallows. Nor does it improve the matter to say that selfishness is sometimes proper, for selfishness is an *undue* regard to self, and what is undue can never be proper. We must use words as other people understand them, if we mean to be understood, and we must use them only in one sense at a time. I have adopted the ordinary dictionary meaning, and see nothing but confusion in trying to make the word signify something else. If your writer had taken this course, he never would have said that it was his "conviction that man is at all times and under all conceivable circumstances selfish." It is wrong to human nature to decry it by the use of loose language. Man is by no means selfish. His greatest happiness is not in consulting his own interest. His greatest happiness cannot be reached by selfishness, but can be reached only by renunciation of self. To give one's self away for others is man's greatest art, and to take from others is his degradation. The Golden Rule is a guide in doubtful cases of morals, and has for its object the performance of our duty to others, and has no reference to self. If philanthropy acts from regard to self, it is no longer what it calls itself, but is something else.

As I am only a man, I do not know how mothers love their children as continuations of themselves; but I do know that fathers love their children to the utter sacrifice of everything but the desire of their welfare. That selfishness of mothers and fathers, as between them and their children, may be found is certain; but that it is the rarest of exceptions is no less true. Sympathy, too, your writer says, is selfish. The heart beats quickly at the story of starving families; we weep at the tears of children at the grave; we suffer with the oppressed and neglected prisoner,—and your writer calls this selfishness!

Now, in my view, Mr. Abbot, there is nothing but harm in the publication of such wrong conclusions. Man's nature is your nature and mine, and that of the world about us. Why allow it to be disparaged, and let people think less honorably of themselves than they have a right to do? Has the nobility of the past gained for us no immunity? Have the countless workers toiled away generation after generation for those they loved—have the best and the bravest dotted the course of time with their lives of sacrifice—has the earth been enriched with young blood of patriots and the ashes of martyrs, and have thousands of Calvaries of self-renunciation displayed the dignity of humanity all over the world,—and yet must we be liable to have our nature always vilified, our humanity proved to be "at all times and under all conceivable circumstances selfish," whenever any one thinks proper? I may be wrong, but to me such an article as that I have been criticising seems none the less for its conscientiousness to be positively immoral in tendency.

W. C. R.

ITHACA, N. Y.

[On the general subject discussed, we wholly agree with Professor R., and believe as strongly as he does in the reality and frequency of genuine unselfishness.

But, as usual, we forbear to make our own convictions the test of what should be published; and we gave place to the essay criticised, not at all because we sympathized with it, but because we thought that so bold a presentation of a theory practised by very many would be sure to call out a presentation of the other side from some generous-spirited writer like our correspondent. His article is a fresh proof of the wisdom of free speech, even in defence of theories essentially immoral.—ED.]

THE CONTEMPTIBLE POSITION OF THE FREE-THINKING ELEMENT IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN SOCIETY.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I have waited to see whether you, or some of the numerous and able contributors of THE INDEX, would notice the letter recently addressed by Hon. W. E. Gladstone to M. Emile de Laveleye, in regard to the controversy now raging mildly in England, and coming on gradually in the United States, between the claims of the Catholic Church and those who protest against such claims. That part of it which interests free-thinkers is as follows:—

"The last-named error [the idea that any security is afforded to European society against the Ultramontane conspiracy by any system of mere 'negations' in religion] is widely prevalent in England. There is an impression that is not worthy to be called a conviction, but which holds the place of one, that the indifference, scepticism, materialism, and pantheism which for the moment are so fashionable afford among them an effectual defence against vaticanism. But one has truly said that the votaries of vaticanism have three elements of real strength; namely, faith, self-sacrifice, and the spirit of continuity. None of the three are to be found in any of the negative systems, and you have justly and forcibly pointed out that these systems, through the feelings of repugnance and alarm they excite in many religious minds, are effectual allies of the Romanism of the day."

Now by the terms indifference, scepticism, etc., we may understand all that sentiment, whether in Europe or America, that is opposed to the claims of the Church, Catholic or Protestant. For, as the Rev. Jesse H. Jones says, in THE INDEX of July 15, "The Church always and every where has rightly been an aggressive, overcoming power, moving with all the energy at its command to supplant every other religion on the globe."

Of this anti-church sentiment Mr. Gladstone says, first, that it is momentary, ephemeral—"for the moment so fashionable." Then, he says that it lacks all of the three elements of real strength; faith, self-sacrifice, and the spirit of continuity. Then, further, Mr. Gladstone alleges that these negative systems, by which he means the anti-church sentiment, through the feelings of repugnance and alarm they excite in many religious minds, are effectual allies of the Romanism of the day.

Now am I not warranted in saying, as I do in the heading of this communication, that the position of the anti-church sentiment is a contemptible one, when such a man as Gladstone speaks of it in the way he does, as inane and powerless except as an ally to the Roman Catholic Church? In a world full of positive truths in all the departments of human inquiry, and when human society is suffering for the application of those truths to its present condition, are not those men contemptible who can satisfy themselves with the utterance of mere negations? The Churchman, armed from head to foot like a soldier, by dint of the positiveness of his creed, backs the poor unarmed sceptic into a corner, where, with the blush of shame, tempered by the pallor of cowardice, he wastes his breath in simply negating, denying the affirmations of his conqueror. Why on earth does he not turn upon the Churchman, and, seizing some positive weapons from the armory of truth, put him to ignominious flight? In the name of God, are there no positive truths in the universe the utterance and practical carrying out of which society needs? Would it not be worth while in our own country to combine for the preservation intact of the provision of the constitution separating the State from the adulterous embrace of the Church, and to cause all the State governments to guide their legislation by this landmark? The equal taxation of church property, the secularization of the common schools, the spreading broadcast among the people of the results of scientific research as they bear upon the subject of religion, the repeal of all Sunday laws,—are not these all grand objects worthy of the combined efforts of Radicals to secure? Was there ever a field whiter for the harvest than that now waving in this country? Was there ever a time when fair and calm discussion through printed speech opened so many blind eyes, and emancipated so many from the galling bonds of superstition? The Church itself is permeated with scepticism which is fearful and discouraged, because it has no home to which it can flee, and where it may grow into positive affirmations of truth full of beneficence.

But Mr. Gladstone says, in withering scorn, that this anti-church, radical sentiment, capable of so much good if it were embodied in the persons and efforts of good men, is only a momentary ebullition, which, although for the nonce fashionable in England, and moderately so in this country, will soon subside. It has no faith, no self-sacrifice, and no spirit of continuity. As it has appeared in every century since the Christian era, so it appears now, only to disappear before the onward march of the Church. It has no cohesiveness. It is a sad heap. It has not the quality of being welded. On account

of its excessive individualism it is powerless except to blab and blather, each man in his own way, and on his own account. It throws paper wads on Sunday from the windows of lecture-rooms at the chariot of salvation as it rolls along, while wife and children are at the church and Sunday-school, giving liberally of its earnings to grease the wheels of the ponderous machine! By alarming the fears of the church-bigots with their irreverent babblings, it really aids the cause of Popery, and is an obstacle to the world's progress!

If anything could shame the Radicals of this country out of their negatory and nugatory position, it seems to me this contemptuous treatment of them by Mr. Gladstone would do so. Embracing so much ability, wealth, and moral power, they are able, if they would only combine, to set a-going reformatory measures which would redeem the souls of men from the bondage of superstition, and make their homes the abodes of peace and contentment. The Church sends out her missionaries into the highways and hedges, and, wherever she can make a score of converts, or half the number, she organizes them into a congregation, officered by self-denying teachers, whose grand motive is the craven fear of an angry devil and a burning hell. The Radicals, with the whole field of positive knowledge at their command constantly enlarging in every direction, and with the exaltation of human nature as a motive, are utterly destitute of the missionary spirit, and are isolated, helpless, and the object of scorn to all Christendom. When things are to be done which tax too much the efforts of the individual, men combine their energies for the purpose. But the Radicals, as if smitten by judicial blindness, seem to think that desirable things can be done by the mysterious process of evolution, without any persons in particular doing them!

A. B. B.

[We cannot help seeing and saying that this article does but tell the unpalatable truth. We Radicals are always ready to discuss, to debate, to talk; but when the practical application of our principles is pointed out to us in the complete secularization of the State, and the complete removal of the fetters imposed on it by the Church, we walk off with our hands in our pockets like the policemen in "Humpty Dumpty." We see "no danger yet,"—have a thousand reasons for inaction; but, like Mr. Gladstone, all the Church people see that we do not care enough for our principles to advance them, and despise us all accordingly. We wish we could escape the humiliating consciousness that the contempt is richly deserved.—ED.]

VITALITY OF OLD SUPERSTITIONS.

I think Mr. Voysey's London Letter, published in THE INDEX of June 10, contains some very pertinent suggestions for those who labor to promote the advancement of rational religion. That it is pleasanter to soar to the heights of natural religion, and contemplate the triumphant march of new truths, than to enter the haunts of ignorance and superstition, and attack the old phantoms of error that still lurk in the traditional beliefs of the masses of mankind, all readers of THE INDEX doubtless realize. It would be delightful to forget the old monsters of superstition, if in forgetting them we did not leave others in the thrall of those horrid fears from which we may have escaped. But by ignoring the dogmas of the Church in which we were indoctrinated, we do not check the teaching of these baleful superstitions, nor banish the gloomy shadow which they have cast over hearts that would gladly enjoy the light of a more rational and sunny faith.

The old doctrines of "Total Depravity," "Personal Devil," and "Eternal Hell," do live in the religious beliefs of the majority of our uncultured people, and they exhibit a vitality which does not indicate that they are on the point of extinction. I should like to see some of those radicals who treat these beliefs as though they were extinct, come into Southwest Missouri, and advocate free-thought in religion for a short time. They would not have to hunt for the fossil remains of these old Orthodox tenets in antiquated theological works, but would find them still maintaining the "struggle for existence" with a vigor which would astonish and disconcert them.

I sometimes feel that THE INDEX, though a gospel of comfort and hope to some of the strong, matured disciples of Free Religion, is beyond the wants of many of the younger pupils of the free-thinking school who are not yet fully emancipated from the impressions of an "Orthodox" education. I may be attributing my own weakness to others in this conclusion, for I frankly admit that, having been bred under the constant teaching of the most rigid Orthodoxy, and having taken every step in the direction of free-thought under the "fiery" denunciations of those who claimed to be commissioned to "declare the way of eternal life," I have not yet attained the complete emancipation from the influence of those early impressions which I desire. At times I can rise upward toward the grand, ideal faith of some of THE INDEX writers, and almost forget the religious superstitions that were inculcated by the "ministers of Zion" who used to present the "terms of grace" to my "fallen and depraved nature." But I do not enjoy this lofty and serene faith long before I am again confronted by the old Orthodoxy, and entangled in the perplexities of the inspiration of the Bible, the Christian Atonement, etc.

I am aware that I am not establishing any valid claims to the crown of a philosophical hero in making this confession of weakness; but I decline an

unmerited honor. Let those who were born with a vigor of mind, inherited from a free-thinking ancestry, and who have always breathed the bracing atmosphere of intellectual freedom, boast of a mental peace that is never disturbed by perplexing doubts; if the ripper years of thought shall bring that boon to me, I shall be too happy to consider it dearly bought, even at the expense of the mental anguish I have suffered. But until that happy state of mind is attained, I cannot cry, "Peace, peace," when there is "no peace." Not all are philosophers; from their defective hereditary character and education not all could be. Perhaps we who have been forced into a state of religious orphanage, and to whom Free Religion can never become a direct foster-parent, on account of our isolated lives, shall never know the philosophical complaisance which the natural children of free thought enjoy. But if we cannot acquire the hardihood of a Darwin in investigating the problems of our age, we can have our courage strengthened by having the old dogmas that still seek to fetter our minds crushed by the logic of modern science; and this is the assistance that many of the weaker readers of THE INDEX, I believe, need. They need to have, as Mr. Voysey says, the absurdity of the first principles of Orthodoxy exposed, and the rudiments of a more rational religion unfolded.

If from my own exceptional and immature mental state I have made puerile suggestions, the magnanimous INDEX and its generous readers will forgive my weakness by remembering that the fellowship of religious belief that makes us strong and zealous has never come to my support, except through the medium of Free Religious writings.

H. CLAY NEVILLE.

OZARK, Mo.

"ON MIRACLES AND MODERN SPIRITUALISM."

The above heading is the title to Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace's last work.

It will be remembered that the theory of natural selection was given to the world by Darwin and Wallace at the same time. Since then, the question has not unfrequently been asked, how far Mr. Wallace's investigations on the subject of Spiritualism may have modified his former views.

In the preface to the work alluded to above, Mr. Wallace, in a manner which cannot fail to interest Materialists as well as Spiritualists, refers to this; "to the causes which led me to accept Spiritualism," and to a statement made "as to its incompatibility with natural selection."

The entire work should be read by all who have so far confined their criticism of Spiritualism to the frauds perpetrated by mediums here and there; for it is lamentably true that criticism has too often gone no farther than the ridicule of circles made up of weak, excitable minds, whose testimony would leave one in doubt as to whether they kicked the table or the table kicked them.

Surely honest, intelligent criticism can find a broader field in Spiritualism than this for work. The frauds are well watched. A goodly army is enlisted in that service. When will the scientific investigations of this subject, such as Prof. Wm. Crookes has made during the past year, invite attention? Scientific tests have been given at the residence of Prof. Crookes within the past six months, as satisfactory to the scientists, philosophers, professors, and Fellows of the Royal Society who witnessed them, as were the recent tests which demonstrated what is at present called Prof. Crookes' new discovery regarding light and mechanical action.

For this last discovery the world pays the Professor unmeasured homage; but for his patient investigations in Spiritualism scarcely a word of praise or gratitude. The religious journals have been notably silent regarding these investigations, with the exception of a bitter attack now and then, which showed a most superficial examination of the subject. Christians with the most jealous care will protect the Bible miracles of eighteen hundred years ago; but any proofs of like occurrences to-day they regard with the most belligerent attitude.

But to return to Mr. Wallace's new work. The following quotation from the preface, which I find in the Boston *Spiritual Scientist* of June 10, simply alludes to the points referred to at the commencement of this article. For the treatise on miracles, reference must be made to the book itself:—

"It has been charged upon Mr. Wallace that his divergence from some of the views of Mr. Darwin arises from his belief in Spiritualism. We quote that part of the preface in which Mr. Wallace notices and effectually disposes of this charge:—

"From the age of fourteen I lived with an elder brother, of advanced liberal and philosophical opinions, and I soon lost (and have never since regained) all capacity of being affected in my judgments either by clerical influence or religious prejudice. Up to the time when I first became acquainted with the facts of Spiritualism, I was a confirmed philosophical sceptic, rejoicing in the works of Voltaire, Strauss, and Carl Vogt, and an ardent admirer (as I am still) of Herbert Spencer. I was so thorough and confirmed a materialist that I could not at that time find a place in my mind for the conception of spiritual existence, or for any other agencies in the universe than matter and force. Facts, however, are stubborn things. My curiosity was at first excited by some slight but inexplicable phenomena occurring in a friend's family, and my desire for knowledge and love of truth forced me to continue the inquiry. The facts became more and more assured, more and more varied, more and more removed from anything that modern science taught or modern philosophy speculated on. The facts beat me. They com-

pelled me to accept them, as facts, long before I could accept the spiritual explanation of them; there was at that time 'no place in my fabric of thought into which it could be fitted.' By slow degrees a place was made; but it was made, not by any preconceived or theoretical opinions, but by continuous action of fact after fact, which could not be got rid of in any other way. So much for Mr. Anton Dohrn's theory of the causes that led me to accept Spiritualism. Let us now consider the statement as to its incompatibility with natural selection.

"Having, as above indicated, been led, by a strict induction from facts, to a belief—(1) in the existence of a number of preterhuman intelligences of various grades; and (2) that some of these intelligences, although usually invisible and intangible to us, can and do act on matter, and do influence our minds,—I am truly following a strictly logical and scientific course, in seeing how far this doctrine will allow us to account for some of those residual phenomena which natural selection alone will explain. In the tenth chapter of my *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection*, I have pointed out what I consider to be some of these residual phenomena; and I have suggested that they may be due to the action of some of the various intelligences above referred to. This view was, however, put forward with hesitation, and I myself suggested difficulties in the way of its acceptance; but I maintained, and still maintain, that it is one which is logically tenable, and is in no way inconsistent with a thorough acceptance of the grand doctrine of evolution, through natural selection, although implying (as indeed many of the chief supporters of that doctrine admit) that it is not the all-powerful, all-sufficient, and only cause of the development of organic forms."

And yet of such patient, untiring investigators some brother man, with "an air of restrained omniscience," remarks: "These men have surrendered their judgments to foolish dreams, otherwise appearing to be within the bounds of sanity."

How fortunate that the possibilities of the universe are not limited to the feeble vision of such lazy critics!

NEW ORLEANS, July, 1875.

MISSOURI NEWS ITEMS.

OSCEOLA, Mo., July 6, 1875.

EDITOR INDEX:—

A few words in regard to the progress of free thought in this section of the country may be of some interest to you and the numerous readers of THE INDEX. I cannot give a very cheering report. The Liberal League of this place is virtually defunct. That it affected considerable good, while an active organization, there can be no doubt. However, there is some hope of the League being reorganized on a more permanent basis. Some time ago, a number of young ladies and gentlemen formed the Philomathean and Conversational Club. The chief object of this club was, briefly, "the acquisition of rational knowledge." Though not a club devoted to the propagation of free-thought, the probabilities were that it would accomplish some good in this respect. While a majority of the members were Orthodox believers, there were a few free-thinkers also, and there appeared to be a willingness to allow expression of the most advanced thought. Annoying to relate, the willingness was purely phenomenal. At present this club is not in active existence. It adjourned indefinitely. Possibly it may be resurrected. Lack of any interest in intellectual pursuits is very prevalent among the people of this section of the country. But little can be expected of persons who subordinate thought to the trivial and contemptible pleasures and amusements of fashionable life. If Alcott or Emerson were delivering a lecture in this place, and at the same time a tenth-class circus was exhibiting on the common, the philosopher would not have an audience of half a dozen, while the vulgar performances of the showman would be viewed by an immense crowd. It is almost superfluous to remark that the philosopher's audience would not be increased by the absence of the circus. It is to be hoped that the gradual diffusion of ideas will effect a change in the sentiments of the people. Hoping to be able to write a more encouraging letter the next time,

I remain, yours respectfully,
THOS. M. JOHNSON.

PRECEPT AND NOT PRACTICE.—According to a letter in the *London Times* signed by Mr. J. H. James, the Religious Tract Society needs the instruction to be gathered from some of its tiresome publications. In 1852, Miss Anne Maury, an American lady, published a book called the *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, which proved very successful. The Religious Tract Society thereupon, without communicating with the author, republished under the same name two-thirds of the book, unaltered, and sold it at half price, so killing the demand for the original. Though aware that she had no legal redress, Miss Maury, thinking a religious society would be honest rather than a secular one, asked for compensation, and received a refusal; the secretary alleging, among other excuses, all unfounded, that the practice of American publishers in stealing English copyrights "did not suggest to the society the duty of making terms" with the American author. In other words, the society thinks that its breach of the Christian rule which forbids retaliation justifies or palliates a breach of the eighth commandment. The secretary ought to have his own tracts read to him steadily for a month, keeping awake the while.—*London Spectator*.

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In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

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Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. ABBOT, D. A. WASSON, T. W. HIGGINSON, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. WASSON on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. ABBOT, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. WASSON on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. CHENEY on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. ABBOT on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. HIGGINSON on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. CHANNING on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. POTTER on "Religion Old and New in India," also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, undilatingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

SHOULD NOT the official in charge of a lightning express train be known as a lightning conductor?

"RAG-BABY" is the latest name for the inflation mania, though a great deal too respectable. It ought to be called the rag-mon(k)ey.

IT WILL do the Secretary of the Interior and the Indian Commissioner no good to sneer at "a Mr. Marsh." He bids fair to prove a very definite article on their hands, and to become "the Mr. Marsh" before long.

THE TERRIBLE inundations, rains, and tornadoes at the West have inflicted great damage and misery. The sufferers need assistance, and we doubt not will receive it; but at such times sorrows come that no money can alleviate. Kind words may sometimes do what dollars cannot.

THE NEW YORK *Commercial Advertiser* having remarked: "Population of New York—1,064,272. Boston and Philadelphia, put that in your pipes and smoke it, will you?" the *Boston Journal* feels called upon to reply: "We find it necessary to put some of it in the Tombs now and then."

FREEMASONRY prospers like a green bay tree under the denunciations of the Pope (an "apostate" from the Order!) and the Bishops. The prominent part taken in the Order by the Prince of Wales also contributes to its spread and growth. Persecution and popularity are twins now-a-days.

GENERAL SPINNER, the late Treasurer of the United States, was the son of a German priest and a nun. Although the civil laws of their native land allowed their marriage, the Church forbade it; and therefore, emigrating to America, they settled in New York State, where the General was born.

PRESIDENT WHITE, of Cornell University, when he heard of the triumph of the Cornell crew at the Saratoga regatta, rushed from the dinner-table to the University chimes, kicked the doors in, and pulled at the ropes so vigorously as to disorder the machinery. If he did not, he must blame *Harper's Weekly* for making us say that he did.

THE LETTER of Mr. Charles O'Connor to Judge Davis, in which he arraigns the New York Court of Appeals for releasing Tweed from merited punishment, may lead to serious consequences. The editor of *Harper's Weekly* says of its plain recommendation: "This means impeachment." Mr. O'Connor is a man whose spirited and conscientious conduct with regard to all public affairs will render such a recommendation from him a dangerous one to the Court.

A NEW TRIAL of the Beecher-Tilton case is to be had in September, though not a long one, as before. Such, at least, is the announcement. If there is new evidence of an important nature, it is best for all concerned, including the general public, that the real truth of this matter should be known. We are perfectly ready to reverse the judgment we have lately expressed, provided it turns out to be erroneous. But nothing will take the place of evidence.

A BARREL OF FLOUR was recently sent to a prominent New Hampshire politician, who, as is well known, was illegally deprived of his election a few months ago by a quibble as to the spelling of his name. The barrel was addressed at one end to "General Natt Head," and at the other to "Nathaniel Head." It was returned to the sender with this indorsement on the way-bill: "There is no such person as Nathaniel Head to be found in Hookset, and General Natt Head refuses to pay for one end of a barrel of flour. He wants a whole barrel or none."

THE BETTER CLASS of Democratic organs are disgusted with the cry of inflation which has been raised in the ranks of their own party; as shown in this

vigorous snubbing administered by the *New York World*: "This much is certainly due to the recreant managers of the late Ohio Democratic Convention, that we should explain why it is necessary to suppress their heresy violently as a public nuisance, and send to the almshouse the spurious rag-baby which, after a pretended authentic baptism, they have surreptitiously hung to the door-bell of the Democracy, with an anonymous certificate claiming its legitimacy."

THE O'CONNELL CENTENARY at Dublin was captured by the Ultramontanes. The Mayor invited especially such prelates as are under the ban of the German government, and insulted the loyal sentiment of Great Britain by announcing his intention of toasting the Pope before the Queen. Cardinal Ledochowski, in his response, held up the career of the Liberator as a rebuke to all States which cut themselves loose from dogmatic religion, and was understood to reflect on Germany in particular. Great Britain emancipated the Catholics after O'Connell's agitation of twenty years, and seems to have played the part of the man in the fable who warmed the frozen viper in his bosom.

AT SAN MIGUEL, a city of forty thousand inhabitants in the republic of San Salvador, a bloody riot not long since was instigated by a Catholic priest named Palacios. On account of the refusal of the government to allow a violent pastoral of the bishop to be read in the churches, the priest preached a sermon in vehement denunciation of the authorities, which excited the mob to break open the prison and free two hundred convicts, to assail the garrison, to murder Generals Espinosa and Castro, and to set fire to sixteen houses. The riot was finally quelled by the aid of marines from the British ship-of-war *Fantome*. The most remarkable fact of the outbreak was thus announced by the cable telegram: "One curious and incredible discovery was made after the murderous affair was over; namely, that on the persons of some of the dead rebels were found passports, which, when translated, read as follows: 'PETER, open to the bearer, who has died for religion, the gates of heaven.' These were signed GEORGE, Bishop of San Salvador, and sealed with the seal of the bishopric of San Salvador." Such is the temper of the Catholic Church, and such is the danger of permitting it to acquire power over the minds of men. How to prevent this? EDUCATE THEM—no matter what it costs.

AS MIGHT have been expected, the bold action of the Rochester School Board in excluding the Bible from the public schools has been followed by a divided public opinion among the Protestants. Rev. Dr. Sproule (Presbyterian) and Rev. E. Nisbet (Baptist) declare for the retention of the Bible; while Rev. H. L. Morehouse (Baptist) and Rev. R. M. Stratton (Methodist) approve its exclusion. Bishop Cox, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, has preached strongly against the action of the Board. Could anything be more plain than that the discussion of this question has been altogether insufficient, and that the views of thorough-going, unflinching Liberalism need to be known and appreciated at their true value? When such momentous interests depend on the establishment of our school system on a basis which shall be morally defensible against the assaults, overt or covert, of its remorseless Roman Catholic enemy, how can any intelligent Liberal fail to see the utter necessity of some such useful agitation as that of the Liberal League? The existence of republican institutions is imperilled, so long as they rest only on a sandy foundation; and that must remain the case until they are thoroughly secularized. The object of the Liberal League is simply practical instruction by practical action in the cause of freedom and justice. And yet what indifference to our chief public duty!

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Nature and Humanity.

BY CHARLES MORAN.

From the earliest time of which we have any record, we find man sitting in judgment on Nature—the source of his very being and of all that contributes to his welfare and progress; and the judgment almost invariably has been that Nature is imperfect, unjust, and cruel towards man, and that there must be another world, and another life, where he will be compensated for the wrongs and sufferings inflicted on him in this life. Though modern science has penetrated many of the mysteries of Nature, discovered many of her processes and the results they produce, and in general has abandoned the idea of a future life in another world, it yet clings with tenacity to the idea of Nature's imperfections and needless cruelty and injustice to man. We find a recent striking example of this in an article in the *Westminster Review* of London, for January last, on John Stuart Mill's *Three Essays on Religion*, which merits special attention because a striking illustration of the leading defect of the scientists of the present day—an inability to generalize correctly from observed phenomena, and apply general principles to the practical purposes of life and to the establishment of truth. The constantly increasing division of labor which now prevails in science as well as in industry and art leads most scientists and thinkers to devote themselves, more or less exclusively, to a single branch of one of the sciences; this has a tendency to mislead them as to the relative importance and position of each class of phenomena, and the part it plays in the great cosmos of which it forms an infinitesimal fraction.

In the *Three Essays*, Mr. Mill has committed the same errors which his critic in the *Westminster* commits, only to a less extent. It is precisely against the limited extent to which Mr. Mill arraigns the laws of Nature, and their supposed first cause, that the criticisms of the reviewer are mostly directed. In fact, the *Westminster* article is nothing but an elaborate arraignment of the blunders, short-comings, and imperfections of the existing order of the universe; and its author claims that these furnish ample evidence that the universe cannot have emanated from, or be due to, a beneficent, omniscient, omnipotent first cause.

Having no desire to sustain or advocate any special theological belief, we propose to examine briefly some of the questions at issue in Mr. Mill's *Essays*, and in the *Westminster Review* of them, from a strictly scientific point of view, based on observation and analysis of natural phenomena, and on the general principles legitimately deducible from these,—in other words, in strict accordance with the true principles of positive philosophy, if such philosophy there be. We do this with the sole purpose of contributing our mite towards dissipating a portion of the misty fogs of ignorance which so long have kept Nature's perfections hidden from the eyes of man. The *Westminster Review* says:—

"Far from exhibiting a discriminating beneficence, the cosmic forces, after their colossal grandeur and irresistible might, reveal as their most impressive attribute an infinite capacity for inflicting evil, and an absolute recklessness in the exercise of their malignant activity. They go straight to their end, destroying not only the men whose death would be a relief to themselves and a blessing to others, but those who

are engaged in the highest and worthiest enterprises. A hurricane, an earthquake, a pestilence, vie in destructiveness and injustice with anarchy, or a reign of terror, in the human world. Nature, in fact, abridges human life, in modes at once the most violent and insidious."

The reviewer quotes the following from Mr. Mill:—"Nature impales men, breaks them as if on the wheel, casts them to be devoured by wild beasts, burns them to death, crushes them with stones like the first Christian martyrs, starves them with hunger, freezes them with cold, poisons them by the quick or slow venom of her exhalations, and has hundreds of other hideous deaths in reserve, such as the ingenious cruelty of a Nabir or a Domitian never surpassed." The reviewer then continues: "In the torture which Nature inflicts, even where she does not intend to kill, as in the infelicitous provision for the perpetual renewal of animal life; in the cardinal arrangement by which the sustenance of one portion of her offspring is made to depend on the destruction of another; in her explosions of fire-damp; in the pain inflicted and the loss of life occasioned by the parasites that find their way into the kidney or the brain; in the desolations of a district by a flight of locusts, or the starvation of a million of people by a trifling chemical change in an edible root,—Nature, says her indignant accuser (Mr. Mill), perpetrates horrors which, if men were or could be authors of them, we should regard as crimes of unspeakable enormity. . . . The fashionable optimism at last becomes, in our eyes, what Mr. Mill calls in his *Autobiography*, a superstition; and without denying the glory of the sunlight, or the splendor of the grass, or disparaging the many beneficent services of Nature, we discern, not always with stoical indifference, her innumerable imperfections, her circuitous mode of attaining her alleged purposes, her contrivances without object, her monstrous and suicidal fecundity, her terrific machinery of destruction, her savage cruelty, and the inexorable necessity of laws 'which have neither morals nor laws.'"

This terrific arraignment of the immutable laws of Nature, instead of establishing the slightest error, imperfection, or inefficiency in these laws, or in the results they produce, to our mind only proves that the critic has no conception of the final results which the laws or forces of Nature insure, nor of the infallible means by which these results are so unerringly attained. A scientist who declares that the laws of Nature "have neither morals nor laws" can have no conception of any other standard of morality and law than the transitory, ever-changing, erroneous standards established by men in power, with a view to attain their own short-sighted, selfish ends. Fortunately the laws of Nature are based on very different standards from those of man. Nature's laws make individual interests identical with those of the community and of humanity at large; and invariably tend to the eradication of error, injustice, and suffering; whilst those of man as invariably tend to produce these evil results, and create an antagonism between individual interests and those of the community. All conclusions contrary to this are due to superficial views of the ultimate results produced by Nature's laws or forces. Most of the evils of which the *Westminster* critic complains are penalties inflicted by Nature for the violation of her laws, and hence are proofs of their efficiency and perfection,—a perfection so entirely beyond the comprehension of superficial observers that the results condemned as cruel and unjust are often the very means that assure the ultimate welfare of humanity. These apparent evils are Nature's kind admonitions to man—her hints that, in his ignorance, he has infringed some of her beneficent laws. The natural penalties and rewards that follow every action of man are the means by which he is induced, voluntarily, to contribute to his own welfare and progress, instead of remaining, like the brute creation, the mere passive recipient of Nature's gratuitous bounties. Man's power to contribute to his own welfare and progress is one of the main causes of his superiority over the brute creation, none of which possess the power to advance themselves, by their own efforts, a single step beyond the position in which they were originally placed by Nature. Most of the arguments to the contrary, advanced by Darwin and his proselytes, are based on the modifications produced in various organisms by man's intervention and protecting care—modifications which never occur in their state of nature. Man's highest faculties and attributes would be entirely useless to him, if all he needs and can attain were placed by Nature within his reach, without effort on his part; or if he had been placed on the earth endowed with full knowledge of all things. Had he nothing to observe and investigate, no knowledge to acquire, and no other objects to attain than the mere gratification of his animal passions and desires, man would be but little above the brute creation. The moment that man has nothing to learn and nothing to do on this earth, there will no longer be any apparent reason for his continued existence here; and we may then expect him to become extinct, like so many other organisms which, in the past, have disappeared from the earth. But we believe this moment will never arrive, and that man is destined to advance continually in knowledge and well-being through a constantly clearer comprehension of Nature's laws, and of the means by which these can be made to aid him in attaining the ends he desires.

We believe the laws or forces of Nature are now sufficiently known and comprehended by scientists and thinkers to warrant them to hold and believe that none of these laws ever has, or ever can, become a source of real evil to man; but, on the contrary, that they all contribute, directly or indirectly, to his welfare, happiness, and progress. That the cosmic forces go straight to their end, destroying

alike the good and the bad that come in their way, is evidence of the equal justice they distribute to all. Every human action produces special results, no matter by whom done, or by what motive prompted. Man's attempts to judge human actions by the motives that prompt them are a grave error, and have always proved a failure, because the real motives of individual actions are generally beyond human detection—can only be inferred; and because Nature renders the consequences of an action identically the same, whatever be the motive that prompts it. An obstruction on a railway, whether there from accident, carelessness, or thoughtlessness, produces the same results as if placed there with criminal intent. So with every other human action. Thus should it be; for how could man anticipate the effects of the cosmic forces if they produced a different effect on the just than on the unjust—on the good than on the bad? Were the good differently affected by these forces than the bad, how could the exact amount of good or evil necessary to modify the results be ascertained? The fact that the laws of Nature act on all alike and are immutable—that the soil yields precisely the same results to the efforts of a bad man as to those of a good man,—in a word, that it is the act itself, and not the intent which induces it, that insures the results that follow,—are proofs of the absolute perfection of Nature's laws. If all these things were not so, how could man ever foresee the results of human actions?

Surely, no true scientist can for one moment believe that earthquakes and hurricanes produce no other results than the destruction of life and property which they sometimes occasion. The whole system of the universe is based on the antagonism of opposing forces which maintains harmony in all things throughout all space and time. Any momentary disturbance of this harmony leads immediately to the intervention of natural forces whose action soon reestablishes harmony. Every true scientist must readily understand that earthquakes and hurricanes produce effects beneficial to humanity, which far more than compensate all the loss and suffering they momentarily entail on individuals, particularly as these, with proper care and attention, can generally guard themselves against the greater part of the injury those disturbances inflict. As to epidemics, they are Nature's penalties for the non observance of cleanliness and the laws of health.

The following apt remarks, which recently appeared in a New York journal, though mainly relative to the spring freshets and ice-gorges which were then much dreaded, clearly demonstrate that most of the occurrences which we complain of and attribute to Nature are entirely due to man's folly and ignorance; to his improper, thoughtless interference with Nature's beneficent and necessary processes:—

"There has been a great deal of talk about the devastations of Nature during the winter just closed. It has been entirely forgotten that all the devastations committed have been owing to man's getting in the way of Nature. The trouble of this harbor has been with the shipping, the ferry-boats, and the public. The trouble of the ocean has been with the steam-ships and the sailing-vessels. The trouble of the ice-gorges has been with the villages, bridges, and factories. There has been nothing the matter with Nature. There has been considerable damage done to those trying 'to fool' with her. Storms and ice mountains undoubtedly work healthful sanitary results to those whose natural home is the deep. The whales are never wrecked. The shark never runs to pieces on the hidden rock. The swordfish cares not for the cyclone. So is it with the natural denizens of rivers. Torrents do not kill fish. They intoxicate them after a fashion, and, undoubtedly, better them, because the fish caught from the bed of a torrent are better than any others. Ice-gorges do not damage bluffs; they fertilize them, and the valleys running up to their bases. Nature makes a bridge of ice over her rivers, and that 'lifts' the bridges made by man out of place. The fields of ice that stately blockade our harbor are proof, as they come and go, of the healthful procession of the tides; and it is only man, the invader of Nature, that is disturbed by them. These reflections should temper impatience. They show that man suffers few misfortunes which he does not make for himself. They show that Nature is as undisturbedly operating now as a thousand or two thousand years ago she was amid her solitudes. Man makes no difference to her. The works of man make little difference to her. As long as he works in line with Nature, man gets along well enough. When he tries to cross-examine her, her answers take the form of demonstrations of strength, the results of which men call calamities. Yet Nature is not to blame; she only keeps on in the course of her own laws."

If it be true, as we believe it is, that man's knowledge is mainly due to his observations of the effects of his own actions and of the actions of others, and of the effects of natural phenomena, is it not as wise as it is kind and beneficent in Nature to inflict pain and suffering, nay, even death itself, on those who persist in committing wrong actions, or in making an improper use of things? Everything in the universe is susceptible of being applied to proper and improper uses; and the only unerring indication of the proper and improper use of anything, under the system that rules this world, is the natural consequences that flow from each use to which it is applied. These results are revelations that reach all, and which every one is capable of profiting by the moment they are comprehended.

A convincing proof that nothing in the universe is wholly injurious or useless to humanity is to be found in the fact that to-day the profits of nearly every industry greatly depend on the present value of the refuse materials formerly thrown away as useless; and it is mainly to science that we are in-

debted for the discovery of the uses to which the materials formerly wasted are susceptible of being applied. Hence a scientist, more than any one else, should know that a thing is not necessarily injurious or useless, and, therefore, a proof of the imperfection or wastefulness of Nature, merely because the beneficial use to which it can be applied is as yet undiscovered.

The *Westminster* critic complains that "for one seed, whether vegetable or animal, which attains maturity, a million, perhaps, are fated to perish"; and he speaks of Nature's "monstrous and suicidal fecundity"; and of "the extraordinary fecundity of locusts and migratory pigeons which bring with them destruction, famine, and death." But none of these facts warrant the conclusions drawn from them. The seeds that perish are not wasted; they become the food of other organisms, or enrich the soil in which they die. One species of vital organisms being made the natural food of other species, the undue development of any is thus checked by Nature herself, so long as her compensating processes are not disturbed by man. Why, then, is not this fecundity one of Nature's wise, necessary provisions instead of an evidence of wastefulness and cruelty? If any species has an important function to perform in the system of the universe, how can a sufficient number be insured at all times, without a progeny so abundant as to provide against all possible contingencies? The ravages committed by locusts, grasshoppers, and other insects, are mainly due to the destruction by man of birds and other vital organisms that prey on these insects, and thus prevent the greater part of the ravages complained of. All such complaints against the system of Nature are only evidences that her processes, and the ultimate results they produce, are but little understood. An organism which itself is useless to man may be necessary to other organisms, indispensable to the well-being of humanity. Man is too apt to look only at the first direct effects he sees, overlooking entirely the subsequent indirect effects, often far more important than the direct.

Before we complain that Nature has made one form of life contribute to the sustenance and development of other forms, and that death is made the ultimate end of all vital organisms, ought we not to examine with care what would be the probable condition of this world, and of the various organisms that inhabit it, under any possible modification of the conditions that now exist? We doubt whether either Mr. Mill or the *Westminster* critic has ever attempted this. Without the constant recurrence of death, and the disintegration of all vital organisms into their original elements, and unless each were made, as now, to contribute to the welfare and progress of others, how could man and all other vital organisms attain the well-being and progress they now enjoy? How could vital organisms be so easily modified, and made to harmonize with altered circumstances, as by dying and "being born again," and passing through a new period of childhood, one of whose characteristics is great flexibility and power of adaptation to surrounding circumstances? Under any other system, could the same wondrous results be secured with the same extraordinary economy of force and matter?

Look, for example, at the remarkable functions and attributes of water; the great central reservoirs of which are the vast oceans from which it constantly proceeds, and into which it as constantly returns. The water in these great reservoirs, being highly impregnated with salt, furnishes a substance indispensable to every vital organism, and prevents the putrefaction of the refuse organic matter which the creeks and rivers carry into the oceans. The solar rays, acting on these vast expanses of waters, cause the evaporation of the pure particles of water, free from all saline matter; these rise, and form clouds, which, driven by the winds, accumulate over the land, and especially around the hills and mountain-tops, where they fall as refreshing dew, or, after being condensed, as rain and snow. From the mountain and hills, the rain and melted snow trickle gently down, and form the rills, streamlets, lakes, and rivers that irrigate the land, and supply the water indispensable to life and vegetation, at the same time that they offer man the cheapest motive power he has as yet discovered. The navigable streams, the lakes and oceans, once considered serious obstacles to communication, have become easy, safe, and economical means of transportation between communities and nations. The streams, lakes, and oceans further contribute to the welfare of humanity by being the home of the finny tribes and crustaceans, and of innumerable other organisms, useful to man as food and for other purposes. Besides being the great source of hydrogen and oxygen, elements that form an important part in the composition of most substances, water furnishes the basis of the great motive power of modern times, steam, by means of which man has achieved his greatest triumphs over matter, time, and space.

This is but a feeble, imperfect sketch of a portion of the benefits man derives from the laws of Nature, which force a fixed quantity of water to contribute in so many various ways, through all time, to the well-being and progress of the generations that successively inhabit this world. It appears to us impossible to imagine any other system that would yield the same amount of beneficial results to humanity, by means so simple and yet so certain, all acting automatically, without the slightest intervention of any supervising, directing power.

Now, when we reflect on all these, and on the other innumerable proofs already discovered of the absolute perfection and beneficence of Nature, what shall we think of men, who, like Mr. Mill and his *Westminster* critic, claim to be scientists, and yet declare Nature to be "a reckless and unfeeling spendthrift"; that "waste, abortion, frustration, fatuity,

attest the unintelligent character of her processes"; and who make these accusations after acknowledging that in this world "good comes out of evil"; and that this "is true of human crimes no less than of national calamities"; that "every rock, every grain of sand, every metallic film, is in unceasing motion; all matter attains form; oxygen in combination with carbon produces carbonic acid gas; in combination with hydrogen, water; phosphorus in combination with chalks forms bone; in combination with fat it forms the substance of the brain"; "electricity, magnetism, light, are so intimately connected in the evolution of life, that wherever heat is these forces will be present"; "all changes in the world are changes in the local distribution of elementary matter, and are eventually brought about by motion"? These are but a portion of the convincing proofs of the perfection and beneficence of Nature furnished by Mr. Mill and the *Westminster* critic, and yet they both deny that these attributes are to be found in the results produced by Nature! We have here another proof that error usually refutes itself.

But can the attainment of truth and the elimination of error be expected from one who, like the *Westminster* critic, first declares that it is in the order of Nature that "good comes out of evil," and then immediately after adds that "it is equally in the order of Nature that evil comes out of good"; and who fully endorses Mr. Mill's extraordinary assertion that "hardly any good fortune ever befel any one which did not give, either to the same, or to some other person, something to regret"? Then, not satisfied with these contradictory enunciations of principles, the critic contradicts himself, by the acknowledgment that "the tendency of either principle [good and evil] is to fructify each in its own kind, good producing good, and evil evil, so that good in general issues in further good, evil in an increase of evil." But he omitted to add that every error leads to further errors, which would have furnished the natural explanation of the innumerable erroneous conclusions to be found in the *Westminster* article, of which the following are further examples: "Conformity to Nature has no connection with right or wrong." "The elementary impulses of the constitution of man, unless subjected to artificial training, would fill the world with misery, making life an exaggerated likeness of the odious scene of violence and tyranny which is exhibited by the rest of the undisciplined animal kingdom." "Every indication of design in the cosmos is so much evidence against the omnipotence of the designer." "Far from acquiescing in the doctrine of Nature's perfection, men who come into direct contact with the great natural forces are constantly rebelling against her presumed authority, and violating by artificial arrangements that spontaneous order which, if the tenet were sound, they ought to respect."

Now, instead of these dogmatic assertions, unsustained by either facts or proofs of any kind, would it not have been more in accordance with sound scientific methods to have pointed out a single well-authenticated case of evil that ever came out of good? or of non-conformity to Nature that was not eventually followed by retribution? one single case of successful rebellion against any of the immutable laws of Nature? and indicate how any one can ever have a valid cause to regret the good fortune of another? A most strange conclusion for an eminent political economist like Mr. Mill to arrive at, when political economy has established that society is based on the exchange of services—service for service, as Bastiat so well expressed it.

The *Westminster* critic, it is easy to see, ignores or overlooks the fact that no artificial training can eradicate or change to any extent the natural impulses of man—that the violence and tyranny of man invariably end by being eradicated by man himself, a convincing proof that his elementary impulses need no artificial training, since they lead him, from mere self-interest, to establish and maintain peace, justice, and individual liberty,—and, most important of all, he overlooks that Nature has made it impossible for man to attack the interests of others, and make his fellow-beings miserable for any length of time, because she has made the true interest of the individual identical in all things with the true interests of the community.

Eventually, Nature always rewards the right and punishes the wrong in some manner or other; and that not in another world, or in some future life, but in this world, and in this life. All beliefs contrary to this are due to erroneous, superficial views of good and evil, and of the ultimate results of human actions; as well as to the omission to follow the first effects of these actions until they become transformed into causes of new effects, which generally are very different from the first. It is this inevitable, inseparable connection between cause and effects—between every human action and its ultimate results—that induces man, of his own accord, to abandon the errors he commits, and, in the end, will surely lead him to annul every one of the erroneous, short-sighted laws he enacts, but cannot enforce, and submit voluntarily to the sole rule of the perfect, immutable laws of Nature, which insure to all the greatest amount of well-being and happiness that the circumstances and the momentary condition of things render possible.

Nature has apparently not endowed man with the power of attaining perfection, but, instead, has conferred on him the far greater blessing of being able constantly to contribute to his own advancement towards it. Most persons imagine that, if things had been perfectly ordered by Nature, or by the first cause, if there be one, the original condition of things ought not to be susceptible of change. But a system of incessant changes for the better, such as now controls the universe, is infinitely superior for

man to any rigid, unchangeable system, however perfect, particularly with the existing nature of man, which makes his contributions to these changes give constant exercise to his faculties and attributes. The most perfect man is, and apparently must always be, if Nature be perfect, he whose faculties and attributes are most fully developed; and Nature has made their development dependent on their constant exercise. Hence, an idle man can never be a fully developed man. All human experience proves that progress towards a desired end produces far greater happiness than its attainment. An object once secured cloy, and has to be replaced by the pursuit of other objects—a conclusive evidence that man's inherent nature does not permit him ever to rest satisfied with any position he may attain, however advanced it be, but constantly impels him to aspire to something still higher, nobler, and better. With such a nature, is it not evident that man must be far happier whilst incessantly advancing towards infinite perfection than he could be if he were in actual possession of infinite perfection itself? Under the latter condition, as far as it can be conceived, man would be deprived of the enjoyment he now derives from the exercise of his highest faculties, and from the efforts necessary to assure his own progress and welfare, as well as from the constant anticipation of some new future enjoyment. Hence, the attainment and enjoyment of infinite perfection, if it were possible, would not be infinite bliss to man; a new demonstration that the infinite in any form is incomprehensible to the human mind, which is only capable of comprehending finite things, with which alone man seems destined to come in contact. It is evident he has no necessity to comprehend infinity, if he is never to attain it, nor come in contact with it in any form. But though this conception of the human mind be only a mere imaginary, unrealizable idea, it yet impels man to incessant struggles for the attainment of the unattainable, and thus contributes to man's happiness and progress by the very impossibility of its realization. Is it possible to conceive anything more perfect than an order of things that renders an abstract idea, unknown to experience, and unattainable, a source of happiness and well-being to man?

The moment man becomes convinced of the power and absolute perfection of the laws of Nature, he is necessarily forced to accept the long-despised and much-abused doctrine of final causes; and then, instead of seeking the cause and reason of things in their atomic elements, as the materialists attempt to do, he must seek the cause and object of the atomic elements themselves, in the final ends they produce. If we understand Nature and her immutable laws, a complete revolution must occur in the present system of human research and reasoning before man can fully comprehend the phenomena of Nature revealed to him through his senses.

To reason correctly on these all-absorbing subjects, it must ever be kept in mind that all that we know of the past history of man indicates that, at his first advent on this earth, he must have been perfectly ignorant of all things—of his own faculties and attributes as well as of everything with which he came in contact; and that all his subsequently acquired knowledge has been due: (1) to the effects produced on his senses by their contacts with matter in its various forms; (2) to the subjective feelings produced in him by these objective contacts; (3) to the instantaneous recordance in his mind or memory (terms perfectly identical, though so often supposed to indicate different faculties of man), and the retention there of the effects of these objective contacts and the subjective feelings they generate; and (4) to the power possessed by him of communicating to others, and of receiving from others, a knowledge of the various results of past experiences and the deductions drawn from these. Through this recordance and retention in the mind or memory of the results of past experiences, man is enabled to guide his future actions by the results of the past. And the power of communicating and receiving a knowledge of the results of individual experiences, and of individual deductions, enables every human generation to start from the point reached by the previous generation, thus insuring constant progress. With all other species of vital organisms, even though they be also endowed with a mind or memory that registers and recalls the results of their past experiences, from the absence of the power of conveying knowledge from generation to generation, and the limited extent of their power of communicating it from individual to individual, every generation has to repeat the experiences made by previous generations, which renders all progress impossible to them except through the intervention and protecting care of man. But man needs no intervention nor protecting care from any one to insure his constant progress, which mainly depends on his own efforts and on his knowledge of the laws of Nature, a subject entirely beyond the ken of all other organisms. These all-important differences between the attributes and power of man and those of all other vital organisms known to us, had they been observed and kept in mind by scientists and thinkers, would have preserved them from innumerable erroneous conclusions that have given rise to other errors which, now that they have taken possession of the human mind, can only be eradicated by a vast amount of human research, time, and efforts. These important fundamental differences between man and all the other vital organisms should alone prevent the acceptance of the Darwinian theories, without regard to any of the other numerous facts and principles that prove them to be untenable. And yet these theories are accepted by the great majority of the scientists of the present day! [For the plain reason that to deny the "Darwinian theories" is necessarily to affirm miracle as the origin of species,—the whole object of these

theories being to explain such origin in accordance with law.—Ed.]

Man can modify the natural condition of things by bringing their elements into contact under conditions which, without his intervention, would rarely or never occur. But he can do this only after discovering the laws of Nature, and by conforming to them,—never by violating or rebelling against them. Man can counteract a natural force or impulse only by opposing to it other natural forces more powerful, and hence capable of overcoming the weaker. *There is apparently no other limitation to a natural force or principle than that imposed by the opposition or resistance of antagonistic natural forces or principles; and harmony is maintained throughout the whole universe by the effects of the antagonism of the forces of Nature.*

While man, by the aid of Nature's laws or forces, can transform one force of Nature into another, he can never destroy any, no matter what be its effects. This must be so, if the laws of Nature are one and all perfect for the ends they produce; and if one of these ends be the greatest good of humanity. And yet the Darwinists would have us believe that all vital organisms possess the power of modifying the structure of their progeny! They assert that butterflies alter the coloring of their wings, copying that of other species disliked by birds so that they may escape being preyed upon by them! [This utterly erroneous notion of what the "Darwinists" hold shows how little their views are understood even by intelligent men. The principle of "mimicry" should be comprehended before it is denounced as absurd.—Ed.] Has human credulity ever been called upon to accept a greater impossibility than this? How do butterflies ascertain that the birds dislike the species whose coloring they copy? And how do they control the coloring of the wings of their progeny?

The very nature of the human intellect forces man to accept the theory of a first cause the moment he pursues the investigation of Nature far enough to entitle him to be classed among scientists. When man commenced to analyze the phenomena of Nature, he soon found that every phenomenon was due to some anterior phenomenon or cause, without which it could not have occurred. From this, by analogy, he is driven to accept the conclusion that there can be no phenomenon without an antecedent cause. Mr. Mill and the *Westminster* critic, on the contrary, not comprehending or not admitting this, declare that "the essence of causation as it exists within the limits of our knowledge is incompatible with a first cause." But how can this conclusion be correct if all ideas of a first cause are due to deductions from observations of natural phenomena, and of the effects these produce? And how can the above conclusion be reconciled with Mr. Mill's conclusion that "experience justifies the assertion that force has all the attributes of a thing eternal and uncreated"? Is not this the recognition of force as a first cause? On what phenomenon or experience can we base the theory that there exists anything uncaused? And so long as we have no experience of an uncaused thing, how can we believe and assert that force, or anything else, has "the attributes of a thing eternal and uncreated"? Is not this doing what the *Westminster* critic accuses his opponents of doing? attempting "to explain the universe without the preliminary knowledge which justifies the explanation"? And is not this precisely what the materialists, the Darwinists, and so many others constantly do? What proof have the materialists produced that force and matter are the first causes of all things? Or the Darwinists, that all vital organisms "have sprung from eight or ten progenitors," or "have descended from some one primordial form into which life was breathed"? (Darwin, *Origin of Species*, p. 419.)

There never has been, and there probably never can be, a philosophy that does not end by postulating one or more first causes. The materialists postulate force and matter as the first causes of all things, committing the unpardonable, unscientific error of omitting to inquire into the cause of force and matter, and why these are inseparably connected. If the cause of matter and force has not been discovered, is that any proof whatever that they are uncaused? There can be no exception to a natural principle or law. And it is a well-established fact that every phenomenon that man thus far has been able to thoroughly analyze has been found to be due to some antecedent phenomenon or cause; and so long as we find no positive evidence to the contrary, we must, by analogy, believe that force and matter, like all other things, are due to some anterior cause or phenomenon. It is true that a first cause has never yet been revealed directly to our senses, sole source of all objective knowledge; and, hence, that a first cause is not even conceivable to the human mind. But this is no proof that a first cause does not and cannot exist. When effects or phenomena are discovered which cannot be traced to any known cause,—such, for example, as the fact that the true interests of the individual are made by the laws of Nature identical with the true interests of the community, a result which certainly cannot be ascribed to force and matter, nor to any results which these produce,—when such effects, we say, are discovered, it is certainly perfectly legitimate and scientific to ascribe them to some unknown cause (which may be denominated God, or first cause, or any other name), so long as they cannot be traced back to some other cause. This is far more scientific than to ascribe such effects to force and matter, or to leave out entirely the unknown in the problems attempted to be solved, as is done by the materialists, provided only that the unknown cause be not supposed to possess powers and attributes inconsistent with observed phenomena, the great error committed by nearly all

who, hitherto, have ascribed observed phenomena to some great unknown cause or God. But because attributes have been unwarrantably ascribed to the unknown first cause, is that any reason for refusing to admit that a first cause may exist? The only valid reason for refusing to admit the existence of a first cause is that such an idea, to the human mind, is inconceivable, and sheer nonsense, because it necessitates the admission that something uncaused exists, which is contrary to all human experience. If all human knowledge consists of the effects produced on man by the contact of his senses with outward objects, and the subjective feelings these produce in him, it is evident that man cannot comprehend nor conceive an uncaused infinite so long as unrevealed to his senses. The *Westminster* critic says that "to conclude that the final cause of creation was the happiness of sentient beings is a conclusion directly opposed to the evidence." We, on the contrary, firmly believe that all the evidence that can be gathered conclusively proves that, under the system of Nature, man's great object in life is to struggle for the attainment of that which, for the time being, he considers enjoyment and happiness; and to avoid whatever he supposes will produce suffering and evil. By means of these two opposing impulses, Nature successfully controls human actions, and forces man, even against his will and desires, to progress towards predestined ends. In the pursuit of happiness and the avoidance of evil man spends his whole existence, and exerts all his efforts, no matter what be his turn of mind, his intelligence or ignorance, his occupation and position in life, and the more or less success that crowns his efforts. But what at one time man seeks as means of enjoyment and happiness, at another time he shuns as an evil; and what one man considers an enjoyment, another considers misery. It is these apparent anomalies (which, however, all really conform to the great principle that controls every human action) that lead so many to deny the principle.

The natural tendency of man, under all circumstances, to seek happiness and avoid suffering is the basis of the doctrine of SELF-INTEREST or utilitarianism, the only theory that, thus far, rationally and philosophically explains every human action; the only one that gives an intelligent explanation of the constant changes that have occurred during the past in the views and actions of social man, and his steady onward progress through every variation in his condition and surroundings. It explains human errors and human successes; explains the gradual eradication of error and the voluntary acceptance of truth by man, without the slightest intervention from any outward controlling power; on the contrary, despite all the efforts of Church and State, the most powerful human institutions ever organized, both of which attained almost unlimited power on the plea of benefiting and protecting the community,—a power, however, always exercised for the benefit of the administrators of Church and State, at the expense and to the injury of the people whom they controlled.

The doctrine of self-interest is the only solid foundation on which to construct that inchoate but all-important science, SOCIOLOGY, the SCIENCE OF SCIENCES, as Auguste Comte so aptly termed it; which is sure, at some future but not far distant day, to throw much light on all the other sciences, of which it is the natural completion, if, as we believe, all things in this world contribute directly or indirectly to man's welfare (whatever other purpose they may further serve),—a conclusion fully sustained by the well known fact that science hitherto has never made a discovery that has not, in some way, been found applicable to the furtherance of the well-being and progress of humanity. If, in the natural order of things, everything can be made to contribute to the welfare and progress of man, it is evident that, before things can be fully understood, we must comprehend man and the natural laws that control him,—the most neglected, and, therefore, the least advanced of all the subjects that science has thus far investigated. It is only since the middle of the last century that it is acknowledged that man, like all other forms of matter, is controlled by the laws of Nature. Before that time it was generally supposed that man was, and should be, controlled by human laws and governments; that these alone could properly guide his actions, and force him to do right contrary to his natural inclinations. The French encyclopedists of that period were among the first to recognize that man had inherent natural rights which no government should infringe; and the French physiocrats, at about the same time, laid the foundation of political economy, subsequently perfected by Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776. These were the first systematic efforts to discover and analyze the natural laws that control civilized man, and to point out the effects they produce on him. But political economy limits itself to the study and analysis of the natural laws that control the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth; hence, only forms one branch of social science, which requires for its completion the application of the same methods and principles to the investigation of all the other natural laws that control human actions and man's relations to every other form of matter.

The future progress of true philosophy greatly depends on the general recognition of the important fact that all human reasoning is limited to one single method. Whether denominated *inductive* or *deductive*, *objective* or *subjective*, *metaphysical* or *positive*, human reasoning is invariably based on the observation of natural phenomena and the results they produce; and the subsequent assumption that the same results have been and will be produced by all similar phenomena, under identical circumstances, at any other place or time. This assump-

tion is based on the immutability of the forces laws of Nature that control matter in all its forms. The general recognition of this will at once reconcile or remove the greater portion of all the dispute points in philosophy,—will harmonize the various conflicting schools, which then, instead of disputing as in the past, as to which use the true method of reasoning, will all devote their whole time and attention to the observation of natural phenomena, and to the deduction of the natural laws or principles which they establish. All schools use the inductive and deductive methods, and there can be neither an objective nor a subjective philosophy; for if outward objects be not observed, how can subjective feelings arise? And if subjective feelings be disregarded, what can the subject know of outward objects? An object is cognizable to us only by the effects it produces on our senses and on our feelings; hence, we can never disconnect the object from its effects on the subject. As to metaphysical and positive philosophy, they both use the same processes; the only possible difference between them being that one may attach more importance to one branch, the other to another branch, of the same identical process. In the end it will be found that throughout all Nature there reigns perfect harmony, and that every part of Nature contributes, directly or indirectly, to the welfare and progress of humanity, whatever other purpose it may further serve.

NEW YORK CITY, July, 1875.

STEPS IN SECULARIZATION.

BY THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

In common with many other readers of *The Independent*, I have felt grateful for the clearness and ability with which it has urged the necessity of secularizing our government as to disarm sectarian criticism, and carry out the aim of the founders of our government. When at Philadelphia, in 1787, in the great festival which celebrated the adoption of our Constitution, the Jewish and Christian clergy walked conspicuously together in the procession there was a distinct recognition of the principle of universal toleration. When, in 1796, Washington signed the treaty with Tripoli, in which occur the words "the Government of the United States is in no sense founded on the Christian religion," he placed our government on a purely secular basis, and, as the Constitution (Art. V. c. 2) declares all treaties to be a part of the supreme law of the land it is plain that the absolute separation of Church and State is one of our centennial traditions. But however clearly we may agree upon this principle there are points of detail which present practical difficulties; and of some of these I now wish to speak.

It is easy, of course, to take a position of absolute dogmatism on either side. It is easy to resist all change, even when demanded for the sake of consistency. On the other hand, it is easy for any radical to draw up for himself, off-hand, a list of points to be amended, and to say to all the world "This is the way, walk ye in it!" But, unless we greatly mistake, this agitation, like most others, develops difficulties in the practical application that will need much careful discrimination in those who are to guide it; to say nothing of the need of patience and good-nature in bringing into harmony the various elements by which, after all, it must be carried. If we are at once to banish to the ranks of the enemy all who venture to criticise a single detail of our policy, the party of reform will soon become conveniently small. For one, I frankly confess that on some of these details I would gladly take counsel with those wiser than myself.

1. Take, for instance, the exemption of church property from taxation. I am wholly opposed to such exemption, and it is even held by good lawyers to be contrary to the constitution of the State in which I live (Rhode Island), which provides that "no man shall be compelled to frequent or to support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever, except in fulfillment of his own voluntary contract,"—the italics being my own. So far is comparatively clear and it would seem at first sight to be a sheer case of religious persecution, needing simply to be abolished. But as soon as we look a little further it turns out to be a much wider question than that. For not only are religious societies thus exempted in Rhode Island, but all charitable and educational institutions, all incorporated schools and libraries, all Masonic or Odd Fellows associations; in short, a vast variety of bodies, non-religious as well as religious, all exempted in the same degree. It is like those ponds so tangled with water plants that you try to pick a lily and find yourself lifting the whole surface of the pond. It is not merely the religious question that is to be settled, but the whole theory of exemption or non-exemption, of which the religious question is but a subordinate part. In this view we non-exemptionists certainly need some mutual consultation. Shall we refuse exemption to church property and leave it to all the rest? We shall have the common sense of the community against us; for who can deny that a Christian church is as much entitled to that protection as any secret, oath-bound society? Shall we deny exemption to all? That certainly would be my own view; but as soon as we take that position we have against us not merely the Roman Catholic Church, on the one side, but the thoroughly secular President Eliot and his university on the other, and every Mason and Odd Fellow in the country will be of the same opinion. All this does not prove that action is of no use; but that the action is to have a much wider basis than was supposed, and that the question of religious toleration is, after all, merged in a vast question of social science, in

which Christian or anti-Christian feeling will have small place.

2. Another form of the same question is that presented by the proposed eighth section of the Bill of Rights in the Constitutional Convention of Missouri, providing, in brief, that any gift, sale, or devise of land or goods for the use or benefit or support of any minister or preacher of the gospel or religious sect shall be void. If those who urge or approve this prohibition would apply the same to the Masonic order or the German *Turnverein*, it would be consistent. But to single out Christian organizations as such—supposing this to be the intended meaning of the words “the gospel”—is as clear an act of persecution as if the same thing were done to Jews or Atheists; and it would be wise for reformers to discuss the full bearings of such extraordinary measures before seriously bringing them forward.

3. Another point, which may prove less difficult, is the question of chaplains in prisons. By putting a chaplain, as such, in any prison, the State virtually supports the opinions of that man on religious subjects, and sustains such forms as he may prefer to administer; which is clearly wrong, on the secular theory of government. On the other hand, it is very desirable to bring to bear the needed moral and spiritual influences on prisoners; and it may justly be said that immense inconvenience would follow from opening a prison to the religious teachings of various faiths—e. g., in San Francisco, where it might be necessary to provide room, seats, altars, candles, and the rest, for Jew, Buddhist, Greek Catholic, Roman Catholic, and Protestant, all at the same time. We certainly need counsel from the experts in prison discipline to learn the best practical solution of the problem how to secure the needed influences for the prisoner, and yet not make the jail a mere battleground for contending sects.

4. Then there is the question as to the use of the Bible in schools. So far as religious instruction and exercises are concerned, your correspondent, Rev. John Monteith, stated very forcibly the grounds of objection to these in your paper of May 20th. Indeed, in this State (Rhode Island), where the traditions of religious liberty are strong, it is laid down in the State digest of school laws that school committees have no legal power to require religious exercises in our schools, and can only “recommend” them at most. But suppose it a settled thing that religious exercises are to be omitted in all schools, as they now are in many schools. Is this to be held equivalent to the absolute exclusion of the Bible in all cases? Many radicals—including the “Liberal Leagues,” most of whose demands appear to me unexceptionable—say that it should be so excluded.

I wonder that radicals do not see that this policy would be conceding just what they are disposed to deny; that the Bible is to be treated as a wholly exceptional book. At any rate, it would have practically the weight of such a conclusion, just as the prohibition of Roman Catholic religious services in countries otherwise free would be likely to strengthen that church, as being a recognition of its power. Moreover, it is practically impossible to study history or English literature in any extended way without reference to the English Bible; and to exclude it from such use on the ground that it would be used covertly as a means of religious instruction by Evangelical teachers is like refusing to permit Roman Catholics to teach in our schools at all (as I have heard seriously proposed), for fear they should aim at proselytism. Why not assume that even Evangelical and Roman Catholic teachers will have common sense and common honesty? Any teacher can be a propagandist who wishes. He can teach the five points or the Thirty-nine Articles under cover of algebra or chemistry, if he will. The way to disarm him is to trust him; the way to teach him tricks is to suspect him of them.

See what absurdities would result from the application of any such rigid restriction. In one of the best series of readers I have lately inspected, there are given beautiful extracts from the Old and New Testaments, in the regular course of daily reading—just as was done in the *Barbauld's Lessons* of my childhood. In my view, this is as it should be. The passages are left to stand upon their own merits; no question is raised as to whether they are to be interpreted according to the strictness of Hengstenberg, or with the liberality of Strickland. There they are; they speak for themselves; they are the best part of the book. Yet under this rule, misnamed “liberal,” the teacher must go through that book and tear out every page containing these passages; prohibiting in the name of “liberalism” precisely that simple use of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures which liberalism itself would demand.

So in studying the history of the Mohammedan conquests, the Koran may be freely used under such a rule, but not the Bible; in studying the history of Asia, Conway's *Sacred Anthology* may be employed to illustrate the character and habits of Oriental nations; but the teacher must lose his position if he reads a parallel passage from the Jewish or Christian Scriptures. No matter if a pupil is being fitted to enter a college which still examines for admission on a portion of the Greek Testament, he cannot bring that volume into the high school, but must use it only by private instruction. All this seems to me poor judgment and poorer liberality. It would end only in reaction and the reestablishment of just what it seeks to destroy. And I would beg my brother liberals, within the ranks of Christianity and without it, to reason together on these things, that they may at last unite on a platform of demand so clear and wise that opposition shall be reduced to a minimum, and success shall be sure.—*Independent*.

THE STOCK EXCHANGE was placed on the verge of a panic by the failure of Mr. Daniel Drew, “the vet-

eran operator,” to make good his “puts” and “calls.” It turned out the next day, however, that the reason was that he was sick at home, and had neglected to give instructions to his brokers about the matter. Mr. Drew is eighty-two years old, and at that age it is not surprising that a man should be sick, and should forget his “puts,” and be unmindful of his “calls”; but when his indisposition and his forgetfulness threaten the public with a financial crisis, it is not unfair to ask whether it would not be well for a person so well advanced in life to forsake the Stock Exchange altogether. There must surely be some pursuit which a gentleman of Mr. Drew's well-known piety could find distraction in, in his last years, besides betting on stocks. He may at any moment, in the natural order, have not only “to lay down on his stock privileges,” as they say on the Street, but to “lay down on” everything in the world; and we beg most earnestly to suggest that he will, in the interest of society, prepare for that event by a complete retirement from business. We make this appeal to him as to an aged patriot; his pastor might reinforce it by considerations of a higher order, addressed to him in the character of an old sinner.—*Nation*, April 8.

ONE OF THE LAST as well as one of the neatest hits made by General Butler, just before the close of the last session in Congress, occurred during the famous “dead-lock” fight on the Civil Rights Bill. The question of adjournment was under consideration, and General Butler had stepped over to Mr. Randall's desk for a private consultation. Butler favored a Sunday session. Randall opposed.

“Bad as I am, I have some respect for God's day,” said the Democrat, “and I don't think it proper to hold a session of Congress on that day.”

“Oh, pshaw!” responded Butler; “don't the Bible say that it is lawful to pull your ox or ass out of a pit on the Sabbath-day? You have seventy-three asses on your side of this House that I want to get out of this ditch to-morrow, and I think I am engaged in a holy work.”

“Don't do it, Butler,” pleaded Sam. “I have some respect for you that I don't want to lose. I expect some day to meet you in a better world.”

“You'll be there, as you are here,” retorted Butler, quick as thought, “a member of the Lower House.”—*Exchange*.

THE REV. DR. McCULLOCH, minister of Douglass in Clydesdale, was one day dining with a large party where the Hon. Henry Erskine and some lawyers were present. A great dish of water-cresses being, according to the fashion of the period, handed round after dinner, Dr. McCulloch, who was extravagantly fond of vegetables, helped himself much more largely than any other person, and, as he ate with his fingers with a peculiar voracity of manner, Mr. Erskine was struck with the idea that he resembled Nebuchadnezzar in his state of condemnation. Resolved to give the minister a hit for the grossness of his taste and manner of eating, the wit addressed him with: “Dr. McCulloch, ye bring me in mind of the great King Nebuchadnezzar;” and the company were beginning to titter at the ludicrous allusion, when the reverend devourer of cresses replied: “Ay, do I mind ye o' Nebuchadnezzar? That'll be because I am eating among the brutes, then!”

THE *Monteur* gave the following account of the death of General Douay at the battle of Weissenburg. The general, from the beginning of the engagement, was in the thickest of the fight. When at last he saw the day was lost, after he had done all he could to retrieve it, and that not even a battalion was left him, he called his aids one by one, and gave them orders and sent them away. As soon as the last was gone, the general, spurring his horse, rode some distance to the front, dismounted, and taking a pistol from the holster, shot the animal. Then turning around he slowly walked towards the enemy. His soldiers vainly tried to stop him. Amid the terrible firing, he deliberately walked on. The retreating soldiers, aroused by the spectacle, turned again upon the enemy, but fell in heaps around their general, who still pressed forward. Another tremendous discharge from the enemy, and Douay, almost alone, fell dead.

A STORY is told of a couple of farmers who lived not a great distance apart, one of whom was noted for being very penurious. One day his neighbor called upon him while he was eating dinner, but instead of asking him to sit down to the table with him, he kept on eating and talking just as though the visitor hadn't a mouth in his head. “Well, what is the news, neighbor Brown?” “Nothing much.” “No news up your way?” he asked, still helping himself to his good dinner, while his neighbor looked on with anxiety and appetite. “Well, yes, now I think on't, there is just a grain of news. Mr. Jones' cow has got five calves,” replied the visitor. “Five calves! I never heard of such a thing. Why, what the dickens does the fifth one do while the other four are sucking?” “Why, he stands and looks on like a dumb fool, as I am doing now.” “Oh! ah! Hannah, put down another plate.”

“HAPPY is that human being,” says the *Tribune*, “who has the tact to do a disagreeable thing beautifully. Here are the men of America continually a-babbling concerning the aggravating height of feminine hats in theatre audiences. And yet no manager in the land has the wit to remove those torments in the simple manner adopted by the functionary of a French provincial theatre. He made no boisterous observations; he gave no stern orders; not he. He merely printed in large letters on his play-bills this

masterpiece of genius: ‘The manager begs that all good-looking ladies will remove their hats for the accommodation of the rest of the audience. The aged, the bald, and the plain are not expected to comply with this request.’ From that auspicious night the soaring bonnet and the mountainous hat were invisible in that wise man's theatre.”

DR. SUMNER once held a canon's stall in Durham Cathedral, where he frequently performed service. The students of the university attended service in the centre of the church. One morning an undergraduate, coming in whilst the organist was playing the voluntary, made haste to get to his seat. Hurrying past the lectern, his gown caught and began to tear. As is their wont, the students tittered; the unfortunate undergraduate, becoming confused, rushed on, splitting his gown into halves, and by the very noise made with the tearing drawing universal attention. Before he had got to his seat the canon rose abstractedly, and commenced the service with, “Rend your hearts and not your garments,” etc. The whole congregation, already with difficulty suppressing its amusement, burst into laughter.

IN THE OFFICE of one of the hotels recently a gentleman snapped his finger to a boot-black, and as he put his foot on the box he said: “You look like a good, smart boy.” “See here, mister!” replied the boy as he rose up, a brush in either hand, “I've had that game played on me a dozen times; and now I want to know whether this is a cash shine, or whether you're going to pat me on the head when I get through, and tell me that I'll be Governor of Michigan some day?”—*Detroit Free Press*.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

YOUTH.

BY S. H. MORSE.

O HAPPY YOUTH! and thou dost keep
Thy garments white!
Thou dost with each day's burden reap
Sweet sleep by night.

How beauteous are thy untired steps
As thou goest free!
This universe thy youth accepts
Is fair to see.

Fair, fair is all the future time
To thy young soul;
And thou dost find in every clime
The perfect whole.

The secrets of the earth are thine
To open all;
And stars in heaven that brightly shine
For thee do call.

And souls of men for beauty born
Draw nigh to thee.
And in thy heart is God's adorn—
Thyself, art He!

THE BROTHERS.

We are but two; the others sleep
Through death's untroubled night;
We are but two; oh let us keep
The link that binds us bright.

Heart leaps to heart; the sacred flood
That warms us is the same;
That good old man; his honest blood
Alike we fondly claim.

We in one mother's arms were locked;
Long be her love repaid!
In the same cradle we were rocked,
Round the same hearth we played.

Our boyish sports were all the same,
Each little joy and woe;
Let manhood keep alive the flame,
Lit up so long ago.

We are but two; be that the band
To hold us till we die;
Shoulder to shoulder let us stand,
Till side by side we lie.

CHARLES SPRAGUE.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUG. 7.

Henry Gerson, \$3.75; S. Kingma, \$5.35; Thos. Carleton, \$5; J. M. Grant, \$1.60; N. A. Hayward, 28 cents; G. H. Holtzman, \$3; L. S. Hapgood, \$3.20; E. P. Robeson, \$3; Eliza A. Babbitt, \$3; Merritt Peckham, \$3.20; Asa C. Pierce, \$3.20; Thos. F. Hamilton, \$9; Thos. J. Crouse, \$3.20; J. H. Howland, \$3.20; German Casino, \$3.20; E. D. Sohler, \$3.20; Willis P. Corbin, \$1.60; C. M. Dennison, \$3.20; O. F. Mason, \$10; A. Stephan, \$3.20; D. R. Sparks, \$3; W. R. Cole, \$3.20; W. H. Walworth, \$3.20; A. G. Wheelock, \$3.20; Horace Richey, \$10; Howes Chapman, \$3.20; M. A. Ballou, \$10; W. J. Warrington, 75 cents; Geo. Iles, 50 cents; W. L. Gardner, 25 cents; F. A. Angell, 25 cents; Elsie Nicholson, \$2; J. P. Dunn, 25 cents; O. S. Barr, 55 cents; Sarah E. Whitney, 25 cents; John H. Lull, \$20; R. C. Spencer, \$20; A. Taft, \$10.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 12, 1875.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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(England), Editorial Contributors.

MR. J. W. PIKE, of Vineland, has just published a neat pamphlet of forty-five pages, with large type and excellent paper, on *The Fallacies of the Free Love Theory; or, Love Considered as a Religion*. Professor William Denton contributes a short preface. It is seldom that we can speak of any pamphlet in such strong terms of commendation as we can of this. A delicate subject is treated in its pages with the utmost purity and dignity, and no one could take offence at the manner in which it is handled. At the same time a very remarkable strength and insight are brought to bear upon it, and the plausible sophistries of the free-love theory are refuted with great ability and conclusiveness. No person who is interested in this theme ought to be unacquainted with Mr. Pike's little treatise. Considering it extremely useful in the service of the true theory of sexual morality, we have made arrangements with the author to furnish it from this office to such as may order it; and it will be mailed post-paid at the price of twenty cents.

F. R. A. ANNUAL REPORT.

The Report, in pamphlet form, of the Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association for 1875 is now ready.

It contains an Essay by Wm. C. Gannett, on "Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and an Essay by F. E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. B. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

It can be obtained, in Boston, at A. Williams & Co.'s, and by mail by addressing "Office of Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston, Mass."

Price of single copy, 35 cents; package of four copies or more, 25 cents each.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

CALL FOR THE SEPTEMBER CONVENTION.

The Liberal Leagues throughout the country are cordially invited to send five delegates each to a Convention to be held in Philadelphia on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of September next, for the purpose of disseminating our principles and of making arrangements for a general Congress of Liberals to convene next year during the Centennial exhibition. It is very desirable that every Liberal League in America should be fully represented at the September Convention. Now is the time to work. The enemies of religious freedom are busy in preparing to utilize human ignorance and superstition for the strengthening and perpetuating of an organized system of mental repression, hostile alike to science, reason, and the right of private judgment in all matters of faith and conscience.

Let us endeavor to overcome ignorance by intelligence,—superstition by reason. Let each League send a full representation of men and women, so that from the combined wisdom of both sexes and all our societies we may be able to inaugurate a new era of impartial justice, perfect freedom, and scientific religion.

As soon as delegates are elected, Leagues are requested to notify the undersigned, and also THE INDEX.

JOHN S. DYE,

Sec'y Phila. Liberal League,
2527 Brown Street, Phila.

PHILADELPHIA, July 22, 1875.

N. B.—All Liberal Societies which sympathize with the objects of the Liberal Leagues and wish to be represented are included in the above Call.

DELEGATES REPORTED.

PHILADELPHIA LIBERAL LEAGUE.—Isaac Rhen (President), John S. Dye (Secretary), Carrie S. Burnham, Damon Y. Kilgore, Jesse B. Beam.
BOSTON LIBERAL LEAGUE.—F. E. Abbot (President), Geo. A. Bacon (Secretary), A. Bronson Alcott, B. F. Underwood, John Wetherbee.

"STEPS IN SECULARIZATION."

On a previous page will be found an article by Col. Higginson with the above caption, originally contributed to the *Independent*. He points out that the treaty with Tripoli, signed by Washington in 1796, "placed our government on a purely secular basis," and that "the absolute separation of Church and State is one of our centennial traditions." "But, however clearly," he adds, "we may agree upon this principle, there are points of detail which present practical difficulties; and of some of these I now wish to speak. It is easy, of course, to take a position of absolute dogmatism on either side. It is easy to resist all change, even when demanded for the sake of consistency. On the other hand, it is easy for any radical to draw up for himself, off-hand, a list of points to be amended, and to say to all the world: 'This is the way, walk ye in it!'"

This last sentence is, of course, an allusion to the "Demands of Liberalism," which are thus indirectly instanced as an illustration of "taking a position of absolute dogmatism"; and, equally of course, the allusion is less than just or fair. The "Demands of Liberalism" simply plant themselves on the justice and necessity of the principle of the "absolute separation of Church and State," as one which constitutes the very basis of the Republic, is conceded nominally and in the abstract on all hands, and needs no demonstration so far as our own citizens are concerned; they then simply proceed to enumerate carefully all the practical infringements of this principle in the existing state of things, and to utter a strong protest against them as constituting in the aggregate a great public grievance. What is there of "dogmatism" in all this? If there is any "dogma" in the "Demands of Liberalism," it is the dogma which Col. Higginson plants himself upon, when he says that "the absolute separation of Church and State is one of our centennial traditions." He is exactly as much guilty of "absolute dogmatism" in this matter as we are, for he assumes the very same dogma, and just as dogmatically. We have never said, "This is the way, walk ye in it!" or any thing like that; and it is a species of *ad captandum* disparagement, for which we were quite unprepared, to suggest that we have said it, virtually or otherwise. If by "absolute dogmatism" he merely means a persistent and uncompromising spirit in working for the "dogma" which is his as well as ours, we plead guilty of the crime without delay, and acquit him of it at the same time. But we point out that no man can withhold his sympathy, approbation, and full assent from the "Demands of Liberalism," unless he either repudiates the great principle on which they rest or else is apathetic and indifferent to the practical violations of it. Not a single one of those infringements of the secular principle can be approved without condemning the principle itself to that extent. Here is the head and front of our offending—the sum and substance of our "absolute dogmatism." But the whole responsibility for it lies further back than Col. Higginson perceives—in the laws of logic, which make it impossible to advocate pure secularism abstractly, and yet yield to ecclesiasticism practically, without self-evident inconsistency. The only "dogmatism" which can be pointed out in the course of THE INDEX consists in a profound respect for the laws of logic.

We pass to the series of observations on "points of detail which present practical difficulties": a euphemistic designation of certain clear and flagrant violations of the secular principle.

1. The "difficulty" as to the exemption of church property from taxation, to which exemption Col. Higginson is "wholly opposed," is the fact that exemption is extended to various non-religious as well as to religious bodies; that the whole theory of exemption is involved in the discussion; and that "the question of religious toleration is, after all, merged in a vast question of social science, in which Christian or anti-Christian feeling will have small place." If it is true that "feeling" will be thrown out of this question, there is some hope of arriving at a just solution of it; for it is a question of equity and not of "feeling" of any sort. But the "difficulty" is not one of principle in the slightest degree; it is simply an obstacle in the very plain pathway of just reform, and can cause confusion in no mind that firmly believes in "the absolute separation of Church and State." If church-exemption is all snarled up with the exemption of charities and schools and colleges, so much the more reason for unravelling the tangle—so much the more reason for showing the people that different principles must be applied to the differing cases—so much

the more reason, in short, for Liberal Leagues. Whether charities and colleges should be exempted or not, it is perfectly plain that churches should be taxed; since to exempt them is to tax the whole people for their support—a glaring and incontestable violation of well-recognized rights. There is no difficulty here in discovering what is just, or what should be worked for: the only difficulty is, first, in persuading the sluggish or over-prudent liberals to demand their rights, and secondly, in persuading the indifferent public to concede them.

2. The "difficulty" as to the eighth section of the Bill of Rights in the proposed new Constitution of Missouri does not concern us and may be dismissed. The section is not a part of the "Demands of Liberalism," nor does it seem a just regulation.

3. The "difficulty" as to prison chaplains belongs to the general subject of prison discipline and prison reform. There is no difficulty in seeing that the State has no right on American principles to support any ministers of religion anywhere. How to "bring to bear the needed moral and spiritual influences on prisoners" is an independent and very perplexing question—especially since they are very seldom "brought to bear" under the chaplain system; but this question need not embarrass us now. The growing demand of the Catholic Church to have an equal finger in this nice chaplaincy pie, and the likelihood that other sects will soon be making trouble on the same score, reveals the absurdity of the whole system and bids fair to break it up. But the prisoners will doubtless be better cared for morally, when the custom of turning over the moral custody of them all to a single paid official has been abolished, when every prison officer is expected to be a wise friend to those under his immediate control, and when all good people interest themselves as they should in providing for the highest wants of those whom society has deprived of freedom for its own good. There is no difficulty here as to the "Demands of Liberalism," but only as to the general management of prisons and prisoners: the duty of the State to cease its support of the Church is perfectly plain, and this "difficulty" will embarrass nobody who perceives that duty.

4. It is only with regard to the Bible in schools that Col. Higginson directly criticises the Liberal League by name. Its platform protests against church-exemption: he agrees with it there, and is merely perplexed about exempting colleges and charities. Its platform protests against chaplaincies: he agrees with it again, and is merely perplexed on questions of prison reform. But when its platform protests against the use of the Bible in schools, "whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship," he thinks he dissents, and therefore blames. But, in order to discover a ground of dissent, he is obliged to twist and pervert (of course unintentionally) the meaning of the very explicit language just quoted. The fourth "Demand" speaks only of the use of the Bible as "a text-book" or "a book of religious worship"; it does not refer in the remotest way to any extracts from the Bible that may chance to be incorporated in school-readers or histories, but speaks only of the Bible as a whole. Col. Higginson takes for granted, however, an interpretation of that "Demand" which can only be got out of it by the most unwarrantable stretching; he himself makes the "Demand" absurd, and then exclaims, "See what absurdities would result from the application of any such rigid restriction." He goes on to mention a school-reader in which Bible extracts make "the best part of the book," and says: "Under this rule, mis-called 'liberal,' the teacher must go through that book, and tear out every page containing these passages," etc.

Such criticism as this is utterly frivolous, pointless, and unfair; coming from such a critic, it is surprising in the extreme. The Bible could not possibly be used either as "a text-book" or as "a book of religious worship," if it were only available in such brief extracts as are contained in school-readers; yet it is nothing but its use in school as "a book" against which the fourth "Demand" protests. Is not the reason sufficiently obvious? As a religious book, the Bible of course could not be used at all in purely secular schools. But as a text-book, the Bible as a whole could only be introduced into such schools dishonestly. Neither as a text-book of science, history, literature, morals, or anything else, could an honest and intelligent school committee direct it to be used; and its ostensible presence as a text-book would be to all but simpletons a proof positive of its furtive religious use. We have never said anything against the genuine literary use of the Bible,—or against its rational religious use outside of the public

schools; and of this fact Col. Higginson ought to be aware, if he is not. The "absurdities" he is so acute as to discover lurking in the fourth "Demand of Liberalism" are the grotesque progeny of his own capricious and lawless exegesis. No such consequences as he deduces from it were intended; neither are they to be found implied in it, except by criticism that disdains all restraints of fact.

In short, Col. Higginson has been criticising the "Demands of Liberalism," and trying to discover something in them to dissent from, but totally without success. The only point of real difference is one which his imagination has created for the occasion. It turns out, therefore, at least so far as his present statement is concerned, that his "brother liberals" need not go any further to find "a platform of demand so clear and wise that opposition shall be reduced to a minimum and success shall be sure." Will Col. Higginson, then, advise them all to "unite" upon it? If not, we trust he will himself draft such a "platform of demand" as shall be more "clear and wise" than the "Demands of Liberalism."

PARTY BLINDNESS.

THE INDEX, of July 22, contained an article copied from *Harper's Weekly*, and emanating doubtless from the pen of George William Curtis. It was entitled "A New Plank in Platforms." That article, considering its source, seems to me to be such an extraordinary piece of political writing, and to betray so glaringly the strong prejudices of a partisan, that I cannot be content to let it go forth to the readers of THE INDEX,—among whom are found members of all parties, and those who belong to none,—without at least expressing my decided dissent from some of its sweeping conclusions, which I believe to be partial, unjust, and false in the extreme.

Mr. Curtis is a man for whom, in general, I have a profound admiration and respect. He is one of the most elegant writers among American journalists and essayists. He has a wealth of culture and a perfection of style which is scarcely equalled and not excelled by any of his contemporaries. As a citizen of the republic, a member and in some respects a leader of one of our great political parties, he is among the most eminent of all men for ability and spotless integrity. Withal, he is a genial and benevolent man and high-toned gentleman.

And yet, Mr. Curtis is a partisan; and within the last few years he has developed that character to a surprising and painful degree. I do not mean to affirm that George William Curtis is a politician who would say, "My party, right or wrong." Without doubt, he is honest and sincere in believing that the Republican party to which he belongs is the only party worthy of trust and support—is the only party which, in the present state of national affairs, can be made to be worthy of trust and support. But no candid and impartial person, it seems to me, can read this article which THE INDEX copied, or re-read many of the political articles written by Mr. Curtis within the last three or four years, without perceiving that this distinguished gentleman is wofully struck with party blindness. Can we forget how deep was this blindness in 1872? When Sumner and Schurz could see such fatal defects in the Republican party, that they felt compelled not only to point them out but to leave the party altogether, Mr. Curtis could discover no reason for denouncing or even criticising his party, but remained in it, defending and supporting it through thick and thin; remained among the shameful slanderers and abusers of these stainless statesmen; among those who vilely caricatured Horace Greeley, and added their persecution to other troubles that drove him into his untimely though honorable grave. And when the Republican administration disgraced itself with a treacherous betrayal of the civil-service reform, Mr. Curtis, although resigning his place at the head of that commission, still continued to support the administration; and, doubtless, if Gen. Grant should be re-nominated by the Republican party for a third term, Mr. Curtis would find it advisable on the whole to advocate his reelection to an office which he has, in so many ways, aided to dishonor.

Now it so happens that I never have voted in my life any other national ticket than that which the Republican party has proposed, although in 1872 I should have been proud to cast my vote for Horace Greeley, had I not lost the privilege to do so by a change of residence. But when Mr. Curtis, with all the indiscriminate zeal of an ordinary politician, institutes a wholesale comparison between the Democratic and Republican parties, and finds that the former is a synonyme in our national history solely of

slavery, anarchy, ignorance, political rascality and moral degradation, while the latter in his estimation stands alone for freedom, order, education, political and moral purity,—I must protest that through partisan prejudice he strangely misreads and misrepresents the actual history of the two parties, and falls into partialities and inaccuracies of statement that are simply amazing in one so intelligent and honest.

The fact is that the Democratic party was for years the party of the people, *par excellence*, in this country; that it stood for some of the noblest political ideas that have obtained signal prominence and advocacy in America, and enrolled among its members some of the most shining names that have lent lustre to our national history. State sovereignty, local self-government, free trade, a sound currency, anti-monopoly,—these are some of the mottoes that the Democratic party bore upon its banner for years and years. And in all this it stood in opposition to the Whig party, which always represented centralization, conservatism, and aristocracy. The Democratic party, indeed, in all its long history, which is coextensive with the history of the republic, has made but one mistake; that of suffering its political fortunes to become identified with the institution of negro slavery in the South. That in truth was a sad and fatal mistake, and yet one which it fell into, not as Mr. Curtis would have us believe through its anarchical and disunion proclivities, but from its desire on the contrary to preserve the Union by maintaining constitutional guaranties, and to be true at the same time to its cardinal doctrine of local self-government. The strength of the pro-slavery tendencies of the Democratic party was mainly in the Southern portion of it, as it was natural enough it should be. In the Northern portion of that party there were large numbers who abhorred slavery, who protested against its further extension into then free territory; and who, when all opposition to the pro-slavery rule of the party was seen to be hopeless, aided in forming the new Republican party in the North. Many of the best intellects and fairest consciences that conspired to create and continue the new party came from the old Democratic party, where they had been nurtured and educated for generations in the Jeffersonian principles of popular liberty and human rights; while from the old aristocratic Whig party went those elements which conduced to the most hard-shelled hunkerism in the modern, pro-slavery Democracy.

Mr. Curtis would seem to intimate that it was the Republican party alone which subsequently overthrew slavery, and put down secession and rebellion. He ought to know better than that; certainly the country knows better. I tell him that it was the people of the North who did this, not any mere party. It was Democrats and Republicans who did it; for the men and money needed to accomplish it came from both parties. Who were our most successful generals in the field? Were they not Democrats as well as Republicans? Did Republican soldiers fight any better than Democratic soldiers? Only he who is struck with party blindness will think of claiming that our late civil war was carried through to a successful issue by any mere political party in the land. I repeat again, the PEOPLE did it; and to the PEOPLE belongs the praise.

And who, since the war, has been responsible for the reign of terrorism and anarchy in the South? "The Democratic party!" fanatically cries the elegant editor of *Harper's Weekly*. But who were the carpet-baggers, the shameful and rascally misrulers of the South, Mr. Curtis? Were they Democrats? On the contrary, were they not nearly all Republicans? And how wisely and well have our Republican administration, and our Republican Congress, aided to conciliate and harmonize the Southern people, and to restore prosperity and good order to the Southern States? Let the masterly and unanswerable speeches of Sumner and Schurz reply. Let the political history of the country, during all these troublous times, reply; and let not the partisan utterances of Mr. Curtis go for more than they are worth.

Moreover, is it Democrats any more than Republicans who now oppose a return to specie payments, who advocate inflation, who favor a union between Church and State, who are uncertain in their utterances and action concerning woman's rights, labor reform, temperance, and unsectarian schools? Mr. Curtis makes haste to inform us that the Democratic party is always sure to be found on the wrong side of all these questions, and the Republican party on the right side. But the fact is that many prominent men of both parties are found on either side of all

these questions; while both parties, as parties, treat these matters, so far as any real action goes, with gingerly precaution. So far as Church and State are concerned, and unsectarian schools, it is the *Christian* party, irrespective of political distinctions, that is found on the wrong side; and it is to the *Free Religious* men and women of this country, again irrespective of political distinctions, that we must look for a wise and practical solution of these questions.

The truth is that it has come to pass in this country when no political party that now exists, or is likely to exist, can be relied on to do justly and love mercy in our national affairs. It is in the *whole people* that we must put our hope and trust—the whole people, as they shall be operated upon by slowly-advancing ideas of truth, justice, and purity. That man who points us to any party, and bids us expect our salvation from it, is a blind leader of the blind, and not for a moment to be trusted. But we, the people,—we ourselves must save ourselves, if we are to be saved. All parties, both in Church and State, are in the long run unreliable. They will, in the end, consider and work for mere party interests, without regard to a true commonwealth or a true civilization. The Republican party reeks with corruption to-day, as much as the Democratic. Without doubt, a new deal is necessary, and will soon be had, all round. The best men of both parties will combine to produce it. Not party blindness, but the vision of free and honest intelligence, is to discover the way whereby this nation is to pass out from its present difficulties of misrule and mismanagement into an assured position involving equal justice to all classes and conditions. The signs of the times are hopeful rather than discouraging. The "common people" are thinking deeply on all these things. They are beginning to refuse to be led by party leaders. They will follow ideas. And now is the time when it is more noble to work to create sentiment than to organize parties.

A. W. S.

FREE THOUGHT NOTES.

BY A VETERAN ENGLISH FREE-THINKER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—My chambers overlook the Thames at Temple Bar; and, when I could see, I could look upon the river. Of late I have only learned when daylight has come through the information of friendly sparrows, who come chirping at my casement to let me know that the sun is up, opening his stores of light, and commencing business with the world. The enemy has returned upon me, but has done little harm to my newly-acquired health, and has contented himself with imposing upon me privation of sight and discomfort. Do you know I think I have Conservative eyes, as they do not see much, and do not like seeing that? Sometimes I think they are Trades-Union eyes, and are on a strike; but, as friends unforeseen and unexpected have in America as well as in England accorded me increased means (under circumstances of kindness and distinction which much impress me), I suppose my eyes will come to an arrangement, and resume work again. If so, you shall hear from me with more regularity, as I believe I have lost two months.

My last disablement became sensible to me, while trying to read up some law-cases applicable to the recent movements of the Sabbatarians here. They have closed an aquarium which had been for some time open on Sundays at Brighton, the nearest seacoast to London, if regard be had to convenience in going there. If one set of tradesmen in England were to put down rival places of business, there would be a great outcry at the unfairness. But the clergy can do this. There is an act of George the Third which enables them to close any place of interest or instruction to the people, if money be taken at the doors, or in any way, for admission. George the Third was a sort of patron saint of intolerance, and the clergy grew fat in injustice during his reign. Did not Thackeray come lecturing in your country on the "Four Georges"? Well, Walter Savage Landor put the whole thing into six lines, to this effect:—

"George the First was always reckoned
Vile—viler George the Second;
And what mortal ever heard
Any good of George the Third?
And when from earth the Fourth descended,
God be praised—the Georges ended!"

The Sabbatarians have made a great mistake in bringing the statute bearing the name of the obstinate old king to the front. So long as they applied it to working people unable to resent it, they were safe. By applying it to the shareholders of the

Brighton Aquarium, they rob that company of £3,000 a year; and it is rich enough to resent it. Besides, Brighton sent two Tory members to Parliament last election, and Mr. Cross, the Tory Home Secretary, is obliged to sympathize with the losses of Tory supporters. He has, therefore, so far thrown the Sabbatarians over, as to refuse to enforce the penalties of the act. The two liberal members displaced at Brighton were Professor Fawcett and a very eminent liberal, James White, who had achieved a very considerable Parliamentary reputation. Brighton would not stand the loss of its liberal members, and the aquarium too. Three deputations waited on our Home Secretary, and one of them, Lord Shaftesbury, urged the old and futile argument that any recreation on the Sunday involved the obligation of labor on the working classes. Whereupon I wrote a letter to the *Examiner*,—the famous journal started by Leigh Hunt and Lord Byron, and now understood to be the property of P. A. Taylor, M.P., well worthy to succeed them as far as liberalism is concerned.

[Mr. Holyoake's letter to the *Examiner* was republished in THE INDEX of July 15.—ED.]

Mr. Cowen, M.P., attended one of the deputations on behalf of the people, and pointed out that the Park at Newcastle-on-Tyne had cost £25,000; that it was kept in order by the charge of a penny admission for each visitor on Sunday; and that it would be closed by the operation of the Act in question. The busy people on the Tyne side live in a perfect atmosphere of smoke and sulphur, and a passenger looks down upon the town from the high-level bridge which spans the Tyne at a great altitude. Newcastle-on-Tyne seems like the bottomless pit; and the Sabbatarians who would deprive the working-people of means of escape to the Park deserved to be sent to the bottomless pit themselves, for a week. Mr. Cowen put a question in Parliament to Mr. Cross, demanding to know whether he intended to apply the law to the Zoological Gardens, and the Botanical Gardens, which were both liable to be closed by the operation of this Act. Mr. Cross said he believed he had the power to remit the penalties. To the other deputation, he said he was advised he had the power. The opinion I published, in which I said he would find he had no such power, has turned out to be correct. Mr. Cross has had to confess in Parliament that he was wrong, when he said he believed he had the power, and that his advisers were wrong when they said he had the power. He has been obliged to ask Parliament to give him leave to bring in a Bill to enable him to remit these penalties. This is the greatest triumph which the friends of the wise use of Sunday have obtained. When the penalties are remitted, what becomes of the Act? It could only be enforced by the consent of the Home Secretary, who will be answerable to Parliament for every act of enforcement; and no Home Secretary in England will venture to outrage the common sense of the nation, by prohibiting men of science in addressing the people on Sunday, or coöperators from advocating domestic and social improvement on that day. The ill-advised zeal of the Sabbatarians has thus led to unforeseen and unexpected good.

Please read my letters for what printers call the "sense"; and, if through my inability to revise what I dictate I am not intelligible, please do me the favor of making me so.

Ever yours,

GEO. JACOB HOLYOAKE.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—I have as a rule studiously refrained from taking any notice whatever of adverse and abusive criticism; in the first place, because it does not make me angry; and, in the second place, because such a mode of attack is undeserving of attention. There is, however, such a tidbit in the *Church Herald* in reference to my sermons on Moody and Sankey, that I must quote it, partly for the amusement of your readers, and partly for their warning:—

"The Rev. C. Voysey has succeeded in writing the most hideous blasphemy which it has ever been our misfortune to read. . . Mr. Voysey hypothetically attacks the Almighty in terms which we should think are unequalled in the vocabulary of unbelief. . . After reading Mr. Voysey's pamphlet we have been unable to refrain from speculating as to what would happen to this gentleman, if we lived in a perfect state of society [the italics are mine]. As, instead of this, we live in days of liberalism and unbridled license, Mr. Voysey, and such as he, will

probably be allowed to go on inflaming the minds of the ill-instructed against their Creator, until it is not safe for one who believes in God to show his face in the street. It is, of course, impossible for us to reproduce the passages which have occasioned these remarks. . ."

After reading the foregoing lines, I have been "unable to refrain from speculating" as to what would happen to the *Church Herald*, if I were to bring against the proprietors an action for libel.

I do not see how it is possible to have invented any charge against me more palpably and obtrusively false, than that of "inflaming the minds of the ill-instructed against their Creator." Nor would any man in his senses, writing his honest thought, say that my patent endeavor is not to help and encourage people to believe in God, instead of making it "unsafe for any one who believes in God to show his face in the street."

Misrepresentation in controversy—even in theological controversy—has its limits; and I imagine that a jury would readily conclude that this "elegant extract" of criticism had exceeded those limits.

But it was not about myself that I purposed to call your attention to the above quotation. I have emphasized the words—"if we lived in a perfect state of society"—as a note of warning which all of us on both sides of the Atlantic would do well to heed. The writer of those words explains what he means by "a perfect state of society" in the next sentence. "As, instead of this, we live in days of liberalism and unbridled license," etc. Now, bearing in mind that the "liberalism and unbridled license" over which he mourns is not that of lax morals or social anarchy, but only freedom of speech on religious questions, we see that his idea of "a perfect state of society" is nothing else than one in which free speech on religious matters would be absolutely forbidden; and, if ever attempted, would be punished by penalties, the severity of which can be easily conceived by recalling the palmy days of that "perfect state of society" in which flourished the Holy Inquisition.

Roman Catholics, even if they desire a return to this state of social perfection, are not so indiscreet as to say so; but the High Church party in the Church of England are so intoxicated with their recent successes in defying and trampling on the law, that they have shown their cards, and let us know the little game they intend to play. Their "last trump," however, may not be the "biggest," and it is still possible they may be outwitted, if we do not go to sleep over their tactics in false security.

I am no alarmist, nor do I emulate the distinction which rests upon the head of our own great Protestant champion, Mr. Whalley, M. P.; but when I see a great flaming furnace through a chink in a wall, it is only humane to give notice of it.

If the "perfect state of society" aimed at by these Orthodox of the Orthodox Christians involves the absolute suppression of freedom of speech, we must first take care that these philanthropic agitators do not go too far in their regeneration of society. We need not shut them up, nor put a gag on their lips, nor aid their tottering arguments by even a shade of persecution. All we have to do is to go on saying those very things which have put them into such a timid rage; to repeat in ever widening circles those attacks on their position and creeds which they dare not attempt to refute, and which they can only ward off from the ears of their flocks by direct and wilful misrepresentation. What we really proclaim as worthy of belief, *they well know* is most dangerous to their own influence, and most powerful as a rival to their own creeds; and we want no better proof of this than the elaborate care they take to hide what we say from their people, and to give an utterly false account of our teaching and its tendency. Their anger is our best justification, and, in fact, is the best answer we can give to those who from tedium with controversy accuse us of "slaying the slain."

Thanks to Moody and Sankey, we have been able to give a hard shot all round at every shade and degree of so-called Christianity.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S.E., July 16, 1875.

CAPTAIN BOYNTON makes a fine thing of his wonderful exploit to cross the channel in Merriman's dress. He is a discreet American. He not only excludes the dress from the European market, but has also doubled its price in America; namely, £15. Meanwhile, he is now one of the most remarkable and prosperous showmen in France and England, making often £200 and £300 a week by his exhibitions in lakes contiguous to Paris, London, Manchester, and such places.

Communications.

DISPOSAL OF THE NIELAND CASE.

GERMANTOWN, Philadelphia, {
102 Mill St., July 24, 1875. }

MR. F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—At last I am able to inform you of the final development in the Nieland naturalization case. Although the Freie Gemeinde of Philadelphia had already, on the 11th of April, in a very largely attended meeting, unanimously resolved to identify itself with the case above referred to by raising (in common with kindred organizations, some of whom, like the Freie Gemeinde in Milwaukee, and the "Turner" organization through their executive committee in Chicago and their local association in Philadelphia, most emphatically expressed their sympathy and readiness to assist us with their means) the necessary funds for enabling Julius Nieland to appeal from the decision of Judges Hare and Pratt to the higher courts—if necessary to the Supreme Court of the United States,—while at the same time, vigorously agitating the matter in the public press. Yet the carrying out of this resolution was, at the personal request of Mr. Nieland, held in abeyance until he had repeated his application for naturalization before another court, since particular reasons made it very desirable for him to acquire the rights of a citizen soon. Various circumstances, however, delayed his action in the matter until Tuesday last, July 20, when, accompanied by his previous voucher, Mr. F. Bielefeld, and after having stated his previous experience before Judges Hare and Pratt, he renewed his application for naturalization before the District Court of the United States, Judge Cadwalader presiding. Both he and his voucher were invited to swear to their respective statements; but on their declaration that they would "affirm," their "affirmation" was readily admitted, and "no questions asked." Thus Mr. Nieland, though a confessed infidel, has become a citizen of these United States, and hopes to enjoy his rights as such, unless Judges Hare and Pratt should see fit to appeal from the United States District Court to the Supreme Court of the United States.

I enclose a translation of an article I found in Karl Heinzen's *Pioneer* of last week, thinking you might deem it suitable for insertion in your paper.

Yours, as ever, faithfully,

A. Loos.

[Translated for THE INDEX from the Boston Pioneer of July 21.]

Resolutions of the Freie Gemeinde at Milwaukee on the occasion of the celebration of the Fourth of July:—

"We know of no celebration of higher import to the people of the United States than that of the memorable and magnanimous act by which they declared their own independence and liberty, as well as the equal rights of all mankind. We therefore consider it a desecration of the Fourth of July to defer its celebration from Sunday to some other day of the week, as if the ecclesiastical Sabbath were too good for our great national and humanitarian celebration,—that Sabbath which for the great majority of its observers is a day of sham piety and hypocrisy, and which, as a relic of superstition and of priestcraft, overshadows the life of the present day, like an artificially supported ruin.

"1. Faithful to the principle of the equal rights of all men to govern themselves and to secure their happiness, we recognize it as a task imposed upon the people of these United States:—

"To secure to the female sex the same political rights as to the male;

"To secure to the youth of the land through its public schools, not only the necessary amount of useful knowledge, but an education in the spirit of its free institutions and of the principles of our constitution;

"To amend the Constitution of the United States in a truly democratic spirit, and especially to free it from the monarchical relic which it still preserves in the presidency;

"To remove the infringement of personal liberty by which the temperance agitation endeavors to enforce a humiliating control upon independent citizens of the freest State in the world;

"To tax all property equitably, and no longer by the exemption of church property to rob all other property-owners, even widows and orphans, in favor of priest-craft and sectarianism;

"To aim at the amelioration of social relations by abolishing the humiliating and pernicious slavery which capital enforces upon labor by its domineering control of wages.

"2. We protest against the surrender, in any State of the Union, of the public schools to such individuals or corporations as have not renounced their allegiance to a foreign sovereign controlling their political conduct, and who have not sworn allegiance to our constitution and laws,—especially to the adherents and servants of the Catholic Church.

"We declare, on the contrary, that the emissaries of the Pope of Rome, the Jesuits, whose hosts now are inundating our territory and threaten to poison it with the pestilential breath of their pernicious moral doctrines, unless they submit to the above specified conditions, deserve at least in the same degree as the uncivilizable sons of Nature, the Indians, to be transferred to Western reservations as exponents and propagators of barbarism.

"3. We consider it the duty of all citizens, regardless of sex, by their example and conduct, to work for the recognition of republican simplicity and fidelity to principles in public as well as in private life, as an essential condition for the preservation of our

republic, and to exert their whole influence for the removal of those manners and customs which tend to destroy patriotism and the interest in a higher spiritual life through an unnatural and inordinate longing for pleasure and wealth, and even by the apian imitation of monarchical luxury and monarchical distinctions of rank."

"SOMETHING BETTER THAN CHRISTIANITY."

It is the cry of some that, before we overthrow Christianity, we must have something better to put into its place. "Give us something more helpful," they say, "and we'll gladly accept it." Of course they would, or else be fools. But the question arises: Are we not to give up Christianity, even though we have nothing better to put into its place? Is not the question, after all, this? *Is Christianity true or false?* If false, then we must reject it, though there is nothing but darkness. We must not stop to an error, no matter how beautiful it may be. We do not accept Christianity as we do a beast of burden, for services that it may do. It is a question of pure, essential truth. Only the truth can be of any real service; and, though a falsehood may seem of some apparent value, still, when we are convinced that it is a falsehood, we must put it aside, no matter how much of beauty and helpfulness may seem to go with it. Though we have not a single new truth to put into its place, no shining glimpse whatsoever of fresh worlds, still we must put the splendid falsehood by, and travel on in darkness and barrenness, if need be. It is the truth we are after, and not mere beauty and joy. Was Jesus really the Son of God, a perfect man, a leader of the race? Did he really rise from the dead? Did he really ascend into heaven, and does he really rule in the Church to-day? These are questions to be settled simply and solely by the evidence. We who reject Christianity are under no obligation to show that something else is better. If there is no sufficient evidence for Christianity, then of course we must reject it. We must be true to the laws of our intellectual nature, even though the heart feels a loss. Who can look into the future, and tell what wonders are yet to come? Who can prophesy of the mighty glories of the incoming truth? But the only way by which those glories can be made vivid is to reject what we now know to be false, without any reference to the truths that may eventually appear. We must not wait for something better. Such a course is fatal. If a thing is dead, bury it, and trust to all abounding Nature for the new and living forms that must take its place. They will come, but not if we cowardly cling to the false until we are sure that a better thing will take its place. Trust to Nature for grand and beautiful gospels yet to come; but, if the old one is untrue, fling it aside, even though our souls are made empty.

S. P. PUTNAM.

THE TRUE "ECCLESIA."

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Allow me to thank THE INDEX for publishing such able and instructive discourses as frequently appear on the second page of the paper. When the late one by Mr. Stevens on "Our Ancestors" made its appearance, I invited all my family and visitors to meet in my parlor at ten o'clock on Sunday morning to hear me read it. They cheerfully accepted the invitation, and, after the service was over, informally voted me thanks for giving them such an opportunity for receiving useful and interesting instruction. When THE INDEX of the 15th of July brought Mr. Spencer's discourse on "The Lilies of the Field," I did the same thing. After our church (ecclesia, gathering together) was broken up, all concluded to pass a vote of thanks to the author for the exquisite pleasure he afforded an assembly of people whom he never saw, nor will see. Blessings on the man who first invented types which immortalize thought; and on him who originated the steam-engine which makes that thought ubiquitous, and opens up the treasures of knowledge to us who dwell in rural places, and away from the busy haunts of business and crime!

While "on my legs," as a member of the British Parliament would say, permit me to exclaim, how much good might be done, and pleasure enjoyed, if there were twenty thousand radical clubs in the country that would meet in their respective places on Sunday, and have read to them such addresses as those of Mr. Stevens and Mr. Spencer! In towns where "Churchianity" runs riot, and you would suppose that radicalism has no existence, you will find on inquiry that in each there are persons enough to form a nucleus around which people might organize for conference and instruction. I know that with thousands the word "organization" suggests a creed, and a clergy to expound and enforce it, and terms of communion; and, having had a heart-scald of all this in the days of their ignorance and superstition, they hate the very name. But in this utilitarian age where is the use of a man being a fool? Why cannot men organize for mutual discussion and free speech on all questions interesting to human hopes? Because the Church has a cast-iron creed, and an order of priesthood to force its dogmas down the throats of the people, does it follow that intelligent men cannot organize as Radicals without subjecting their consciences and lips to bondage? If they come together on the conceded principle that they are independent thinkers on all questions, and that all questions are open, and that they are learners from whatever source, how can any man's conscience feel a feather's weight of imposition? If in every town it were known that there was an organization of entirely free thinkers and free speakers, and that every Sunday a discussion would be had, or a lecture

be read, either by the author or his voluntary agent, on some interesting subject, intelligent persons would soon find out the fact, and would frequent such places in preference to the churches. In this land of freedom, where the Constitution knows no creed and no Church, why should Radicals skulk in the dark, and suppress the utterances of their honest convictions, whatever they may be? And if there were twenty thousand clubs, or centres, from which light through the medium of tracts and free discussion might emanate, what a motive there would be for able men to write, and THE INDEX to print, lectures and articles bearing upon the all-important subject of religion! The military maxim, "*fas est ab hoste doceri*," is one that Radicals should consider in their conflict with the Church; and whereas the Church would go to pieces in ten years by free discussion, and owes its present power of evil to the fact that it is as well organized as the Prussian army, the Radicals, who have the truth on their side, should imitate this policy, and organize for the inculcation and spread of their opinions among the people. Moody-and-Sankeyism will pass off from England as an odoriferous effervescence in the course of a year, and the Church will become deadlier than ever. John Wesley understood things better. When he got fire from heaven, he did not allow it to be extinguished by the slobberings of the saints, but he placed it on a candlestick where it would continue to send out light and heat when he was dead and gone. The wisdom he evinced is seen in the Methodist Church to-day, which, although the youngest sect in Christendom, scarcely an hundred years old, is a more widely spread and powerful organization than any other in this country. Wesley's lights are all still burning in their candlesticks, and have increased a thousand fold; while those of Whitfield, his cotemporary, and the Moody of that day, because he did not organize, have gone out in darkness. If the Radicals really have grand and worthy objects in view which can only be reached by combined effort—if they do not wish to figure in history as the mere dry-rot of nominal Christendom,—let them establish their opinions by organizing, and thus become a power in the land. At least so says your friend and brother,

A. B. B.
EXON VALLEY, Pa., July, 1875.

CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION.

Is it not rather defective reasoning to argue that, because Christianity is found in company with the highest civilization, the latter is produced by the former? If it is good reasoning, how is the logic of the statement affected by striking out the words "highest civilization," and inserting the words "Slavery, Intemperance, Mormonism, Spiritualism, Free Love, etc.?" If simple contiguity is evidence of cause and effect in this matter, why does it not apply on the left as well as on the right hand? "Oh no," say our Christian friends; "these bad things exist in spite of Christianity!" "Heads I win—tails you lose."

It is this erroneous notion of the magical power of contemporaneity that leads many to credit "Christ" with what is due to Franklin, Morse, Columbus, Stephenson, Rothschild, Livingstone, and so on; when in fact their accomplishments were delayed for centuries by Christianity. Until men whom Christianity hunted down with every epithet of opprobrium it could devise had created a public sentiment adverse to negro slavery in this country, its chief buttress was the Church, which I suppose James Freeman Clarke will admit is one "definition" of Christianity in every age of its existence.

Dr. Clarke says we can't define Christianity, but we can judge of its effects. Agreed. What was the "effect" of Christianity, when the theory of the circulation of the blood was first advanced? What was the "effect" of Christianity, when the art of printing was discovered? What was the "effect" of Christianity, when astronomy was changed from a matter of conjecture to a matter of science? What was the "effect" of Christianity during the five hundred years preceding the time of Luther? What have been the "effects" of Christianity in France during its struggles towards republicanism? What are the "effects" of the upper millstone of the Established Church, and the lower millstone of Catholicism in Ireland? What "effects" of Christianity did that hoary "infidel," Garrison, encounter? When that crimson shame, the Fugitive Slave Law, was being enforced, what were the "effects" of Christianity as exhibited in the pulpits of the leading churches of Boston?

"Oh, but," says Mr. Clarke, "Christianity means, Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you." No, sir; that principle was in force and recognized ages before the era of Christianity. It has its origin in human nature itself; and right here is the flaw in your logic of giving a name to a thing which antedates the origin of the name you give it. Christianity was born eighteen hundred and seventy-five years ago, and was duly and properly named; but you have no right, as godfather, to drag in a principle as old as truth, and rechristen it as one with your favorite bantling, whereby to give the latter consequence and respectability.

Christians to-day, in proportion to their various degrees of bigotry, do nothing but oppose, obstruct, and vilify those who are laboring in the fields of scientific inquiry to make discoveries in the facts and laws of Nature; and every hypothesis, no matter how laboriously and seriously assumed, is scouted and ridiculed by Christians, if it touches their creeds. But as soon as it is demonstrated, then all break out in chorus and shout, "Christianity must be the true religion; for see how science flourishes under it!" It is safe to predict that next Sunday, in half of the Boston pulpits, the claims of Christianity on account

of its being found in company with the most advanced civilization will be asserted; and also that those who are admitted by scientific men to be their true leaders, such as Tyndall, Huxley, Darwin, and Spencer, will be berated. The whole trouble is that a religion with creeds is, by the necessity of its nature, in its attitude towards improvement obstructive. It instinctively feels the constant liability of danger from new discoveries of truth. Hence its constant opposition to the efforts of scientific men. To me the dogma of infallibility, though in a sort of a latent state and not professed, is more offensively apparent in Protestantism than even in Ultramontane Catholicism.

The Pope can manipulate matters so as not to appear to be opposing the inevitable; but Protestantism has no such facile instrumentalities, and so it has to be jerked from positions which science makes untenable, to readjust itself to new circumstances as best it can. Christianity (by which I mean the machinery of the Church, and not the Golden Rule, or the cardinal truths of morality, which are before Christianity was) is, in proportion to its power, subversive of liberty. Its inherent tendencies are to enslave. Its breath of life is ignorance. It withers, and must die in the sunshine of knowledge.

"COST THE LIMIT OF PRICE" AGAIN.

EDITOR OF INDEX:—

Some twenty years ago I read S. P. Andrews' *Science of Society*, including "Cost the Limit of Price." On the last page of the work I wrote: "There is real value in this book, whether it 'cost' the author, by his principles, little or much. I insist that it is but simple justice that I pay him for his intellectual labor, without knowing whether it was a 'pleasure' or otherwise for him to write it. That is none of my business to inquire into. His gifts and talents are his, not mine. If he can use them with 'pleasure,' the pleasure is his—not mine. If the 'labor' with which I pay him is 'repulsive' to me because of my repulsion to labor, the repulsion is mine—not his. He should not pay for it. Benevolence should give freely. Want should take freely of man as of God. But call not benevolence justice. Nature has made some men, both physically and mentally, rich. Others are made poor in one or in both senses." At the close I wrote: "Mr. Warren's and his disciple S. P. Andrews' philosophy of 'cost the limit of price' will never be adopted in society." All who have read Mr. Andrews will clearly understand the force of these strictures.

Mr. Linton well knows that all men cannot be "average producers" of anything or any crop. There can be no correct estimate of the "average cost" of produce by counting the time spent in producing them. That must vary from year to year, and from one locality to another, five times as much as gold ever varies. As a rule, selling things at their market value has a greater tendency to place the "right man in the right place" than has the cost principle. This is very plain to me. I understand Mr. Linton to call "measuring exchange (between neighbors) by the time employed the only perfect measure of labor or service." It may be more truly called, as society and men now are, offering a premium on laziness. It would soon kill off the best and hardest workers. I know a rather small man who does one fourth more work per hour than his larger and seemingly more healthy neighbors. He lays up a little yearly; while his neighbors do not, and seem to be growing poorer. Mr. Linton's plan would force him to give the fruits of most of that extra labor to others less industrious.

Too many doctors of medicine or of divinity often injure the bodies and souls of men more than they help them. As I see it, not over one in ten, if over one in twenty, of the doctors of finance or of political economy offers us anything of real value. The patient is pretty sick. But I pray that he may not be made worse rather than better by so much malpractice.

AUSTIN KENT.

STOCKHOLM, N. Y., July 27, 1875.

P. S.—In many parts wages are higher in proportion to other things—including "flour"—than they were years ago. It is so about here. The average hired girl gets two dollars where she then got one, and spends three times as much for clothes; hence now lays up nothing. And our poor are made to believe that they must bury with their friends, in extra clothes, in extra coffins, forty or fifty dollars to prove their "love for them." Ten dollars answered as well forty years ago. It is still true that to help the poor we must write unpopular truths.

A. K.

A CERTAIN LAWYER had his portrait taken in his favorite attitude, standing with one hand in his pocket. His friends and some of his clients went to see it. Everybody said: "Oh, how much it is like him! It is the very picture of him!" One farmer, who happened to be present, thought differently. "Tain't a bit like him!" "Tisn't, eh?" said half-a-dozen at once. "Just show us wherein it is not a capital likeness." "Wa'al, tain't; no use talking, I tell you 'tain't." "Well, why? Can't you tell us why it ain't a good likeness?" "Yes, easy enough. Don't you see he has got his hand in his own pocket? 'Twould be as good ag'in if he had it in somebody else's!"

NOT LONG AGO, at a mansion on Murray Hill, a sentimental young lady strolled with a gentleman, on whom she had her eye, into the conservatory. Looking up pensively into his face, she said, with tears in her voice: "Ah, no one loves me, Mr. Barnes!" "Some one does." "Yes?" said the lady, dropping her head, and pressing his arm ever so little. "Yes, Nellie," said the wretch, "God loves you."

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

ABRAM WALTER STEVENS.

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

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Mrs. E. D. CHENEY, Jamaica Plain, Mass.

F. W. NEWMAN, England.

CHARLES VOYSEY, England.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, England.

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To increase general intelligence with respect to religion;

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual;

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

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Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India;" also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

Proceedings of Fifth Annual Meeting, 1872. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by J. W. Chadwick on "Liberty and the Church in America," by C. D. B. Mills on "Religion as the Expression of a Permanent Sentiment of the Human Mind," and by O. B. Frothingham on "The Religion of Humanity," with addresses by Rowland Connor, Celia Burleigh, Lucretia Mott, A. B. Alcott, C. A. Bartol, Horace Seaver, Alexander Loos, and others.

Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1873. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. S. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being.

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, AUGUST 19, 1875.

WHOLE No. 295.

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THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

PUNCH pokes fun at Ritualism by suggesting, as a cry for Convocation, "Old clo', old clo'!"

MR. GLADSTONE inquires in the *Contemporary Review*, "Is the English Church worth preserving?" Yes—when bottled in alcohol.

THE FRENCH government has prohibited the sale in France of ex-Premier Gladstone's writings against the Papacy. He sees too much, and says it too plainly.

MR. GLADSTONE is out with another pamphlet on the Catholic question. He declares that "the Papacy will seize the first opportunity through bloodshed to maintain its rule, and will, if necessary, even plunge the world into war."

MR. HOLYOAKE informs us that the first volume of his *History of Coöperation* will appear at once, and that Lippincott, of Philadelphia, is the American publisher. The work will undoubtedly be of a very high order, and should command a wide sale.

THE O'CONNELL Centenary was a great affair in Dublin, some forty thousand men being in line. But the people refused to hear the Lord Mayor read Lord O'Hagan's address. No serious disturbance occurred, as had been feared, during the day; but the evening banquet was broken up in disorder.

HON. ALPHONSO TAFT, of Cincinnati, the Republican candidate for Governor of Ohio, recently delivered a very able speech on the financial question, at Marietta, in which he argued against the inflation policy and in favor of resuming specie payments as soon as possible. Judge Taft is a stockholder in the Index Association, upon which his private character and public course alike reflect honor.

"I HAVE NEVER enjoyed preaching so much as I have in this country," said Mr. Moody, at his last meeting in London. "Have another week!" shouted one of the audience. "I want to have you all saved to-night," replied Moody. So he called on all who "wanted to join him for eternity" to rise, and hundreds rose. We have no doubt of Mr. Moody's sincerity; but what a dreary sight is this spectacle of epidemic delusion!

ORDER HAS BEEN restored in San Miguel by President Gonzalez, in season to prevent concerted similar outbreaks throughout the republic of San Salvador. Various Catholic ecclesiastics implicated in the late murderous riot have been banished. But the Christianity whose lust of power is at the bottom of all such riots remains behind. President Gonzalez cannot banish that: it takes KNOWLEDGE to accomplish that supreme act of self-protection.

STEPS ARE taking for the formation of a new society in London which shall be devoted exclusively to obtaining "the opening of Museums, Art Galleries, Libraries, Aquariums, and Gardens on Sundays." Mr. Mark H. Judge, one of the editors of the *Free Sunday Advocate*, is honorary secretary of the Provisional Committee, of which Miss Cobbe and Mr. Conway are also members. The movement has been stimulated by the late Sabbatarian prosecution of the Brighton Aquarium Company.

"ADMIRAL" SEMMES, ex-pirate, announces to a world aghast that he will not attend the Philadelphia Exposition next year. He does not like the Declaration of Independence, for it contains "a brand implanted on the forehead of the South by the people of the United States." Moreover, he has various little wants which are likely to keep him uncomfortable for some time to come, as for instance: "I want the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution first repealed by a three-fourths vote of the States; and then I want black lines drawn around it as a seal of disapprobation, put there by the American people, of the partisan and sectional hatred in which the amendment was engendered and had its birth."

HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN has left a most tender memory behind him in thousands and thousands of hearts. We would lay a sincere tribute of reverence, gratitude, and love upon his grave; for his sweet and beautiful genius laid our childhood under obligations that it is a sacred duty to acknowledge. The charm of his sunny nature, the delicacy, quaintness, and inexhaustible wealth of his fancy, the delicious humor of his quiet and scarcely perceptible satire, the strength of his love for children and the overflowing tenderness he constantly manifested for them, the profound wisdom which lay all ready to reward his little readers as soon as the experience of life should give them eyes to see it, and which makes his merry and pathetic stories more lovely than ever to their later years,—how dear all this makes Hans Andersen's name to thousands who never saw him and whom he never saw! He has told the last of his tales now; but the tale of their influence is not told, and will not be. Green be the memory of the poet story-teller of childhood!

MR. PLIMSOLL, with justice and indiscretion on his side, has proved more than a match for greed, heartlessness, and parliamentary decorum. Mr. Disraeli moved his expulsion from the House of Commons, but covered before the terrible public, which in thunder tones informed the haughty prime minister that the fierce wrath of his opponent, however injudicious and over-vehement, was righteous, and should be sustained. When the thousands of poor sailors, annually consigned to death in unseaworthy "coffin ships" to make money for their owners, are remembered, who can blame Mr. Plimsoll for losing his temper, shaking his fists, and hurling defiance and hard words at the murderers and the government that would abet them? Not we. On the contrary, we applaud the plucky Englishman whose whole soul flamed out in sublime anger against oppression, and see in him that indomitable conscience of mankind which is mightier than thrones and empires,—nay, the awful "Power that makes for righteousness," and sweeps away their tyrannies with the besom of destruction. The world involuntarily takes off its hat to Mr. Plimsoll.

MR. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, in *Harper's Weekly* for August 14, replies as follows to the mistaken accusation that he is a partisan: "The Boston Herald, in a temperate and courteous article, says that in stating such facts as these we forget that few Northern Democrats favored slavery, and that, in any case, slavery is gone. The Herald, however, will remember that Northern Democrats sustained to the very last the slavery policy of their party, whether they favored slavery or not, and that a Northern Democratic President assured his Southern allies that the war for slavery would be fought out in our streets. As to the present position of the party, it is evident that neither the life-long convictions of its leading members nor its real feeling as shown in its press and conduct are especially favorable to equal rights. Now the choice in 1876 lies between the Republican and Democratic parties, and the claim of the latter that it is the party of equal rights is as much a false pretence as the claim made by some Democratic papers that it is the party of hard money. All that we say is, not that the Republican party has not serious offences to answer for, but that the great objects which are justly most precious to good citizens are very much more likely to be promoted, according to all the signs of the times, by the Republican than by the Democratic party. And it is the constant statement of this truth which makes us seem to the Herald incapable of rising above party prejudice. We can, indeed, conceive, with the Herald, of a great party true to the American principles of liberty and justice. But the Republican party is certainly much nearer that ideal than the Democratic."

Mohammed the Iconoclast.

FROM THE "GALAXY" FOR AUGUST.

BY F. WHITTAKER.

Prophet or impostor, saint or devil, hero or Antichrist,—which was he?

Ages have asked that question, and the reply is not yet. Godfrey de Bouillon would have answered without hesitation, and Richard Plantagenet, surnamed Cœur de Lion, would have backed the assertion, "Impostor, devil, Antichrist." Haroun the Just, who sent Charlemagne the first clock ever seen in Europe, and Yussuf Salah-ud-Deen, who outgeneralled the Lion Heart, would have answered with even less hesitation, "Prophet, saint, and hero." Which party was right; and if neither, which was nearest right? Which of the two knew most about Mohammed? Which was most capable of judging on any question of character and evidence, and which possessed the most collateral learning and powers of comparison?

These questions are by no means hard to answer. We know that the mental accomplishments of Godfrey de Bouillon and Richard Plantagenet were confined to a very small smattering of education, sufficient to enable them to sign their names after a fashion, while of the Arabic language and of the contents of the Koran itself they were both in blissful ignorance. Had any one offered to present either with a copy of the book in the original Arabic, or in a perfect French translation, it is most probable that Godfrey and Richard would have acted in the same way. Into the fire would have gone the book, and with it the donor, had the latter been available. Had either possessed the power to exterminate every Moslem living, there is not a shadow of doubt that he would have ordered the execution at once, imagining he was doing God service in punishing "blasphemers." In what the sin of blasphemy consisted, as applied to "Islam," the faith, Godfrey and Richard might have been puzzled to explain to the satisfaction of a disinterested party. The argument, had such a thing as argument been possible, would infallibly have ended, like the renowned discussion between Captain Fluellen and Captain MacMorris, in an attempt by one party to cut off the other party's head. In the present day Messrs. Mace and Coburn are the best living representatives of that style of argument, and we doubt not that the sentiments of Godfrey and Richard on the subject of Mohammed would be fervently echoed by both—had they ever given the subject serious attention.

When we come to examine Haroun and Yussuf, we find men of a different stamp. Without being less a soldier, each was much more of a general, and each was the most enlightened prince of his own time. All the learned men of the East flocked to the courts of both, and in those days the East almost monopolized the learning of the world. Besides this, each prince was well acquainted with the writings of Mohammed, and in fact had committed the greater part of the Koran bodily to memory, as every Arab of rank does at the present day. These men, thoroughly acquainted with Mohammed's book—a book historically certain as being the work of his single mind unassisted by others—called Mohammed, as their descendants do to this time, "Prophet, saint, and hero." It becomes, then, to us of the present time, a matter of inquiry whether these men may not possibly be right, and Godfrey and Richard possibly wrong. For a good many centuries we have been going on the crusading theory as regards Islam, and it is about time that those of us who are open to reason stopped to ask whether we are quite justified in our classification of "Jews, Turks, and infidels" as objects of pity, to be prayed for once a year. Another doubt may even arise as to whether we are justified in calling a Moslem an "infidel" under any circumstances; but this doubt will arise at a later stage of the inquiry. To form a judgment on Mohammed we must read his book, Al-Koran. To that alone we appealed, when asked to work miracles as a sign of his mission; to that the Arabs point to-day as a standing miracle, defying the world to produce its equal.

We are told by all Arabs that the Koran is the most perfect poetry in the Arabic language; and yet, when we come to read it as translated into English, we find it dull and tedious. It is a difficult thing for a European to read through the whole Koran in a translation. He soon realizes it to be different from what he imagined it. Very possibly he dreamed of finding therein long and luscious descriptions of the so-called "Mohammedan paradise"; that he should read about hours and the tree of life, the beast Al-Borak, rivers of wine, and all those visions of the different heavens usually attributed to the prophet. He finds not a word of all this. Instead, there is boundless devotional enthusiasm, all the vocabulary of praise to God, long moral lectures, Old Testament stories in a different form, a familiar reference to all the Jewish patriarchs, prophets, and kings, an equally constant reference to the facts of the Gospels, but in a somewhat different dress, and, finally, fierce denunciations, in a strain of the most awful solemnity, of the infidels who will not believe in the truths of God. Of doctrine he finds no subtlety. Mohammed proclaims but one fact, and reiterates it for all time. As the Koran opens with Al-Fatihah, "The Preface," so it naturally closes with the simple and sublime "Declaration," a chapter of itself. The words of those chapters are texts for all the rest of the book. It enlarges, dilates, amplifies, illustrates, reiterates the one grand declaration, "*La Ilaha il Allah*"—"No God but God." All the rest is written only to

give that weight. The fact that Mohammed is the prophet of God is a mere incident, like the "Thus saith the Lord" of the Hebrew prophets. It is to show whence came the message. That message is the one thing of importance to man, and it is of the simplest: "No God but God." When that message is believed, the morality of the Koran follows with equal simplicity. Prayer and charity are the whole duty of man. Not prayer as an importunate begging for favors, but prayer which is only praise and anxiety to be kept in the faith of God; not ostentatious almsgiving, mis-called charity, but a charity as complete and genuine as that described in the Corinthians. Such as we find Al-Fatihah we find the whole book. Let Al-Fatihah speak for itself:—

"*Bismillah hi rah-mani raheem*—In the name of the Most Merciful of the merciful.

"Praise God, the Lord of the worlds, Most Merciful of the merciful, King of the Judgment Day.

"Thee do we praise; to Thee do we pray.

"Direct us in the way, in the way of those Thou lovest, of those who anger Thee not, who wander not from Thee. Amen."

If any great wickedness lurks in that chapter, it would puzzle Luther himself to point it out. The "Declaration" is equally brief and emphatic. In it is contained by implication a condemnation of Christianity, it is true; but at present we are not so much concerned about the comparative as the positive status of Mohammed's religion and book. The Declaration begins with the same preface, "*Bismillah hi rah-mani raheem*," and sums up the faith of its author boldly:—

"Say He is God, one God.

"God is the eternal God.

"He begetteth not, neither is He begotten.

"There is none equal to him."

Can we close these short extracts better than by the last chapter in the book, the summing up of all the Moslem's hopes in this world and the next?

"Say, I fly for refuge to the Lord of all men,
The King of all men, the God of all men;
That he deliver me from the tempter that fleeth away,
Who whispereth evil thoughts in man's heart,
From evil spirits and from men."

There we see the whole foundation of Moslem hope,—belief in one God of infinite mercy, who asks only belief in Himself from men. That such is the real spirit of Mohammedanism as a religion, that such was the teaching of Mohammed himself, and still is of all the doctors of the pure faith, we hope to show in the course of this article. The truth has long been known to Arabic scholars, and every day spreads it further. All that we hope to do in these pages is to popularize these truths for the use of that great mass of people who have not time nor opportunity for either Arabic study, or the works of those Arabic scholars who have shown us in translations what the Koran contains. The time may come when the great book of the Arabian seer will be on every table in the land, and when true liberality will dictate a closer acquaintance with a faith like that of Islam, as pure as either Judaism or Christianity, positively true when tested by either, and only erring in our own view by a denial which it shares with other Unitarians; in the Jewish view by supplementing Christianity. It is time that we, claiming in this nineteenth century so much civilization and enlightenment, should inform ourselves about the real facts of Mohammedan faith, and cease to abuse that of which we know little or nothing, save through the representations of bitter enemies, seeing in the Arabian iconoclast only a fancied Antichrist, composed from misunderstood passages of the Apocalypse.

Our first question is, Prophet or impostor? It attacks the character of the man, and demands a view of his life, before and after his mission. In examining Mohammed's life we have the great advantage of asking after a historical character. Mohammed is no myth. His identity does not rest on shadowy legends like that of Buddha, nor is it of uncertain date, like that of Confucius. Arabians, Greeks, and Romans agree in the facts of their accounts of his life and actions; and the supernatural and incredible are alike absent from the accounts of his contemporaries. With the exaggerations of subsequent commentators, enlarging that most elastic of traditions—camp gossip,—we have nothing to do. The facts of Mohammed's early life are known and undisputed. Living as he did in the blaze of publicity and hostile criticism all his life, every fact of importance has been carefully sifted.

He was an orphan at an early age, left in the care of his uncle, Abu Taleb. His father died before his birth; his mother when he was a child of six. He belonged to the noble tribe of the Koreish, the guardians of the great idol temple, the Caaba; but it availed him little. He was but a poor relation. Moreover, he was delicate and sickly in childhood. He had epileptic fits. There was nothing about him to give his uncle hope that he would do credit to his family, and so he was made to earn the bread of dependence by keeping his uncle's sheep. Remember that the Meccans were town Arabs; that the East never changes. To this day the Arab townsmen look down on the Bedouins with their flocks. A Bedouin in a town skulks along like a strange dog, and the townsmen draw aside their robes as from a pariah. In those days, as now, the Meccans looked down on shepherds as much as we do on drovers. What culture then existed in Arabia was confined, as it is to this day, to the higher classes. There was a vast difference between Abu Taleb, rich and respected, chief of his family to the third and fourth generation, with vast flocks and herds, a rich house, slaves and camels, horses and weapons, and his poor and insignificant nephew, whom he kept out in the mountains taking care of sheep. No wonder the boy received little

or no education. It cost too much to waste on a poor relation.

But the lad grew up, and became strong and healthy. The open-air life of a shepherd was very likely all that he needed to help his delicate constitution. He developed into a handsome Arab, such as we see in portraits of renowned sheikhs at this day. Of medium height, thin and agile of figure, broad-chested and thin-flanked, strong and active, with a noble, aquiline head, dark, solemn eyes under black brows, and long, sweeping lashes, thin, eager face, with full, jetty beard, beautiful white teeth, of which he was very careful, elastic, springing step, imposing dignity of demeanor, laughing seldom, but with a beautiful smile,—such is the portrait left of him by his companions, feature by feature, and such are some few of the high-caste Arab sheikhs of to-day. They cannot read; their lore is that of tradition; they have perhaps never entered a house before; and yet they can comfort themselves in the most brilliant assemblies with all the quiet self-possession and exquisite courtesy that marks the perfect gentleman.

Such was Mohammed in later life. At twenty-four years of age he had become a camel driver, and was hired by a rich widow—Khadijah—to conduct her caravans to Damascus or Suez, wherever the trade of Mecca went. We have no minutiae of this, his early life. His companions of those days took little interest in him, and Abu Taleb, the only person who might afterward have given us the information, died before the Hegira. We know that, after several journeys in Khadijah's service, the rich widow suddenly married her young steward, who was fourteen years younger than herself. The match was regarded with disgust by her family. She was still, under old Arab custom, subject to her father, and she only obtained his consent by intoxicating him. The purse-proud Meccans regarded with contempt the poor young drover, however handsome, and it was only under the transforming influence of sudden wealth that his good qualities began to attract notice. Khadijah's husband, with a handsome fortune, was a very different person from the insignificant poor relation of Abu Taleb, living on the chief's charity. His rich relatives began to notice him. After all, was he not one of the family? Like the French nobleman who disgraced his family by going into trade, when his fortune was made he was allowed to resume the sword of nobility. Khadijah was a widow twice married, and her passion for the young and handsome Arab was half motherly. She fell down and worshipped him, and he repaid her with entire devotion. As long as she lived, though in a country where polygamy is the rule, Mohammed was faithful to the worn and wrinkled woman whose hand had raised him from poverty to comfort. From henceforth his life was no longer one of labor. He had become a respected member of society. And yet we hear of nothing that he did of any note for sixteen long years. There are traditions of his paying a visit to Palestine; of his mingling with Christians and Jews, and learning of them; but all these are vague and unreliable. That he acquired all the education in these years he ever had is probable. He did not, however, learn to write, though he could read. To his death he was not a scribe, and the Koran was dictated and taken down by others.

All we know for certain about him in these years is that, as he approached forty, he became silent and melancholy, fond of solitude, given to long absences from his house, wandering alone in the mountains around Mecca. What drove him there?

He was for the first time facing the terrible problem of his life.

Let us now take a look at the state of religious belief in Arabia when Mohammed was forty. The Peninsula was inhabited by tribes of diverse origin. The Ishmaelites were by no means the whole; they were not even the majority. There were the descendants of the many sons of Abraham by Keturah, on the north, of the Cushites all through the happy pastures and gardens of Yemen. The Cushites survive to this day, and their faith has always been the same wherever it has appeared, and in whatever time. Whether in Egypt, Carthage, India, China, Cambodia, Central America, we always find the same crowd of grotesque or hideous idols, the same licentious images and ceremonies, the same union of material comfort and luxury with a moral degradation worse than bestial. The Cushite religion then overshadowed Arabia, supreme above all others in Mecca especially. There was the Caaba, the peculiar holy place of Arabia, with its three hundred and sixty-five idols, one for every day in the year, and yet all but uncouth black stones. The art which beautified idolatry with the Aryan races is almost entirely absent with the Cushites: witness the grotesque and meaningless ornaments of Indian, Chinese, and Cambodian architecture. Compared with the glories of Greece, Rome, and Europe, the East may be said to have no art. Its highest result is shown in brilliant play of color, clustered around the conventional curves of an Indian shawl, or arabesque mural decoration. The beauty and poetry of the Shemites lie in the realms of words, in the poetry of those grander aspects of Nature before which art falls back, impotent to imitate, in the sweep of the thunder and earthquake, the silent immensity of the starlit heavens.

The Cushite, whether Egyptian, Ethiopian, or Phœnician, with all his skill in commerce and manufacture, was a low, sensual beast. It appears in every line of his architecture, in the disgusting phallic worship, in every account of the manners and customs of him and his compeers. We see his nature in the Chinaman of to-day, with all his comfort and luxury at home, his engineering capability, his skill in manufactures, his essentially

bestial nature and degraded idolatry. Just such a religion then dominated in Arabia, coming from a part of the same race, the powerful and civilized Himyarites of the interior of Yemen. The Ishmaelite Bedouins were confined to the desert strips on the coast, and depended on the walled towns for part of their subsistence, all of their manufactures, as they do to-day. Like the Jews, like all Shemites, they were prone to lapse into idolatry, and the power and wealth of the idolaters made the idolatry more seducing. Thus it happened that a purely Shemite tribe, that of the Koreish, had become custodians of an obscene idol temple, and amid all its sights and practices Mohammed was reared. This polytheistic religion was mixed and jumbled up in the strangest manner with remnants of old Judaic truth. The custom of circumcision was common, though without notion of its symbolic meaning. There were still scattered about stories of Abraham and the prophets; and the people were much in the condition of the Jews during those strange periods chronicled in the Old Testament, when they deliberately embraced idolatry, and threw away the truth, allowing it to become forgotten in the lapse of years. The Jews were only finally saved from this strange perversity by the captivity of Babylon. The Arabs were to be finally wakened by the powers of Mohammed.

Such as he was, an uneducated shepherd and camel driver, he had yet travelled and learned much, especially from the Jews, who were plentiful in Yathrib (afterward Medinat al-Nabi, the "City of the Prophet," our Medina). He had become slightly acquainted with the vitiated Christianity of the seventh century, with its jumble of truth and idolatry, nearly as gross as the three hundred gods of the Caaba. He had leisure, and began for the first time to think. This it is that easily accounts for his long silences and absences from home. In his ears were ringing the sayings of his Jewish friends, full of Talmudic lore, and his memories were lingering over their revelations. Then it was that, at forty years of age, he went to the Mount Hira, a huge barren rock, torn by ravines and caverns, without grass or water, standing erect in the hot glare of the sun. There he remained for a full month in fasting and prayer, as we are told, alone with Nature in her sternest and most majestic moods. Prayer to whom?

Not to the idols. The Caaba was the place for them. To whom, then? Why, to the one God who lives behind the idols of the grossest polytheisms, and whom even the idolaters are fain to recognize beyond all the lesser deities, whether as Brahma, Jove, the Great Spirit, or the eternal rest in Buddha. Mohammed had a friend, Waraka, a blind Jew, "who knew the Scriptures of Jews and Christians," we are told, though his knowledge was that of memory and tradition only. This Waraka was a cousin of Khadijah. Much speculation has been made as to the mode of the prophet's evident acquaintance with these writings, while the presence of Waraka, the blind Jew, has little weight attached to it. Waraka, after Khadijah, was the first recipient of the prophet's revelations, as we shall see; and it is most probable that he of all others was the cause of Mohammed's previous knowledge of the true God, which culminated in the Koran and Islam.

All the accounts of Mohammed confirm the fact of this first solitary abode in Mount Hira. There he lived in a small, dark cavern, passing his days and nights alone, fasting, worn down with hunger, brooding over the great discovery just made to him of the unity of God. He had been an idolater with the rest up to this time; but the tidings had come to him, and he was beginning to struggle toward the truth. Nothing else explains his sudden change to melancholy and solitude. The news came to him in the prime of life, and changed the whole current of his existence. There in the dark cavern, among the barren rocks, no living thing to disturb his thoughts, he brooded all alone over the tremendous mystery of creation; on the God of Nature whom he had not known. Fasting and prayer began to turn his brain, and it wandered. It seemed to him that the stones in his path cried out, "Hail! oh prophet of God"; and he fled back to his dark cavern, fearing he was going mad. He could not believe that a special mission was coming to him. At last, in the middle of the night, came a voice, and he awoke "as if a fearful weight had been on him." He thought himself dying. He could do and say nothing. Again came the voice to him, and still he could not stir. Then the third time that voice called aloud, "Cry!" and he said, "What shall I cry?" And the voice answered, "Cry! in the name of thy God."

And then that terrible voice went on, in the silence of that "blessed night Al-Kadar," and told him how from the beginning man had been raised up by the knowledge of the Lord, and how the God of all mercy had revealed by the pen what man could never know; and Mohammed awoke from his trance, covered with sweat, trembling in every limb, and feeling that a book had been written indelibly on his heart. Such is the account Mohammed gives himself, in the ninety-sixth chapter of the Koran, of his first revelation. Well, we may smile, may call it a mad vision, or a cunning imposture; but the miracle becomes none the less. From henceforth this uneducated shepherd gave utterance to nothing but strains of the most sublime poetry in his Suras or chapters of the Koran.

From the depths of his inner consciousness, if you will, he produced things he had never known. He did not yet believe in the reality of his own mission, but it seized hold of him all the same; it tore him with fearful convulsions; he swooned away, and when he recovered, weak and exhausted, he dictated those wonderful Suras.

That night he hastened trembling home to Khadi-

jah, and cried out, "Oh Khadijah, what has happened to me?" then fell down exhausted. She watched by him, and he slowly recovered, and faltered out, "Oh Khadijah! he of whom one could not have believed it has become either a low fortune-teller, or possessed by devils—mad."

Motherly Khadijah, half-frightened and all-loving, soothed him gently. "God is my protection, father of my children. He will not surely let such a thing happen to thee; for thou speakest truth, keepest faith, art not revengeful, but kind to thy friends. Neither art thou a vain talker. What has befallen thee? Hast thou seen anything fearful?"

The terribly stricken man shook all over as he whispered, "Yes."

And he told her of his vision.

And what said Khadijah?

She believed instantly, and cried, "Rejoice, my husband. He in whose hand stands Khadijah's life is my witness, that thou wilt be the prophet of his people."

Then she went to her cousin Waraka, and told him; and as soon as he heard it, he cried out, "Holy! holy! holy! Truly this is the same message that came to Moses. He will be the prophet of his people. Tell him this, and bid him be of brave heart."

But Mohammed was in great anxiety and trembling. Like Isaiah, when the word came to him, he was thinking, "Woe is me. I am undone, for I am a man of unclean lips, and live in the midst of a people of unclean lips." He could not believe that he was a prophet, and was in great misery. Then came Waraka, and met him in the streets of Mecca, and said, "I swear by him in whose hand is Waraka's life, that God has chosen thee to be the prophet of his people. The greatest of all messages has come to thee. They will call thee a liar, they will persecute thee, they will banish thee, they will fight against thee. Oh, that I could live to those days; I would fight for thee." And the old man kissed his forehead, and Mohammed was much comforted for a while.

He waited for more visions, but they came not, and again he began to think he was mad. He went to Mount Hira again, determined to leap from a precipice and end the torments of his life. And as he came to the precipice, he beheld a vision of angels at every turn, and heard a voice saying, "I am Gabriel, and thou art Mohammed, the prophet of God." And he stood rooted to the spot, till Khadijah, full of anxiety, sent men in search and found him.

From henceforward to the end of his life, the Suras were revealed to him, and all in the same way, without intermission. There were long solitary broodings, as in the first vision at Mount Hira; then a sudden something seized Mohammed, exactly similar in outward symptoms to an epileptic fit. He uttered a hoarse roar—who that has ever heard it forgets that dreadful sound?—shook from head to foot with fearful violence, while the sweat rolled from his whole body, and he became as one dead. Then came a sound in his ears as of tolling bells, and the same awful voice that first called to him, as to Isaiah, "Cry! in the name of thy Lord," revealed a new Surah, "as if words were written in his heart," with fear and unutterable agony that turned his black locks white before their time.

But Mohammed spoke not during these paroxysms. When they were over, calmly and distinctly, he dictated to his scribe the words of those wonderful Suras, for he could not write. And what reward had he for his message? He came through torments to reveal to degraded idolaters the great truth, "No God but God," and they followed Waraka's prediction with singular accuracy. They called him a liar, hated him, laughed at him, fought against him, tried to kill him. All his friends fell away from him, and for a time he was as much alone and as truly an object of pity as any early Christian during persecutions. Had he been an impostor, he could never have persevered as long as he did. An impostor might simulate epilepsy, might dictate Suras. Clairvoyants and other charlatans do so now-a-days. But no impostor turns suddenly gray with the agonies of revelation. The revelations of a clairvoyant, and the communications from spirit circles, are generally puerile and contemptible; always highly inadequate to the genius from whom they claim to emanate; while the columns of spiritualist literature have never furnished us with aught better than vague inanities.

But the Koran is different. It is unequalled in the Arabic language for sublimity of poetry. The ignorant camel-driver, unable to read, could not have composed such a book unassisted. Who, then, was his assistant? Who spoke through the lips of Mohammed in the second chapter of the Koran? Hear the Suras:—

"There is no doubt in this book. It is a counsel for the righteous, who believe in the unseen things of faith, who observe the times of prayer, who give alms of what WE have bestowed on them, who believe the revelation sent unto thee, and sent to the prophets before thee, who have firm assurance of the life to come. These are directed by the Lord, and they shall prosper."

"As for the infidels, they are like one who kindleth a fire, and when it hath thrown its light on all around him, God taketh away the light, and leaveth him in darkness, and they cannot see. Deaf, dumb, and blind, therefore, shall they not retrace their steps. They are like those, who, when there cometh a storm-cloud out of heaven, big with darkness, thunder, and lightning, thrust their fingers into their ears because of the thunder-clap, for fear of death. God is round about the infidels. The lightning almost snatcheth away their eyes; so oft as it gleameth on them they walk on in it; but when darkness closeth on them they stop; and, if God pleased, of

their ears and eyes he would surely deprive them; verily God is Almighty. . . .

"God! there is no God but He, the Living, the Eternal. Thunder doth not overtake Him, nor sleep. To Him belongeth all that is in heaven and earth. Who is he that can intercede with Him but by His permission? He knoweth that which is past, and that which is to come unto them, and they shall not comprehend His knowledge, but so far as He pleaseth. His throne extendeth over heaven and earth, and the upholding of both is no burden to Him. He is the High and Mighty One."

Well may the Arabs challenge the world to produce such a book unassisted by the Spirit which spoke through the prophets. The fishermen of Galilee spoke with as little worldly wisdom, and we believe them inspired. What shall we say of Mohammed? Was he prophet or impostor?

Not impostor, we think. No man can honestly examine the Koran, and read the absolutely uncontradicted facts of the agonies and persecutions that accompanied its origin, and say that Mohammed was a wilful impostor. Was he then deceived? Did he, consciously or unconsciously, steal the best parts of the Koran from the Old and New Testaments?

This is the current charge against him among Christians, and especially among clergymen; but it will not bear a careful examination. In the first place, it is certain, from a comparison of the Koran with the Bible, that Mohammed had never read or perhaps even heard of any one of those epistles which we call inspired. There is no trace in the Koran of any knowledge of the apostles, or of what they did after the ascension. Of Paul, Peter, James, John, Mohammed never speaks, while his anecdotes of our Savior are evidently taken from the spurious Gospels of the Infancy and of St. Barnabas. Of such is the well-known story of Jesus in his childhood making sparrows of clay, and giving life to them. The Koranic account of the crucifixion is from the Gnostic point of view, Mohammed insisting that the Savior was not crucified, but another in his place.

In all the Koranic mention of Christ, there is evident ignorance of our New Testament; while what little the prophet does know of the facts of the Savior's life impresses him with the deepest reverence. He admits the immaculate conception in full, and gives nearly the same account of the annunciation as that in St. Luke's Gospel, while there is no trace of acquaintance with other parts of the same Gospel. All the traces of New Testament knowledge in the Koran point to a single hypothesis—that of the oral communication, from ignorant persons, of a half-knowledge to Mohammed.

And that such was almost certainly the case is clear from contemporary history. The seventh century was perhaps the darkest of all the dark ages. Christianity had almost vanished in idolatry. The Roman empire, shattered by barbarians, and sunk in sensual sloth wherever out of danger, was Christian only in name. Christianity had as yet reached Arabia only in the persons of a few slaves, mostly Abyssinians; and what a jumble of heathenism and truth Abyssinian Christianity is, we know now-a-days. The Christian world knew almost nothing of Arabia. We find that out now, when we have to correct our geographical notions of the country, handed down through centuries of Christian ignorance. There are stories that Mohammed, on certain journeys to Syria, met a monk, variously called Bahira, Sergius, Georgius, and Nestor, from whom he obtained his knowledge of Christianity; but there is one suspicious fact about these stories, that they all emanated from Christian monks, long after Mohammed's death. So far as appears from the accounts left by friends and foes in Mecca, Mohammed had never left Arabia, never visited Syria. His only proven acquaintances, outside of idolaters, are Jews, and especially blind Waraka, his wife's cousin. In examining Mohammed's life and doctrines, it is well to deal only with known facts, without building theories on possibilities. From the intensity of passion in Mohammed's conversion, it seems certain that, had he ever met with a real Christian, ever read the New Testament as we understand it, Mohammedanism would have been a very different thing to-day from what it is. The great soul of the man bounded forth to meet those feeble glimmerings of the Old Testament which he received from Waraka, obscured by the subtleties of Talmudic tradition. Had he but known the undefiled Scripture, old and new, what might he not have done?

For Waraka and all the other Jews of that day were, like those of to-day, Talmudists to the backbone, "making the word of God of none effect with their traditions," as our Savior told them face to face. What Mohammed knew of Old Testament history came to him only through rabbinical tradition. All his Old Testament stories are in the rabbinical dress, as all his New Testament history is found in the garbled and traditional form communicated through Abyssinian slavery, or hostile Jewish sneers. What of Old and New Testament appears in the Koran reveals its source with the utmost plainness.

What, then, shall we say of the mind and heart of that man who, from these dim and discolored glimmerings, these foully polluted waters from the fountain of truth, blackened with the lies of centuries, could evolve the pure and exalted religion which he did? What shall we say of the man, who, alone in the dreary wilderness, haunted by tremendous shadows of fear, face to face with the dread problem of the universe, before which our leaders of science to-day fall back, confessing their impotence to explain that *First Cause* of all, could find the answer to the dread question, and proclaim aloud the truth, "No God but God"?

Truly does the experience of to-day bear out the

dictum, "The world, by wisdom, knew not God." The ignorant shepherd and camel-driver, the poor fisherman, the desert wanderer clothed in camel's hair,—not one was learned; and yet to each came God, and talked with him, and made his weakness strength. There are prophets great, and prophets less. Isaiah and Balaam, Daniel and Jonah, if we are to believe Holy Writ, were all prophets; and yet what a difference between their lives and sayings! Shall we refuse to Mohammed, the founder of the purest monotheistic religion of modern times, the only one which has never been stained by idolatry, that credit which we give to the rebellious Balaam, and the selfish and cowardly Jonah? We nineteenth century church people, whether Calvinists or Arminians, Baptists or Papists, have got into a habit of talking of our collection of books, accumulated in their present form under the decisions of certain councils of churches and convocations of rabbis, as being all inspired, and of everything outside as necessarily profane. True, the councils have differed in many centuries. One man swears by the Bible of James I. of England, another by the Douay version, another by Luther's; while every version is different, and the number of books claimed to be inspired or stigmatized as apocryphal varies as widely as opinions vary. All the same, one pats his James I., another his Douay, another his Luther, regardless of questions of original language, regardless of interpolations in manuscripts, regardless of anything but what he has been taught, and boldly calls Mohammed an impostor.

To all such well comes the challenge of the prophet in the second Sura, spoken "in the name of God, Most Merciful of the merciful!"—

"If ye be in doubt as to our revelation to our servant, then produce a Sura like unto it, and summon your witnesses, God and all, if ye be men of truth."

The challenge is sustainable as to parts of the Koran, while other parts are clearly human and full of error. But the same thing we find in many parts of our own canonical Bibles. Nothing but our habits of dogmatic assumption, indeed, could cause us to class the clearly human histories of the Old Testament, the quiet relations of the Acts of the Apostles, with the grand messages of Isaiah and the Psalms, claiming inspiration in every page. An unprejudiced outsider, not blinded by the mists of clerical dogmatism and the dicta of councils, sees little difference in point of language and ideas between the kindly counselling letters of Paul to the churches in Philippi, Corinth, Galatia, Thessalonica, and to Bishop Timothy, and the almost equally beautiful letters of Ignatius, Polycarp, and Clement to their churches. Yet the councils have arbitrarily determined that one set is inspired, the other not. We find no claim to constant inspiration in Paul's letters, set up by himself, nor in those of the other apostles; while in the Acts we are often told of their temporary inspiration. In the Old Testament the same distinction is drawn. At one time a prophet speaks as from himself; at another as moved by inspiration. If we allow this to Jonah—selfish, disobedient, and cruel,—to Balaam—in constant rebellion against God,—can we deny it to Mohammed, steadfastly preaching the one true God to idolaters, and rescuing two continents from the grasp of Paganism, to bring them to eternal truth? We cannot deny the truth of Mohammed's doctrines. Jew and Christian assert it themselves, and the latter refines and mystifies away the doctrine of the Trinity in the Athanasian Creed, till he has made out of it an incomprehensible mystery, of which we can only distinguish one salient fact,—the belief in one God, manifesting himself in three forms, but remaining one.

Nothing but inspiration will explain parts of the Koran, in which a power of truth shines out that could never have emanated from an untaught shepherd. Let Christians once recognize this fact, as they must sooner or later, and the key to the success of Mohammed is found. When the degraded and vitiated Christianity of the seventh century became powerless to affect Paganism, arose Mohammed, the prophet of God, with all his sins and imperfections, his ignorances and mistakes, as truly a prophet as King David. His preaching and practice and the swords of his followers swept from the earth the Paganism that had so debased Christianity, and substituted in the South a purer religion. Nothing short of the pure Christianity of Christ and his apostles can replace it. In vain do our missionaries fight it to-day, in Syria and Turkey, in Africa and Hindostan. The subtleties of theology and the dogmas of churches fall powerless before the simple monotheism of Mohammed; and so it will remain till they learn to recognize that Mohammed was a preacher of the truth. What he did not know of Christianity and the divinity and teachings of Christ himself will make its way on the foundation laid by Mohammed, the unity of God, but not on the ground that Mohammed was an impostor. He preached the truth, and we must recognize the fact. What he lacked of the whole truth may be supplied some day when Christian preachers throw aside intolerance, and own that a man need not be faultless to be a true prophet.*

Our next question, "Saint or devil?" is more easily answered. Were we to take the life of Mohammed in Mecca from the time of his first calling

to that of the Hegira, a period of six years, we should find it as truly saintly, as humble and unselfish, as full of charity to others, as was ever the life of Paul, James, John, or any other saint on record. Were we to take all his former life, as recorded by friend and foe, we should look in vain for aught but generosity, honor, truthfulness, and courage. It is a somewhat remarkable fact that in all the lives of Mohammed extant, written by his bitterest foes, amid all the venom and slander of his most intense enemies, no whisper is found accusing the Arabian prophet of a single breach of faith, of a violation of any single commandment in the Decalogue. His whole life was spent in keeping the first four, as soon as he knew them; the honor which he could not give to the parents denied him from early childhood, he paid in full measure to the aged wherever he met them. Theft, murder, and adultery were unknown to him, and lying and covetousness he has never been accused of. Of the meanness and treachery attributed to David, the admittedly inspired prophet, in the case of Bathsheba, of the duplicity and revenge exhibited by the same David in his dying injunctions to his son to slay the men whom himself had ostensibly forgiven, there is no trace in the life or death of the Arabian prophet. As compared with the Psalmist in every action of his life, both before and after his calling, the showing is in Mohammed's favor. As he began so he ended—brave, courteous, truthful, generous, modest.

The sole moral accusation made against him is that of sensuality, in the number of his wives. It has never been stated that he stole other men's wives, like David, nor lied about his own twice over from fear, like Abraham and Isaac. Such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and David did without reproach, did Mohammed. In a land of polygamy he had several wives, and took care of all of them. There is no riotous living in his early life. Khadijah was kind to him in his youth, and he remained faithful to his old and withered wife to the day of her death. For many years after he remained unmarried, and it was only when in the full career of conquest and triumph that he took to himself his numerous wives, in great part as it would seem from motives of pity. With the exception of Ayesha, all were widows of some of his followers killed in battle, or otherwise left destitute, and none of them are recorded as having either youth or beauty. Ayesha is the exception, and she was the sister of Ali, his most devoted follower. Of Maryam, the Coptic girl, it is sufficient to say that she was his slave, sent to him as a present by the Governor of Egypt, just as Hagar and Keturah were Abraham's slaves; just as Billah and Zilpah were the slaves of Jacob. He married her, as he married the rest of his wives, as much to protect her from the jealousies and persecutions of others as for sensual pleasure.

If polygamy is a sin, Mohammed was a sinner. We know, however, that it has never been declared to be a sin in any part of Holy Writ, inspired or uninspired. Moreover, the law of polygamy merely provides that the man whose passions lead him to consort with many women shall be compelled to support them in honor. It remains to-day an open question whether its practice may not produce better results with human nature than that remorseless and cruel law of Aryan society which damns every woman not the only wife of a man, and yet leaves the man free to follow his passions without pain or penalty adequate to the ruin he has wrought.

Polygamy has been the practice of all Semitic peoples from the earliest times, along with monotheism. Compulsory monogamy, with its attendant, the widespread "social evil," which all our laws are still powerless to arrest, has been the equally constant practice of those Aryan races which were heathens from the earliest times. Its restrictions have never prevented men from pursuing sensual pleasure where go inclined. They have simply relieved them from the penalty imposed in that Hebrew law given from Mount Sinai.† The essential justice of every part of that law is so well fitted for the protection of the weaker sex that it is somewhat surprising it should have been overlooked in these days, when the wrongs of women are so frequently deplored. One wrong may be done to a woman by a married man which he can never repair under Aryan laws, be he ever so willing. Hebrew and Moslem laws compel the reparation.

This is not the time nor place to enter into an extended discourse on the right or wrong of polygamy. Its brief consideration is, however, absolutely necessary in considering the character and life of Mohammed. He took many wives in his later years; and of these only one, Maryam, seems to have been sought by him from any motive but that of charity, and a desire to protect the weak. Ayesha, the youngest and most beautiful of all, was forced upon him by her family when still a child, they being anxious for the honor of his alliance. Looked upon by the light of the Old Testament, the plurality of Mohammed's wives is nowhere condemned. Looked upon in the light of the New, the condemnation is equally absent when we consider Mohammed only as a fallible human being. It is somewhat remarkable, if we take sensuality as the motive for these marriages, that the prophet should have lived to the age of forty-six faithful to a wife fourteen years older

careless of theological criticisms, on the saying of Him who spake as never man spake: "In vain do ye worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." Mohammedans can be converted to Christianity in only one way: by showing them who Christ was, and how the prophet mistook his character; not by abusing Mohammed as an impostor.

† I Kings ii., 1-8.—And yet for all this David was an inspired prophet, for whose possession the devil fought hard by temptation, and his sins are fearlessly recorded. They prove nothing against his mission.

‡ Exod. xxii., 16. Deut. xxii., 28, 29.

than himself, and for four more years an unmarried widower. It is still more remarkable that, when at fifty he married again, he should in all cases, when uninfluenced by others, select poor old widows, for whom he provided with scrupulous honesty, supporting each in a separate house. Closely examined, the number of Mohammed's wives was no proof of sensuality, but rather of charity and kindness of heart. He could take care of the widow and fatherless in no other way so well as the one he did, and the laws of God and man in his own country justified him. We have no right to set up our Anglo-Saxon laws and standards to measure the actions of a man living in a different state of society; and nothing but the prejudices of early education prevents us from seeing this truth clearly.

To our last question, "Hero or Antichrist?" the answer is much easier to arrive at. In the first place, the definitions of Antichrist given us by various divines are as widely divergent as their own doctrines. One man is ready to prove conclusively that the Pope is Antichrist; another is equally certain that it is Mohammed; while a third can show you by positive proofs that it was decidedly Napoleon; and a fourth with still greater certainty shows that the rest are all mistaken, and that Russia is symbolized by Gog and Magog and Antichrist. We are not certain but that Washington may have shared these honors in the brain of some truly loyal parsons of the last century, when they considered carefully the unnatural rebellion of that wicked militia colonel against the best of monarchs; and we are pretty certain that the Southern Confederacy took its turn in some pulpits during that "wicked and unnatural rebellion against the best government the world ever saw." That poor Mr. Lincoln was classed in the same category by some people in the same Confederacy was only natural. In fact, at all times and places, men have been wont to stigmatize the head and front of their enemies as Antichrist, and no books have proved so fertile of interpretations of this sort as Daniel and the Revelation.

It is only in the application of their prophecies to the Moslem power that the commentators have made out a poor case. While the ninth chapter of Revelation has been generally, by Christians, held to prefigure the Mohammedan power, the commentators, misled by early prejudice, have only recognized in Mohammed a devil from hell, whereas he is simply called in that chapter the angel Abaddon or Apollyon,* a word signifying simply "the Destroyer." That Mohammed and his successors in their military career were great and terrible destroyers is certain; but if we are to take the same chapter as a prophecy of Mohammed, it is certain that condemnation of any false teaching of his is absent therefrom. On the contrary, it is expressly implied and stated that "the Destroyer" was sent by God himself to destroy idolatry. That such was the main work of Islam all history teaches us, and if such a work is Antichristian, and not otherwise, Mohammed is Antichrist. And if not, what shall we say of the marvellous powers of this man, ignorant shepherd and camel-driver that he was, who, with only the vague Talmudic traditions of a blind Jew to guide him, created the sublimely simple religion of Islam? What shall we say of this man, pretending to be nothing more than a man, who by his simple genius and courage created from a flock of jarring and scattered tribes a nation able to overthrow the whole Roman empire?

We should hail that man to-day as a hero and genius of the very first order who should unite our scattered Indian tribes under one head and overthrow the whole power of the United States, with all its wealth of material prosperity, its aggressive and defensive strength. Were a Tartar chief to collect Tartar and Turcoman under his banner to-day, and overthrow the Russian colossus, then sweeping into India exterminate the English, his name would be classed with those of Genghis and Alaric. Mohammed did all and more than this. He found his tribes poor and scattered among deserts and rocks, with small numbers and less wealth, and he led them boldly to the assault of the mistress of the known world. Dying himself, as one who had begun his work too late in life, he left to his followers a legacy of heroism and strength that carried them on to the conquest of the queen of Europe. Mohammed began the assault on a Roman empire. Ere the Saracens sheathed their swords there was no Roman empire to fight in the West; and the Turks only ceased from ravaging when the last remnant of the Eastern empire had crumbled to dust at the siege of Constantinople.

As general, soldier, and lawgiver, Mohammed was a true hero. He remains the one hero of his people to this day—the only man, simple man, that ever lived whose words and actions are imitated after twelve hundred years with as much fidelity as when they were uttered. Christians,† as a body, do not

*The common notion of Abaddon or Apollyon, "the Destroyer," is too often confounded with that of Satan, "the Adversary"; and the Puritans have aided in confounding them more than any other class of men; Bunyan, by his one scene in *Pilgrim's Progress*, in which Apollyon is represented in the real character of Satan, has done much to spread this error in that snugly respectable class of people who count going to church as righteousness. Apollyon, in the Revelation if he really prefigures Mohammed, appears as the terrible minister of God's anger against idolaters, not as the adversary of Christianity; and the sooner Christians recognize this plain truth the more philosophical will their position become, from the Christian point of view. From the rationalist point, of course, this whole discussion is about nothing but a vision; but from that point also Mohammed is a great moral teacher, and needs no defence. His most stubborn accusers are your good stiff-necked old Calvinists and Papists of the mediæval and Renaissance types.

† So-called Christians, we should rather say; the sectarians of every grade who cheat each other all the week, go to church Sundays, give money to the missionaries, build churches and "bear" stocks with equal vigor, and are hailed as "merchant princes."

*The writer desires to be clearly understood. In all his remarks, both here and subsequently, he is by no means attacking primitive Christianity, as preached and practised by the inspired apostles who had heard their Master's words, and took care to preach nothing but Christ crucified. His reprobation is directed against nothing but human inventions, misinterpretations, and interpolations, which have slowly gathered around the Gospel in the form of denominational doctrines, and from which no sect whatever is free at the present day. Against these doctrines, emanating from whatever human source, and bolstered up by whatever distortions of texts, he takes his stand,

pretend to follow the example of *their* founder. They will quote Paul, James, any one that they can think of, to avoid understanding the literal truth of Christ's words. In the matter of imitation Mohammedans are far ahead of us. They all try to imitate the prophet, and his name is never out of their mouths. Shall we then deny to the great soldier and prophet, the illustrious lawgiver, whose one book remains to-day the sole code of Mohammedan countries, the title of hero? We think not.

The ignorant strictures of illiterate monks and men-at-arms, the fierce invectives of partisans like Luther (who never read a word of Arabic in his life), the pious platitudes of flocks of parsons, seeking the same hole in the fence like sheep in each other's tracks, may be cast like mud at the greatness their utterers do not understand. The sober sense of a candid mind in search of truth cannot survey the Koran and the life of its author without thanking God for having sent on earth for his own purpose Mohammed—the destroyer of idols, prophet, saint, and hero.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

CHRIST AT THE VATICAN.

BY VICTOR HUGO.

TRANSLATED BY GEORGE S. BURLEIGH.

[This poem had the honor of being interdicted by Louis Napoleon, and was afterwards published at Geneva.]

Spite of all reverence to the Eternal given,—
His Father,—one day Jesus yawned in heaven,
Till his jaw-bone was dislocated;
In this abode of glory he was sated.
The prayers they chanted him before,
Still rose to Paradise; but, alas!
They came to his address no more.
There's nothing, even to the Mass,
That gets not shortened to the uttermost,
When of a goodly meal to take his share
The official would repair.
The Father and the Holy Ghost
Have no whit better fare.

"What's this?" said Jesus; "through forgetfulness
Have Christians dared suppress
Incense and vows, to me their wont to pay?
Much to the Virgin Mary they address;
To the Saints' chapels run the crowds, and pray,
Even as ran and prayed, of old,
The Pagans to their gods of wood and gold.
But for myself the case is different, rather.
At Rome, meanwhile, I have the Holy Father,
My Vice-God, as report hath said it;
He ought, among men, to sustain my credit:
Has he betrayed it? Or may Paganism
Have quite absorbed the old Catholicism?
Straightway to Rome I needs must go,
To see what's doing there below,
And ascertain if the aforesaid Vicar
To my affairs attention gives with rigor;
If he diverts not to himself alone
The worship destined for my own.
My divine nature I must doff, to don a
More modest garb, and take the human figure
That in Judea I wore,
What time her Governor
To hang me did himself the honor!
Or people might not know me, otherwise."

So said, so done; the divine Master flies
And measures with one span
Thence to the Vatican.
Inquiring where the Pope was staying,
Some snare he fancied they were laying,
When to the palace he was brought.
"Oho!" he said; "I never should have thought,
As in a stable fell my natal lot,
To see my servant in a lodge like this!"
Still in he went; but prompt a gilded Swiss,
With halberd set, cried, "Halt! and show your ticket;
You've need of one to pass the papal wicket.
The plumiest dukes, to pay their court inclined,
A passport need, by the Good Father signed,
Or by his chamberlain. Think you a poor wretch
Without a doct, I'm sure, can pass this latch?
Go, go! the Servant of God's servants ne'er
Will give your sort of clowns reception here."

The door already in his face he slaps.
Astonished Christ, who could not dream
That such a compliment was meant for him,
Thinking he'd missed the purport, mused, "Perhaps
To times of persecution they relapse;
That a new Caesar, foe to Christ's exalters,
Rebuilds the Pagan altars."
'Twas so for him this mystery seemed to ope,
That these gay Swiss were jailers to the Pope.
What honesty of heart! I wit
That Christ alone this error could commit.

"My son, I am Jesus," quoth he to the soldier;
"I come my envoy to behold here.
No doubt the Emperor vowed to Jove, in some
Black dungeon holds him for new martyrdom,
As to my first Apostles chanced of old."

The Swiss at hazard his *pater noster* told,
Though the air, poor and humble, of the Savior,
Seemed not to merit this distinguished favor.

"Jesus, you err; the Holy Father's Caesar;
He makes this palace dome his ordinary home;
Only to guard him are we Swiss here;
Nobody here has any prison, at present,
But your Vice-God; according as seems pleasant,
He'll lodge there all who smack of heresies,
From tender care for their sole bliss,
And honor of the Christian sanctities.
He even hangs sometimes: but I'm good Swiss,
And I would aid you: the ascent for us
Is just before you; mount to the repair
Of the Grand Chamberlain, offer him your prayer;
Perhaps you'd speak the Holy Pontiff thus."

He fancied he reclaimed the hall of Caiaphas.
"Ah, well!" he murmured, "they've a palace home
Of marble and of gold; for me, instead,
When night had come,
I knew not where to lay my head.
Here are the poor a true mar-mirth.
Poor was I, and taught charity on earth.
Ah me! for all guards I had only those
Rough dogs who raffled for my clothes.
He hangs! and me, troth I was hung!
My faith! if this old gent, among
His pomps triumphal, plays the role of me,
I'm vilely represented, you'll agree."

While speaking thus had Jesus climbed the stair:
From a vast landing vaster halls ran back,
That seemed a market, as he entered there;
Bazar of nameless things, sham bric-a-brac,
Where, certes, 'tis the buyer who's put in sack.
All round, old bones and models new
Offend the smell, or glitter to the view;
Clerks numberless, alert, sharp-eyed to look,
Tied parcels, and served customers, and took
Pleasant cash; it is a shop, indeed.
The Boss, all dressed in scarlet,—from beyond,
Seeing advance a ragged Lazarus,—
Was mad.

"Eh! what! a dirty vagabond,"
He cried, "in chambers of Earth's Master thus
To penetrate, unceremonious!
How came you here? Who brought you in, and whence?
But it may be, of our Vice-God,
Expecting pardon for some grave offence,
Your penance makes you beggar; that's not odd.
Speak! what is that you lack?
Have you killed some one, and, the danger fearing,
Have stabbed him in the back?
Or did you, else, a murderous hand uprearing,
Your father or your mother slaughter?
Or have you, delicate connoisseur,
Ravished your sister or your daughter?
At Rome, for cash, may one secure
For all these foibles absolution broad.
Do you want crosses, tapers, lambs of God;
Beads better blest than if by Jesu's grace
They had been consecrated?
Would you eat roast, Fridays and Saturdays,
In Lenten tide? Or would you patronize
The precious relics, well authenticated,
Of all the saints who are in Paradise?
Speak! draw your wallet and pay down your score;
For Austria's Emperor we would do no more.
If you'll not pay, march! quick step for the door!
We are ordered by a Papal Bull
Not to deliver but for cash in full:
For us the rich; the devil take the poor!"

"Whew! pretty pranks!" thought Jesus; "truth to name,
These fellows have no more of Jesus
Than had of old the Scribes and Pharisees.
Here are no Christians among these;
That's a sure case!
It would too grossly my good name degrade,
To cover with it this ignoble trade,
By which they rob you, with a brazen face.
But, of their strange career the end we'll seek.
I've little time to lose, and I would speak
Straight to the Christians' Father."

This provokes
The Cardinal-peddler of that pious stuff.
"Speak to the Pope! Ha, but the villain jokes!
Believe you, then, rascalion rough,
That he'd permit you, kneeling though you go,
To kiss his cross-back mule? Ha, blockhead, no!
No, it is not for you the Pope puts on his shoe.
And fast and soon get hence! If, with like haste
You would not choose a dungeon's sweets to taste!"
"Priest, I will dissipate your blunder;
Behold and recognize your Master under
This garb of penury!
I am the Christ; and, now, it well may be,
I shall have leave to see
Your Holy Father who holds his power alone from me."

"You Jesus! humph! that kind of wit
Is good, and lets me laugh at it!
What! shall the mighty Lord of Heaven be seen
With your all-faded face and pitiful mien,
And dirty rags, your squalor's signal shown,
As one may see in Beggar Lanes alone?
Further, though 'twere the very truth you've told,
You will not come His Holiness to behold.
He has—by Bacchus!—other things to carry
Than thoughts of Christ, of heaven, or breviary!
Romagna boils. Legations to the gale
Of Revolution fling their sail:
The temporal power escapes us, on my word
Above all other good to be preferred:
In fine, then, be it true you're Jesus, accuse
Only yourself that we your suit refuse.
Why in your glory came you not? Then we
Had welcomed you: that were a victory
O'er all our enemies. How you *are* done!
Clad like a beggar; the Pope would blush to own
A God in such a budget! Me, therefore,
Allow, dear friend, to beau you to the door!"

The Cardinal was talking still,
When Jesus Christ, as once on Tabor's hill,
Became transfigured. In his look austere
Kindled the lightnings of the holy zeal
That moved him when he drove, while ere,
Far from the sacred courts the trafficker.
The Publicans, with insolence inflated
Before, in silence now awaited
The storm which, muttered in the Savior's soul,
Burst terribly its thunder-roll!

"Woe unto you, oh viper progenies!
Your brothers' faith abusing, with no shame;
Woe, woe to you, ye priests and Pharisees,
Hypocrites! wearing the fair Christian name,
Who veil the lessons that were mine
Under a thousand mummeries,
And desecrate my holy shrine
With thousand-fold idolatries.

Need I remind you what my laws decree?
Blind leaders of the blind afar from me!
Need I remind you that my life was given
In teaching sweetness, peace, and modesty,
Alms, and forgiveness, love, and hope in heaven,
And all the virtues ye so feebly show?
Once, in my humble life, did I allow
That men should hail me 'Grandeur,' 'Eminence'?
Or, clothed in gold and purple, did I enhance
My treasure from the poor man's dripping brow?
Jerusalem saw me riding on an ass:

The Roman people, unrieved by it natheless,
Behold your Chief, and not His Holiness,
Borne upon Christian backs, in triumph pass.
I marvel how his daring pride omits
To put on them the saddle or the bits!
My law and pattern see how men pursue!
Showing humble for the nonce, which one of you
To him who took his cloak the coat has given?
For worldly treasures, to the robber free,
Ye'll give centupled all the wealth of heaven.
Your heart's the altar of Cupidity!
Your hands are always stretched to gather more;
Never could tender pleadings of the poor

Your pity move. Less priests than hucksters keen,
Less shepherds than true butchers, from your lean
Sad sheep ye take the milk, the flesh and wool:
The Church for you is earth's possession full.
The life eternal, and the glory above,
Employ you little: it is gold you love!
'Gold! give us gold!' such is your text sublime,
And to be poor, your greatest, only crime.
Your eye is mild, your lips with honey fall;
And, while your visage lies, your heart is gall!
Rigid for others, for yourselves replete
With greedy lusts, no faults your pardon meet:
With haughty mien you love unbounded rule.
The chief among you feigns to call
Himself the servant of my servants all;
He lies, like his own Bull:
Of the all-servant does one kiss the mule?

"If not as you some hapless being thinks,
If he would break his chain's too heavy links,
Your wrath, with justice for its thin disguise,
Consigns him to the hangman. I have said,
'I will have mercy and not sacrifice.'
Have said, 'Give freely what without a price
Was given to you.' To my redeemed, instead,
You sell baptism upon their natal bed;
Sell to the sinner void indulgences;
To lovers sell the natural right to wed;
Sell to the dying the privilege of deace,
And sell your funeral masses to the dead!
To kinsfolk vend the New Year's 'Wish you well!'
Your prayers and masses and communions sell;
Beads, benedictions, crosses; in your eyes
Nothing is sacred; all is merchandise.
None in your Church one step can make his way
But he must pay to enter, for sitting pay,
And pay to pray: altar is counter here,
The Papacy is earth's grand usurer!
My house is, here below, a house of prayer,
But ye have made thereof the robbers' lair!
Sold there the Virgin's favors, as they sell
The loves of women in their little hell!
Here your soul's blot is mirrored everywhere.
The Scribes, your fathers, were not so perverse;
You are not even *wilted* sepulchres!"

"By sham laws, robberies, and extortions vile,
Of Borgia's usurpations, with subtle wile,
Your cities, you aver, comprise
Saint Peter's patrimony: there must men
Think as the monk, and not as citizen.
Transgression is a vice
Your laws condone, though reason punishes.
There reign among you Pride and Avarice;
Cowed knave and fool the price of justice share:
To crawl before you is sole duty there!
And this you name the temporal power! a scheme
That my poor Peter never saw in dream.
Only to rule earth, you the heavens invoke.
But times change. Weary of the priestly yoke,
Your States break down the olden Papal sway,
And on Romanag Freedom smiles to-day.
Aye, your own Romans, whom Revolt has won
(If France had not restored their tyrant's power),
Would have expelled ye eleven years since and more!
Cower, brood of vipers, priests of Papal pride!
The sons shall finish what their fathers tried."

The tonsured hucksters, consternated, dumb,
Still at the voice of Jesus trembled all,
As he returned to his immortal home.
On the same day was heard the news at Rome
That, driving out the Legate Cardinal,
Bologna stripped her king pontifical;
And that with newer glory,
Adorning her old story,
She had just chosen a Power Provisional.

LONDON, Jan., 1861.

RECEIVED.

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CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUG. 14.

Jona. F. Barrett, \$40; G. T. B. Perry, 20 cents; J. T. Clarkson, 50 cents; Henry Justice, 20 cents; O. S. Barr, 35 cents; Geo. Lewis, 20 cents; Katie G. Bliss, 35 cents; A. Clark, 50 cents; C. L. Cassin, \$1; Joel Sharp, \$3.20; Joel McMillan, \$2.20; Henry Lantz, \$1; Henry Obermyer, \$3.20; Benj. Freeman, \$3; H. H. Hatch, \$3.20; Val Walters, \$9; C. D. Van Vetchen, \$3; A. Williams & Co., \$3.78; Chas. E. Pratt, \$3.20; Albert S. Brown, \$10; A. P. Rose, \$5.50; Henry Grew, \$3.20; C. M. Stiles, \$3.20; W. S. George, \$3.20; John Scott, \$3.20; R. G. Sells, \$4.25; John Winslow, \$4; L. W. Blakesly, \$3; Chas. H. Goddard, \$3; Wylie Smith & Co., \$3; T. J. Crouse, 60 cents; G. S. Steward, 35 cents; Geo. Terry, 20 cents; S. G. Matthews, 75 cents; R. Peterson, 30 cents; S. R. Honey, 20 cents; G. B. Blake, \$3.20; Wm. Boyer, \$3.20; H. T. Marshall, \$3.20; B. J. Francis, 50 cents; H. L. Noyes, 50 cents.

The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 19, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, *Editor.*
ABRAM WALTER STEVENS, *Associate Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E.
D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRAN-
CIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), *Editorial Contributors.*

"IN AGREEMENT with a paragraph copied into your paper from another paper," good-humoredly writes an Ohio subscriber, "I must say that THE INDEX contains much very instructive matter not found in any other newspaper, and for this reason must renew my subscription to it, however closely circumscribed my means. Now please make a note of this in THE INDEX, just to see how I would look in print!"

THE COMMUNICATION published in another column from the pen of Mr. M. S. Toyama, a Japanese student at the University of Michigan, with regard to belief in miracles, is very ingenious and interesting. Really, when so much is said about the probability of converting Japan to Christianity, such an article seems to indicate that the chances are all the other way. If Christianity cannot hold its own at home against the keen, strong intelligence of these Japanese youths, it is little likely to convert them under the great disadvantages it encounters in a populous and highly civilized heathen land. Our readers will doubtless be pleased, as we certainly shall be, with further communications from Mr. Toyama.

F. R. A. ANNUAL REPORT.

The Report, in pamphlet form, of the Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association for 1875 is now ready.

It contains an Essay by Wm. C. Gannett, on "Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and an Essay by F. E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. B. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

It can be obtained, in Boston, at A. Williams & Co.'s, and by mail by addressing "Office of Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston, Mass."

Price of single copy, 35 cents; package of four copies or more, 25 cents each.

WM. J. POTTER, *Secretary.*

CALL FOR THE SEPTEMBER CONVENTION.

The Liberal Leagues throughout the country are cordially invited to send five delegates each to a Convention to be held in Philadelphia on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of September next, for the purpose of disseminating our principles and of making arrangements for a general Congress of Liberals to convene next year during the Centennial exhibition. It is very desirable that every Liberal League in America should be fully represented at the September Convention. Now is the time to work. The enemies of religious freedom are busy in preparing to utilize human ignorance and superstition for the strengthening and perpetuating of an organized system of mental repression, hostile alike to science, reason, and the right of private judgment in all matters of faith and conscience.

Let us endeavor to overcome ignorance by intelligence,—superstition by reason. Let each League send a full representation of men and women, so that from the combined wisdom of both sexes and all our societies we may be able to inaugurate a new era of impartial justice, perfect freedom, and scientific religion.

As soon as delegates are elected, Leagues are requested to notify the undersigned, and also THE INDEX.

JOHN S. DYE,
Sec'y Phila. Liberal League,
2527 Brown Street, Phila.

PHILADELPHIA, July 22, 1875.

N. B.—All Liberal Societies which sympathize with the objects of the Liberal Leagues and wish to be represented are included in the above Call.

DELEGATES REPORTED.

PHILADELPHIA LIBERAL LEAGUE.—Isaac Rhen (President), John S. Dye (Secretary), Carrie S. Burnham, Damon Y. Kilgore, Jesse B. Beam.
BOSTON LIBERAL LEAGUE.—F. E. Abbot (President), Geo. A. Bacon (Secretary), A. Bronson Alcott, B. F. Underwood, John Wetherbee.

SHALL THE CIVIL SERVICE BE CHRISTIANIZED?

Under the caption, "Christians in Politics," the New York *Nation* lately discussed the merits of the scheme for securing honesty and efficiency in the civil service by selecting officials from among the technically religious men of the nation,—more particularly with reference to President Grant's policy towards the Indians, and the address of the Indian Commissioners to the "Christian Public" regarding the charges brought against Secretary Delano and Commissioner Smith. Pointing out very truly that the arguments for selecting "Christians" to fill the various posts of the Indian service apply just as strongly to all other posts in the government employ, and that such a system, if adopted, would simply have the practical effect of "handing the State over to the Church," it goes on to say:—

"What are the objections to this course? Why should we not make a profession of religion, or a certificate of religious character from some religious association or denomination, a condition of entrance into any branch of the civil service? Why should we not hand all the whole work of governmental administration over to the missionary societies, for instance? We think the answer to this is furnished by the recent history of the Indian Bureau, as well as that of some other places of trust and profit in the public service and elsewhere; but, before stating it, we will say frankly that we think the selection of all employees from among the professors of religion would, for a while, be an enormous gain on the present system. It would supply a test of character of very great value the first time it was applied, because there is no question that, taken as a whole, the members of churches are more likely to be honest, upright, and trustworthy than the rest of the community. One sees why this must be so without taking any very high or spiritual view of the matter. Persons who make an open profession of religion may be divided roughly into three classes: (1) really spiritually-minded persons of pure lives, who have a longing for communion with God, which finds expression and satisfaction in the public worship and various other ministries of a religious organization; (2) persons with more or less desire for right living, but with so little strength of will and so much carnal weakness that they are constantly giving way to temptation and losing their self-respect, and join the church as a kind of external help in satisfying the demands of their own consciences; and (3) the worldly schemers who have no religious sentiment whatever, and no belief in God or devil, but have acquired skill in the use of religious terminology, and see, or think they see, that religious profession is a powerful help in trade and commerce. As regards the first two classes, church-membership is unquestionably a means and a sign of a higher than the average morality. As regards the last, it is unquestionably also a powerful restraint. There is many a man of this class whom the church probably keeps out of jail by the help and comfort it brings him in business and in society, and by the way in which it concentrates public opinion on him. If anybody were to determine, therefore, in a general way, that he would employ none but church members, he would find that on the whole he was making his selection from an excellent class, and stood a better chance of being served well than if he trusted to the ordinary modes."

In this passage the *Nation* exhibits less than its usual shrewdness and insight in commenting on men and things. There would not even be a temporary gain in making church membership a necessary qualification for office, so far as official and business integrity are concerned. Instead of assuming off-hand, without investigation, that "there is no question that, taken as a whole, the members of churches are more likely to be honest, upright, and trustworthy than the rest of the community," the *Nation* will find (if it makes inquiry) that there is a great deal of "question" as to this assumed fact, even among those who have no particular sympathy with liberal opinions on religious matters. Whether with or without reason, the statement that "So-and-so is a church-member," unsupported by positive evidence as to his good moral character, creates no presumption of it in the minds of a very respectable portion of the community, but rather puts them on their guard and leaves the impression that he will "bear watching." Church-membership has no effect on the world at large in raising a man's business credit; which it would do, if the average business character of church-members stood any higher than that of their neighbors. Business men, as a rule, are exceedingly shy of any claims to confidence made on such grounds; they do not, with the *Nation*, take it for granted that "the members of churches are more likely to be honest, upright, and trustworthy than the rest of the community"; they know perfectly well that honesty, uprightness, and trustworthiness are not the qualities on which the churches lay their chief emphasis or which they make their chief exertions to promote; they have seen too much of "Christian statesmen" and "Christian merchants" to risk any money on anybody's Christ-

ianity; they have learned by experience that there are just as many rogues in the churches *per capita* as there are out of them, and take it as a very bad and suspicious sign when any man shows the least disposition to rely on his church-membership in business dealings. These statements the *Nation* can verify any day, if it chooses to institute inquiries on the subject. Church-membership does not, in the actual judgment of men of affairs, constitute in any degree *prima facie* evidence of official integrity or business honesty; and this it would certainly do, if, as the *Nation* assumes, it really implied on the average a higher moral character than that of the community at large. Hence we deny the *Nation's* assumption that there would be even a temporary moral gain in selecting "Christians" to fill official positions.

But let us look a little closer at the "three classes" into which the *Nation* divides church-members, and inquire whether there is any rational ground for expecting of them a higher than the average "honesty, uprightness, and trustworthiness."

"(1.) Really spiritually-minded persons of pure lives, who have a longing for communion with God, which finds expression and satisfaction in the public worship and various other ministries of a religious organization." We are not exactly clear how much the *Nation* intends to include under the terms "spiritually-minded" and "pure lives." If it means to include *business and official honesty*, which is the point at issue, it uses the terms in a very unusual sense, and begs the question at the same time; for, of course, if it means by its first class all the really honest persons among church-members, there would be sheer tautology in its saying of this class that "church-membership is unquestionably a means and a sign of a higher than the average [business] morality." But we do not suppose that the *Nation* used the terms in question in so broad a sense as to cover this point of *business morality*. If its argument means anything, it is that spiritual aspiration and purity, longing for communion with God,—in a word, a strong *religious sentiment*,—has a direct tendency to produce integrity in money matters and fidelity to all official trusts. It may provoke a little mirthfulness in some quarters to see the *Nation* placing so high an estimate on the business value of mere "sentiment"; nevertheless, we agree with it in doing so. For sincere religious sentiment we have great reverence, and believe it to be especially friendly to virtue in all the relations of life. At the same time it may, and often does, coexist with a very feeble moral nature; and the history of the Church shows that there is no necessary connection between religious sentiment, even in its strongest manifestations, and practical morality. That the real root of honesty, uprightness, and trustworthiness (let it not be forgotten that these are the only virtues now concerned) can be found anywhere except in the consciousness of naked moral obligation to be honest, upright, and trustworthy,—that the religious sentiment as such can be made to do the work of conscience,—or that energy of conscience depends either on religious belief or religious sentiment,—we totally disbelieve; and we claim that the experience of mankind overwhelmingly sustains this disbelief. Accordingly, while we agree with the *Nation* in expecting a "higher than the average [business] morality" from its first class of church-members, we are prepared to find even among them a considerable percentage of business and official rascality. Even were the civil service to draw exclusively upon this first class of church-members, it would not escape the certainty of enlisting many officials whose undoubted "spiritual-mindedness" and "longing for communion with God" would prove no protection against the fate of Colfax and Patterson.

"(2.) Persons with more or less desire for right living, but with so little strength of will and so much carnal weakness that they are constantly giving way to temptation and losing their self-respect, and join the church as a kind of external help in satisfying the demands of their own consciences." It is rather astonishing that the *Nation* should say of this class, as well as of the first, that "church-membership is unquestionably a means and a sign of a higher than the average morality." It is preposterous to assume that the "average" community are worse or weaker than these weaklings. Outside of the lists of church-members will be found the great bulk of the professional, business, and laboring world; and if it were in no healthier a condition than this second class, it would all go to pieces through its own rottenness. Whoever properly belongs to this second class, as the *Nation* describes it, is, we unhesitatingly affirm, far below even the aver-

age business morality of the community; for, of course, by "temptation" the *Nation* means temptation to business dishonesty, unless it has lost sight of its own argument. To select public servants exclusively from a class of persons fitly described as the *Nation* describes this, would probably insure as much official corruption as to go into the streets, and select at random every tenth man that passed until the offices were all filled. The description given, with the exception of the last clause, pretty fairly applies to the common run of people the world over; it is certainly not a better one than is deserved by the average man, and by no means justifies the *Nation's* expectation from the class described of "a higher than the average morality."

"(3.) The worldly schemers who have no religious sentiment whatever, and no belief in God or devil, but have acquired skill in the use of religious terminology, and see, or think they see, that religious professions is a powerful help in trade and commerce." "The powerful restraint" imposed on this third class by church-membership we consider to be a mere figment of the imagination. Rascals don't want to get into "jail," whether they belong to the church or not; and the addition of hypocrisy to their other vices does but exasperate their moral malady. Such characters as these are the worst possible class of the community to furnish public officials, for they only make religion a cloak to cover up what villainies they practise, and by the skill in dissimulation acquired in cheating their brother church-members they have only rendered themselves more dangerous rogues in public office. It would be better policy to nominate jail-birds outright, for the public would be warned to keep an eye on these, instead of being lulled into a false security by lying professions of religion.

Casting up the account, then, we judge that the moral interests of the civil service would be not even temporarily advanced by picking out "Christians" to fill its offices. The first class above described, according to our best observation, is a very small one compared with the other two; and, even if it were the only one, the chances of selecting dishonest and untrustworthy men from it would still be great. But, taking into consideration the numerical preponderance of the last two classes, it would seem to ensure a deterioration of the civil service even as now constituted, were the selection of officials to be made exclusively from church-members. We deny point-blank, with strong emphasis, this arrogated moral superiority of the churches. Facts give it the lie direct. It is nothing but the self-conceit of spiritual pride which intoxicates the churches with the notion that they are morally better than the rest of mankind; and we confess to some mild astonishment at seeing the *Nation*, usually so keen and astute, victimized and misled by so transparent a pretence. It has been deluded into conceding to the pious sentimentalism of the churches a moral protectiveness which belongs only to intelligent, honorable, proudly cherished principle—to the clear head, the bold heart, and the determined conscience of unregenerated self-respect. To be "honest, upright, and trustworthy" is not the special aim of the churches, and they very indifferently succeed in reaching it; but it is the chief end of natural virtue, and is best attained under her unsophisticated guidance.

WORK AND CRIME.

"Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." That is because hands and brains *will not* be idle; if they cannot find something useful to plan and do, then they will surely plan and do somewhat that is mischievous.

I doubt if there be any such thing as pure laziness, as there is no such thing as absolute rest. Every atom of the material universe is always in motion, the philosophers tell us. All is in process of dissolution or evolution. Every natural force is always working either to construct or destroy. This force which has got embodied in what we call a man is no exception to the rule. This too is ever acting; ever gathering or scattering, ever creating or spending, ever asking or giving, ever doing good or evil. Every man and child presents himself at the door of society, and says, "I am here for something, not for nothing. I am here to be and do; show me *what* I shall be and do."

This, I take it, is just the function which society has to perform towards the individual. It has to give him a chance to be and do; to exercise and express himself; and then to stand aloof, and see him

work out his own salvation, which is identical with the salvation of the race.

If society fails to do this, then there will be trouble. If it fails to employ all the brains and hands to some good purpose, then as sure as fate (and what is surer?) those brains and hands will employ themselves to some bad purpose. The man is here. Society may have him for usefulness, if it knows how to get the useful out of him; otherwise it will have him for mischief. The individual is only one factor in the task of making him a worthy or unworthy member of society; society itself is the other factor. Neither can do much alone; together they can do everything.

Take the inmates of any State-prison; and it is safe to affirm that the reason why any one of them is there is partly because society has failed to do its whole duty towards him. It failed to help him, as it should have, to become a good citizen; and therefore he has become a criminal. He would have stayed outside in the world, and been a power for good, if every circumstance had conspired to help him; contrarywise, he has done some evil, and is now in durance vile, instead of finding usefulness and happiness in freedom. If he could have been helped to an activity which was agreeable to him; if he could have been appointed to a task which was suited to his capacity,—instead of being now an unreconciled he might have been a reconciled member of society. Society, therefore, is partly responsible for his being where he is and what he is. If this is not true in every case, it is at least true in most cases.

I know it may be said that there is work enough in the world for every man; and that if he cannot do one thing he ought to be willing to do another, and behave himself properly all the same. While this is true in a general sense, it is not true in every special one. We have to consider, not only what a man ideally ought to do, but what he actually does do; and have a philosophy and a practice which shall explain and provide for the concrete emergency as well as the abstract possibility. Each man has a choice among tasks; a choice which Nature creates in him, by virtue of the particular capacity she bestows on him. Every wise parent studies the special adaptiveness of his child, and seeks to help him to his own; seeks to aid him to find the vocation in life, which his individual nature calls for. If this be found, then, except in very abnormal instances, all goes well. Society is, in a certain sense, *in loco parentis* towards the individual. It must help him to find the task his special capacity craves; and it must not visit upon him unsympathetic censure, if he stumbles about while he is seeking it. The rule is that every man *prefers* to pursue his career in peace with his fellow-men. If instead of peace there is war, perhaps not one is to blame but all.

Besides, every time it is not true that there is work enough of some kind for each man to do. In times of general business depression, like the present, this is not the case. Seventy thousand men and women unemployed in New York; two thousand heads of families out of work in Boston,—this, we are told over and over, is the condition of affairs now. Why are these persons idle? Not because they are not seeking work, many of them with prayers and tears; not because they are naturally lazy and vicious. It is simply because business is depressed; because business men, with means, are unwilling to engage in expensive enterprises; because the currency of the country is unsound; because capital and wealth have accumulated unduly in the hands of a few, who are thus enabled to control the most vital interests of the people, and wield them to the enhancement of their own enormous profit. In such times as these that are now upon us, when work is not to be had, and the prosperity and happiness of many homes are stagnant and wasted, the adage with which this article begins is sure to be abundantly verified. If men are not allowed to work, if they are too sad and despairing to play, and especially if want and hunger and debt and starvation clamor at their doors, what wonder that some of them should turn and prey upon society which seems so cold-hearted and unsympathetic towards them?

I am now acquainted with two young men (one of them a husband and father), both of whom have been in State-prison, but are now struggling desperately to earn an honest living, and to save themselves from a return to that den of unwholesome moral influences. One of these has travelled the streets of Boston and its suburbs for weeks, in vain seeking employment, willing to work at anything which would give support to himself, his wife, and child. Meanwhile, evil associates of former times tempted him night and day to fill his pockets by crime, while naught but destitution was the posses-

sion of his family, who, from his inability to pay their lodging, were hourly threatened with being put upon the street,—from which despair a benevolent gentleman saved them by his generosity. This man, at last accounts, was still unemployed and dependent on the generosity of strangers, though still earnestly seeking for work. The other, in the midst of many discouragements and temptations, is beginning a fresh career in New York, where he is striving manfully for a living, for integrity, and for education.

If either of these men, while seeking but not finding employment, had dropped into crime again, could society wholly have excused itself of all responsibility for their fall? Happily for themselves, and for all of us, these young men, so far since their restoration to society, have persevered to seek a life of honest industry against all odds. But many have been less fortunate even than they; have failed entirely to find work, and at last have obtained by evil means what they could not by fair.

It is far cheaper for society to prevent crime, than to punish and take care of men after they have become criminals. No community can afford to let any of its members lie idle, willing and needing to work but not able to obtain employment. It had better build houses to be torn down again, dig holes in the ground only to be refilled, make shoes of spin cloth that nobody wants, than to suffer any of its men and women to become desperate and vicious because they can find no honest labor to employ their brains and hands. That community only is prosperous and happy, where industry and competency are open to all alike, where none are allowed to acquire wealth and leisure at the expense of others, but where every man can freely seek and find whatever is requisite to his comfort, his happiness, and the full development of his nature.

If any reader of THE INDEX, and friend of humanity, knows of any employment whereby one of the men above alluded to can earn his honest livelihood, I will thank such to let me know.

A. W. S.

ART EDUCATION.

"MODERN ART EDUCATION.—Its Practical and Aesthetic Character Educationally Considered by Prof. Joseph Lange, of Vienna: Being part of the Austrian Official Report on the Vienna World's Fair of 1873. Translated with Note by S. N. Koehler. With an Introduction by Charles B. Stetson. Boston: L. Prang & Co. 1875."

The appearance of this pamphlet is timely, since during the last year one may see a current of reaction setting in against the teaching of drawing in our public schools on the score of public economy. But Mr. Stetson shows very clearly that the art education of the people, by enhancing the value of all industrial labor, is a great producer of wealth, and so a measure of wise and far-seeing economy. He gives important statistics from the census to show how the want of this skill influences our relations to foreign production, as shown by our exports and imports. France affords a wonderful example of the great value of artistic education in relation to mechanical industry; and it is this circumstance which has enabled her to meet the terrific losses of the late war, and to pay off so promptly the exorbitant demands of her avaricious rival.

Prof. Lange gives a very interesting review of the condition of art education in Europe, and, incidentally, much valuable information as to methods of teaching, and the various works published for the use of the art schools. One cannot help perceiving a little tendency to take exceptions to French methods and French influence, although he is obliged to confess that the French are the masters of all Europe in technical excellence, and that the industrial results are most satisfactory.

We think he does not give sufficient credit to the study of the human figure as a means of developing the eye and mind of the artist in the best possible way. This has been a leading feature in French instruction. There is no test so nice as the change of expression in the human face and figure. As the old proverb says, "An inch in a man's nose is considerable;" and the never-failing interest of the subject leads the people to constant revision of his work, and increase of power of judging it.

Another point is of great interest. Prof. Lange constantly refers to the part which the Sunday-schools of Germany have played in the art education of the people. What stupid prejudice is it that prevents one utilizing these hours redeemed from hard labor in teaching the most beautiful and useful of arts? Why does it desecrate the day to draw more than to sing? We can have Sunday

concerts, with opera airs and overtures; God be thanked that we have got so far! But the few galleries of pictures that we have must be closed on the only day when the workingman has leisure to enjoy them! When visiting a reform school for boys, the superintendent told me what a hard day Sunday was. Excepting the few hours spent in church, the boys had nothing to do; and the teachers were obliged to spend their time in reading to them. I asked him if he had ever thought of allowing the pupils to draw on Sunday, as there will always be found many who have a natural love for this pursuit. He was evidently pleased with the idea himself, but doubted whether his directors would allow it.

Those who have watched the intense enjoyment of workmen in the evening drawing-classes for adults established by the city, will not doubt that many a man would find great refreshment as well as advantage from devoting his Sunday leisure to this delightful pursuit. And if Plato's beautiful definition of art is true, that its mission is "to utter truth concerning God," how could he be more holily employed than in learning to speak the language of the Creator after him?

It is painful to read the article on America, and see how small is our present achievement in this direction; but we are making an earnest beginning, and in the right way, by introducing drawing into the common school, and giving every child some knowledge of it. There is much in our methods, even in Massachusetts, that is fairly open to criticism, and fair and impartial criticism is what all true friends of the movement will desire; but for ourselves we are too thankful for any methodical, sincere efforts in improving our art education, to feel disposed to be severe on any minor mistakes. This book will repay careful attention in comparing the progress in different countries, and by different methods.

E. D. C.

Communications.

A JAPANESE VIEW OF MIRACLES.

The following was in the *Nation* of July 15, 1875: "There is a good deal of discussion in the European papers as to the causes of Belgian fanaticism—why it is, for instance, that the belief in the grossest kind of miracles should be widely spread among the middle class of one of the most flourishing manufacturing countries in Europe; but we have seen nothing that can be called light yet thrown on the subject."

Now I do not propose to throw any light on the subject which would satisfy the *Nation*; nor do I think that the present case requires any more light than a thousand others of the same nature. Such cases as the present are by no means rare in our days. One of the most remarkable cases of this kind of anomaly is that of Crookes and Wallace. They are not only men of culture and intelligence, but stand preëminent among scientific men, yet believe in the grossest kind of spiritual manifestations; nay, one of them avows, in the name of the class to which he belongs, that they take much stock in witchcraft. While I do not propose to give any explanation for this so-called fanaticism of the Belgians, and simply state that, whatever the explanation may be, it should not be special, but general (that is to say, that the explanation should be one which would account for every case of this kind of anomaly), I wish to point out to the reader the fact that "a great deal of discussion" which is now going on in the European papers in regard to the Belgian credulity is but one of many cases where people go on wondering at others' conduct, while their own is just as much a subject of wonder to others. Who knows but that many of those who now are wondering at the Belgian credulity may themselves be most strong believers in the Katie King business? To one who pays a little attention to the subject, it is really amusing how people go on wondering at each other's belief.

For instance, one hears such remarks as the following very often: "I don't see how Mr. So-and-So, so intelligent and so cultured, could believe in such and such things." The spiritual A pities and laughs at the credulity of the Roman Catholic B, and vice versa. Dispute with a Roman Catholic the truth of the recent French miracles, and he would say that you are awfully sceptical, and ask you how you could believe in anything, if you doubt events to which there are so many witnesses. But now, if you ask him why he does not believe in spiritual manifestations, to which there are just as many witnesses as to his own miracles, he would simply tell you that spiritual manifestations are ridiculous, and need no refutation. (There are a great many Catholics who attribute these manifestations to the devil, and a few who are Spiritualists; but these are not those Catholics who make any pretension to rationality.) If now you had a talk with a Spiritualist, you would meet with no better fate.

Another point about which I want to say a few words is the apparent disbelief of Protestants in miracles. It was but a few years ago that Protestant laymen as well as clergy were unanimously incensed

against Prof. Tyndall on account of his sceptical views in regard to miracles. Has so great a change been wrought in popular belief in so short time? But judging from the general outcry against cremation not a long time ago, the religious notions of Christians by no means seem to have much changed of late; and it is scarcely probable that the case of miracles should be an exception. Why is it, then, that Protestants wonder at the French and Belgian credulity, thus showing their own seeming unbelief in miracles? The problem is not so difficult to solve as it would seem at first, and the following is my explanation:—

Protestants have not lost one whit of their belief in miracles, but since the time of the Reformation they have ceased, not without good reasons, to take any stock in Roman Catholic miracles; and, as they themselves do not believe in them, they cannot see why others should. Hence the present discussion in the European papers about the so-called Belgian fanaticism. But suppose that to-morrow a case of a Protestant miracle were reported, especially if it were in connection with the Beecher-Tilton case, and were in favor of the illustrious minister, would there not be thousands, nay, millions, of Protestants who would embrace the report with tears of joy and cries of exultation, without a moment's hesitation; and would they not stigmatize whoever should doubt the truth of the event with the opprobrious name of infidel and atheist, whose only aim is to upset Christianity and lead society into darkness and anarchy? Nay, those very papers which now are wondering at the Belgian credulity, and seem themselves so rational about such matters, would perhaps be among the foremost to uphold the truth of such a Protestant miracle, and their argument would be somewhat as follows:—

"While no one who is not prejudiced against Christianity can entertain the slightest doubt of this most remarkable miracle (for among many others who had the good fortune of witnessing it there were such men as Dr. — and General —, who in veracity and intelligence are, if not superior to, at least unsurpassed by any other men), we are not ignorant that the truth of this most illustrious event in the history of Christianity will be disputed by the know-everything philosophers and their sycophants. The know-everything philosophers know a few laws of the universe, and, thinking that these few laws are all the laws of the infinite universe, they at once jump to the conclusion that anything which they cannot account for by one or another of these laws is an impossibility. They forget that those phenomena which we, being men, call miracles, are such to us only because we do not understand in the present state of our minds the laws of their performance; but with God they are no more miracles than the falling of an apple to the ground. These philosophers would have us believe that every thing which is impossible with themselves is impossible with God! It is strange that it does not occur to these men that the laws of the universe thus far revealed to man are only a minute fraction of all the laws of the universe, and that these are by no means among the greater ones. Higher and higher laws are revealed to man, just as he becomes more and more advanced in his moral and intellectual capacity. To one who believes in Christianity, while we cannot explain the laws of miracles, yet they are perfectly intelligible; for although he is ignorant of how and why, yet he knows that there is One with whom there is nothing impossible. The Christian does not lose presence of mind before miracles, but becomes more confirmed in his belief, and aspires for a higher state of existence; for he is aware that miracles are but preludes of the revelations of higher laws, for which the Almighty is preparing man. Steam-engines and telegraphs would have been miracles to the ancients; nay, they are so considered even at this very moment by more than half the world. If the history of the world is so full of wonderful discoveries and inventions, which would have been considered impossible by men of the preceding ages, why should men of the nineteenth century be so sceptical about miracles? Is it not more likely that things which occurred once should occur again, than that things which never occurred before should occur? Did not miracles occur once? Why should not they occur again? As it is the natural order of things that facts become known to men before their laws, it would not be always obligatory on those who affirm new facts or events to be able to explain their laws; much less would it be so when the facts affirmed are by no means new to human experience. It is not, then, obligatory on Christians to explain why and how miracles occur; but it is the duty of those who deny them to show us why they are impossible. Christians, let us pay no attention to that sophistry which tries to bring the Almighty God to the level of the human intellect, and deprives our religion of one of its most essential elements. The Trinity, Hell, and Miracles are three essential elements of our religion; these are the corner-stones on which it is founded, without any one of which it would not be perfect. The Trinity is the element of mystery; Hell that of fear; and Miracles that of evidence. Christianity without miracles is like a man without a head, as was once said by a learned doctor; the one is just as inconceivable as the other. Let us say in conclusion that, while we are firm believers in true miracles, we are far from affirming that every miracle which is reported should be believed. For instance: we cannot endorse such miracles as those lately reported from a certain part of France. Those who believe in Christian miracles ought to revolt from such impositions. These are no more miracles than those of Buddha or Mahomet were. They are nothing but impious deceptions of reckless impostors. While our faith in miracles should be no less than those who saw our Great Master feed five thousand men with five loaves

and two fishes, let us not be deceived by wolves in sheep's clothing."

Such would be the language of those who are now wondering at the belief of Belgians in the recent miracles, if to-morrow a Protestant miracle should be reported. Then they would wonder at the incredulity of others, and would go on discussing, "Why is it that the clearest kind of miracles should not be believed by the middle class of one of the most flourishing manufacturing countries in Europe?"

Shall we believe in miracles, or shall we not believe in miracles?

M. S. TOYAMA.

ANN ARBOR, Mich., July 27.

THE HINDU IDEAL OF LOVE.

DETROIT, Mich., Aug. 2, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I send a criticism on Prof. Swing's lecture. It may help to show that Pagan and Christian alike enjoy the heritage of fine emotions and noble ideas which are of and for all humanity.

It shows, too, an ideal of womanhood higher than these "outside barbarians" get credit for.

Yours truly,

G. B. STEBBINS.

PROF. SWING'S LECTURE—THE HINDU "RAMA-YANA."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE DETROIT POST:—

I read a few weeks ago a report in the *New York Tribune* of a lecture by the Rev. Mr. Swing, of Chicago, on "The Novel," its place in literature, etc., as delivered in the Lee Avenue Church in Brooklyn. The same lecture has been given in the West, and is thoughtful, as well as eloquent and brilliant. Its gifted and erudite author, however, falls into one error, only to be accounted for by our limited knowledge of Hindu literature. After saying that woman and the sentiment of love must be part of the novel, an important and central part, indeed, he says the Hindus have no novels because their poor ideal of woman makes such productions impossible.

I have before me an English work published by MacMillan & Co., of London, a translation of part of the *Ramayana*, by Frederika Richardson. The *Ramayana* is ancient, famous, and widely read by the Hindus, as a work greatly prized and, indeed, sacred in its character. Critics vary in its probable date, from 500 B. C. to 2000 B. C. It contains twenty-four thousand verses, or *slokas*—a Sanscrit word for its peculiar metre, supposed to have been invented in a moment of inspiration by the poet Valmiki, and subsequently used for heroic poetry.

Miss Richardson renders into English a French translation, by M. Fauche, but has the assistance of Dr. Haas, an eminent Sanscrit scholar, and aims to keep close to the spirit and idea of the original.

The two words *Rama* and *ayana* signify the adventures of Rama, who was a hero of the warrior caste, and was also supposed to be an Avatar, or incarnation of Vishnu. His heroic and virtuous career, his meeting and marriage with the loving and beautiful Sita, her separation from him by the craft and power of Ravana, the King of the Rakshakas, or demons, her trials and temptations all overcome by the sweet dignity and lofty power of her stainless womanhood, and the strength of her love for her husband, the fierce struggles and deep-laid plans for her recovery, and their happy and safe reunion at last, make up the plot of Miss Richardson's work, which she gives the fit title of the *Iliad of the East*; although the faithful and noble Sita is a far more perfect woman than the beautiful but faithless Helen of the Greek poet.

The marvels of valor, the mountains torn up and tossed in the air, the magical devices and sturdy deeds of hosts of apes, demons, hags, and warriors, quite equal the exploits of Homer's gods and men on the plains of Ilium; and the serene and lofty courage of Rama is heroic indeed. Descriptions of beautiful scenery glow with the wealth of Oriental imagery, and the rare beauty of woman is told in richest poetic language.

To show the ideal of womanhood, I give a few extracts which tell of Sita's trials and deliverance.

She had an interview, in a hut in the forest, with Anasuya, the aged wife of Atri, a venerable pilgrim. He says to her: "Thou art welcome, oh Flower of Beauty. My rude hut is all unused to welcome one so lovely; but if thou wilt enter and approach my faithful consort, aged and very feeble, she will open her arms to thee tenderly, as does the waning night to the radiant star of morning." She enters, and as they converse the aged woman says: "Thy words have the fire of youth, and love sings in thy voice as through the notes of the kokila. The past comes back to me as I hear thee. The music of thy voice brings back the dead past to me. Listen, my gentle singing-bird. By virtue of my austere life I have obtained many gifts from the generous Immortals; one I have reserved for thee. Thou shalt walk adorned with celestial radiance, which shall add fresh lustre to thy surpassing beauty. The soft tints of thy raiment shall never fade, and these flowers that I twine in thy glossy hair shall never lose their sweetness." "I shall be more beautiful in his sight," whispered Sita. "Oh Pearl among ancient women, you have filled my heart with gladness." From this ideal of beauty and affection let us pass to the ideal of pure love and its conquering power over passion and pride. Sita is the captive of the evil King Ravana, and sits amidst a group of his hideous servants, waiting his dread coming.

"Like a star in the clutch of the monster Rahu, Sita sat surrounded by these hags. . . . Presently swung through the woods the sound of music and merriment; and drawing nearer the silver laughter of the dancing girls. It was the Lord of the Rakshakas. Like some beautiful wild creature brought to bay, she sprang to her feet, and shaking her long

hair around her, stood beside a tall tree. As he advanced alone to her, Sita met his amorous gaze with bright, defiant eyes, and the mighty Ravana grew pale and trembled, while the frail and timorous Sita never faltered—so much more powerful is love than fear." As he pleaded with her in impassioned language to be his bride, and said, "Come to my heart, my beloved, and I will set thy beauty on a throne whither it shall draw to the light scorn of thy small feet the adoring homage of the universe," the clear gaze of Sita seemed to look far into the sunlit distance, and to lose the dark Ravana, as he stood shaken by his strong emotion. She said: "You speak to me of passion and fire. Love has another sense. It is a radiance, not a flame; light rather than heat. If it burn, it is that it may shine the more; passion is only love's minister. Think you to waken unholy fire in the breast where reigns a star; to tempt one who has known the glory of love that Brahm has made the heaven of life, where luminous souls flash out like suns, letting day in upon the gloom?"

The baffled Ravana leaves her, and his hags fill the air with fearful threats; until one of them, awed by Sita's serene aspect, says: "Beware. I dreamed last night that Rama slew all who tormented Sita. Watch her, intently listening to the singing-bird; the Immortals give the lower creatures power to converse with her, a proof that they regard her with favor."

At last she is brought back to Rama, who professes to doubt her, and she ascends a funeral pyre, seeking death by fire rather than her husband's doubt. As the flames creep toward her she prays:—

"Agni, God of Purity and Light! If I am true and bright of soul as Thou, prove my innocence to Rama and all this host." A golden flame, clear as the sun, swam around her. Then from the midst sprang Agni, the resplendent God, bearing the princess from the pyre, and placing her in Rama's arms. "I hold thee," he cried, "my own, my love," and wept for joy. "Didst thou doubt me, Rama?" she asked. "Nay, or I had not trusted thee to the God of Fire! But it was needful there should be no speck on thy soul's whiteness—for thy own sake first, then for the sake of all here,—that they might learn that loveliness of outward form cannot make vice more tolerable; and that where is not utter reverence is no true love! Dost thou forgive me, oh my Queen?"

She answered not in words, but clung more closely to him.

Fifty closes this marvellous story by the coming of a "cloud-chariot gilded by the sun," wherein sits Dasratha, the father of Rama, who comes from the supernal realms to bless his children. Had the gifted lecturer read this work, he would hardly have said that the Hindus had no ideal of woman fit to be the inspiration of a story.

G. B. S.

DETROIT, July 31, 1875.

THE TEAPOT TEMPEST IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

In an editorial on "Mr. Gladstone's Letter," the *Church Journal*, published in New York, in its issue of July 22, says:—

"In England, from one end of the Church to the other, the most bitter controversy has been waged upon eucharistic vestments, but chiefly upon the position of the priest in the celebration of the Holy Communion—whether he should in the act of consecration face the east or the south."

Had this statement appeared in THE INDEX, the *Investigator*, or any other paper of the same school of thought, it would have been set down as "an infidel lie"—a slander upon the Church of God for which Christ died. But it is made by an eminent Episcopal minister himself in "The Church" *Journal*, and is therefore absolute authority as to the matter of fact.

Here, then, is the Church of England, with more than twenty thousand clergymen, archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, all educated in the universities, and all supported at vast public expense, agitated "from one end to the other," with the "most bitter controversy" on the question whether the priest in the "Holy Communion" should in the act of consecration face the east or the south!!!

Will any one after this dare to smile incredulously and irreverently, when he sees the devout Catholic, with streaming eyes, adoring the holy casket which contains the sacred toe-nails of Saint Bridget? Will any one sigh with pity when he reads of the giant intellects of the Schoolmen being agitated for generations in solving the most puerile questions,—as, for instance, how many angels could dance on the point of a needle without jostling each other? Is it at all strange that Moody and Sankeyism should have run such a course as it did in London? Is not English society generally, from Mr. Gladstone down to the drooling, intoning priest, permeated with the most childish superstition, that wastes the people's money by the million in perpetuating a contemptible, religious doll-babyism, worthy only of the Middle Ages?

The *Church Journal* editor goes on to say that "it would be next to impossible (not impossible, but only next to it) to get up a serious discussion upon this subject" among the American Episcopalians. I hope so most sincerely, and shall watch the progress of Moody and Sankeyism when it lands at New York, to see whether the editor's judgment is correct.

Any one who reads the New Testament can see that the "Mass," the "Holy Communion," or "Lord's Supper," was an observance meant to be a

bond of union among the disciples of Christ until he should come the second time in the clouds of heaven, to set up his kingdom on the earth; and that this second coming would take place in the generation then existing. But Christ has never yet come the second time. Whenever, therefore, in Catholic or Protestant churches, the Mass, Holy Communion, or Lord's Supper, is "celebrated," it proves one of two things: either that Christ was mistaken in predicting his second coming, since he never yet has come; or, that the Evangelists who reported him as saying so were mistaken; in either case, that the New Testament is not infallibly inspired. And yet this unmeaning ceremonial—a ceremonial that proves, wherever it occurs, to every beholder that either Christ or the Evangelists were totally mistaken as to the matter of fact—is kept up by the Church to this day as proof of her divine origin, and the infallibility of the Scriptures! Was there ever a greater delusion? And when we see how thousands are deluded, does it not seem to be a truthful remark that "men like to be humbugged"? A. B. B.

THE PRESSURE IN BROOKLYN.

NEW YORK, July 30, 1875.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Dear Sir,—Many desire to think Mr. Beecher innocent, but after careful examination of the evidence cannot doubt his guilt. Yet, could you be in Brooklyn a little while, and be thrown among those who do assert his innocence, and there express your doubt, you would realize fully the need of courage. I never heard of any one losing place or power because of saying Mr. Tilton was a bad man; but, under certain circumstances, and among some people, should a person say Mr. Beecher was guilty, no words would express the risk taken.

For this reason, if for no other, I am glad THE INDEX views the question as it does. It is hard for those who, from childhood, have been told that Henry Ward Beecher was noble, true, and have felt that, when he was with them, all would go well, to realize that their idol is but of clay. And we must bear with those who cling to his fame so earnestly, and, though having eyes, will not see.

Many such there are, and so earnest, too, that the mere mention of the subject brings tears to the eyes and sadness to the heart. Yet why should we expect any human being to be perfect? None is, neither will be.

Time, the righter of all things, will make the truth more clear. Now we can know at least that reverence for the clergy, as such, is not so strong an element in the general public mind as formerly; and we may realize, too, that the world is quick to see to it that there is fair play, even if a "Reverend" battles with a simple ultra-minded citizen.

You say: "Despite all temporary seeming, Henry Ward Beecher is dead." Indeed he is, and was, from the moment he decided to maintain a "policy of silence."

Step by step we journey through the paths of doubt, of hesitation, till at last we see the promised land; where no church, no creed, neither place nor power, nor the seeming goodness of any man, will hide from our sight the vision of truth. Only true character, noble actions, pure lives, are required of us. Beliefs are as nought, actions everything. "A."

ORTHODOX BIGOTRY IN VERMONT.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

An incident has just occurred in this town which proves that the law of evolution has its exceptions; that there are still enemies of progress and light; and we yet have the old spirit of bigotry and intolerance among us.

For nearly a year past, the Orthodox Congregational Society of the place have had in their pulpit a man of uncompromising bigotry, preaching the theology of the Middle Ages. He has worked with Jesuitical zeal to carry the church and community backward to mediæval times, and has partially succeeded. He excels, in this respect, a long line of predecessors, worthy and able gentlemen, who, for fifty years and more, have ministered in the town with becoming deference to the consciences and rights of other people.

At this time a part of the church and society, the more intelligent and thinking part, believe there is more truth and light than the Rev. Mr. Sherrill is willing they should have. These persons, including the two deacons and the best men of the church, desired to open their meeting-house on a few Sunday afternoons, at an hour not at all interfering with the regular services, to give the public an opportunity to hear a higher order of exposition of religious truth; and, one of the society's committee having assented to the arrangement, it was published that Rev. K. C. Anderson, of Milwaukee, would preach in the house for a few Sundays.

Mr. Anderson is himself a Congregational minister, a graduate of Middlebury College, and a young man of marked and brilliant powers. He preached in this same pulpit for about a year, and was ordained in it about two years ago. He has many friends in the town, with whom he is spending a few weeks of vacation, and they were naturally anxious to hear him preach.

The Rev. Mr. Sherrill considered that it was an encroachment upon his territory and privileged rights; he claimed that Mr. Anderson ought not to be admitted to the pulpit, and called on the committee to shut the doors on him. It was not believed that they would venture to do it, as so many of the pew-owners wanted the house, and it had been customary for the committee to allow the use of it to other denominations.

Mr. Anderson was consulted, and asked to with-

draw or decline to preach. He was then told that the committee and their pastor, Mr. Sherrill, disapproved his doctrine. Accordingly, on Saturday evening, the committee placed in the hands of the janitor the following paper, *verbatim*:—

"MR. —:—Posters have been put up around town, saying that Rev. K. C. Anderson will preach in the Congregational Church to-morrow, at 4 o'clock, and several Sabbaths following at the same hour. The committee of said church do not sanction any such arrangement. We therefore forbid you as sexton opening the house for any such occasion."

"H. G. BARBER,
"N. R. REED,
"M. MAYNARD, } Committee."

We think the document worthy to be preserved, as an illustration of what men will resort to in order to suppress liberal thought.

The result, in this case, was that the rooms of the high-school building were opened, and a large congregation assembled, and listened with delight to a bold and eloquent discourse on the liberalizing tendencies and ideas of the age. A. H. A.

FAIR HAVEN, Vt., Aug. 2, 1875.

CHRISTIANITY VERSUS LIBERALITY.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I rise not to a point of order, but consistency. Your correspondent "Z," no doubt, considers himself a very liberal brother; but, in his letter on "Sunday-schools versus the Gallows," there is painfully apparent a spirit that, were we to find it in the "screaming" Baptist of Tremont Temple, we should without any hesitancy call by its proper name—bigotry. When we read such articles (and we are sorry to find them quite frequently), we cannot help thinking, with Parker Pillsbury, that "avowed liberals are the most intolerant people on earth." "Z," argues from premises, the correctness of which we cannot deny; but his deductions from these premises are in my opinion entirely and absolutely wrong, while the inferences of his article are subtle and unjust. While "Z," has selected half a dozen extreme cases in support of his position, we think it would be no very difficult task to find a corresponding number, on the other side, of men who profess to no settled religious convictions; or, perhaps, boasting in the name of "infidel," who have committed the highest crime known to law, and that while listening each week to the platform teachings of the most enlightened and liberal men. Christianity and the creeds may be no preventive of crime, but they are surely not conducive to it; and this inference, I submit, is as unwise and as unfair as that of the religious press of Boston, in 1857, that criminals were bred under the ministrations of Theodore Parker.

No one will accuse the murderer of our martyr-President with being a "Sunday-school graduate"; but we have yet to find the man who will affirm that his crime was any less atrocious on that account. But there were some, both in the press and the pulpit, who hinted as far as they then dared that, if his victim had kept away from the sinful play-house, his valuable life would have been saved; which is exactly the position assumed by "Z," only at the other extreme. To hint a connection between crime and "infidelity" is the oldest and most disreputable trick of our Christian opponents, which we are not slow to denounce as contemptible, untruthful, and mean; and we are somewhat surprised that a writer in THE INDEX should allow them so good an opportunity to retort, and throw back the arguments with well-timed sneers. This assertion that criminals are bred under the ministry of free thinkers, and the liberal (?) retort that "peculiarly diabolical murderers" are your Sunday-school graduates, are as laughable as they are absurd, inasmuch as there is no particle of truth on either side. We well know that the assertion made from a thousand pulpits and their supporters of the press concerning us are false; and, when we return the insult, we speak what is equally false. No lie from Christian press or pulpit do we hold in such contempt as that evil and crime are the legitimate offspring of "infidelity." Let us be honest. Except in time of religious war or riot, there is little, if any, connection between the murderer's religious proclivities and his crime. It is absurd to suppose that the shrieking of the T. T. D. had anything to do with the vile crime of George Pemberton; and equally contrary to common sense is it to assert that Piper's very clear conception of "the elevating and impressive truths," of which it is asserted he knew so much, had the most remote connection with his dreadful murder of the innocent little Sunday-school scholar.

There is something infinitely more to be deplored than "the shocking absurdities of Christian dogma," and that is to see a self-styled liberalist still clothed in the "filthy rags" of Church intolerance.

My point of consistency, Mr. Editor, is just this: let your correspondent learn the great meaning of "liberal" before he claims the name. I am no doubt as radical as my brother "Z," but I trust too liberal to assert of others that which I so emphatically deny of myself. PENDRAGON.

BOSTON.

METTERNICH is credited with saying: "I have had to struggle against the greatest of soldiers, and to maintain harmony between the emperors, a czar, a sultan, a pope, kings, princes, and republics; to untangle twenty times and tangle also court intrigues; but the thing that gave me most threat to unravel was a little scoundrel of an Italian,—thin, pale, uncombed, sloven, but eloquent as a tempest, stormy as an apostle, cunning as a thief, ready as a comedian, and indefatigable as a lover. They called him Joseph Mazzini."

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

THE INSURRECTION in Herzegovina originated in ill-feeling between the Christians and the Turkish Mohammedans. What a sorry commentary on "the sympathy of religions"!

THE NEW BUILDING of the Young Men's Christian Association at Philadelphia is to cost \$420,000, at least. Great revenues are anticipated from the rents of its stores and offices. How about taxes in this connection? Are they only for sinners?

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD will speak at Paine Hall next Sunday, Aug. 29, at 10:30 A. M. His subject will be "Modern Spiritualism from a Materialistic Stand-point." At 2:30 P. M., there will be a free discussion on the same subject.

A HIGH-CHURCH English paper puts this under the head of "Sporting Intelligence": "First of July.—Parson-hauling begins. Church Association hounds meet at Lambeth. We believe the noble master will ride his own horse Disestablishment, out of Divorce."

A VERY LARGE circle of friends and admirers was shocked by the severe accident which recently happened to Edwin Booth, the foremost of American actors; but it is cause for congratulation that his injuries were not fatal. He will receive a warm welcome, when he reappears upon the stage for the first time.

"ORIENTATION" is Mr. Gladstone's new synonyme for the "eastward position" of the priest, in celebrating the Eucharist. Dean Howson argues that the authoritative allowance of "Orientation" would "shift the centre of gravity of the Church of England from its present position." What an awful shift that would be! Is not the Dean's announcement enough to upset your own gravity?

SUCH MESSAGES as this, just received, are very encouraging: "I enclose three dollars, for which please send me your paper. Long enough have I borrowed it, but have come to the conclusion that I cannot longer afford to borrow a paper which, while advocating so noble a cause, is still financially poor. Half of the few noble impulses that animate me I believe to be due to the elevating influence of THE INDEX; and I believe it is able to teach people so to live and die that Christians will one day be ashamed to repeat the absurd stories of the horrible deaths of all 'infidels.'"

THERE is a man in Pittston, Pa., by the name of L. Weedstrad, who thinks he is bewitched by a Meadville sorceress, and has labored ineffectually to induce the United States District Attorney at Pittsburgh to prosecute his charmer. Failing in this, and having been ridiculed by a local newspaper to which he had applied for redress, he has now sued the editor for libel, and been figuratively kicked out of court, as he was literally kicked out of the attorney's office. Poor Weedstrand seems stranded in the weeds of superstition, and had better emigrate to the fifteenth century.

IT is a pity that candor requires the retraction of the praise bestowed on Duncan, Sherman & Co. at the time of their failure. We wish they had deserved it, but later revelations show that they did not. The issuing of "accommodation paper" after the firm had learned their own insolvency, but before they had informed the public of it, and the secret conveyance of real estate to Mr. Alexander Duncan while the public were left to suppose it still the property of the firm, were transactions wholly unjustifiable. "Fraud," says the Boston Advertiser, "is a hard word to use in connection with a firm which has borne such a reputation as this one had. But that is the name given to transactions of this

kind when they are carried on by men who have no reputations to suffer by them."

AT THE great Mohammedan Azar, or University in Cairo, Egypt, which was founded in the year 970, and still constitutes the great "Propaganda" of Islam, three hundred and fourteen professors devote themselves without salary, receiving only the small gifts of their students, to instruction in the Koran. Ten thousand missionaries at a time are thus preparing to preach Islamism throughout Asia and Africa. There are no endowments, scholarships, stipends, dormitories, or refectories; but "the students, some of whom have come," says Dr. Ellinwood, "from Morocco and Algeria, from Soudan and Darfour, Zanzibar and the Vales of Yemen, Persia and Turkestan, India, and Malaya, simply buy their coarse Arab bread in the larger court fronting the great hall, and for lodgings roll themselves in their blankets, and lie down upon the same matted floor upon which their work is done." What wonder that Mohammedanism is spreading throughout the Orient?

THE CHIEF JUSTICE of Arizona, being an Ultramontane Catholic, delivered recently a lecture against the American school system in the Legislative Hall at Tucson, the capital. A bill was soon after introduced in the Council of the Territory establishing sectarian schools and abolishing the common schools, and was only defeated by a single vote. Eugene Lawrence, in *Harper's Weekly*, complains of the Chief Justice for giving this lecture, to which he attributes great influence. We consider the complaint unreasonable. Let both sides be heard, and let everybody be welcome to plead either. If ignorance and sectarianism can beat knowledge and liberality in fair debate, the country must make the best of it. No one ought to blame the Chief Justice for arguing against the school system, who would have applauded him for arguing in its favor; and the subject is one which is as free to a Chief Justice as to any other. But those who believe in the common schools should see to it that their cause is not suffered to go by default. We are sorry to know that Arizona has so many dull brains or lazy mouths. Why did not somebody refute the Chief Justice? Mr. Lawrence should distribute his censure among those who neglected their duty by silence, and not bestow it upon him who discharged his own duty according to the little light that was in him.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE Catholic conflict has broken out in Montreal, and turns, as in Europe, on the same question of supremacy as between Church and State. M. Joseph Guibord was a Catholic, and a prominent member of the Canadian Institute, a literary and scientific society. The Bishop of Montreal wanted to dictate what books should be admitted into the Institute's library, which contained Voltaire. The Institute refused to submit to his dictation. The Bishop appealed to Rome, and obtained a decree forbidding any person to belong to the rebellious organization. Suddenly M. Guibord died; and, acting under orders, M. Rousselot, the curate, refused to bury him in his own lot in the Catholic cemetery. Madame Guibord appealed to the courts. The case was at last carried up to Her Majesty's Privy Council; but by this time the widow had died too, and the Institute, as devisees of her property, were substituted as appellants. The Privy Council decided in favor of the latter, chiefly on the ground that to refuse their suit would invest the Bishop with a sort of moral dictatorship fatal to the laws, and advised Her Majesty to issue a writ of *mandamus* for M. Guibord's burial in the cemetery. But the curate, under orders again, has refused to obey the decree of the Privy Council; and so the matter now stands. In all such cases, which are multiplying on every hand, the issue is between Church and State: which shall be supreme? Our turn is coming. Are we ready?

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Daniel O'Connell.

AN ORATION BEFORE THE PEOPLE OF BOSTON, IN MUSIC HALL, ON THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF O'CONNELL'S BIRTH.

BY WENDELL PHILLIPS.

A hundred years ago to-day Daniel O'Connell was born. The Irish race, wherever scattered over the globe, assembles to-night to pay fitting tribute to his memory: one of the most eloquent men, one of the most devoted patriots, and the most successful statesman which that race has given to history. We of other races may well join you in that tribute,—since the cause of constitutional government owes more to O'Connell than to any other political leader of the last two centuries. The English-speaking race, to find his equal among its statesmen, must pass by Chatham and Walpole, and go back to Oliver Cromwell, or the able men who held up the throne of Queen Elizabeth. If to put the civil and social elements of your day into successful action, and plant the seeds of continued strength and progress for coming times,—if this is to be a statesman, then most emphatically was O'Connell one. To exert this control and secure this progress, while and because ample means lie ready for use under your hand, does not rob Walpole and Colbert, Chatham and Richelieu, of their title to be considered statesmen. To do it, as Martin Luther did, when one must ingeniously discover or invent his tools, and while the mightiest forces that influence human affairs are arrayed against him,—this is what ranks O'Connell with the few masterly statesmen the English-speaking race has ever had. When Napoleon's soldiers bore the negro chief, Toussaint L'Ouverture, into exile, he said, pointing back to San Domingo, "You think you have rooted up the tree of liberty. But I am only a branch. I have planted the tree itself so deep that ages will never root it up." And whatever may be said of the social or industrial condition of Hayti during the last seventy years, its nationality has never been successfully assailed.

O'Connell is the only Irishman who can say as much of Ireland. From the peace of Utrecht, 1713, till the fall of Napoleon, Great Britain was the leading state in Europe, while Ireland, a comparatively insignificant island, lay at its feet. She weighed next to nothing in the scale of British politics. The continent pitied and England despised her. O'Connell found her a mass of quarrelling races and sects, divided, dispirited, broken-hearted, and servile. He made her a NATION, whose first word broke in pieces their iron obstinacy of Wellington, tossed Peel from the Cabinet, and gave the government to the Whigs; whose colossal figure, like the helmet in Walpole's romance, has filled the political sky ever since; whose generous aid thrown into the scale of the three great British reforms, the ballot, the corn laws, and slavery, secured their success; a nation whose continued discontent has dragged Great Britain down to be a second-rate power on the chess-board of Europe. I know other causes have helped in producing this result. But the nationality which O'Connell created has been the main cause of this change in England's importance. Dean Swift, Molyneux, and Henry Flood thrust Ireland for a moment into the arena of British politics, a sturdy suppliant clamoring for justice; and Grattan held her there an equal, and, as he thought, a nation, for a few years. But the unscrupulous hand of William

Pitt brushed away in an hour all Grattan's work. Well might he say of the Irish Parliament which he brought to life, "I sat by its cradle, I followed its hearth"; since after that famous union, which Byron called a "union of the shark with its prey," Ireland sank back, plundered and helpless. O'Connell lifted her to a fixed and permanent place in English affairs—no suppliant, but a conqueror dictating her terms.

HOW TO JUDGE OF O'CONNELL'S WORK.

This is the proper stand-point from which to look at O'Connell's work. This is the consideration that ranks him, not with founders of States, like Alexander, Caesar, Bismarck, Napoleon, and William the Silent, but with men who, without arms, by force of reason, have revolutionized their times,—with Luther, Jefferson, Mazzini, Samuel Adams, Garrison, and Franklin. I know some men will sneer at this claim,—those who have never looked at him except through the spectacles of English critics, who despised him as an Irishman and a Catholic until they came to hate him as a conqueror. As Grattan said of Curran, "The curse of Swift was upon him, to have been born an Irishman and a man of genius, and to have used his gifts for his country's good." Mark what measure of success attended the able men who preceded in circumstances as favorable as his, perhaps even better; then measure him by comparison.

THE MEASURE OF HIS SUCCESS.

An island soaked with the blood of countless rebellions; oppression such as would turn cowards into heroes; a race whose disciplined valor had been proved on almost every battle-field in Europe, and whose reckless daring lifted it, any time, in arms against England, with hope or without. What inspired them? Devotion, eloquence, and patriotism seldom paralleled in history. Who led them? *Dean Swift*; according to Addison, "the greatest genius of his age"; called by the Pope "the incomparable"; a man fertile in resources, of stubborn courage and tireless energy; master of an English style unequalled, perhaps, for its purpose then or since; a man who had twice faced England in her angriest mood, and by that masterly pen subdued her to his will: *Henry Flood*, eloquent even for an Irishman, and sagacious as he was eloquent; the eclipse of that brilliant life one of the saddest pictures in Irish biography: *Grattan*, with all the courage, and more than the eloquence, of his race; a statesman's eye quick to seize every advantage; boundless devotion; unspotted integrity; recognized as an equal by the world's leaders, and welcomed by Fox to the House of Commons as the "Demosthenes of Ireland": *Emmett* in the field, *Sheridan* in the Senate, *Curran* at the bar,—and, above all, *Edmund Burke*, whose name makes eulogy superfluous, more than Cicero in the Senate, almost Plato in the Academy. All these gave their lives to Ireland,—and when the present century opened where was she? Sold like a slave in the market-place by her perjured master, William Pitt. It was then that O'Connell flung himself into the struggle, gave fifty years to the service of his country; and where is she to-day?

Not only redeemed, but her independence put beyond doubt or peril. Grattan and his predecessors could get no guarantees for what rights they gained. In that sagacious, watchful, and almost omnipotent public opinion, which O'Connell created, is an all-sufficient guarantee of Ireland's future. Look at her: almost every shackle has fallen from her limbs; all that human wisdom has as yet devised to remedy the evils of bigotry and misrule has been done. O'Connell found Ireland a "hissing and a by-word" in Edinburgh and London. He made her the pivot of British politics; she rules them, directly or indirectly, with as absolute a sway as the slave question did the United States from 1850 to 1865. Look into Earl Russell's book, and the history of the reform bill of 1832, and see with how much truth it may be claimed that O'Connell and his fellows gave Englishmen the ballot under that act. It is by no means certain that the corn-laws could have been abolished without their aid. In the anti-slavery struggle O'Connell stands in influence and ability equal with the best. I know the credit all those measures do to English leaders. But, in my opinion, the next question will test the statesmanship of Peel, Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone, almost entirely by their conduct of the Irish question. All the laurels they have hitherto won in that field are wasted in ideas which Grattan and O'Connell urged on reluctant hearers for half a century. Why do Bismarck and Alexander look with such contemptuous indifference on every attempt of England to mingle in European affairs? Because they know they have but to lift a finger, and Ireland stabs her in the back. Where was the statesmanship of English leaders when they allowed such an evil to grow so formidable? This is Ireland to-day. What was she when O'Connell undertook her cause? The saddest of Irish poets has described her:—

"Oh Ireland! my country, the hour of thy pride and splendor hath passed;
 The chain that was spurned in thy moments of power
 Hangs heavy around thee at last;
 There are marks in the fate of each clime, there are turns
 In the fortunes of men,
 But the changes of realms or the chances of time shall
 Never restore thee again.

"Thou art chained to the wheel of the foe by links which a world cannot sever;
 With thy tyrant through storm and through cloud thou
 Shalt go, and thy sentence is bondage forever.
 Thou art doomed for the thankless to toil, thou art left for
 The proud to disdain;
 The blood of thy sons and the wealth of thy soil shall be
 Lavished, and lavished in vain.
 Thy riches with taunts shall be taken, thy valor with cold-
 ness be paid,
 And of millions who see thee thus sunk and forsaken, not
 one shall stand forth in thy name.

In the nations thy place is left void, thou art lost in the list of the free.
 Even realms by the plague and the earthquake destroyed
 May revive; but no hope is for thee."

It was a community impoverished by five centuries of oppression—four millions of Catholics robbed of every acre of their native land; it was an island torn by race-hatred and religious bigotry, her priests indifferent, and her nobles hopeless or traitors. The williest of her enemies, a Protestant Irishman, ruled the British Senate; the sternest of her tyrants, a Protestant Irishman, led the armies of Europe; Puritan hate, which had grown blinder and more bitter since the days of Cromwell, gave them weapons. Ireland herself lay bound in the iron links of a code which Montesquieu said could have been "made only by devils, and should be registered only in hell." Her millions were beyond the reach of the great reform engine of modern times, since they could neither read nor write.

In this mass of ignorance, weakness, and quarrel, one keen eye saw the hidden, the elements of union and strength. With rarest skill he called them forth, and marshalled them into rank. Then this one man, without birth, wealth, or office, in a land ruled by birth, wealth, and office, moulded from those unsuspected elements a power which, over-awing king, senate, and people, wrote his single will on the statute-book of the most obstinate nation in Europe! Safely to emancipate the Irish Catholics, and, in spite of Saxon, Protestant hate, to lift all Ireland to the level of British citizenship,—this was the problem which statesmanship and patriotism had been seeking for two centuries to solve. For this, blood had been poured out like water. On this, the genius of Swift, the learning of Molyneux, and the eloquence of Bushe, Grattan, and Burke had been wasted. English leaders ever since Fox had studied this problem anxiously. They saw that the safety of the empire was compromised. At one or two critical moments in the reign of George the Third, one signal from an Irish leader would have snapped the chain that bound Ireland to his throne. His ministers recognized it, and they tried every expedient, exhausted every device, dared every peril, kept oaths, or broke them, in order to succeed. All failed; and not only failed, but acknowledged they could see no way in which success could ever be achieved.

O'Connell achieved it! Out of this darkness he called forth light. Out of this most abject, weak, and pitiable of kingdoms he made a power, and, dying, he left in Parliament a spectre which, unless appeased, pushes Whig and Tory ministers alike from their stools!

O'CONNELL NOT A DEMAGOGUE.

But Brougham says he was a demagogue! Fie on Fox and Pitt, Wellington, Derby, Peel, Palmerston, Liverpool, Russell, and Brougham, to be fooled and ruled by a demagogue! What must they, the subjects be, if O'Connell, their king, be only a bigot and a demagogue? A demagogue rides the storm. He has never really the ability to create one. He uses it narrowly, ignorantly, and for selfish ends. If not crushed by the force which, without his will, has flung him into power, he leads it with ridiculous miscalculation against some insurmountable obstacle which scatters it forever. Dying, he leaves no mark on the elements with which he has been mixed. Robespierre will serve for an illustration. It took O'Connell thirty years of patient and sagacious labor to mould elements whose existence no man, however wise, had ever discerned before. He used them unselfishly, only to break the yoke of his race. Nearly fifty years have passed since his triumph; but his impress still stands forth clear and sharp on the empire's policy. Ireland is wholly indebted to him for her political education. Responsibility educates. He lifted her to broader responsibilities. Her possession of power makes it the keen interest of other classes to see she is well informed. He associated her with all the reform movements of Great Britain. This is the education of affairs, broader, deeper, and more real than what school or college can give. This and power—his gifts—are the lever which lifts her to every other right and privilege. How much England owes him we can never know, since how great a danger and curse Ireland would have been to the empire, had she continued the chapter Pitt and Castlereagh left her,—a chapter of history which, fortunately, can never be written. No demagogue ever walked through the streets of Dublin, as O'Connell and Grattan did more than once, hooted and mobbed because they opposed themselves to the mad purpose of the people, and crushed it by a stern resistance. No demagogue would have offered himself to a race like the Irish as the apostle of peace; pledging himself to the British government that in the long agitation before him, with brave millions behind him, spilling for a fight, he would never draw a sword.

I have purposely dwelt long on this view, because the extent and the far-reaching effects of O'Connell's work, without regard to the motives which inspired him or the methods he used, have never been fully recognized.

Briefly stated, he *did*, what the ablest and bravest of his forerunners had tried to do, and failed. He created a public opinion and a unity of purpose (no matter what be now the dispute about methods) which make Ireland a nation; he gave her British citizenship and a place in the Imperial Parliament; he gave her a press and a public; with these tools her destiny is in her own hands. When the abolitionists got for the negro schools and the vote, they settled the slave question, for they planted the sure seeds of civil equality. O'Connell did this for Ireland—this, which no Irishman before had even dreamed of attempting. Swift and Molyneux were able; Grattan, Bushe, Saurin, Burrows, Plunket,

Jurran, Burke, were eloquent; throughout the island courage was a drug; they gained now one point and now another; but, after all, they left the helm of Ireland's destiny in foreign and hostile hands. O'Connell was brave, sagacious, eloquent, but more than all he was a statesman; for he gave to Ireland's own keeping the key of her future. As Lord Bacon marches down the centuries, he may lay one hand on the telegraph, and the other on the steam-engine, and say, "These are mine, for I taught you how to study Nature." In a similar sense, as shackle after shackle falls from Irish limbs, O'Connell may say, "This victory is mine, for I taught you the method, and I gave you the arms."

SUCCESS ACHIEVED BY BLOODLESS MEASURES.

I have hitherto been speaking of his ability and success; by-and-by we will look at his character, motives, and methods. This unique ability even his enemies have been forced to confess. Harriet Martineau, in her incomparable history of the *Thirty Years' Peace*, has, with Tory hate, misconstrued every action of O'Connell, and invented a bad motive for each one. But even she confesses that "he rose in power, influence, and notoriety to an eminence such as no other individual citizen has attained in modern times" in Great Britain; and one of his biographers has well said: "Any man who turns over the magazines and newspapers of that period will easily perceive how grandly O'Connell's figure dominated in politics, how completely he had dispelled the indifference that had so long prevailed on Irish questions, how clearly his agitation stands forth as the great fact of the time. . . . The truth is, his position, so far from being a common one, is absolutely unique in history. We may search in vain through the records of the past for any man who, without the effusion of a drop of blood, or the advantages of office or rank, succeeded in governing a people so absolutely and so long, and in creating so entirely the elements of his power. . . . There was no rival to his supremacy, there was no restriction to his authority. He played with the fierce enthusiasm he had aroused with the negligent ease of a master; he governed the complicated organization he had created with a sagacity that never failed. He made himself the focus of the attention of other lands, and the centre around which the rising intellect of his own revolved. He had transformed the whole social system of Ireland; almost reversed the relative positions of Protestants and Catholics; remodelled by his influence the representative ecclesiastical and educational institutions, and created a public opinion that surpassed the wildest dreams of his predecessors. Can we wonder at the proud exultation with which he exclaimed, 'Grattan sat by the cradle of his country, and followed her hearse; it was left for me to sound the resurrection trumpet and to show she was not dead but sleeping?'"

But the method by which he achieved this success is perhaps more remarkable than even the success itself. An Irish poet, one of his bitterest assailants thirty years ago, has laid a chaplet of atonement on his altar, and one verse runs:—

"Oh great World-Leader of a mighty age!
Praise unto thee let all the people give;
By thy great name of LIBERATOR live
In golden letters upon history's page.
And this thy epitaph while Time shall be:
He found his country chained, but left her free."

O'CONNELL AS AN AGITATOR, AND THE POWER OF AGITATION.

It is natural that Ireland should remember him as her LIBERATOR. But, strange as it may seem to you, I think Europe and America will remember him by a higher title. I said in opening that the cause of constitutional government is more indebted to O'Connell than to any other political leader of the last two centuries. What I mean is, that he invented the great method of constitutional agitation. AGITATOR is a title which will last longer, which suggests a broader and more permanent influence, and entitles him to gratitude of far more millions than the name Ireland loves to give him. The first great *agitator* is his proudest title to gratitude and fame. Agitation is the method that plants the school by the side of the ballot box. The FREMONT canvass was the nation's best school. Agitation prevents rebellion, keeps the peace, and secures progress. Every step she gains is gained forever. Muskets are the weapons of animals. Agitation is the atmosphere of brains. The old Hindu saw, in his dream, the human race led out to its various fortunes. First, men were in chains which went back to an iron hand. Then he saw them led by threads from the brain which went upward to an unseen hand. The first was despotism, iron, and ruling by force. The last was civilization, ruling by ideas.

Agitation is an old word with a new meaning. Sir Robert Peel, the first English leader who felt he was its tool, defined it to be "the marshalling of the conscience of a nation to mould its laws." O'Connell was the first to show and use its power, to lay down its principles, to analyze its elements, and mark out its metes and bounds. It is voluntary, public, and above board; no oath-bound secret societies like those of old time in Ireland and of the continent to-day. Its means are reason and argument, no appeal to arms. Wait patiently for the slow growth of public opinion. The Frenchman is angry with his government; he throws up barricades, and shots his gun to the lips. A week's fury drags the nation ahead a hand's breadth; reaction lets it settle half-way back again. As Lord Chesterfield said a hundred years ago: "You Frenchmen erect barricades, but never any barriers." An Englishman is dissatisfied with public affairs. He brings his charges, offers his proof, waits for prejudice to relax, for public opinion to inform itself. Then every step taken is taken forever; an abuse once re-

moved never reappears in history. Where did he learn this method? Practically speaking, from O'Connell. It was he who planted its corner-stone. Argument, no violence. *No political change is worth a drop of human blood.* His other motto was, "Tell the whole truth." No concealment of half of one's convictions to make the other half more acceptable. No denial of one truth to gain hearing for another. No compromise, or, as he phrased it, "nothing is politically right which is morally wrong."

Above all, plant yourself on the millions; the sympathy of every human being, no matter how ignorant, or how humble, adds weight to public opinion. At the outset of his career the clergy turned a deaf ear to his appeal. They had seen their flocks led up to useless slaughter for centuries, and counselled submission. The nobility repudiated him; they were either traitors or hopeless. Protestants had touched their *ultima Thule* with Grattan, and seemed settling down in despair. English Catholics advised waiting till the tyrant grew merciful. O'Connell, left alone, said, "I will forge these four millions of Irish hearts into a thunderbolt which will suffice to dash this despotism to pieces." And he did it. Living under an aristocratic government, himself of the higher class, he anticipated Lincoln's wisdom, and framed his movement, "for the people, of the people, and by the people."

It is a singular fact, that the freer a nation becomes, the more utterly democratic the form of its institutions. The necessity of this outside agitation, this pressure of public opinion to direct political action, becomes more and more necessary. The general judgment is that the freest possible government produces the freest possible men and women, the most individual, the least servile to the judgment of the other. But a moment's reflection will show any man that this is an unreasonable expectation; and that, on the contrary, entire equality and freedom in political forms almost inevitably tend to make the individual subside into the mass, and lose his identity in the general whole. Suppose we stood in England to-night. There is the nobility and here is the Church. There is the trading class and here is the literary. A broad gulf separates the four, and provided a member of either can conciliate his own section, he can afford in a very large measure to despise the judgment of the other three. He has, to some extent, a refuge and a breakwater against the tyranny of what we call public opinion. But in a country like ours, of absolute democratic equality, public opinion is not only omnipotent, it is omnipresent. There is no refuge from its tyranny. There is no hiding from its reach. And the result is, that if you take the old Greek lantern, and go about to seek among a hundred, you will find not one single American who really has not, or who does not fancy at least that he has, something to gain or to lose in his ambition, his social life, or his business, from the good opinion and the votes of those about him. And the consequence is that, instead of being a mass of individuals, each one fearlessly blurring out his own convictions, as a nation, compared with other nations, we are a mass of cowards. More than all other people, we are afraid of each other. If you were a caucus to-night, Democratic or Republican, and I were your orator, none of you could get beyond the necessary and timid limitations of party. You not only would not demand, you would not allow, me to utter one word of what you really thought, and what I thought. You would demand of me—and my value as a caucus speaker would depend entirely on the adroitness and the vigilance with which I met the demand—that I should not utter one single word which would compromise the vote of next week. That is politics. So with the press. Seemingly independent, and sometimes really so, the press can afford only to mount the cresting wave, not go beyond it. The editor might as well shoot his leader with a bullet as with a new idea. [Laughter and cheers.] He must hit the exact line of the opinion of the day. I am not finding any fault with him. I am only describing him. Some three years ago, I took to one of the freest of the Boston journals a letter, and by appropriate consideration induced its editor to print it. And, as we glanced along its contents, and came to the concluding statement, he said, "Couldn't you omit that?" I said, "No, I wrote it for that; it is the gist of the statement." "Well," said he, "it is true; there is not a boy in the streets that does not know it is true; but I wish you could omit it." I insisted, and the next morning, fairly and justly, he printed the whole; side by side he put an article of his own, in which he said: "We copy in the next column an article from Mr. Phillips, and we only regret the absurd and unfounded statement with which he concludes it." He had kept his promise by printing the article; he saved his reputation by printing the comment. And that again is the inevitable, the essential, limitations of the press in a republican community. Our institutions, floating unanchored on the shifting surface of popular opinion, cannot afford to hold back or to draw forward a hated question, and compel a reluctant public to look at it and to consider it. Hence, as you see at once, the moment a large issue, twenty years ahead of its age, presents itself to the consideration of an empire or of a republic, just in proportion to the freedom of its institutions is the necessity of a platform outside of the press, of politics, and of its Church, whereon to stand men with no candidate to elect, with no plot to carry, with no reputation to stake, with no object but the truth, no purpose but to tear the question open, and let the light through it. So much in explanation of a word infinitely hated—agitation and agitators,—but an element which the progress of modern government has developed more and more every day.

This great invention we trace, in its twilight and

seed, to the days of the Long Parliament. Defoe and LeStrange, later down, were the first prominent Englishmen to fling pamphlets at the House of Commons. Swift ruled England by pamphlets. Wilberforce summoned the Church, and sought the alliance of influential classes. But O'Connell first showed a profound faith in the human tongue; he desisted afar off the coming omnipotence of the press. He pulled the millions to his side, appreciated the infinite weight of the simple human heart and conscience, and grafted democracy into the British empire. The later abolitionists, Buxton, Sturge, and Thompson, borrowed his method. Cobden flung it in the face of the almost omnipotent landholders of England, and broke the Tory party forever. They only haunt upper air now in the stolen garments of the Whigs. The English administration recognizes this new partner in the government, and waits to be moved on. Garrison brought the new weapon to our shores. The only wholly useful and thoroughly defensible war Christendom has seen in this century, the greatest civil and social change the English race ever saw, are the result.

This great servant and weapon, peace and constitutional government owe to O'Connell. Who has given progress a greater boon? What single agent has done as much to bless and improve the world for the last fifty years?

THE PLAINNESS OF HIS SPEECH.

O'Connell has been charged with coarse, violent, and intemperate language. The criticism is of little importance. Stupor and palsy never understand life. White-livered indifference is always disgusted and annoyed by earnest conviction. Protestants criticised Luther in the same way. It took three centuries to carry us far off enough to appreciate his colossal proportions. It was a hundred years to-day since O'Connell was born. It will take another hundred to put us at such an angle as will enable us correctly to measure his stature. Premising that it would be folly to find fault with a man struggling for life because his attitudes were ungraceful; remembering the Scythian king's answer to Alexander criticising his strange weapon, "If you knew how precious freedom was, you would defend it even with axes,"—we must see that O'Connell's own explanation is evidently sincere and true. He found the Irish heart so cowed, and Englishmen so arrogant, that he saw it needed an independence verging on insolence, a defiance that touched extremest limits, to breathe self-respect into his own race, teach the aggressor manners, and sober him into respectful attention. It was the same with us abolitionists. Webster had taught the North the bated breath and crouching of a slave. It needed, with us, an attitude of independence that was almost insolent; it needed that we should exhaust even the Saxon vocabulary of scorn, to flit utter the righteous and haughty contempt that honest men had for man-stealers. Only in that way could we wake the North to self-respect, or teach the South that, at length, she had met her equal, if not her master. On a broad canvas, meant for the public square, the tiny lines of a Dutch interior would be invisible. In no other circumstance was the French maxim, "You can never make a revolution with rose-water," more profoundly true. The world has hardly yet learned how deep a philosophy lies hid in Hamlet's

"Nay, an thou'lt mouth,
I'll rant as well as thou."

O'Connell has been charged with insincerity in urging repeal; and those who defended his sincerity have leaned toward allowing that it proved his lack of common sense. I think both critics mistaken. His earnest speeches point to repeal as his ultimate object,—indeed, he valued emancipation largely as a means to that end. No fair view of his whole life will leave the slightest ground to doubt his sincerity. As for the reasonableness and necessity of the measure, I think every year proves them. Considering O'Connell's position, I wholly sympathize in his profound and unshaken loyalty to the empire. Its share in the British empire makes Ireland's strength and importance. Standing alone among the vast and massive sovereignties of Europe, she would be weak, insignificant, and helpless. Were I an Irishman, I should cling to the empire.

Fifty or sixty years hence, when scorn of race has banished, and bigotry is lessened, it may be possible for Ireland to be safe and free while holding the relation to England that Scotland does. But during this generation and the next, O'Connell was wise in exclaiming that Ireland's rights would never be safe without "home rule." A substantial repeal of the Union should be every Irishman's earnest aim. Were I their adviser, I should constantly repeat what Grattan said, in 1810: "The best advice, gentlemen, I can give on all occasions is, 'Keep knocking at the Union.'"

HIS PATIENCE THE MOST REMARKABLE OF HIS GIFTS.

We imagine an Irishman to be only a zealot on fire. We fancy Irish spirit and eloquence to be only blind, reckless, headlong enthusiasm. But in truth Grattan was the soberest leader of his day; holding scrupulously back the disorderly elements which fretted under his curb. There was one hour at least when a word from him would have lighted a democratic revolt throughout the empire. And the most remarkable of O'Connell's gifts was neither his eloquence nor his sagacity; it was his patience—"patience, all the passion of great souls,"—the tireless patience, which, from 1800 to 1820, went from town to town, little aided by the press, to plant the seeds of an intelligent and united, as well as hot, patriotism. Then after many years and long toil, waiting for rivals to be just, for prejudice to wear out, and for narrowness to grow wise, using British folly and

oppression as his wand, he moulded the enthusiasm of the most excitable of races—the just and inevitable indignation of four millions of Catholics, the hate of plundered poverty, priest, noble, and peasant,—into one fierce, though harmonious, mass. Then he held it in careful check, with sober moderation, watching every opportunity, attracting ally after ally, never forfeiting any possible friendship; allowing no provocation to stir him to anything that would not help his cause; compelling each hottest and most ignorant of his followers to remember that “he who commits a crime helps the enemy.” At last, when the hour struck, this power was made to achieve justice for itself and put him in London; him, this despised Irishman, this hated Catholic, this mere demagogue and man of words; him to hold the Tory party in one hand and the Whig party in the other; all this without shedding a drop of blood, or disturbing for a moment the peace of the empire. While O’Connell held Ireland in his hand, her people were more orderly, law-abiding, and peaceful than for a century before, or during any year since. The strength of this marvellous control passes comprehension. Out West I met an Irishman whose father held him up to see O’Connell address the two hundred thousand men at Tara; literally to see, not to hear him. I said, “But you could not all hear even his voice.” “Oh no, sir! only about fifty thousand could hear him. But we all kept as still and silent as if we did!” With magnanimous frankness, O’Connell once said, “I never could have held those monster meetings without a crime, without disorder, tumult, or quarrel, except for Father Mathew’s aid.” Any man can build a furnace, and turn water into steam,—yes, if careless, make it rend his dwelling in pieces. Genius builds the locomotive, harnesses this terrible power in iron traces, holds it with master-hand in useful limits, and gives it to the peaceable service of man. The Irish people were O’Connell’s locomotive; sagacious patience and moderation the genius that built it; Parliament and justice the station he reached.

HIS RECORD BROAD AND BRAVE.

Every one who has studied O’Connell’s life sees his marked likeness to Luther; the unity of both their lives, their wit, the same massive strength, even if coarse-grained; the ease with which each reached the masses, the power with which they wielded them; the same unrivalled eloquence, fit for any audience; the same instinct of genius that led them constantly to acts which, as Voltaire said, “foolish men call rash, but wisdom sees to be brave”; the same broad success. But O’Connell had one great element which Luther lacked,—the universality of his sympathy; the far-reaching sagacity which discerned truth afar off, just struggling above the horizon; the loyal, brave, and frank spirit which acknowledged and served it; the profound and rare faith which believed that “the whole of truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue.”

From the serene height of intellect and judgment to which God’s gifts had lifted him, he saw clearly that no one right was ever in the way of another; that injustice harms the wrong-doer even more than the victim; that whoever puts a chain on another fastens it also on himself. Serenely confident that the truth is always safe, and justice always expedient, he saw that intolerance is only want of faith. He who stifles free discussion secretly doubts whether what he professes to believe is really true. Coleridge says, “See how triumphant in debate and action O’Connell is! Why? Because he asserts a broad principle, acts up to it, rests his body on it, and has faith in it.”

Co-worker with Father Mathew, champion of the dissenters, friend of the Chartist, foe of the corn-laws, battling against slavery, whether in India or the Carolinas; the great Democrat who in Europe, seventy years ago, called the people to his side; starting a movement of the people, for the people, by the people,—show me another record as broad and brave as this in the European history of our century! Where is the English statesman, where the Irish leader, who can claim one? No wonder every Englishman hated and feared him. He wounded their prejudices at every point. Whig and Tory turned liberal, narrow dissenter, bitter radical, all feared and hated this broad, brave soul, who dared to follow Truth wherever he saw her; whose toleration was broad as human nature, and his sympathy boundless as the sea.

THE FRIEND OF THE COLORED SLAVE.

To show you that he never took a leaf from our American gospel of compromise; that he never filed his tongue to silence on one truth, fancying so to help another; that he never sacrificed any race to save even Ireland,—let me compare him with Kossuth, whose only merits were his eloquence and his patriotism. When Kossuth was in Faneuil Hall he exclaimed, “Here is a flag without a stain, a nation without a crime!” We abolitionists appealed to him: “Oh, eloquent son of the Magyar, come to break chains, have you no word, no pulse-beat, for four millions of negroes bending under a yoke ten times heavier than that of Hungary?” He answered, “I would forget anybody, I would praise anything, to help Hungary!”

O’Connell never said anything like that. When I was in Naples, I asked Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, a Tory, “Is O’Connell an honest man?” “As honest a man as ever breathed,” said he; and then told me this story: “When, in 1830, O’Connell entered Parliament, the antislavery cause was so weak that it had only Lushington and myself to speak for it; and we agreed that when he spoke I should cheer him, and when I spoke he should cheer me; and these were the only cheers we ever got. O’Connell came with one Irish member to support him. A large number of members [I think Buxton said twenty-

seven], whom we called the West-India interest, the Bristol party, the slave party, went to him, saying, ‘O’Connell, at last you are in the House, with one helper. If you will never go down to Freemason’s Hall with Buxton and Brougham, here are twenty-seven votes for you on every Irish question. If you work with those abolitionists, count us always against you.’”

It was a terrible temptation. How many a so-called statesman would have yielded! O’Connell said, “Gentlemen, God knows I speak for the saddest people the sun sees. But may my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if to save Ireland, even Ireland, I forget the negro for one single hour.” “From that day,” said Buxton, “Lushington and I never went into the lobby that O’Connell did not follow us.”

And right in this connection let me read the following dispatch:—

CINCINNATI, O., August 5.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Boston:—

The national conference of colored newspaper men to the O’Connell celebration, greeting:—

Resolved, That it is befitting a convention of colored men assembled on the centennial anniversary of the birth of the liberator of Ireland and friend of humanity, Daniel O’Connell, to recall with gratitude his eloquent and effective pleas for the freedom of our race; and we earnestly commend his example to our countrymen.

J. C. JACKSON, Secretary.
PETER E. CURRER, President.
GEORGE T. RUBY.
LEWIS D. EASTON.

HIS RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

Learn of him, friends, the hardest lesson we ever have set us, that of toleration. The foremost Catholic of his age, the most stalwart champion of the Church, he was also broadly and sincerely tolerant of every faith. His toleration had no limit and no qualification.

I scorn and scout the word “toleration.” It is an insolent term. No man, properly speaking, tolerates another. I do not tolerate a Catholic, neither does he tolerate me. We are equal, and acknowledge each other’s rights; that is the correct statement.

That every man should be allowed freely to worship God according to his conscience; that no man’s civil rights should be affected by his religious creed, were both cardinal principles of O’Connell. He had no fear that any doctrine of his faith could be endangered by the freest possible discussion. Learn of him, also, sympathy with every race, and every form of oppression. No matter who was the sufferer, or what the form of the injustice,—starving Yorkshire peasant, imprisoned Chartist, persecuted Protestant, or negro slave; no matter of what right, personal or civil, the victim had been robbed; no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom an African or an Indian sun had burned upon him; no matter what religious pretext or political juggle alleged “necessity” as an excuse for his oppression; no matter with what solemnities he had been devoted on the altar of slavery,—the moment O’Connell saw him, the altar and the God sank together in the dust; the victim was acknowledged a man and a brother, equal in all rights, and entitled to all the aid the great Irishman could give him.

O’CONNELL AS AN ORATOR.

I have no time to speak of his marvellous success at the bar; of that profound skill in the law which enabled him to conduct such an agitation, always on the verge of illegality and violence, without once subjecting himself or his followers to legal penalty; an agitation under a code of which Brougham said “no Catholic could lift his hand under it without breaking the law.” I have no time to speak of his still more remarkable success in the House of Commons. Of Flood’s failure there, Grattan had said: “He was an oak of the forest, too old and too great to be transplanted at fifty.” Grattan’s own success there was but moderate. The power O’Connell wielded, against varied, bitter, and unscrupulous opposition, was marvellous. I have no time to speak of his personal independence, his deliberate courage, moral and physical, his unspotted private character, his unfailing hope, the versatility of his talent, his power of tireless work, his ingenuity and boundless resource, his matchless self-possession in every emergency, his ready and inexhaustible wit. But any reference to O’Connell that omitted his eloquence would be painting Wellington in the House of Lords without mention of Torres Vedras, or Waterloo.

Broadly considered, his eloquence has never been equalled in modern times, certainly not in English speech. Do you think I am partial? I will vouch John Randolph of Roanoke, the Virginia slaveholder, who hated an Irishman almost as much as he hated a Yankee; himself an orator of no mean level. Hearing O’Connell, he exclaimed, “This is the man, these are the lips, the most eloquent that speak English in my day.” I think he was right. I remember the solemnity of Webster, the grace of Everett, the rhetoric of Choate; I know the eloquence that lay hid in the iron logic of Calhoun; I have melted beneath the magnetism of Henry Clay. Prentiss of Mississippi wielded a power few men ever had. It has been my fortune to sit at the feet of the great speakers of the English tongue on the other side of the ocean. But I think all of them together never surpassed, and no one of them ever equalled, O’Connell. Nature intended him for our Demosthenes. Never since the great Greek has he sent forth any one so lavishly gifted for his work as a tribune of the people. In the first place, he had a magnificent presence, impressive in bearing, massive like that of Jupiter; Webster himself hardly outdid him in the majesty of his proportions. To be sure, he had not Webster’s craggy face and precipice of brow; nor his eyes glowing like anthracite coal. Nor had he the lion roar of Mirabeau. But his presence filled the eye. A small O’Connell would hardly have been an O’Connell at all. These physical advantages are

half the battle. I remember Russell Lowell telling us that Mr. Webster came home from Washington at the time the Whig party thought of dissolution, a year or two before his death, and went down to Faneuil Hall to protest; drawing himself up to his loftiest proportion, his brow clothed with thunder, before the listening thousands, he said, “Well, gentlemen, I am a Whig, a Massachusetts Whig, a Faneuil Hall Whig, a revolutionary Whig, a constitutional Whig. If you break the Whig party, sir, where am I to go?” And says Lowell, “We held our breath, thinking where he could go.” If he had been five feet three, we should have said, “Who cares where you go?” So it was with O’Connell. There was something majestic in his presence before he spoke, and he added to it what Webster had not—what Clay might have lent,—grace. Lithe as a boy at seventy, every attitude a picture, every gesture grace, he was still all Nature; nothing but Nature seemed to speak all over him. Then he had a voice that covered the gamut. The majesty of his indignation fitly uttered in tones of superhuman power made him able to “indict” a nation, spite of Burke’s protest.

I heard him once say, “I send my voice across the Atlantic, careering like the thunder-storm against the breeze, to tell the slave-holder of the Carolinas that God’s thunderbolts are hot, and to remind the bondman that the dawn of his redemption is already breaking.” You seemed to hear the tones come echoing back to London from the Rocky Mountains. Then with the slightest possible Irish brogue he would tell a story, while all Exeter Hall shook with laughter. The next moment, tears in his voice like a Scotch song, five thousand men wept. And all the while no effort. He seemed only breathing:—

“As effortless as woodland nooks
Send violets up, and paint them blue.”

We used to say of Webster, This is a great effort; of Everett, It is a beautiful effort; but you never used the word “effort” in speaking of O’Connell. It provoked you that he would not make an effort. And this wonderful power, it was not a thunder-storm; he flanked you with his wit, he surprised you out of yourself; you were conquered before you knew it. His marvellous voice, its almost incredible power and sweetness, Bulwer has well described:—

“Once to my sight that giant form was given,
Walled by wide air, and roofed by boundless heaven;
Beneath his feet the human ocean lay,
And wave on wave rolled into space away.
Methought no clarion could have sent its sound
Even to the centre of the hosts around;
And, as I thought, rose the sonorous swell,
As from some church-tower swings the silvery bell.
Aloft and clear, from airy tide to tide
It glided, easy as a bird may glide.
Even to the verge of that vast audience sent,
It played with each wild passion as it went;
Now stirred the uproar, now the murmur stilled,
And sob or laughter answered as it willed.”

Webster could awe a senate, Everett could charm a college, and Choate cheat a jury; Clay could magnetize the million, and Corwin lead them captive. O’Connell was Clay, Corwin, Choate, Everett, and Webster in one. Before the courts, logic; at the bar of the senate, unanswerable and dignified; on the platform, grace, wit, and pathos; before the masses, a whole man. Carlyle says: “He is God’s own anointed king whose single word melts all wills into his.” This describes O’Connell. Emerson says: “There is no true eloquence unless there is a man behind the speech.” O’Connell was listened to because every Irishman and every Englishman knew there was a man behind the speech; one who could be neither bought, bullied, nor cheated. He held the masses, free but willing subjects, in his hand.

HIS COURAGE.

He owed this power to the courage that met every new question frankly, and concealed none of his convictions; to an entireness of devotion that made the people feel he was all their own; to a masterly brain that made them sure they were always safe in his hands. Behind them were ages of bloodshed; every rising had ended at the scaffold; even Grattan brought them to 1798. O’Connell said: “Follow me; put your feet where mine have trod, and a sheriff shall never lay hand on your shoulder.” And the great lawyer kept his pledge.

This unmatched, long-continued power almost passes belief. You can only appreciate it by comparison. Let me carry you back to the mob-year of 1835, in this country, when the abolitionists were hunted; when the streets roared with riot; when from Boston to Baltimore, from St. Louis to Philadelphia, a mob took possession of every city; when private houses were invaded, and public halls were burned, press after press was thrown into the river, and Lovejoy baptized freedom with his blood; you remember it. Respectable journals warned the mob that they were playing into the hands of the abolitionists. Webster and Clay and the staff of Whig statesmen told the people that the truth floated further on the shouts of the mob than the most eloquent lips could carry it. But law-abiding, Protestant, educated America could not be held back. Neither Whig chiefs nor respectable journals could keep these people quiet. Go to England. When the reform bill of ’31 was thrown out from the House of Lords, the people were tumultuous, and Melbourne and Grey, Russell and Brougham, Landdowne, Holland, and Macaulay, the Whig chiefs, cried out, “Don’t violate the law; you help the Tories! Riot puts back the bill.” But quiet, sober John Bull, law-abiding, could not do without it. Birmingham was three days in the hands of a mob. Castles were burned. Wellington ordered the Scotch Greys to rough-grind their swords as at Waterloo. This was the Whig aristocracy of England. O’Connell had neither office nor title. Behind him were three million people steeped in utter wretchedness,

sore with the oppression of centuries, ignored by statute. For thirty restless and turbulent years he stood in front of them, and said: "Remember, he that commits a crime helps the enemy." And during that long and fearful struggle not one Irishman broke the law. There is no such record in our history. Neither in classic nor in modern times can the man be produced who held a million of people in his right hand so passive. It was due to the consistency and unity of a character that had hardly a flaw. I do not forget your soldiers, orators, or poets,—any of your leaders. But when I consider O'Connell's personal disinterestedness—his rare, brave fidelity to every cause his principles covered, no matter how unpopular or how embarrassing to his main purpose,—that clear, far-reaching vision and true heart which, on most moral and political questions, set him so much ahead of his times; his eloquence, almost equally effective in the courts, in the senate, and before the masses; that sagacity, which set at naught the malignant vigilance of the whole imperial bar, watching thirty years for a misstep; when I remember that he invented his tools, and then measure his limited means with his vast success, bearing in mind its nature; when I see the sobriety and moderation with which he used his measureless power, and the lofty, generous purpose of his whole life,—I am ready to affirm that he was, all things considered, the greatest man the Irish race ever produced.

PRIESTS AND PARSONS.

But human nature was not so easily recovered from the pomp and display of a priesthood. The Roman Catholic Church claims that its clergy are the regular successors of Aaron and the Levites. Accordingly they affect all the pomp and splendor of the Jewish priesthood, and stand squarely in the road to heaven, intercepting those who journey thither, and claiming the authority to bind and loose. In this regard they are faithfully imitated by the Greek Church and the High Church Episcopalians, whose ritualism, far from being a mere matter of taste, is a dramatic proclamation of a Christian priesthood.

Now I shall not insult your reason by demolishing these pretensions. But I do most emphatically protest against those milder forms of the same spirit existing in all the Christian sects, and which might probably be properly styled unconscious priestcraft. I mean the priestcraft of garb and manner. I protest, with all my soul, against anything in a man's clothes, or in his walk or speech, which betrays his calling as a preacher. It is well known that clerical costume exists in a direct ratio to priestly pretensions, ranging all the way from the Baptist minister with a military coat up to a Roman Catholic bishop covered from head to foot with satin, and all ablaze with jewels. The venomous persistency with which the Puritans of England fought for the abolition of these vestments was not a whit too venomous. They called them the "rags of popery," and so they are. The papal pretensions could not exist a month if the Catholic Church were deprived of its millinery. Then let us away with it altogether, and not retain any dilution or attenuation of it. For a Christian minister to wear a military coat or a white cravat is simply to solicit extra respect from others, and that is really vulgar. Why not rely on a holy life or benevolent deeds for this? Why rest it altogether on cloth and starch?

Sitting in my law-office on yesterday, my partner, who was looking out of the window, cried out suddenly to me, "Look, look, look; who is that man?" I went to the window, and looked out, and on the opposite side of the street I saw a North-side clergyman who was truly a sight to look upon. He was a very tall man, with saintly side-whiskers, a rapid, dashing gait, white cravat, and otherwise enveloped in the densest black. But what was most noticeable was a black alpaca sack coat, with a tail long enough to sweep the pavement, but which, in the high wind then prevailing, took up most of the sidewalk. I looked at him in perfect horror and disgust, as he strode along in evident pride of the figure he was cutting; and when the spectre vanished from sight I sat down, and groaned within myself, and muttered, "My God, is it possible that such creatures must be accepted as representatives of the religion of Jesus Christ!" And yet he was only a grotesque exaggeration of what we behold every day.—*Rev. Florence McCarthy, of Chicago.*

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Professor Joseph T. Derry, of Augusta, Georgia, through the press of J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, has just published what is called *A History of the United States, for Schools and Academies*. The history is written in the form of alternate questions and answers, agreeable to Southern sentiments, and reads like a catechism for a child's first communion with treason. We give specimen bricks:

"What occurred on the seventeenth of October, 1859?"

"The celebrated John Brown raid."

"Give an account of this?"

"John Brown, a notorious Kansas ruffian, urged on by abolition agitators, and furnished by them with money, raised arms and men, and seized the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, in Virginia."

"What became of him?"

"His forces were scattered by the United States marines, led by Col. Robert E. Lee, and he himself was captured, tried under the laws of Virginia, and met upon the gallows the fate he richly merited."

"Which are the most prosperous of the Southern States?"

"Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, Texas, and North Carolina."

"To what do they owe their prosperity?"

"To the fact that the white population in those States is largely in excess of the negro population, and hence their State governments are entirely in the hands of the whites, the only race that ought ever to bear rule in this country."

"What is one of the most important measures of Grant's administration?"

"The adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, which, like the Fourteenth Amendment, was carried through by force and usurpation."

"What does the Fifteenth Amendment declare?"

"It declares that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

"What more can you say of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments?"

"They have served to keep alive a bitterness of feeling which but for them would have long since died out."

There is much more of this stuff called history. It is a sort of history such as repeats itself, and expresses more opinions than facts. It might be called the "Caucus Hand-Book." The dialogue of the war is amusing. The Confederates were successful throughout to such a degree that their surrender becomes a matter of surprise. The "history" ends with the defeat of Mr. B. G. Brown, candidate for Vice-President, and the death of Horace Greeley. The inference is that since then there has been no history. We certainly have seen none like Schoolmaster Derry's.—*N. O. Republican.*

HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN.

The cable despatch announcing the death of Hans Christian Andersen gives the final intelligence of a career which, on the whole, was singularly fortunate and happy. We have indeed his own word for this, for in one of his books he has made the remarkable statement that were his life to be lived over again he could not ask that anything in it should be altered; yet his life was no exception to the general rule that the penalty of genius is suffering. Though he could look back on his early years with that pure content inspired by a true religious sense, there is no doubt that his childhood and first years of youth were only prevented from being profoundly unhappy by the soundness of his disposition and the buoyancy of his hopes of the future. His father belonged to a family that had once been rich; but for all that his child was the son of a poor shoemaker discontented, naturally, with his lot, and seeking relief for his feelings in telling his children and friends stories of the former splendor of the family. This was hardly the education to encourage content and submission; but, to make matters worse, the boy, who was a sensitive, delicate, imaginative child, lost his father when he was only nine years old. He learned to read and write, and but little more, at a charity-school; and after his father's death he was sent to work in a factory, where he made his first acquaintance with the coldness and ingratitude of the world,—the workmen, whom he tried to amuse by singing and reciting passages of poetry, giving him abuse and blows in return. Notwithstanding the aptitude which he early showed for dramatic literature, his mother determined to apprentice him to a tailor, while he, on his part, was trying to get some common employment about the theatre at Copenhagen. Misfortune seemed, however, to cling fast to him, and he was rejected on account of his awkwardness and ignorance, and obliged to apply to a joiner for employment. This occupation, for some reason, soon came to an end, and Andersen was thrown upon the world in a strange city at the age of fourteen, without money or friends. There was nothing left to try but his voice, which was a promising one, and he applied to the director of the Royal Conservatory, who found means to have him educated as a singer for the stage. At the end of six months his voice gave out. For two years he struggled on as well as he could, when suddenly the tide turned, and, his talents of one kind and another beginning to attract attention, the director of the theatre obtained permission of the king to have the boy educated at the public expense. At the age of twenty-three his success began with the publication of *A Journey on Foot to Amak*. His poems and novels—particularly the *Improvisatore*—soon gave him a world-wide reputation; but it is probably his stories for children which have made him best known and most endeared him to people of our race. He was fortunate in having for his translator Mary Howitt, who, though she may not have caught all the delicate shades of the original—if there can be said to be any original in the case of a writer who is equally enjoyed in any language,—she certainly got the spirit of his humor, of his pathos, and his simple morality. His stories for children might be regarded, if we did not know Andersen to be a born story-teller, as wonderful *tours-de-force*, so remarkably do they unite the interest of the old-fashioned fairy tale handed down to us from generation to generation from our Aryan forefathers with the more subtle and refined interests that appeal to the conscience and heart. It is this last feature which makes his stories something beyond mere children's stories; so that the child who has read them may in later life read them between the lines, and find a deeper meaning in the checkered career of the little Tin Soldier, and in the wonderful adventures of the Snow Queen than he dreamed existed before. It is impossible to believe that these charming stories could have been written except by one who had in his childhood often "eaten his bread in tears"; and so we too, who have read them, may say

with Andersen, though more selfishly, that we should have regretted it if even his early life had been other than what it was.—*Nation, Aug. 12.*

BOSWELL complained to Johnson that the noise of the company the day before had made his head ache. "No, sir, it was not the noise that made your head ache; it was the sense we put into it." "Has sense that effect upon the head?" "Yes, sir, on heads not used to it."

Poetry.

ALMA-MATER'S ROLL.

A PART OF AN HISTORICAL SPEECH AT THE PHI-BETA KAPPA DINNER AT CAMBRIDGE, JULY 1, 1875.

BY EDWARD EVERETT HALE.

I saw her scan her sacred scroll;
I heard her read her record roll;
Of men who wrought to win the right,
Of men who fought and died in fight,
When now a hundred years by-gone,
The day she welcomed Washington,
She showed to him her boys and men,
And told him of their duty then.

"Here are the beardless boys I sent,
And whispered to them my intent
To free a struggling continent.
The marks upon this scroll will show
Their word a hundred years ago."

"Otis"—no lesser death was given
To him than by a bolt from heaven!
"Quincy"—he died before he heard
The echo of his thunder word.
"And these were strippling lads whom I
Sent out to speak a nation's cry,
In 'glittering generalities'
Of living words that cannot die.
'John Hancock!' 'Here,' John Adams!' 'Here,'
'Paine, Gerry, Hooper, Williams!' 'Here,'
'My Narragansett Elery!' 'Here,'
'Sam Adams, first of freemen!' 'Here,'
My beardless boys, my gray-beard men,
Summoned to take the fatal pen
Which gave eternal rights to men!—
All present, or accounted for!"

I saw her scan again the scroll,
I heard her read again the roll;
I heard her name her soldier son,
Ward, called from home by Lexington.
He smiled, and laid his baton down,
Proud to be next to Washington!
He called her list of boys and men
Who served her for her battles then.
From North to South, from East to West,
He named the bravest and her best.

From distant fort, from bivouac near,
"Brooks, Eustis, Cobb, and Thacher!" "Here,"
—Name after name, with quick reply,
As twitched his lip, and flashed his eye.
But then he choked and bowed his head—
"Warren—at Bunker Hill he died."
The roll was closed—he only said,
"All present, or accounted for!"

That scroll is stained with time and dust;
They were not faithless to their trust.
"If those days come again—if I
Call on the grandsons—what reply?
What deed of courage new display
These fresher parchments of to-day?"

I saw her take the fresher scroll;
I heard her read the whiter roll;
And as the answers came, the while
Our mother nodded, with a smile:
"Charles Adams," "Here," "George Bancroft," "Here,"
"The Hoars," "Both here," "Dick Dana," "Here,"
"Wadsworth!" "He died at duty's call."
"Webster!" "He fell as brave men fall."
"Everett!" "Struck down in Faneuil Hall."
"Sumner!" "A nation bears his pall."
"Shaw!" "Abbot!" "Lowell!" "Savage!" "All
Died there—to live on yonder wall!"
"Come East, come West, come far, come near,
Lee, Bartlett, Davis, Devens!" "Here."
All present, or accounted for!

Boys, heed the omen! Let the scroll
Fill as it may, as years unroll.
But when again she calls her youth
To serve her in the ranks of Truth,
May she find all one heart, one soul:
At home, or on some distant shore,
"All present, or accounted for!"

—*Scribner's Monthly, for September.*

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUG. 21.

A. S. Latty, \$3.20; T. F. Thomas, \$3; G. M. Wood, \$5; Geo. Lewis, 70 cents; W. H. Badger, 20 cents; C. F. Brigham, 20 cents; Carl Von Bergen, 30 cents; Jas. Renwick, 50 cents; H. M. Noyes, \$5.25; Robert C. Titcomb, \$1.70; A. W. Stevens, \$2.88; Israel Betz, 20 cents; M. E. Bird, \$10; Geo. E. Allen, 20 cents; Emma B. Thompson, 30 cents; C. W. Fillmore, \$3.40; W. B. Kaufman, 60 cents; H. E. Freeman, 10 cents; D. E. Matteson, 40 cents; R. P. Hall-lowell, 75 cents; C. H. Phillips, \$3; P. S. Crowell, \$3; F. G. Johnson, \$3.20; Clarence Vail, \$1.70; E. W. Abbott, 75 cents; W. F. Barr, \$3.20; J. G. R. Forlong, \$4; Geo. Thorn, \$1; E. Steenrod, 20 cents; A. Robeson, \$10; W. W. Grant, \$10; A. B. Chace, \$10; Justin Rideout, \$50; Jno. W. Fawcett, 20 cents; C. E. Serrill, 20 cents; W. W. Spalding, \$13.25; E. W. Pike, \$3; L. H. Beal, 25 cents; S. B. Jenks, 50 cents; E. B. Wolcott, \$3.50; G. A. & S. Hill, \$3; L. E. Brockway, \$23.20; E. M. Waddell, \$3; L. H. Stockbridge, \$3.20; D. G. Crandon, \$3; Eben Turk, \$1.50; Alex. Metzger, \$20; J. S. Worthman, 20 cents; — Brown, 20 cents; J. S. Thompson, 25 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 26, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
ABRAM WALTER STEVENS, Associate Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E.
D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRAN-
CIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), Editorial Contributors.

ON AUGUST 15, the Philadelphia Liberal League elected the following officers for the coming year: Miss C. S. Burnham, President; Isaac Rhen, Vice-President; John S. Dye, Secretary; D. Y. Kilgore, J. B. Beam, Mrs. Dr. Caldwell, Executive Committee.

JOHN CALHOUN cannot be said to have earned the high and dignified encomium which the ancient Romans used to pronounce on an illustrious and patriotic citizen: "He has deserved well of the Republic." But he nevertheless uttered words which deserve the approbation of every virtuous citizen, when he declared in his report on Executive Patronage, in 1835: "The very essence of a free government consists in considering offices as public trusts to be bestowed for the good of the country and not for the benefit of an individual or a party; and that system of political morals which regards offices to be used and enjoyed as their proper spoils strikes a fatal blow at the very vitals of free institutions."

F. R. A. ANNUAL REPORT.

The Report, in pamphlet form, of the Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association for 1875 is now ready.

It contains an Essay by Wm. C. Gannett, on "Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and an Essay by F. E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. B. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

It can be obtained, in Boston, at A. Williams & Co.'s, and by mail by addressing "Office of Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston, Mass."

Price of single copy, 35 cents; package of four copies or more, 25 cents each.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

CALL FOR THE SEPTEMBER CONVENTION.

The Liberal Leagues throughout the country are cordially invited to send five delegates each to a Convention to be held in Philadelphia on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of September next, for the purpose of disseminating our principles and of making arrangements for a general Congress of Liberals to convene next year during the Centennial exhibition. It is very desirable that every Liberal League in America should be fully represented at the September Convention. Now is the time to work. The enemies of religious freedom are busy in preparing to utilize human ignorance and superstition for the strengthening and perpetuating of an organized system of mental repression, hostile alike to science, reason, and the right of private judgment in all matters of faith and conscience.

Let us endeavor to overcome ignorance by intelligence,—superstition by reason. Let each League send a full representation of men and women, so that from the combined wisdom of both sexes and all our societies we may be able to inaugurate a new era of impartial justice, perfect freedom, and scientific religion.

As soon as delegates are elected, Leagues are requested to notify the undersigned, and also THE INDEX.

JOHN S. DYE,
Sec'y Phila. Liberal League,
2527 Brown Street, Phila.

PHILADELPHIA, July 22, 1875.

N. B.—All Liberal Societies which sympathize with the objects of the Liberal Leagues and wish to be represented are included in the above Call.

DELEGATES REPORTED.

PHILADELPHIA LIBERAL LEAGUE.—Carrie S. Burnham (President), John S. Dye (Secretary), Isaac Rhen, Damon Y. Kilgore, Jesse B. Beam.
BOSTON LIBERAL LEAGUE.—F. E. Abbot (President), Geo. A. Bacon (Secretary), A. Bronson Alcott, B. F. Underwood, John Wetherbee.

"THE CATHOLIC CONSPIRACY."

Mr. S. P. Putnam contributes to THE INDEX a striking article with the above heading, which will be found on a subsequent page of our present issue. Its facts and arguments are worthy of very serious consideration by the readers of this journal.

Mr. Putnam points out the vast strength of the Roman Catholic Church in this country—its 8,500,000 laity and 4,500 clergy, with its entire power concentrated in the hands of its 64 bishops, archbishops, and cardinal. In America the priests are subject to removal by the bishops without appeal; while the bishops have always an appeal to their peers, even from the Pope. But in Europe, according to the canon law there established but here not recognized, a priest cannot be removed without a judicial trial before a bishop and six of his peers. Father Stack is now contending in the Pennsylvania courts against Bishop O'Hara, to vindicate his independence as a priest under the canon law, and Mr. Putnam thinks that "in this he should have the help and sympathy of every liberal; for, if defeated, our country will be overshadowed by a despotism worse than African slavery."

With Mr. Putnam's desire that the despotic organization of Roman Catholicism in America, where the non-recognition of the canon law prevents, as it seems, some of the checks upon the bishops that obtain elsewhere, should in no way be fostered by American courts, we most unqualifiedly sympathize; and if the consequence of recognizing the canon law as part of the law of the land were to destroy the despotism of Rome, we should equally sympathize with his wish for Father Stack's success. But we doubt the probability of any such general consequence, however it might follow in part. What is the canon law?

"Canon law," says the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "is a term used to denote the ecclesiastical law sanctioned by the Church of Rome, and possessing more or less direct influence in all countries which acknowledge the authority of the Pope. The word *canon* signifies a rule, and this word was not at first considered as too feeble to express the claims of the Church to the obedience of her children; but, in the progress of priestly usurpation, the successor of St. Peter began to arrogate a more ample and definite jurisdiction, and to extend his regulations to many causes which are not strictly ecclesiastical. The stupendous fabric of papal dominion attained its full height in the eleventh century, under the auspices of Hildebrand, who was elected in the year 1073, and assumed the name of Gregory VII. It was one of his dictates that the Church of Rome has never erred, and, according to the testimony of Scripture, never shall err; and, after this maxim was fully admitted, nothing remained to obstruct the progress of spiritual arrogance. What had formally been described as a rule was now dignified with the name of law; and from this period, a period of the deepest ignorance and superstition, the canon law obtained great influence in most countries of Europe. After the foundation of those seminaries of learning which we denominate universities, it acquired a distinguished place among the other faculties; and a knowledge of the canon law became a common road to the highest honors. It is a maxim of the commentators that a Doctor of the Canon Law is to be preferred to a Doctor of Divinity in such dioceses as do not contain many heretics. The canon law is derived from many different sources. The authority of the Scriptures cannot be entirely disregarded; but the writings of the fathers and doctors of the Church, the decrees of Councils, and the decretals of Popes, are much better adapted to the general views of the canonists. The canon is to a great extent to be considered as the spurious offspring of the civil law; what is most valuable it has derived from the Roman jurisprudence; and its own peculiar maxims and rules have all the same general tendency towards the power and aggrandizement of churchmen."

Note these concluding words, which we have italicized for the sake of emphasis. The canon law was never recognized in all its fulness in any other than the papal dominions, even when the Pope's authority was most widely extended. It exercised great influence wherever this authority was acknowledged at all; but it was always held in subordination to the civil law of the land, and was differently modified, therefore, in different countries. Hence it is a different thing in France, in Spain, in Austria, in England. Sir Matthew Hale, the famous Lord Chief Justice of England, said: "All the strength that either the papal or imperial laws have obtained in this kingdom is only because they have been received

and admitted either by the consent of Parliament, and so are part of the statute laws of the kingdom, or else by immemorial usage and custom in some particular cases in courts, and no otherwise; and therefore so far as such laws are received and allowed here, so far they obtain, and no further; and the authority and force they have here is not founded on or derived from themselves; for so they bind no more with us than our laws bind in Rome or Italy."

Now the recognition of canon law, even in part, is inseparably connected with a formal union of Church and State; and where, as in America, there is no such union, no such recognition would be possible for any purpose. We must carefully consider what remedy is legitimate in a purely secular government for the evils of which Father Stack complains. Perhaps some special protection of the priests against the tyranny of their bishops might follow the recognition of the canon law by American courts; but if the door was thereby opened to greater despotism in other respects, and especially if the bulwark-principle of all our religious liberties, the separation of Church and State, were overthrown, then we should be immense losers by Father Stack's success. Remember that the canon law is the Pope's law. Merely because it affords some protection to the parish priest as against his bishop, shall we precipitately acknowledge the Pope's law, or even part of it, as the law of the United States? If we do, we unwittingly establish Roman Catholicism to that extent as the national religion. It behooves us to take heed to our steps, when we are traversing ground so perilous as this. For the sake of getting itself thus formally recognized here, Rome might be willing to waive some incidental advantages it derives from our secular theory of government. But it would be very unwise for us to secure the right of interfering between priest and bishop, if the price paid was the putting of our necks under the Pope's yoke. So long as the canon law remains the device of the Papacy for the strengthening and perpetuation of its own power, we had better beware of invoking its aid for any purpose, however plausible. Father Stack is, after all, a Catholic priest; and it will not make Catholicism genuinely democratic to take power from his bishop as against him merely to put it into his own hands as against his congregation.

The fact is that, when Mr. Putnam claims for the State "the right to interfere with the internal organization of any body, when that organization is a monarchical or despotic one," his honorable indignation against tyranny leads him to the adoption of a very dangerous principle; namely, the right of persecution. He says: "Men may have what opinions they will, but they must organize them by democratic methods." Now it happens that the Catholics believe the authority of their bishops to be divinely bestowed, and not to be received except by the imposition of Episcopal hands. Election by the laity would not confer it; the bishops alone confer it on whomsoever they will. This belief is an essential part of the Catholic faith; it could not possibly be "organized by democratic methods"; it is essentially a "divine right," or monarchical, method. To insist, therefore, on a democratic election of Catholic bishops would be to prohibit Catholicism as such; and that would be persecution. Such is not the policy which religious freedom dictates. So long as men are Catholics at all, the principle of religious liberty concedes their right to organize their religion in their own way. But since all men are citizens, with equal civil rights, the moment when any Catholic appeals to the courts for the protection of his civil rights against the encroachments of his priest or bishop is the precise moment when the courts ought to interfere. They cannot step in, before a complaint is made, to prevent the possibility of any complaint in advance; they only exist to enforce rights and redress wrongs. They must wait for the overt act of oppression before they can interfere with the organization of any religious body; and we are constrained to agree with the editor of *Harper's Weekly* in this respect.

But it does not follow that the people should submit patiently, and behold unmoved the slow or rapid erection of a despotic organization among them. Ignorance is at the bottom of all despotism, which is impossible without it. The people, therefore, in the defence of their liberties, have the right to war on ignorance, to require the education of all children to a point which shall emancipate them from priestly control, and thus to sap the very foundations of ecclesiastical tyranny. This is the true policy of a State which is thoroughly secular, and cannot recognize the canon law. It is not a policy

of persecution, for it is no persecution of the parent to forbid him, through his own ignorant superstition, to deprive his child of the possibility of mental freedom. This freedom is the child's natural right, for his enjoyment of which the community are responsible; and the principle of Guaranteed Education, in our opinion, is a far better safeguard against the despotisms of the Roman Catholic Church than any amount of violent interference in its internal organization.

Furthermore, the people have not only a right, but a positive duty, to deprive the Roman Catholic Church (and all the churches) of the unjust privileges it now possesses before the law: above all, the privilege of tax-exemption, which permits wealth and the power wealth brings to accumulate with such terrible rapidity in its hands. When the American people are wiser than they are to-day, they will take up one by one the "Demands of Liberalism," and insist on making the separation of Church and State, now a half-pretence, a genuine and accomplished fact. The day will surely come when radicals will be as much ashamed of their present indifference to these "Demands" as some of them now are of their ancient indifference to the anti-slavery movement. We patiently bide our time.

These two movements—the movement for guaranteed (or "compulsory") education and the movement to carry the "Demands of Liberalism"—are the true weapons with which to meet the "Catholic conspiracy"; and to them, not to the recognition of the canon law, will the friends of religious freedom most wisely look. Father Stack does not really know what ails him; he thinks it is discontent with Episcopal domination, when the truth is that he is getting sick of Catholicism without knowing it. No good would come to the nation by following his advice, but rather harm; what is wanted is to get rid of the priest as well as the bishop, and protect the ignorant laity against Father Stack as well as to protect Father Stack against Bishop O'Hara. While we cordially sympathize with the spirit of Mr. Putnam's advocacy of his cause, we yet respectfully differ from him in the measures he proposes, believing it impossible to make Rome democratic before we have made her free-religious.

GROWING AND OUTGROWING.

Rev. James Freeman Clarke, in a sermon preached at the Progressive Friends' Yearly Meeting at Longwood, Pa., last June, returns to his favorite theme, that Christianity, though growing up like other religions by natural laws and processes, can never, like other religions, be outgrown, but is destined to be the universal and absolute religion, assimilating to itself and finally absorbing all other faiths. The sermon is entitled, "Christianity: is it just ending or just beginning?" And the main idea of the discourse is to show that Christianity, so far from betraying any signs of disintegration and decay, is in its essential nature just beginning to manifest its real life and power.

The argument chiefly relied upon to prove this proposition is that the essential elements of Christianity—that is, what appear to Mr. Clarke to be its essential elements—are, so far from being superseded or outgrown, just beginning to be appreciated, and made vitally practical; but it is curious to note that these essential elements, instead of being anything special to Christianity, are in every case beliefs that it holds in common with several other or with all of the great religions of the world. That "God is our Father"; that religion consists in "love to God and love to man"; and that "love to God and love to man are one and the same thing"; that religion is "not a matter of creed, of ritual, of special emotions and sentimentalism, but is identical with true goodness"; that it is a "life devoted wholly to the good of others"; and that men are "saved by humanity and not by some special acts of piety"; and that the soul is "immortal," and that the kind of immortality will depend upon the kind of life begun here on earth,—these are what Mr. Clarke enumerates as the elements of Christianity, or, in other words, as the principal truths taught by Jesus. But if, because it teaches such beliefs as these, Christianity must be regarded as the universal faith which is never to be outgrown, the same argument would prove the same thing of several other religions, in which the same sentiments are taught.

If it be replied, "Yes, the same sentiments are taught in other religions by a few sages, but they have not been made the warp and woof of these religions as they have of Christianity," Mr. Clarke's sermon would furnish this rejoinder: that these sentiments have not practically been made the warp and

woof of Christianity; for, like other religions, "the Christian Church, down to the present day, has taught that men are to be saved by ritual, sacraments, belief of creeds, agonies of remorse, ecstasies of emotional devotion," as the sermon strongly puts it. And for any body of Christian people now to wake up to find these sentiments to be the all-pervading and essential life of Christianity, is precisely what the more liberal and enlightened minds of the Jewish, or Mohammedan, or Hindu faith are waking up to find in their religions.

That is, the signs are not that any special form of religion, Christianity more than the rest, is to convert and absorb into itself all others, but that what is special in all the religions is being outgrown, and that what is universal to them is coming to be more emphasized, and is preparing for some new external combination and development. Mr. Clarke argues that this final combination has already come in Christianity. And another of his reasons for this opinion is, that "the intellectual and moral life of the world," "all progressive civilization," in fact, is at this era in the limits of Christendom. "No one goes," he says, "for science, art, or literature, to the Buddhists or to the Mohammedans, to Cairo or to Burmah." And this fact he does not admit, as is sometimes claimed, to be one of accident, but to be a relation of cause and effect,—Christianity being, in his view, the inspiring cause of modern civilization. Without noticing whether there be not something of the usual Christian arrogance in the above quoted sentence as to the present intellectual life of non-Christian countries, it may be asserted with confidence that there was a time when Mohammedanism rather than Christianity was the guardian of science and literature, and that it was owing not a little to the influence of Mohammedan rationalism in Europe, when the Christian Church was intent on smothering intellectual life, that there came that secession which resulted in Protestantism.

Mr. Clarke considers the Protestant Reformation as the legitimate development of the original Christian germ, "passing from homogeneity to heterogeneity." In my view, a true philosophy of history will regard it as the transformation of Christianity under new influences external to itself,—these influences being, in the main, Mohammedan rationalism working up from the South of Europe and the free, independent mind of the German nations. And from these, rather than from Christianity proper, have come modern science, literature, art, invention—in short, modern civilization; as from the same causes have come Protestantism and the various forms of neo-Christianity. So far from Christianity having produced modern civilization, it is modern civilization, starting from a life quite independent of Christianity, which has produced that form of Christianity which now claims to be harmonious with all science, and the parent of modern literature and culture. And the spirit of this same modern civilization is rapidly developing a form of religious conviction that will supersede the authority of all special religions and their founders; a form of religious conviction which will hold Jesus, as many other great religious teachers, in reverent remembrance; but will also hold it preposterous that any human being living in a corner of Asia nineteen centuries ago could have sounded all possible depths of the human mind and heart, and established a religion for this and all coming ages. If Jesus had been God, as the Orthodox believe, he might have accomplished this task. But being, as Mr. Clarke believes, simply and purely man, the accomplishment of such a work by him would have been a greater miracle than that involved in the doctrine that he was the full incarnation of the Deity.

W. J. P.

THE IDEAL NOT "ON TRIAL."

This kind and earnest word we are very glad to receive from Dr. Bartol:—

MR. EDITOR:—

Whoever may censure, or draw back and go no more with you, let one who has never agreed with your anti-Christianity, but always honored your sincerity, now applaud, as respects the Plymouth-Church scandal, your course.

Mr. Evarts is reported as having opened his plea for the defence with the remark that *Christianity was not on trial*. But, if the present position of that church, and of the synod and sanhedrim of churches which exonerated its pastor as without a stain, is to be identified with Christianity, then Christianity is convicted, and then surely I am no Christian.

There are things more important than Christianity, of which it has no worth but as the promoter and

means,—such as truth, and purity, and the mind's reverence before the constitution and constituter of the creation in which we live: and there was a time when we seemed to be, all of us—press, pulpit, and so-called good society—going down into one gulf of hypocrisy in this land. The great peril still is the want of truth, the absence of the love of truth, the willingness to sacrifice truth to expediency, to save our idol at the cost of our principle. But we must not repeal the ten commandments, or any one of them, in favor of a man. If he does not follow the banner, the banner must not follow him through all his devious and dirty ways. We must not lower the standard, an inch or a hair's breadth, for the accommodation of his sin. I believe in an *ideal*, which I am still content to call *Christian*, which is not on trial, but before which we are ever on trial ourselves. But how poorly it is incarnate in the Church! Let Christians beware of defiling it with sensuality, and distorting it with deceit; and understand that they, in all their denominations, are at the bar, which is not the Church, but that absolute Justice we call God. "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches!" Adultery, in the baptized communicant, or clergyman, is an offence inconsistent with their office or membership; but if *truth* goes, the bottom drops out of all things,—in worship, politics, trade, intercourse; and human society is disintegrated and dissolved, by a secession which no civil war could heal. Not intemperance, or violence, or any transgression of passion, but dishonesty, *Jesuitism in the Protestant Church*, is our chief danger.

C. A. BARTOL.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—The topic of the day here in England is Mr. Samuel Plimsoll and his Mercantile Shipping Bill.

In Mr. Plimsoll we have a real *man*, possessing in a high degree the rare virtue of public spirit.

No greater tribute can be paid to anyone's worth, than to kindle admiration in the very act of committing a breach of good manners. I leave other papers to inform you of all the details of what is now called the "Plimsoll scene"; no doubt your readers have heard the whole story of his burst of indignation on Mr. Disraeli's announcement of his intention to throw overboard the Merchant Shipping Bill. Not a soul can be found to stand up in defence of the language used by Mr. Plimsoll on the occasion. His best friends felt ashamed of him, and were driven to urge a plea of temporary mental derangement as the only palliation of an outburst of temper which could not be overlooked. Mr. Plimsoll has himself made the most ample apology for his terrible departure from the rules of Parliamentary debate.

Nor would we wish such language as we refer to to be ever deemed otherwise than improper and offensive. The temper required for calm and profitable discussion can only be maintained by the strictest self-discipline and invariable courtesy of speech. So far it is impossible to do otherwise than to endorse Mr. Plimsoll's own confession that his language was unbecoming to his own dignity and that of the House.

But, in spite of all this, there is a feeling at the bottom of many hearts that, "as there is no rule without an exception," so this outburst of indignation was not merely to be excused on the ground of excessive provocation, but actually praiseworthy on the ground of its necessity, and its being called for by the desperate condition of those in whose behalf the scathing rebuke was hurled.

There are times and seasons, surely, when rules even of courtesy must be set aside, and when men, fighting a battle, not for themselves, but for the oppressed and defenceless, have a divine right to step out from the time-honored track of good manners and strict etiquette to deal a heavy blow at powerful and otherwise unassailable miscreants. I doubt much if Mr. Plimsoll could have struck half so much terror into the hearts of those whom he was assailing, had he confined himself to the usages of Parliamentary debate. But he fairly frightened them by the spontaneous revelation of his fiery zeal, and gave them a momentary glimpse of those forces with which they had to grapple.

That his indignation has been justified by almost every paper in the land proves that the instinct of mankind, under the sacred influence of sympathy with the oppressed, can discern beneath the most flagrant violation of good manners the much more precious element of soundness of heart and holy wrath against protected and systematic wickedness. We need, at rare intervals, denunciations not one whit less fierce than Mr. Plimsoll's; not merely to

reveal to us the high possibilities of human nature, and to assure us that we have "still a prophet among us," but also to rouse public attention, and to quicken the public conscience against abuses which grow impudent by toleration. We need more Plimsolls and not fewer of them. We need them in many another department of human occupation besides that of mercantile marine. And we need their voices burning and withering in their wrath and scorn, and not softened down into cold and colorless remonstrances like the lisps of a feeble lady.

Not long ago, I was inclined to be a little hard on Jesus of Nazareth for his readiness in the use of abusive epithets; but, upon my word, Mr. Plimsoll has set me thinking on the matter once more, and pointed to a possible justification of even the fiercest invective.

Good manners are, of course, the very life of social order and peace; and our Houses of Parliament would sink miserably below their present high level of dignity, if personal abuse were to be recognized as legitimate; yet when we have said all this, as men we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that occasions will arise when manners and stately forms of speech must be cast to the winds, that the mighty champion of the Right and the True may lay about him with perfect freedom, and give full play to his zeal and indignation in the strongest terms he can find for their expression. Samuel Plimsoll deserves well of us all, on both sides of the Atlantic; not only for his unparalleled devotion to the sailors' cause, but also for showing us his own brave and dauntless heart, and giving proof of what fine manliness has survived the effeminizing influence of nineteenth century civilization. His intrepidity will be remembered with thankful pride long after his apology to the House of Commons is forgotten.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S.E., July 31, 1875.

Communications.

THE CATHOLIC CONSPIRACY.

Almost all liberals are aware of the vast power which the Roman Catholic Church possesses in our country; but very few seem to understand the kind of power which it has, and which will surely uproot our free institutions, unless extinguished by legislative action. Let us explain the nature of this dangerous power.

The Roman Catholic Church in the United States consists of 8,500,000 people, 4,500 priests, 56 bishops, 7 archbishops, and 1 cardinal.

Where is the power of this immense organization located?

Not in the 8,500,000 people; not in the 4,500 priests; but the whole of it is located in the bishops, archbishops, and cardinal,—that is, in the hands of less than seventy persons. These hold all the property of the Church in fee simple; can remove the priests at pleasure, and deprive them of all their living; and by a mere nod can launch the thunders of excommunication against any one of the 8,500,000 people.

The priests are absolutely slaves; they have no life-tenure; they have no voice in the election of the bishops; any one of them can be removed at a moment's notice; the congregation over which he ministers has not a word to say, no matter how highly it may regard him, and the victim has no power of appeal.

The bishops hold a life-tenure; they are a close corporation; when one dies, they elect his successor; and no bishop can be removed, even by the Pope himself, without the fairest and fullest trial before his peers.

Hence in the hands of a few American bishops is located an irresponsible authority such as no bishops in any other country possess.

The canon law, as established in the Catholic Church in Europe, forbids the removal of a priest without the process of judicial trial, where the accused may have full opportunity to defend himself before a bishop and six of his peers.

In European countries, therefore, the priest has rights which the bishop is bound to respect; but in this country, where the canon law is not established, he has no rights whatever; he is an absolute slave.

Father Stack, of Williamsport, Pa., has published two remarkable articles in *Harper's Weekly* of July 3 and 10, in which the character of the Roman Catholic organization in this country is ably exhibited. He is now engaged in a contest with Bishop O'Hara in the American courts to maintain his rights as a priest under the canon law of the Church. In this he should have the help and sympathy of every liberal; for, if defeated, our country will be overshadowed by a despotism worse than African slavery.

In commenting on these articles, the editor of *Harper's Weekly* says: "With the internal regulations of any association, of any kind, until it contravenes the law, the law has nothing whatever to do."

Is this so? If it is, then we have no defence against the establishment of a despotic empire in our very midst,—an empire under the control of a com-

pact and determined few, whose declared purpose is to supplant our free institutions with a tyranny more harsh and unsparing than any ever yet seen upon the planet. Does the principle of the separation of Church and State place us in a position of such utter weakness? Can the Church go on and mature its hostile plans, wisely keeping still until it is sure of the victory, and not contravening the law until it is so mighty that the law will snap asunder at the first stroke? Is the Church so independent of the State that the State can do nothing to protect itself from a danger that is sure to be its overthrow? Has it nothing to do with the internal organization of a religious body? Has it no right to insist that that organization shall be of a democratic and representative character? Has it no power to forbid the establishment of an ecclesiastical despotism that will surely precipitate itself into political action, and subvert the very law of the land? I claim that the State has a right to interfere with the internal organization of any body when that organization is a monarchical or despotic one. Men may have what opinions they will, but they must organize them by democratic methods. The democratic principles upon which our political institutions are built must bear sway in the realm of religion, and no church shall be erected into a monarchy. If the American people have nothing to do in their legislative capacity with the internal organization of a religious body, unless that body by an overt act contravenes the law, then they are bound hand and foot, and a monstrous and inimical tyranny may grow up in their very midst. All they can do is to wait until it gets ready to strike the first blow with fatal effect. They must submit with the plea, "the State has nothing to do with the Church, and hence the Church can slowly and surely prepare to destroy our free institutions. We must take our chances. The Church may do the right thing; but if it takes a notion to do the wrong thing, we are totally helpless." Is this American liberty? I say no; for such a liberty will be a most pitiable failure. The State should insist that all bodies, religious or otherwise, be organized upon the basis that it itself is organized upon; namely, that the powers of government must be derived from the just consent of the governed. No church has a right to organize upon any other basis. If it does, the State can interfere with its organization, whether it contravenes the law by any overt act or not. *Its very organization contravenes the law.* If this is not so, if we have no defence against a despotic empire flourishing in our very midst, until it is bold enough to commit an overt act with every assurance of success, then I see no hope for our free institutions. They must bite the dust beneath the conquering eagles of the Roman hierarchy.

Is this the sentiment of American liberals? Is there to be no political action? Are we to trust to the tendency of things? Is the State to be on no guard, and have no power against a despotically organized Church? The Roman bishops will laugh in their sleeves at such indifference. That is just what they want. "Hands off!" they say. Yes, we must keep our hands off, until they get the machinery of their Church into splendid working order, and then their terrible cry will be, "Up and at them!" What will our boasted freedom be worth, that we thought by some strange magic of events would triumph, whether we did anything or not? Be sure that our beautiful science and philosophy are weak as water without political and organized action. Year by year the Catholic bishops are gathering together prodigious power. They will not use it until they can use it effectually; they bide their time. Our children's children will curse us for our folly, or tamely crawl into the bosom of the Church triumphant.

Let every liberal read Prof. Cairnes' able review of Spencer's *Social Evolution*. That shows that we have something more to do than dream of things to come. Let not the Samson of Science be stripped of its locks by the Delilah of Indifference. If so, it will become the blind slave of an imperious ecclesiasticism. Political action is one of the world's supreme forces; and, if liberals do not wield it for freedom, the Church will wield it for slavery.

S. P. PUTNAM.

THE BISHOP'S PLATFORM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Mr. Chas. A. Miller, in his letter to THE INDEX, published by you on July 22, clearly defines the main point raised between you and me with regard to the last three articles of my platform. We all admit that the law should not interfere in religious matters; and the only question is, "Does the present action of the law, or, on the contrary, would its action under my proposed reform, constitute such an interference?" I think the interference exists in the present state of things. This, in your editorial note on your correspondent's letter, you do not deny; and (1) you make to me a magnificent concession in saying that sectarian institutions should not be incorporated by special acts of the legislature, though (2) you cannot see how they can be prevented from incorporating themselves under the general laws.

1. With regard to the concession, without wasting time in a ceremony so unnecessary between us as praising your candor in making it, let me ask you to insert it at once in "The Demands of Liberalism," more generally known as THE INDEX Platform.

This is very necessary, inasmuch as almost every year we see in the Acts of almost every State Legislature such items as the following:—

An Act to Incorporate the Free Will Baptist Church of —, County of —.

An Act to Incorporate the Presbyterian Ministers' Retiring Allowance Fund.
Etc., etc.

2. With regard to the second point, I will ask you whether you see how the following institutions or societies might be prevented from incorporating themselves without intervention of the legislature, but under the general laws:—

Inflationist Blind Institute.
One-Eyed Protectionists' Hospital.
Straight-Ticket Democratic Voters' Widows' Fund.
School-Fund-Division Supporters' Temporary Relief Society.

Rocky Mountains Summit Railroad Subvention Voting Legislators' Retiring Allowance Company.
Municipal Building Fund Anti-Investigation Aldermen's Wives' Deaf and Dumb Hospice.

If, as I hope, such societies could not incorporate themselves under the general laws, for the obvious reason that each of them is intended to influence by bribery the course of men in public affairs, it seems to me that the same principle should apply where the effect obviously is to influence by bribery the decisions of men in religious affairs, as in the following societies:—

Catholic Blind Institute.
One-Eyed Protestants' Hospital.
And so forth.

I am, dear sir, truly yours,

JULIUS FERRETTE.

CAMBRIDGE, August 6, 1875.

[1. The ninth of the "Demands of Liberalism" already covers the point indicated, and there hardly seems to be any necessity of making a separate "Demand" of it.

2. The "bribery" involved in the societies so drolly imagined is of such an indirect character that we should despair of preventing their incorporation under general statutes. There are many evils which legislation cannot reach, and we fear this is one of them. If there are such donkeys in the world as would found a hospital for the special benefit of the widows of Democrats who vote the straight ticket, ridicule would be a stronger check on their folly than law. We cannot yet see how the State could interfere in such matters without violating the rights of free thought and free speech.—ED.]

MONEY.

BURLINGTON, Iowa, Aug. 9, 1875.

EDITOR INDEX:—

It has been observed by many of your readers that frequently your answers to correspondents are more or less evasive, or otherwise unsatisfactory. When we publicly ask a question, especially if of general importance, of an editor, we are in hopes of being enlightened; and when we send him any nuts which are too hard for us, we are unreasonable enough to expect him to crack them for us. In my communication of July 19, which you published under the heading, "Journeys to the Moon," I sent you just one nut to crack, and you serenely return it to me unopened! As a hard-money advocate, you ought to let us into the secret (unless it really is a secret) how and by what process you mean to reduce our \$800,000,000 of currency to a specie basis, with only \$170,000,000 of gold to do it on?

This is what bothers us unbelievers in hard money, and it is not fair in a specie prophet to dally with our thirst for knowledge. By-the-by, in your answer (what there was of it) to my letter, you use the expression, "come back to specie payments." If by that you mean to say that before we had greenbacks we had specie payment, you make a very singular statement. Why, nothing was easier in those "good old times" before the war than to burst wide open any bank or any number of banks you might name, by calling for any considerable quantity of gold; while to-day you can buy any amount of gold without causing the least disturbance. England, you know, has a specie basis; and that colossus, the Bank of England, will close its doors in an hour under the pressure of a run on gold.

But I did not mean to produce any more of the nuts referred to until you show us the kernel of the one first spoken of. Meanwhile I am,

Yours patiently,

WERNER BOECKLIN.

[If Mr. Boecklin is really expecting THE INDEX to crack nuts, jump sticks, or perform any other antics solely for his amusement, we smilingly congratulate him on the possession of "patience"; for he will need all he has to spare of that article before he is gratified. He may consider our former note "evasive," if he pleases, though we very much fear that Artemus Ward would have considered it "sarkastical." For the sake of explicitness and a better understanding, however, we will say in plain English that we have never undertaken to answer everybody's sensible or senseless questions, and that the day is now many years in our rear when we felt impelled to do ridiculous things simply because we were "stumped" to do them. Mr. Boecklin's "nut" is nothing but a painted lump of beeswax; and, instead of entertaining him by "trying our teeth on it," philanthropy prompts us to advise him to keep his own teeth out of it. If he is unable to restrain his curiosity to see its "kernel," he should apply to some one who is simple enough to suppose that, in order to make the currency convertible into coin, it is necessary to reduce its volume by \$600,000,000. Meanwhile it will be sufficient to state that, having

already accepted the appointment of editor of THE INDEX, we are obliged to decline, with profuse acknowledgments and tearful regrets, the proffered appointment of Financial Mare's Nest Exploder and Grand Nutcracker Extraordinary to Mr. Boecklin.—[Ed.]

THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Aug. 11, 1875.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I am glad to see the position THE INDEX has taken on the currency question, and was somewhat amused to read the brief communication of Mr. Boecklin, with your short response thereto. Nevertheless, I most cordially agree with Mr. Boecklin that the currency planks in the platforms of both political parties are chiefly clap-traps, and designed to capture votes. The plank quoted by your correspondent is a most engaging specimen of those enticing generalities forged by party leaders to be used as texts in ponderous stump speeches.

Nevertheless, the currency question is an important one, and I am glad to see that THE INDEX has taken an honest and tenable position thereon. By common consent the civilized world has placed a certain fixed value on two metals, and made that valuation the standard of exchange. In the course of events there come periods when a nation demands an enormous increase of revenue; and so, in the exercise of supreme power, it issues promises to pay in quantities so large that it discredits itself, and thus drives gold and silver entirely from the marts of trade.

English history is filled with examples of the "debasement of the currency" (which is only an honest name for expansion), and the terrible effects of such debasements upon the public welfare. Let any one read Froude's exhaustive history of the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward, and Bloody Mary, and learn what "expansion" accomplished in behalf of "national prosperity"!

Mr. Boecklin assumes that there are \$170,000,000 in gold in the country, and asserts that, to resume specie payment, "we must reduce our \$800,000,000 in currency to \$200,000,000." This looks to me like nonsense. Did Mr. Boecklin ever hear of a period in the history of any nation when there was no currency except gold and silver? Let there be sixteen hundred millions of currency in the country, if need be; but let the government cease to issue currency falsehoods, and pay gold on demand. Said the Irish laborer, addressing the cashier of a bank: "Mr. Jones, can ye pay me the money I deposited wid ye?" "Certainly, Patrick." "Thin, bedad, I don't want it; but they towled me ye could not pay, and thin I did want it moity bad!"

We do not need an abundance of currency so much as we need to have a fixed and uniform value upon that which we do possess; and it is simply disgraceful that the promises to pay issued by the "greatest nation upon which the sun ever shone" are worth only 88 per cent. One question to Mr. Boecklin: Will the expansion of the currency increase the volume of gold in the country? If so, how much shall we be compelled to expand to corral the necessary \$800,000,000?

Very truly yours, FRANK J. MEAD.

PROF. TYNDALL'S "ATHEISM."

EDITOR INDEX:—

You give the following as an extract from Prof. Tyndall:—

"Depend upon it, trust me, that the revelations of science are not in the least degree calculated to lessen our feelings of astonishment. We are surrounded by wonders and mysteries everywhere. I have sometimes—not sometimes, but often—in the spring-time watched the advance of the sprouting leaves, and of the grass, and of the flowers, and observed the general joy of opening life in Nature; and I have asked myself this question: Can it be that there is no being or thing in Nature that knows more about these matters than I do? Do I in my ignorance represent the highest knowledge of these things existing in this universe? Ladies and gentlemen, the man who puts that question to himself, if he be not a shallow man, if he be a man capable of being penetrated by a profound thought, will never answer the question by professing the creed of atheism, which has been so lightly attributed to me."

Soon after the publication of Tyndall's Manchester speech (from which as first published the above is taken), a contributor to the London National Reformer wrote thus:—

"We may perhaps state, as regards Prof. Tyndall, that we know from a private source that the professor's utterances at Manchester were grossly misrepresented by reporters, and that words were put into his mouth which he never uttered; this is the secret of the conflicting statements as reported in the newspapers from Belfast and from Manchester. Mr. Tyndall never applied the word 'shallow' to any kind of atheism; and I am requested by an intimate friend of the professor's to state clearly that Tyndall never cast the slur upon atheism which was put into his mouth. His words at Manchester were as follows:—

"I have stood in the spring-time, and looked upon the sprouting foliage, the grass and the flowers, and the general joy of opening life. And in my ignorance of it all I have asked myself whether there is no power, being, or thing in the universe, whose knowledge of that of which I am so ignorant is greater than mine. I have asked myself, Can it be possible that man's knowledge is the greatest knowledge—that man's life is the highest life? My friends, the profession of that atheism with which

I am so lightly charged would in my case be an impossible answer to this question—only slightly preferable to that fierce and distorted theism which I have had lately reason to know still reigns rampant in some minds, as the survival of a more ferocious age."

"These are the professor's exact words, giving clearly his position; and few atheists would, we fancy, quarrel with what he says. 'The problem is still unsolved'—seems to be his meaning. Neither atheism nor theism solves it. Atheism is only slightly preferable to superstition; we do not know; the origin of things is shrouded in mystery; let us honestly own that we know nothing; let us not dogmatize fiercely on either side."

M. D. Conway, in a sermon preached in London, Feb. 14, said:—

"Not long ago, while the country was noisy with the anathemas hurled from pulpits against Dr. Tyndall, that gentleman delivered at Manchester a lecture in which he replied to those who had pronounced him an atheist. He quietly said that he did not consider atheism a satisfactory solution of the problems of the universe; though he preferred atheism to that theism of whose ferocious spirit he had recently had so much experience—the position, as I have often said in this place, the real position of nearly all, if not all, those who are commonly called atheists: they do not raise the denial of a possible God into a dogma, but declare that the various theisms actually offered them are unsatisfactory."

Mr. Conway then said that Tyndall, angry at the words put into his mouth, at once printed the stenographic report of his speech, and tried in other ways to stop its false report: "But it was no use. The Bishop of Manchester actually forged a recantation for the professor, which made him say that, when he gave his address at Belfast, he was in his lowest mood—a forgery which Tyndall branded with indignation, but which the Bishop never retracted."

No doubt, Prof. Tyndall could truthfully and consistently say that atheism, especially "that atheism" attributed to him by ignorant or unscrupulous critics, fails to explain the mysteries of being; at the same time Tyndall is undoubtedly an atheist, if that word stands for one who does not believe in or accept the theory of a personal, conscious, intelligent Being who created and controls the universe. It is not right, therefore, that his name should be used to do service against atheism among those with whom names have greater weight than facts and arguments.

Respectfully,
B. F. UNDERWOOD.

SIGNIFICANT AGAIN.

MR. ABBOT:—

Permit me to call attention to facts in the following item from England, published in the New York Tribune, July 23:—

"The Council of Delegates from all the Presbyterian churches in Christendom met in Regent Square on Tuesday, and opened session. Many representatives of the American and Canadian churches were present. The object of the Council is to demonstrate unity of belief among Protestants, arrange mission work, concentrate the influence of the Church upon educational and social reforms, and organize resistance to infidelity and religious intolerance. The delegates number one hundred. The following American representatives attended: Rev. Mr. Morris, of Cincinnati; Dr. McCosh, of Princeton; Stuart Robinson, of Louisville; Sloan, of Allegheny City; and Schaff and Rogers, of New York. In the Presbyterian Council on Wednesday the constitution of the future union was discussed. The American delegates favored the formation of a confederation; but a large majority of the Council preferred the title and form of an alliance, as less restricted in scope, and it was ultimately agreed that an alliance of all the Reformed Presbyterian churches of the world should be formed."

1. "Council of Delegates from all the Presbyterian churches in Christendom met" All the Presbyterian churches in Christendom! When will the Liberals thus meet?

2. "Demonstrate unity of belief among Protestants." Can any council demonstrate unity where fundamental doctrines believed by scores of different sects are diametrically opposed? Besides, have the "Protestants" authorized the Presbyterians "to demonstrate unity of belief among Protestants"? Will not other Protestant churches, aside from the branch Presbyterians, wish to have a voice in that demonstration?

3. "Concentrate the influence of the Church upon educational and social reforms." Why this excitement and nervous haste, at this time, to "concentrate" in that direction or any other?

4. "Organize resistance to infidelity." Ah, there is the point!

5. "Organize resistance to religious intolerance." "Religious intolerance"! Are the Presbyterians fearful that infidelity will be intolerant towards Protestantism? That would not be religious intolerance, but irreligious intolerance! Perhaps they are fearful of the religious intolerance of their Christian Protestant neighbors, or Christian Catholic foes.

6. "The American delegates favored the formation of a confederation." Why the American delegates favor a confederation?

7. "Large majority of the Council preferred the title and form of an alliance. . . . It was ultimately agreed that an alliance of all the Reformed Presbyterian churches of the world should be formed."

What does all this mean? Councils in America, councils in England! Conventions North, conventions South! Councils, conventions, unity, harmony, fraternal relations, pledges, concentration, organization, confederation, alliance, all Christendom, the

whole world,—what does it all mean? "Resistance to INFIDELITY"! That is what it means!

Will you be wise, oh liberals? Will you read the signs of the times? Will you be as wise as those who are organizing to resist you, and organize to resist the resisters? Let the Liberal Leagues be numbered by the scores and by the hundreds to represent the demands of liberalism at the September convention in Philadelphia, this fall; and let there be one thousand to meet the enemies of our peace, and resist our invaders at the Centennial in 1876, so that we may represent the religious liberty which our forefathers strove so well to establish, and fought so vigorously to maintain.

ELLA E. GIBSON.

ELWOOD, Atlantic Co., N. J., Aug. 6, 1875.

FREE DISCUSSION.

Free discussion is an excellent method by which opinions and theories may be sifted. If all beliefs and assumptions were thoroughly tested by this process, the air might be cleared of many cloudy absurdities. Many a proposition which a man thoughtlessly accepts from the lips of a favorite speaker would be rejected, if uttered where it could be answered. Few organizations are more useful than one properly conducted for free discussion.

Happening recently to drop into Hospitaler Hall, in this city, I was somewhat surprised to see a very good system in very fair operation. In a debating assembly everything depends on the manner of conducting arguments. We hear in conversation many debates that are worse than useless, because of the total lack of the power of logical reasoning in one or both of the disputants. Take a specimen at random. "Do you think the moon is made of green cheese?" "No; for then there wouldn't be any Milky Way." "But the milky *why* would be evidence going to show that such was the fact." "Then why did Dr. Hall get up an exploring expedition?" "How does that bear upon the question?" "There's a North Pole, isn't there?" "I don't see your point." "Why, wasn't the world made in six days?"—and so on for two hours. You make a point, and your opponent replies by something utterly irrelevant, and does not know that he is not arguing. For an arguing people, we have not developed the logical faculty to excess. It was, therefore, quite refreshing to hear at Hospitaler Hall three or four clear, close, and logical reasoners, presenting arguments as rational and high-toned as are to be heard in the most cultured and pretentious arena of debate. It is true I heard some debaters there who are not and evidently cannot be logical. But there is a use for such, even in a debating assembly, just as there is for a punt when you keep a yacht. You need your punt to reach your yacht moored in deep water, as you want your superficial talkers to carry you out into the deep waters of discussion; and then, when you sail, you want it dancing astern, to see the difference between sliding over the surface and going gracefully and scientifically through the waves. So it seems to me that Hospitaler Hall is a profitable place to spend now and then a couple of hours. ALPHA.

A CENTENNIAL IN PARADISE.

NEW YORK, July 29, 1875.

FRIEND ABBOT:—

Was there ever any thing so absurd but something can be found more so? I think not. Sometimes I am situated so as to be able to attend a genuine camp-meeting, and am almost always amused and instructed. The invitation to "come to Jesus," always pressed upon all, is surely getting to be a little stale; but a new form of invitation has just been invented. Whether it will have a run is a question; but you must record it, at least, as a specimen of what superstitious religion can do.

A Rev. Mr. Palmer, of New York, a pious old man, who no doubt means well, inaugurated it. It is to be a sort of centennial. He gives out an invitation to all the attendants at the meeting to hold a celebration, in one hundred years from some particular date which I forget, in some grove, by the side of the River of God, in Paradise. Just what they are to do he does not say or know; but he suggests that it will probably be spent singing "Glory to the Lamb of God." I heard him give out the invitation, and he said he had repeatedly done it at other meetings. He asked all who accept the invitation to rise. A majority got on their feet. Would it not be a good idea for the sinners who will then be in hell, where the climate is torrid, the air bad, and there are no streams of crystal water to drink, or trees to shade one from the heat, to send up a petition for the improvement of their condition? How it will detract from their celebration to know of the woes of some of their brothers and sisters whom Christ could not or would not save!

H.

A NEW STORY BY MUHLBACH.—A boy in St. Louis was recently presented with a jack-knife, with which, boy-like, he cut and marked everything that came in his way, from the dining-room table to the cat's tail. A few days after he had become the happy possessor of the knife his father was startled by seeing two men bringing home the young hopeful in a very dilapidated condition. His face seemed to be cut and bruised and covered with blood. The father, of course, was very much alarmed, and inquired of the boy who hit him. "Nothing didn't hit me, sir," the boy answered between his sobs; "it was only a mule kicked me in the eye." "A mule kicked you in the eye, eh?" replied the father. "Haven't I told you a thousand times or more that mules and gunpowder were not fit things for boys to fool with? What were you doing to the mule?" "I wasn't foolin' with 'em at all," said the boy; "I was only trying to cut my name on his back."

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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"(I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"(II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1875.

WHOLE No. 297.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called to the latter.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

MR. PLIMSOLL is described as a "very thin, pale, and nervous man, of defective vision"; but he seems to have seen about as far into the millstone as the eagle-eyed Disraeli.

DR. RUSH, of Philadelphia, in his eccentric will styled newspapers the "vehicles of disjointed thinking." We fear he had our "Glimpses" in view when he made this cruel remark, and his "clear truthfulness" has laid us "pretty flat."

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL is a sensible man. Instead of sending his younger sons into the church or the army, their usual places of refuge from the labor of life, he has placed them in business firms where they may earn honorable positions by their own industry and brains.

THE CHICAGO *Tribune* neatly sums up the inevitable practical results of inflation as follows: "Everybody would be provided with plenty of due-bills, worth nothing, but exchangeable for other due-bills, also worth nothing, and yielding a yearly interest of still other due-bills, also worth nothing!"

THIS IS A juicy story to come from the Orthodox *Advance*: "A friend of ours has a little niece, whose mother, thinking it time for her to put away her childish things, informed her that 'Santa Claus' was no person at all; there was, no such person. Whereupon the child solemnly asked, 'Mamma, have you been telling me lies about *Jesus Christ*, too?'"

MR. CONWAY will very soon arrive in this country, if indeed not already here by the time this reaches the reader's eye. As a lecturer he cannot fail to be eminently successful, if the brilliancy, wit, and imagination which have made him *facile princeps* among letter-writers are any guarantee of success. We would heartily bid him welcome to his native land once more.

THE TOWN of Northampton, Massachusetts, where Jonathan Edwards preached in olden time, has never recovered from the gloomy Orthodoxy he promulgated. To this day it is true-blue. But the little village of Florence, its offspring and neighbor, is as wide-awake as Northampton is sleepy. Here Cosmian Hall is situated, of which so much has been heard as the best free thought Hall in Western Massachusetts. Northampton, in fact, is a squeezed orange, and in Florence you will find the juice.

A CORRESPONDENT in Pittsfield, Illinois, has just written to THE INDEX as follows, under date of August 16: "An outdoor protracted meeting has been in progress on the public square in this place for the last ten days. All the churches have joined except the 'Christian' church. The Evangelist Anderson, imported from England, is the star performer. His style is somewhat amusing, songs and anecdotes being interspersed. Very good imitation of the street peddler, selling Erasive Soap and Spaulding's Glue."

WE ARE fairly terrified at such bold blasphemy as this from the Orthodox (?) *Independent*: "If Christ in his time drank an intoxicating wine, it does not follow that we should. Christ's principles, not his acts, are our law. Even in the same generation Paul, in the matter of circumcision, advanced beyond Christ. So has Mr. Thayer in the matter of the Sabbath and of the whole Jewish law. *So have we in the matter of wine-drinking!*" [The italics are ours.] Here is the *Independent* boasting of having got ahead of its own Savior! Such profanity curdles the blood.

THE CATHOLIC priests get raps from their allies in Ohio: "Senator Thurman admitted to a Cleveland reporter a few days ago that he expects the Democrats will lose Ohio. This is what he said: 'The d—d priests have overdone the thing by sticking their noses into our politics; and they deserve to be

beaten, to teach them their place. The Democracy only have themselves to blame in submitting to the demands of the priests in the way they did. It was unfortunate, indeed, that the Catholic question was lugged into the campaign. The Democracy was the only party that ever did anything for the Catholics, and it would seem that the more that is done for them the more they will demand. Their arrogance is insufferable, and, as we shall be defeated anyway, I hope it will hereafter teach these meddlesome priests a lesson that they will understand—that is, to let politics alone. I, for one, don't propose to stand any further nonsense from these fellows.'" P.S.—Senator Thurman denies having said all this; but some doubt the denial.

AN IMPORTANT judicial decision has just been made in New Hampshire, by which the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church are firmly entrenched in power. Two years ago certain Catholic laymen of Portsmouth brought a suit in equity against the local priest and the late Bishop Bacon, complaining that, although they had contributed to the erection of the church building, they were debarred from entering it except on payment of an entrance fee; and also that the priest had publicly abused some of the complainants in the pulpit. The court sustains the Bishop completely, deciding that, inasmuch as the title-deed of the land rests in the Bishop's name, the complainants have no right of ownership or legal title in the church property; they have merely given their money outright to the Church, whose property rights are represented exclusively by the Bishop. As to the other point, the Court rules that it has no jurisdiction over priestly conduct or admission fees, and declines to interfere. Probably, however, in a libel suit the complainants could recover damages under the common law, on proving the fact; if not, the safeguards of civil rights are lamentably deficient in this country. But the immense power thus vested in the hands of the Bishops ought to be understood by the people, who now foolishly permit the Church of Rome to hold its property wholly untaxed, and therefore to increase its wealth at a most dangerous rate.

PHILIP BESSINGER is a saloon-keeper at Reading, Pennsylvania. His family consisted recently of his wife and three little children, a boy and two girls. Bessinger introduced an "affinity" into his house, and (owing to the very unreasonable objections of the superseded wife) unhappiness and a quarrel ensued. Bessinger ordered her out of his sight; he told her he would give her \$2000 to go away and return no more, she to take the girls and he the boy; and he threatened to kill her if she returned. In her utter misery, the poor forsaken wife took her three little ones out of the city to the bank of the canal, filled a basket with stones by the aid of her unsuspecting innocents, tied it to her waist, took a child under each arm, clasped the third to her breaking heart, leaped into the water, and perished with them all. By a very reprehensible disregard of the "principles of social freedom," the people of Reading became dreadfully excited against Bessinger and wanted to lynch him at the funeral; but the police were able to protect virtue in his person at last accounts, though various shots were fired at him. No enlightened advocate of "free love" will blame him in the least. Had he not a right to love whom he would? Did he not make a handsome offer of \$2000 to his tiresome wife, and generously relinquish to her two-thirds of the children? It would certainly be very conservative and old-fogyish to find fault with such a paragon of "free love" righteousness, and everybody is ashamed of those over-excitable people of Reading. Nevertheless, if we could only find words strong enough to characterize the conduct of this gentleman as it deserves, we should have no stomach for irony in his case.

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[FOR THE INDEX.]

Confucius and His Religion.

BY A. W. STEVENS.

The great State religion of China—that which is indigenous to its spiritual life—is the religion taught by CONFUCIUS, who was the illustrious sage, reformer, and teacher of his age and nation. Or, more properly speaking, it is the religion which has existed in that broad empire for not less than four thousand years, and which Confucius did not originate, but reformed, restated, and reinforced. Fifteen hundred years before Confucius lived, there was a well-defined religion in China, which had been taught to the people by ancient sages and emperors, and which in due time had got itself perpetuated in sacred books, or a Bible; and these holy writings were in existence several hundred years prior to the birth of Confucius. He made them, and the religion which they taught, a special study; and in the course of his life he reedited the sacred scriptures of his people, and published them with his own comments and additions. And so vividly and forcibly did he illustrate the religion of the past, by his noble teachings and his pure life, that he converted the old into the new; and caused the religious history of his nation to re-date from his time, and to be thenceforward inseparably connected with his name and influence.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

Confucius was born nearly six hundred years before Christ, in the kingdom of Loo, a portion of north-eastern China,—in modern times known as the province of Shan-tung. At that time China was divided into nine independent States, and not till three centuries later was it united in one empire. From his earliest years, Confucius was distinguished by his eager love of knowledge, and his calm, thoughtful, serious, and deferential air. His father was, at the birth of his distinguished son, prime minister of the State in which he lived; and Confucius was very early led, by this circumstance probably, to make a particular study of the political history of his country, which indeed was very intimately connected with its religious history. The father of Confucius, however, died when the son was quite young; and he was thereafter confided to the especial care of his mother and grandfather. And here is another instance, in addition to many that might be named, where one who has exercised a most commanding influence over the destiny of his race has owed his early, formative training to his mother. This was true in the case of Jesus, as of Confucius. It was Mary, not Joseph, who had the early moulding of the character of the wonderful prophet of Judea. And thus it is that the women, even without ballots, are ruling the destinies of the race. Confucius showed his filial love and gratitude towards his mother, by treating her always with the greatest respect and affection; paying her the most scrupulous degree of duty, as indeed he did to all his ancestors. And this we might expect of him, inasmuch as one of his chief doctrines was that of the duty of children to honor, love, obey, and cherish their parents. No religion in the world makes so much of the family as does the Confucian. None is so full of maxims and precepts bearing on the domestic relations.

Confucius at the age of nineteen married. Little or nothing is said of his wife. Together they had one son, who also married; from whom descended

posterity which are very numerous in China to-day, and which glory in their lineage from the great sage. At the age of twenty years, Confucius was called into office by the government. He immediately attracted attention to himself, not only by the ability with which he discharged his official duties, but by the persevering effort he made to reform and correct long-standing abuses. He introduced rigid inquiry into the capacity and fidelity of those in his department, dismissed such as he thought dishonest and incompetent, and otherwise endeavored to root out all that was unworthy and pernicious from his branch of the government. His king approved him, and the people began to revere him; but his official colleagues, the politicians of the kingdom, hated and feared him, and were able in time to procure his expulsion from the government. Deprived of his office at about thirty-five years of age, he began his career as teacher; and for eight years went through the various provinces of China, teaching his ideas of religion and morality as applied to every-day life, the family, and the State. He returned to his native province in his forty-third year, and was then recalled to the government, his enemies in the meantime having lost their power. On his return to office, he found things worse than ever. Public affairs were demoralized. Political vice was rampant, and private virtue needing reform. Confucius, as before, steadily applied himself to checking and correcting abuses everywhere. He proclaimed honesty and righteousness and purity as the principles upon which both government and society should be carried on; he was unsparing in his efforts to apply these principles in all cases, and cut off from official connection with the government all who would not recognize and act upon them. At last he was made prime minister, and entrusted with almost absolute power, which he used firmly in the prosecution of his reformatory measures, but with eminent discretion and benignity. Under his administration of the government, reformation made rapid strides, and the kingdom of Loo became a model State in the empire. The nobles were more just and equitable; the poor were not oppressed as before; internal improvements proceeded admirably; righteousness was the foundation, and benevolence the spirit, of all laws and institutions.

For four years Confucius steadily pursued this course; the result being that virtue, happiness, and prosperity reigned throughout the kingdom. But his enemies were not inactive. Both in his own and the neighboring provinces there were those who hated this straightforward reformer, this rigid moralist. His own king, also, who was rather a voluptuous prince, was becoming tired of his virtuous minister. A king of one of the adjacent States took advantage of the weakness and dissatisfaction of the king of Loo, and sent him some very handsome women who were able to persuade and induce him at last to expel Confucius from the government, and give it over to a laxer reign of morals. And now once more was Confucius driven from his native State and from all power in the government, which he never again served in any official capacity. He resumed his wandering career as teacher, and travelled towards the west of the empire. He was pursued by his enemies, and only by concealment and disguise was the faithful ex-prime minister able to preserve his life. As he began his wanderings again, it is said he was melancholy and depressed; and that as he travelled along he gave vent to his feelings in verse, of which these lines were a part:—

"How is it, O azure Heaven,
 From my home I thus am driven,
 Through the land my way to trace,
 With no certain dwelling-place?
 Dark, dark, the minds of men!
 Worth in vain comes to their ken.
 Hasten on my term of years:
 Old age, desolate, now appears."

For twelve years Confucius wandered from province to province, having, like another great but unappreciated soul, hardly "where to lay his head." At first he was harassed, persecuted, hunted; but gradually the fierceness of feeling against him abated, and he was allowed to travel and teach in quiet. A faithful little band of disciples collected around him in the course of his wanderings, and freely shared his homelessness, his hardships, for the sake of his society and his teachings. This little band in time increased to thousands; but it is said that, although seventy-two of these were particularly attached to him, only ten were "truly wise." With these ten he at last retired to a quiet valley in his native province, where, in the midst of his disciples, he passed the remaining five years of his life in collating and writing commentaries upon the sacred scriptures of his people. These sacred scriptures, as they received their finishing touch from Confucius, have been for the last twenty-three centuries the fountains of wisdom and goodness to all China, and during this time have exercised an incalculable influence on a third part of the human race.

At the age of seventy-three Confucius died, in the quiet valley, in the midst of his ten faithful and "truly wise" disciples. A few days before his death, while he was tottering about the house, he was heard to say, probably in allusion to himself:—

"The great mountain is broken!
 The strong beam is thrown down!
 The wise man has decayed!"

Confucius, although he experienced great persecution and hostility while living, and was allowed to die in obscurity, has received since his death the profoundest veneration from his people. They have well-nigh made a god of him, as so many Christians have of Jesus, and so many Buddhists have of Sakya Muni. He is remembered as the "Most Holy

Ancient Teacher Confucius." In a short biography of him, the writer closes with this climax of eulogy

"Confucius! Confucius! How great is Confucius!
 Before Confucius there never was a Confucius!
 Since Confucius there never has been a Confucius!
 Confucius! Confucius! How great is Confucius!"

The valley in which he died has been in all succeeding ages a sacred shrine—a place of pilgrimage to which millions have journeyed, in order to behold and touch the tomb of the great Sage and Teacher. In every city of the empire—of the first, second, and third class—there is at least one temple dedicated to Confucius, and the emperor and all his officers are required to worship there. A plain tablet is erected above the altar; sweet-smelling gums are burned before it, with frankincense and tapers; fruit, wine, and flowers are placed upon the altar, and appropriate verses of Scripture are chanted; the ceremony concludes with an address, or prayer, from the highest dignitary present.

CHARACTER AND CONSCIOUSNESS OF CONFUCIUS.

Confucius was a strict and high-toned moralist. This is his distinguishing characteristic, that in precept and example he was a teacher of morals, and of the method of applying them to every-day life, to the family, and to the State. He was a reformer and a philosopher, rather than a prophet or a seer. He said little about another life, little about God—though it is plain, from what he did say, that he believed in both; yet of both he spoke as a philosopher modestly and becomingly. But he was very earnest to make this life and this world what they should be, thinking doubtless that the next would take care of itself. Do justly here and now; stop your lying, your cheating, your defrauding, your oppressing of the poor, your stealing from the State, your quarrelling in families, your licentiousness, your immorality, your public and private sinning!—stop all these, cleanse your hearts, rectify your lives, enlighten your minds, order your political and social relations, build your home and your State on purity, justice, righteousness; prepare not to die, but prepare to LIVE; strive to make all the sources, the channels, the outcomes of this present life good and true and noble!—this was the burden of the teaching of Confucius. The aim and object of it was to make good men and good women, good homes and good States, to make society right. He taught morality more than religion. He dealt more with those relations which men have towards one another, than with those they are supposed to have towards God.

Confucius was not egotistic. He did not claim to be perfect either in character or doctrine; although some of his disciples said of him, "As the heavens cannot be scaled even by the highest ladder, so no man can attain to Confucius;" "he is the equal of Heaven." Yet Confucius never made any such claim for himself. The most, in the direction of self-appreciation, which we find in his words, is this: "At fifteen, I had my mind bent on learning. At thirty, I stood firm. At forty, I had no doubt. At fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven. At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of the truth. At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired, without transgressing what was right." This last attainment, though a very high one, was gradually arrived at. It took him, he says, seventy years to come to that point in moral progress, where he desired and willed only what was right. Modestly speaking of himself at another time, he says: "I was not born endowed with all knowledge. I am merely a man who loves the ancients (wisdom), and do all I can to arrive at truth." There were some subjects that Confucius confessed frankly he did not know much about, and about which therefore he said little. One of these was the future life. Some one asked him once what death was. He memorably replied, "When I know not the nature of life, how shall I inform you what death is?" And again, when he was begged to teach one how to die well, he said: "You have not yet learned to live well; when you have learned that, you will know how to die well." Once he said, "I cannot bear to hear myself called equal to the sages and the good. All that can be said of me is that I study with delight the conduct of the sages, and instruct men without weariness therein." He was not only humble, but he was free from dogmatism. In his precepts, as perpetuated by his disciples, there is nothing austere or bigoted; no evidence of any attempt to tyrannize over or to bind down the minds of his followers to any rigid, narrow rule of his own. On the contrary, he desired them to be open to every enlivening and ennobling idea; to study and reverence the sublime; to make their hearts susceptible to every virtuous and inspiring influence. Indeed, one of his noblest sayings is this: "The superior man is catholic, and no partisan. The mean man is a partisan, and not catholic." What a precious morsel of wisdom is that, to come from a "poor heathen"! Cannot even Christians be instructed by it?

Simple and natural as Confucius was, however, in his manner of life and method of teaching, like all great souls he felt himself to be a man of destiny; to have had his origin in the bosom of infinite purposes. He believed and said that he was commissioned by Heaven to restore the purity of the ancient religion, and to lead men to be virtuous. And like all great souls, also, who by their very greatness are isolated from other men, he felt his loneliness; and he said, "Alas! there is no one that knows me. I do not murmur against Heaven. I do not grumble against men. My studies lie low, and my penetration rises high. But there is Heaven: that knows me!" Can anything be more beautiful and touching than this? He cherishes no hard or uncharitable feeling towards men, because they do not understand him. He rebels not against the decree of Heaven, in that it is severe and disappointing and grievous;

but looks to Heaven, rather, for approbation and true appreciation. He says again: "If Heaven had wished to let the cause of truth perish, then I, a future mortal, should not have had such a relation to that cause; while Heaven does not let the cause of truth perish, what can the people do to me?"

WHAT CONFUCIUS TAUGHT.

The disciples of Confucius say that there were four things which the Master taught—Letters, Ethics, Devotion of Soul, and Truthfulness. They say, also, that there were four things from which the Master was entirely free—he had no foregone conclusions, no arbitrary predeterminations, no obstinacy, and no egotism. There are some, perhaps, who might think he had no reverence, if they were to be told this little anecdote of him: He was very sick at one time, and one of his disciples asked leave to pray for him. "May such a thing be done?" inquired Confucius. "It may," returned the disciple, and immediately quoted from some sacred writing to prove it. Confucius merely replied, "My praying has been for a long time,"—which signified that he had great faith in virtue, and thought a true life to be the most efficacious prayer. Another of his disciples sums up his Master's teachings thus: "The doctrine of our Master is, to be true to the principles of our nature, and the benevolent exercise of them to others. This and nothing more." To those who believe that the principles of our nature are evil, this would not be satisfactory. But those who believe that the principles of our nature are noble and true—as Confucius did—will find this teaching of the Chinese sage nearly if not quite complete.

But let us now consider more in detail the doctrine of Confucius, and try to discover what he did teach, and what his views were, upon the various subjects which the word religion covers.

GOD, MAN, AND FUTURE LIFE.

I have remarked already that he did not say much about God; his teachings were very little taken up with allusions to Deity, or with remarks upon our relations and duties to Him. But shall we therefore conclude (as some have) that he did not recognize God at all in his system; that he did not feel or indicate any relationship whatever as existing between man and a Supreme Being? This would be far from doing justice to the religious opinions and teachings of Confucius. His reticence concerning subjects transcending the comprehension of the human intellect proceeded, not so much from lack of any deep convictions which he himself may have had upon those subjects, but from his real sincerity and modesty. He did not wish to tell more than he knew; he did not wish to dogmatize about that which was susceptible of various interpretations and definitions. And in this he is much to be commended. Well would it be for the truth, and for man's successful apprehension of it, if all religious teachers would assume no more than they can prove, and be careful never to substitute dogmatism for demonstration.

But Confucius was not an atheist, in the bald sense of that word. He gives brief but decisive evidence of believing in God as the Law and Order of the universe, as the Parent of mankind. This is the doctrine that is found in the sacred scriptures which he edited and endorsed. In these scriptures we are informed of "One Invisible Being," who is called Chang-ti, or Tien—the first word meaning Supreme Ruler, and the second meaning Heaven. This deity is described as the Original Principle of all things; almighty, omniscient, knowing the inmost secrets of the heart, watching over the conduct of the universe, and permitting nothing to happen contrary to his will. Here is a remarkable passage in those scriptures, which is equal to the most spiritual to be found in the Christian Bible: "When thou art in the secret places of thy house, do not say, None sees me; for there is an Intelligent Spirit who seeth all. Tien, the Supreme, pierces into the recesses of the heart, as light penetrates into a dark room. We must endeavor to be in harmony with his light, like a musical instrument perfectly attuned. He seeks to enlighten us continually; but, by our disorderly passions, we close the entrance to our souls."

The Confucian Scriptures plainly teach that it is the privilege of all men to reverence and honor God, by obeying his law written in their hearts, and seeking his blessing in all their ways. That this idea of God was a spiritual one is indicated by the fact that no image was formed of him, and that the Chinese have never thought of fashioning a likeness of the Supreme Being. What images or idols they may have, and employ in their worship, must be—like those of Catholic Christians—representatives of some subordinate deities or spirits.

Now this is the plain recognition of a Great First Cause, a Divine Providence, which Confucius found in the ancient Chinese Scriptures, and which he transmitted in them to posterity. There is nothing in his teaching which contradicts this idea; and while there is not much that enlarges upon it, there are not a few things that go to confirm it. For instance, the virtue or the religion which he teaches, he divides into two great parts: the first is reverence and worship of God, and respect of parents and those in authority; the second is justice or equity, which consists in giving to every man his due. This is nothing else than what Christians call piety and philanthropy, or love towards God and love towards man. And this is just what Confucius taught; only he would impress it upon us that loving man and revering the good that is in him is the best way of loving God and revering Him.

There is one very distinguishing and highly commendable feature in the doctrine of Confucius, as regards man; and that is the teaching that human nature originally and essentially is upright and pure. The doctrine of original sin and total depravity—which Evangelical Christians so much lay stress

upon—receives the utter go-by from Confucius. He knows nothing of it, but he strongly affirms the opposite doctrine,—the dignity of human nature. All his moral teachings are based on this presumption, that man was made for goodness, for perfection; and that if he will but follow out the law of his original nature he will surely reach holiness and happiness. "The nature of man is upright," he says. "Man is born for uprightness." "If in the course of his life he loses this uprightness of nature, he removes far from him all happiness." But if man, by sin, obscures the natural brightness of his heart, Confucius teaches that he can recover it,—not by dipping it in the blood of some vicarious sacrifice, but by repenting of his sins, and leaving his vices behind him, and cleaving unto that which is good. There is no more prominent and pronounced doctrine in the whole Confucian system than this of the natural good heart, and the natural means of keeping and restoring it; and there is no more fundamental and important doctrine of natural religion than this. The difference between that religious system which is based on the assumption that human nature is inherently bad, and that other system based on the belief that human nature is inherently good, is immense, and is in favor of the latter. If the religion of Confucius had no other claim to our attention and our respect than that it affirmed so emphatically the dignity of our common human nature and its inborn high capacities for good, its claim would be most strong and commanding; and we should be obliged to rank it, in this particular, with the latest and noblest form of religion that the world knows.

In regard to the doctrine of a future life, Confucius, as I have already remarked, did not say much. And yet he said enough to show that he had faith that the soul was immortal. Indeed, this is implied in his claiming for it the possibility of perfection. That perfection he did not look for in any limited period of the soul's career, but throughout its whole course of progress towards the "Sovereign Good." The Chinese Scriptures indicate plainly that the people looked forward to a death after life. Indeed, they seemed to have had somewhat of the modern spiritualistic notion. They believed that spirits of the departed had a knowledge of the circumstances of their friends on earth, and were able to affect them. They went to the shrines erected to these departed spirits, and there they communicated with them, and received information of important events about to happen,—indeed obtained advice as to how family and State affairs should be administered. This is at least enough to show that the Chinese believed in the future existence of souls; and to this day they are careful to observe, not only the usual rites of respect due to the dead, but even forms of worship to departed ancestors, to holy men and sages. Here is a beautiful sentence from Confucius' sayings, which shows that he did not limit spiritual existence to this visible and corporeal state: "An ocean of invisible intelligences surrounds us everywhere. If you look for them you cannot see them; if you listen you cannot hear them. They cause men to purify and sanctify their hearts. . . . They are everywhere above us, on the right hand and on the left. Their coming cannot be calculated. How important that we should not neglect them!"

NO HELL AND NO DEVIL.

It is quite remarkable that, although the Chinese believed in a heaven, they did not believe in any hell. There is nothing in the sacred scriptures, or in the teachings of Confucius, about any place of punishment hereafter. The good are spoken of as being in heaven, as being near to Chang-ti, or God; but the evil are not mentioned at all: no place is assigned to them, no condition is described for them. Indeed, it would seem to have been a part of the Chinese and Confucian system that the sinful should get rectified in this life; that they should at least be started here on the right road, and turned into the one great common path leading towards goodness and perfection. Either this was their idea, or else, without saying it, they believed in the annihilation of the wicked at death; and so had only the good to dispose of after. Certain it is that, unlike all other religions, the horrors of a theological hell had no place in the religion of the Chinese. There is no "smoke of torment rising up forever" there; no "lake burning with fire and brimstone" for all unbelievers and sinners.

And not only do the Chinese have no hell, they also, as a matter of course, have no devil. To them God is all in all. He is the great emperor, the great ruler of the universe, whose sovereignty is so absolute, whose government is so complete, that there is no room anywhere for a successful rival or opponent. God so entirely fills the circle of infinite power, that he pushes the devil altogether out of existence, and there is no place for him to occupy, no vocation for him to follow.

REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS.

But the Chinese believe, and Confucius taught, the doctrine of rewards and punishments. They make a clear and firm distinction between good and evil, right and wrong, truth and error; and teach that to one belongs happiness, and to the other unhappiness. The results, however, attending upon virtuous or vicious conduct are only alluded to as transpiring in this present state of existence; nothing is said about what may happen hereafter. Be virtuous now, they say, because only in this way can you have a good and happy state of society. Nothing is lispied about any future consequences; those are left where they belong,—in the bosom of the great unknown and untried. But present duties and present consequences—those are obvious, those are real, those are imperative; and upon those they put their emphasis. While we may believe, if possible, that the consequences of our acts run over into the next life, and

that of the characters formed here we reap the inevitable fruits hereafter, yet it is not an unpleasant experience to find one among all the religions of the world, which gives its well-nigh exclusive attention to present duties and present opportunities; to the making this earth heavenly and this life divine, without setting before us the ordinary vulgar incentives of a black-mouthed hell or a golden-doored heaven. The present alone is real. Duty is commanding now. Opportunity is the offer of to-day. If we are wise and great we shall be not anxious to know the future, but shall seek at once to plant our feet on eternal principles, to live in obedience to eternal laws; knowing that only as our life is made of imperishable qualities will it have an imperishable existence, and that virtuous happiness now is the only guarantee of virtuous happiness at any other time.

CONFUCIAN MAXIMS.

Confucius gave many wise maxims upon many different subjects to his disciples, not a few of which happily have been preserved and transmitted to our present time. From among the large number I will endeavor to select those most full of meaning, and having the widest general application.

Concerning friendship, he says: "There are three friendships which are advantageous, and three which are injurious. Friendship with the upright, friendship with the sincere, and friendship with the man of much information—these are advantageous. Friendship with the man of specious airs, friendship with the insinuatingly soft, friendship with the glib-tongued—these are injurious."

Concerning the selection of a place of residence, he says: "It is virtuous manners which constitute the excellence of a neighborhood. If a man in selecting a residence do not fix on one where such prevail, how can he be wise?"

Giving advice to a young man, he said: "A youth when at home should be filial, and when abroad respectful to his elders. He should be earnest and truthful. He should overflow in love to all, and cultivate the friendship of the good. When he has time and opportunity, after these things, he should employ them in study." What parent but would be glad to have his son heed this advice of a "heathen"?

Concerning virtue, he gives among other maxims the following:—

"Is he not a man of complete virtue who feels no discomposure though men may take no note of him?"

"It is only the truly virtuous man who can love or who can hate others."

"The superior man does not, even for the space of a single meal, act contrary to virtue. In moments of haste he cleaves to it. In seasons of danger he cleaves to it."

"A man whose mind is set on virtue, and who yet is not willing for her sake to put up with bad food and bad clothes, is not fit to be discoursed with."

"If doing what ought to be done be made the first business, and success a secondary consideration,—is not this the way to exalt virtue? To assail one's own wickedness, and not assail that of others,—is not this the way to correct inward evil?"

"The man who, in the view of gain, thinks of righteousness; who, in the view of danger, is prepared to give up his life (for righteousness); and who does not forget an old agreement, however far back it extends,—such a man may be reckoned a virtuous man."

"The man of virtue will not wish to live at the expense of his virtue,—he will even sacrifice his life to preserve it."

"To be able under all circumstances to practise five things constitutes perfect virtue: these five are gravity, generosity of soul, sincerity, earnestness, and kindness."

"True benevolence is to love all men. Recompense injury with justice, and kindness with kindness."

"There is one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life,—that word is *reciprocity*. What you do not wish done to yourself, do not do to others."

Confucius has much to say about the "Superior Man." These are some of the descriptions which he gives of him:—

"The superior man follows only what is right."

"The superior man thinks of virtue, the small man thinks of comfort."

"The superior man has neither anxiety nor fear; for where internal examination discovers nothing wrong, what is there to be anxious about, what is there to fear?"

"The superior man bends his attention to what is radical. That being established, all else naturally grows from it. The root of all benevolent actions is filial piety and fraternal love."

"The mind of the superior man is conversant with righteousness; the mind of the mean man is conversant with gain."

"The superior man wishes to be slow in his words, and earnest in his conduct."

"The progress of the superior man is upwards; the progress of the mean man is downwards."

"The superior man in everything considers righteousness to be essential. He performs it devotedly. He brings it forth in humility. He completes it with sincerity."

"What the superior man seeks is in himself; what the mean man seeks is in others."

"The object of the superior man is truth. Riches are not his object. The superior man is anxious lest he should not get truth; he is not anxious lest poverty should come upon him."

Surely, to be a "Superior Man," according to Confucius, is as good, for all useful purposes, as to be a "Christian" according to Christ!

Concerning the formation of character, Confucius says: "Have no depraved thoughts. Hold faithful-

ness and sincerity as first principles. When you have faults, do not fear to abandon them. You should say, 'I am not concerned that I have no office; I am only concerned how I may fit myself for one. I am not concerned that I am not known; I only seek to be worthy to be known.'

"When you know a thing, hold that you know it; but when you do not know a thing, allow that you do not know it. This is to be truly wise."

"He who cherishes his old knowledge, so as continually to acquire new, he may be a teacher of others."

"They who know the truth are not equal to those who love it; and they who love it are not equal to those who find pleasure in devotion to it. Without truthfulness how is a man to get on?"

"Be moving continually to what is right. Let the will be set on the path of duty. Let every attainment in what is good be firmly held. In learning, learn as if you could not reach your object, and were always fearing lest you should lose it."

"When a number of people are together for a whole day, without their conversation turning on righteousness, and when they are fond of carrying out the suggestions of a small shrewdness, theirs is indeed a hard case."

"If you would one day find yourself renovated, renovate yourself from day to day; yea, let there be daily renovation."

Concerning government, and advice to rulers, Confucius gives some most remarkable precepts, by which we are made easily to understand how it is that China is able to instruct us in the matter of civil-service reform:—

"He who exercises government by means of his virtue may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place, and all the stars turn towards it."

"Let the ruler preside over the people with gravity, then they will reverence him. Let him be just and kind to all, then they will be faithful to him. Let him advance the good, set aside the dishonest, and instruct the incompetent; then all will eagerly seek to be virtuous."

"To govern means to rectify. If you lead on the people with correctness, who will dare not to be correct?"

"Let your manifest desires be for what is good, and the people will be good."

"When a prince's personal conduct is correct, his government is effective without the issuing of orders. If his personal conduct is not correct, he may issue orders, but they will not be obeyed."

"If good men were to govern a country in succession for a hundred years, they would be able to transform the violently bad, and dispense with capital punishments."

"If a ruler make his own conduct correct, what difficulty will he have in ruling others? But if he cannot rectify himself, what has he to do with rectifying others?"

"He is a great minister of State, who serves his prince according to what is right, and, when he finds he cannot do so, retires."

"From the emperor down to the mass of the people, all must consider the cultivation of the person the root of everything besides. It cannot be, when the root is neglected, that what should spring from it will be good. On this account, the ruler must himself be possessed of the good qualities, and then he may require them in the people."

"What a man dislikes in his superiors, let him not display in the treatment of his inferiors. What he hates in those who are before him, let him not in that precede those who are behind him. What he hates to receive on the right, let him not bestow on the left."

"Virtue is the root (of a State); wealth is the result. In a State, gain is not to be considered prosperity, but its prosperity will be found in righteousness."

Concerning the family and domestic relations, Confucius and his distinguished disciple, Mencius, have many wise things to utter. No other religion has made so much of marriage and the home as the Chinese religion has; nowhere else do we find such conspicuous and emphatic commendation and honoring of the marital and domestic tie as in the teachings of Confucius and Mencius. The family, they said, was the foundation of the State and society; and if the family were not cherished and purified, then the State and society would decay. Hence much of their religious instruction was made to apply to the forming, the ordering, the perfecting of the home.

Mencius says: "That male and female should dwell together is the greatest of human relations."

Confucius quotes with approbation this saying from one of the sacred scriptures: "Happy union with wife and children is like the music of lutes and harps. Thus may you regulate your family, and enjoy the pleasure of your wife and children."

In the scriptures which he edited, there is extended instruction and advice to both husbands and wives, exhorting them to mutual forbearance and kindness, to harmony and peace, to faithful love and duty. After many pages of minute and excellent admonition and counsel, the whole closes up in this way:—

"If the husband and wife live harmoniously together, then indeed will the breath of purity pervade your dwelling; your family affairs will prosper by degrees, and every day your happiness will be extreme. The plan by which such harmony is to be obtained is none other than this: Ye must love each other tenderly, and treat each other with respect. Thus rich and poor must remain tranquil among themselves; noble and base must mutually bear and forbear. Even when faults occur between husband and wife, both parties must cover these as with a

mantle; must make allowances, and bear with patience. Ye should take great pains to instruct and admonish each other, to cause the party in wrong to give ear to reason, and to adopt what is right; ye may not give way to your temper, and storm and get angry."

There are many miscellaneous moral maxims and proverbs scattered throughout the Chinese Scriptures, some of which fell from the lips of Confucius, others from Mencius, still others from earlier sages and prophets. I will quote a few of them here.

Confucius said: "I will not be afflicted at men's not knowing me; I will be afflicted that I do not know men."

"With coarse rice for my food, with water for my drink, and my bended arm for a pillow,—I have still joy (for truth) in the midst of these things. Riches and honors acquired by unrighteousness are to me as a floating cloud."

"When I walk along with two others, they may serve me as my teachers. I will select their good qualities and follow them, their bad qualities and avoid them."

"There may be those who act without knowing why; I do not do so."

"If a man in the morning hear the right way, he may die in the evening without regret."

"Faithfulness and sincerity are the highest things."

"The good man examines his heart, that there may be nothing wrong there, and that he may have no cause of dissatisfaction with himself."

"Worship as though the Deity were present. If my mind is not engaged in my worship, it is as though I worshipped not."

"Be rigid to yourself and gentle to others, and you will have no enemies."

"To know that a thing is right, and not to do it, is weakness."

Mencius said: "Benevolence is the tranquil habitation of man, and righteousness is his straight path. Alas for them who leave the tranquil dwelling empty, and do not reside in it, and who abandon the right path, and do not pursue it! The path of duty lies in what is near, and men seek for it in what is remote; the work of duty lies in what is easy, and men seek for it in what is difficult."

"Let a man not do what his own sense of righteousness tells him not to do; and let him not desire what his sense of righteousness tells him not to desire; to act thus is all he has to do."

"That which is done without man's doing it is from God."

"Death sustained in the discharge of one's duties may correctly be ascribed to the appointment of God. A man should receive submissively what God ordains."

"Be always studious to be in harmony with the laws of God."

"Be strong to do good: that is all your business."

"I like life, and I like righteousness. If I cannot keep the two together, I will let life go and choose righteousness."

"A good man is ashamed of a reputation beyond his merits."

"The benevolent embrace all in their love; but what they consider of the greatest importance is to cultivate an earnest affection for the virtuous."

"The way of truth is like a great road. It is not difficult to know it. The evil is only that men will not seek it. Do you go home and search for it."

"A good man, though poor, does not let go his righteousness; though prosperous, he does not leave the true path."

Here is a fine saying from one of the ancient Chinese sages: "Every day you ought to call out to yourself, 'Old Master! are you at home?' In the evening you ought, in a retired apartment, to ask yourself, saying, 'Do any of the matters which you have attended to to-day wound the heavenly principle, or do they agree with that principle?' If you find your conduct does not correspond with heavenly principle, you ought in future carefully to guard against it."

Here is an admirable one also: "As it is impossible to please men in all things, our only care should be to satisfy our own conscience."

And this: "Those who respect themselves will be honorable; but he who thinks lightly of himself will be held cheap by the world."

Again: "If a man be not enlightened within, what lamp shall he light? If his intentions are not upright, what prayers shall he repeat?"

Something like the sayings which are common among us, and which we get from our Bible, are to be found in Chinese apothegms and proverbs. As for instance these:—

"Prevention is better than cure."

"If the blind lead the blind, both go into the pit."

"The extreme of joy is the beginning of sorrow."

"Every man sees the faults of others, but cannot discern his own."

"Better strong within than strong without."

"What is easily acquired is easily lost."

"Man contrives, but God decrees."

"Better not be than be nothing."

"Man lives one age, the flowers one spring."

"One thread does not make a rope: one swallow does not make a summer."

"Blessings come not in pairs: calamities occur not single."

"True gold does not fear the fire."

"A strife may be properly ended but not properly begun."

"Wine will both finish and furnish business."

"Great humility secures great honor."

"The wise forget past injuries."

"Virtue requires no coloring."

"A gem is not polished without rubbing, nor is man perfected without trials."

"Adversity is necessary to the development of men's virtues."

CONCLUSION.

But it needs not that I should continue my exposition of the religion of Confucius and the Chinese. The mine is very rich, and it might be with interest and profit worked much longer. But I trust we have seen and learned enough of our subject to make us respect it. Do we not see that the five hundred millions of our brethren in China have already a religion which, if they are but faithful to it, will make them as good men and women as Christianity could hope to make them? If in many things we can instruct them, so also in many can they instruct us. The truth is not so fully in our possession that we can pity them as being only in error.

In ethical teachings, Jesus was not more wise than Confucius; while in matters of practical reform,—touching Church, State, and society,—Confucius left a far deeper impress upon his day and nation than Jesus did upon his. What the great Chinese teacher, in comparison with the Judean, may have lacked in spirituality, he more than made up in practicality. He had no fanaticism of Messianism, but he had an untiring zeal as a reformer. If he habitually looked not up, he looked straight and far ahead, and put a powerful-helping hand to the affairs of this life. Social ethics, more than the spiritual life, was the subject that engrossed his mind. Confucius complements Jesus. The limitations of each are apparent. Taken together, they are spherical. The world needs both the dreamer and the organizer, the enthusiast and the humanitarian, the idealist and the actualist. It is seldom that any man combines these two characters in one, to any great degree. There is the transcendental element in the Chinese religion, but it was not the contribution of Confucius. There is the reformatory and organizing spirit in Christianity, but it was not specially imparted to that religion by Jesus. We have to look all round the horizon of humanity, to find the great inspirers and helpers who shall lead the race on to perfection.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE,

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF COÖPERATION."

George Jacob Holyoake was born in Birmingham, in 1817. He descended from a family of old armorers in that town, who formerly held property on the River Rea and at Sellyoak; but none of it was possessed in the household in which the subject of this memoir was born. His father only inherited the skill of the forge by which his ancestors had been distinguished, and Mr. G. J. Holyoake is accustomed to say he was born with steel and books in his blood. Before he was six years old he worked at making horn buttons—the old copper shank-horn button,—a business conducted by his mother, which had been bequeathed to her. This business she conducted herself till the trade became extinct, in a workshop adjoining her house, where she employed several hands. Afterwards, when still very young, Mr. Holyoake got employment, when his school hours were over, at a tin-plate worker's, he having taken a fancy to making lanterns.

From the age of twelve to twenty-two he worked at the Eagle Foundry, Birmingham, where his father held a situation as foreman of white-smiths for forty years. Mr. Holyoake had the reputation of being a good workman from his earliest youth, and always prides himself that he has forgotten nothing that he had learned, and that he could go back to the bench any day, and work as well as any one in the handicraft trades of iron and steel.

In those days he invented several machines, and had the prospect of becoming a civil engineer; and his name was placed, through Mr. Lloyd, a magistrate of the town, upon George Stephenson's staff. His workshop had to be his college, where he learned at meal hours the tasks which were prescribed for him at the Mechanics' Institution of the town, conducted in those days by Mr. Daniel Wright, a Unitarian gentleman, who had remarkable talent in instruction, and whose ambition it was to teach his pupils to think as well as learn.

Mr. Holyoake's mother, a woman of remarkable piety, sent him to Carr's-lane Sunday-school for several years, in the days of the Rev. Angell James, where he remembered with gratitude only one teacher, Mr. Samuel Timmins, the superintendent of the school, whose ceaseless tenderness and kindness to the poor pupils he alone distinguished and never forgot. Mr. Holyoake subsequently became a Sunday-school teacher in a Baptist society which his mother sometimes frequented; he occasionally went to Harborne, then chiefly known as the place where Thomas Attwood had a seat, the founder of the Birmingham Political Union, a village a few miles from the town, to teach in a Sunday-school there. Afterwards Mr. Holyoake taught what he knew of mathematics and rhetoric in the new meeting-house Unitarian schools, Birmingham, in days when Unitarians mercifully permitted useful information to be taught to working youths on Sundays. At the Mechanics' Institution, Mr. Holyoake was invited by his early friend, Mr. Daniel Baker, and J. S. Murphy, the metaphysical assaiist, still of Birmingham, and his classmate, Dr. Hollick, now in America, to go and hear Robert Owen lecture on one of his visits to that town, in 1837; which led to Mr. Holyoake being associated with the coöperator who had a place of meeting in Allison Street, and afterwards in Lawrence Street Chapel. At the experimental Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, in 1839, in the Shakspeare Rooms, Birmingham, one of which grew the International Exhibition, Mr. Holyoake was chosen from the Mechanics' Institution to select and superintend the assistants there.

the death of Mr. Wright, which took place suddenly at the Shakspeare Rooms, Mr. Holyoake for some time conducted the classes at the Mechanics' Institution. In 1840 he was appointed one of the Social Missionaries, as the public lecturers on coöperation were called.

As early as 1831, when a mere youth, he held a ticket of membership of the Birmingham Political Union, signed by Robert Kelley Douglas, the popular editor of the *Birmingham Journal*, and attended political meetings on the spot where the Town Hall now stands.

Birmingham, in 1833, and many years subsequent, displayed an enthusiasm on behalf of coöperation not exceeded by any town in the kingdom. William Ware, of Birmingham, next to Robert Owen the most influential leader of the movement, took an equal interest in political and social improvement; and in this Mr. Holyoake always resembled his eminent townsman, and became early connected with the Chartist and subsequent movements, which proposed further extension of political liberty. It was during the Chartistists in their room in Cheltenham "On Home Colonization," in 1841, that led to imprisonment in Gloucester jail. A question was put to him as to his theological opinions;—his reply was never to introduce them into his lectures on other subjects, and it was because he had not introduced them that the question was put to him. Usually Mr. Holyoake refused to answer such questions, as being irrelevant and impertinent; but at that time a case had occurred in the town which led the public to believe that social advocates were timorous of avowing their opinions. Resolved that this should not be said of him, Mr. Holyoake answered the question directly and explicitly, and was ultimately released from the Gloucester Assizes for the answer he gave. Mr. Justice Erskine, who tried him, admitted it was an honest answer, and gave him six months' imprisonment as an encouragement to youthful candor. Mr. Bransby Cooper, brother of Sir Astley, the chief magistrate of the county, visited the jail before the trial, and told Mr. Holyoake that he could not be allowed to speak in his own defence in court. Mr. Holyoake said in that case he would try, and he spoke nine hours and fifteen minutes. Being satisfied towards evening that the court was hearing him, he concluded his defence at half-past nine at night. Mr. Knight Hunt, who became editor of the *Daily News* on the retirement of Mr. Charles Dickens, personally reported the trial in full.

For some years Mr. Holyoake was stationed as a coöperative lecturer in Worcester, Sheffield, and Glasgow, speaking at other times in most parts of Great Britain. Observing and condemning the confusion which arose in the early social movements on theology being mixed up with it, he devised a system of secular principles, equally apart from theism and theism, maintaining that wherever a moral end was sought there was a secular as well as religious part to it. An account of this system is given in Chambers' *Cyclopædia*, and also in Molesworth's *History of England*.

On the cessation of the *New Moral World*, which for twelve years represented the coöperative movement, Mr. Holyoake commenced the *Reasoner*, in which he continued the advocacy of coöperation during thirty volumes. The last volume was conducted by a committee of coöperators in Yorkshire and Lancashire, from regard to the long services rendered to their movement. Being one of those who in 1842 and 1843 visited Rochdale as a lecturer, he encouraged the recommencement of coöperation at that town, and wrote, many years later, the history of the famous store which began there in 1844, a story which has been translated into German, Italian, Spanish, Russian, and circulated or reprinted both in India, America, and Australia. Mr. Holyoake never stipulated or received any advantage from the copyrights of his works, his idea being to advance the objects they represented. He afterwards edited, with Mr. E. O. Greening, the *Social Economist*, which subsequently became the *Agricultural Economist*, an important and successful journal till published in London.

At many of the meetings of the Association for Promoting Social Science, Mr. Holyoake has read papers illustrative of coöperative principles and progress. He has edited several of the reports of the annual congresses contributed to the *Coöperative News*, besides publishing numerous small pamphlets, as new methods of coöperative development seemed to require discussion. He published also a *History of Coöperation in Halifax*, dedicated to his friend, Mr. Horace Greeley, of the New York Tribune.

He has published many educational books intended for the use of Chartist and coöperative advocates: *Mathematics no Mystery*; *Practical Grammar*; *Logic of Facts*; *Public Speaking and Debate*; of which Wendell Phillips, of America, lately wrote in honorable praise. The Rev. Dr. Parker, of the City Temple, has, in a very friendly manner, commended his work to the attention of young preachers. The best printed publication in the old Chartist times, the *Cause of the People*, was edited by Mr. Holyoake and Mr. J. Linton, the eminent wood-engraver, now in America. At one time Mr. Holyoake edited the *Spirit of the Age*. Among others, one of his contributors has held a high place in the State, owing to the intrepidity of the eminent writers who conducted the *Leader* newspaper, Mr. Holyoake was associated with that enterprise from the beginning to the end of it. For several years Mr. Holyoake conducted and organized a publishing house in Fleet Street, from which issued every kind of publication of fair intent and dispassionately written. In this house the committee met which opposed the Conspiracy Bill of Lord Palmerston, and led to the overthrow of that Minister. Mr. Holyoake was secre-

tary of the committee. He was afterwards acting secretary of the British Legion sent out to Garibaldi. The committee of organization met at Mr. Holyoake's house. In those days Mazzini and Professor Newman contributed to the *Reasoner*, edited by Mr. Holyoake, in testimony of the unimpeachable fearlessness which marked the advocacy he conducted.

When no one else could be found to publish the special unstamped newspapers during the final agitation for repealing the taxes on knowledge, Mr. Holyoake undertook to do so, under the direction of Mr. C. D. Collet, the masterly secretary of that movement. The publication of the *War Chronicles*, devised during the Crimean war, involved Mr. Holyoake in fines of more than £600,000, which, when called upon in the Court of Exchequer to pay, he was under the necessity of asking the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take it weekly, not having that amount by him. The last warrant issued before the repeal of the Acts was against Mr. Holyoake. In this matter, as all others in which he was concerned, Mr. Holyoake followed the rule of never putting himself forward to do the thing in hand; but if no one else would do it, and it ought to be done, he did it.

Mr. Holyoake's opinions have several times been quoted in Parliamentary debates. Under the encouragement of the late Mr. J. S. Mill, Mr. Holyoake became a candidate for the Tower Hamlets, in 1854, but ultimately resigned in favor of Mr. Ayrton. At the election before the last, Mr. Holyoake addressed the electors of Birmingham, desiring, if a working class candidate was chosen, to represent his own town.

Several public discussions, considered to have been of influence in their day, have been held by Mr. Holyoake. Observing that reports had for many years been published by the government on the state of commerce and manufacture abroad, for the use of merchants and manufacturers, Mr. Holyoake at length succeeded in inducing the Foreign Office, in the days of Lord Clarendon, to issue similar reports for the use of working-men from every country abroad where Her Majesty had secretaries of Embassy and Legation.

The plan of these reports was devised and furnished by Mr. Holyoake. They state what the purchasing power of money is in foreign countries compared with England, so that a workman may know, if he earns £2 a week at home or £4 a week abroad, whether he will be better or worse off; what the state of the labor market is in foreign countries; how workmen are hired and housed there; what kind of habitations they would have to occupy; what difficulty his family must have to exist in health; what provision as to clothing they must make; what is the character of workmen in countries abroad; were they good craftsmen; did they take pride in their work, and put their character into it. Such questions were never before put, and never before answered; and no books are more curious and valuable to working-men than these publications of the Foreign Office. Lord Clarendon always said in the handsomest manner in his dispatches that these reports were issued on the suggestion of Mr. Holyoake. After endeavors extending over twenty years, he mainly procured the passing of the Secular Affirmation Act, by which coöperative property was largely secured, many of the most influential managers objecting, like Mr. Holyoake, to take the ordinary oath, not being able to do so in the sense required by the court.

We have said enough now to justify our selection of Mr. Holyoake as one of the coöperative leaders. He has been engaged nearly four years in writing the history of coöperation in England. The curious out-of-the-way facts belonging to the pioneer period from 1812 to 1844 are quite unknown to this generation. The first volume, embracing this period, is expected to be out by the end of this month. Mr. Holyoake has suffered of late from two sharp, recurring attacks of illness, from which he has not yet recovered. A committee, consisting of some of the most eminent leaders of opinion in England, has been formed, with a view to present him with some means which may make work in the future more pleasant to him than in the past.—*London Bee-Hive*, June 5, 1875.

A FRENCHMAN, near the Canada line, in Vermont, sold a horse to his Yankee neighbor, which he recommended as being a very sound, serviceable animal, in spite of his unprepossessing appearance. To every inquiry of the buyer respecting the qualities of the horse the Frenchman gave a favorable reply, but always commenced his commendation with the depreciatory remark, "He's not look ver good." The Yankee, caring little for the looks of the horse, of which he could judge for himself without the seller's assistance, and being fully persuaded, after minute examination, that the beast was worth the moderate sum asked for him, made his purchase and took him. A few days afterward he returned to the seller in high dudgeon, and declared that he had been cheated in the quality of the horse. "Vat is de mattaire?" said the Frenchman. "Matter!" said the Yankee; "matter enough; the horse can't see! He is as blind as a bat!" "Ah," said the Frenchman; "vat I vas tell you? I vas tell you he vas not look ver good—be gar, I don't know if he look at all!"

"WHEN I MARRIED," said ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer Lowe, at a London dinner-party, "I declared, 'with all my worldly goods I thee endow,' although I hadn't a shilling in the world." "But," chimed in the wife, "you had your splendid talents." "Yes, my dear; but you know I didn't endow you with them," was the right honorable brute's reply.

Poetry.

"WHAT DO I KNOW?"

BY JOHN W. CHADWICK.

So ran the motto on a seal;
His whose rare wit doth sprightlier dance
Than any other that hath used
The laughter-loving speech of France.

Upon this heaven-kissing hill,
On this midsummer day of days,
That sad old question shoulders in
Among my thoughts of prayer and praise.

What do I know? Not much, alas!
Of all the breadth and depth and height
That presses upon soul and sense
From day to day, from night to night.

And yet I know the light is sweet,
And pleasant 'tis to see the sun,
What time he climbs the eastern hills,
And when his course is nearly done.

I know the look of wind-blown grass,
The quiet rustle of the corn,
The lusty song the thrasher sings
To usher in the glowing morn.

I know to what a merry tune
Yon river ripples on its way,
And how, along its leafy brink,
The drooping branches softly sway.

I know the springs that trickle down
Through many a rod of brush and fern;
Divinely cool, nor Zeus himself
Drank better from Hebe's urn.

I know what fine enchantments lurk
In clouds that trail their shadows dun
O'er hill and vale, or lie at ease
Along the west at set of sun.

I know the night is calm and cool
And welcome when the day is spent;
And, when it fills the sky with stars,
Fills all my soul with sweet content.

But in the worlds of thought and love
Yet more and better things I know
Than this midsummer day of days,
For all its treasures, has to show.

I know that many friends are kind,
That many hearts are fond and true;
I know—but hush! I may not tell
The half I know, Montaigne, to you.

Wherefore, oh sceptic, go and try
Your question in some other ear;
I know enough to keep my heart
Brim full of joy from year to year.

CHESTERFIELD, Mass., July 15, 1875.

—Christian Union.

PAN AVENGED.

Pan is avenged! The fair dethroned gods
Whose awful wail, "Great Pan is dead," proclaimed
The victory of the dying Nazarene—
The gods who, pale with fear and wonderment,
Were stricken on a sudden from their seats—
Who through the years have seen man slaughter man
For the sweet sake of Pan's great conqueror—
Are all avenged. Their memory has been kept
That men may tell their children how of old
Their ancestors were strangely credulous;
They may go now; their places in the past
Are needed for a mightier form than theirs.

Pan is avenged! The cry, "Great Pan is dead,"
Was but the prelude to a deeper wail;
For one whose form doth cover half the world,
Whose strength has gathered with the centuries—
Pan's conqueror,—hath met a plain-faced foe,
Lacking in subtlety and outward grace,
But with an eye that pierceth through the veil
Of mystery the conqueror holds up
To daze men's sight, and with an arm that makes
A mortal wound at every blow it strikes;
And with a stride that moves but slowly, true,
But never draweth back; and with a heart
That dareth all, so that it find the truth.

Pan is avenged! The veil is rent in twain;
Serene-eyed Science standeth in the breach;
The Holy Place, forbidden unto men,
Unknown and unexplored, yet held in awe,
Proves but a vacant chamber. One step more,
Another blow like that which rent the veil,
And through the very wall light shall come in.

—Overland Monthly.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUG. 28.

E. S. Brown, \$1.10; Wm. Allen, \$3.20; J. C. Bills, \$3.20; Richard Russell, \$3.20; Geo. Maunfeld, \$3.20; E. L. Winham, \$1; Luke C. Childs, \$3.40; A. Eiswald, \$3; B. A. Andrews, \$8.20; John Ahrens, \$1.50; A. C. Erkson, \$3; Sarah Woodworth, 50 cents; L. Prang & Co., \$3.20; Julia A. J. Perkins, 20 cents; L. Goepfer, 20 cents; Annie T. Wood, 20 cents; Geo. Lewis, 50 cents; Noah Green, 20 cents; L. F. Gardner, 20 cents; A. Craig, \$1; Julius A. Risser, \$2.75; American News Co., \$2.80; Fred Hyde, 90 cents; Wm. Tuttle, \$3.25; L. E. Blount, 25 cents; Warren Gri-wold, 30 cents; Roger Sherman, 50 cents; W. F. Johnson, 50 cents; Cash, \$1.20; J. Consalus, \$7.60; B. F. Dyer, \$3.20.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 2, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
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W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), Editorial Contributors.

F. R. A. ANNUAL REPORT.

The Report, in pamphlet form, of the Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association for 1875 is now ready.

It contains an Essay by Wm. C. Gannett, on "Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and an Essay by F. E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. B. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

It can be obtained, in Boston, at A. Williams & Co.'s, and by mail by addressing "Office of Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston, Mass."

Price of single copy, 35 cents; package of four copies or more, 25 cents each.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

CALL FOR THE SEPTEMBER CONVENTION.

The Liberal Leagues throughout the country are cordially invited to send five delegates each to a Convention to be held in Philadelphia on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of September next, for the purpose of disseminating our principles and of making arrangements for a general Congress of Liberals to convene next year during the Centennial exhibition. It is very desirable that every Liberal League in America should be fully represented at the September Convention. Now is the time to work. The enemies of religious freedom are busy in preparing to utilize human ignorance and superstition for the strengthening and perpetuating of an organized system of mental repression, hostile alike to science, reason, and the right of private judgment in all matters of faith and conscience.

Let us endeavor to overcome ignorance by intelligence,—superstition by reason. Let each League send a full representation of men and women, so that from the combined wisdom of both sexes and all our societies we may be able to inaugurate a new era of impartial justice, perfect freedom, and scientific religion.

As soon as delegates are elected, Leagues are requested to notify the undersigned, and also THE INDEX.

JOHN S. DYE,

Sec'y Phila. Liberal League,
2527 Brown Street, Phila.

PHILADELPHIA, July 22, 1875.

N. B.—All Liberal Societies which sympathize with the objects of the Liberal Leagues and wish to be represented are included in the above Call.

DELEGATES REPORTED.

PHILADELPHIA LIBERAL LEAGUE.—Carrie S. Burnham (President), John S. Dye (Secretary), Isaac Rhen, Damon Y. Kilgore, Jesse B. Beam.
BOSTON LIBERAL LEAGUE.—F. E. Abbot (President), Geo. A. Bacon (Secretary), A. Bronson Alcott, B. F. Underwood, John Wetherbee.

THE CATHOLIC PERIL.

The Catholic question interests our contributors, as it well may; and we are glad to print in another column of this issue a second thoughtful article on the subject, by a Liberal Christian clergyman writing over the signature of *Viator*. Last week Mr. Putnam represented the dangers of the "Catholic Conspiracy" as great and serious; while this week *Viator* considers them as overrated, and less than we have supposed. If indeed we have erred in our view of the situation, it would be quite unworthy of the spirit in which we have always tried to conduct THE INDEX, should we hesitate to admit the force of *Viator's* demonstration, or in any way evade it. But we remain still unconvinced of our error after giving the most candid consideration to his reasoning, and will proceed to sketch the line of argument which constitutes the proper reply to it in our own mind.

Let us, however, correct incidentally a misapprehension which had better be removed at the outset. *Viator* says: "You are no alarmist, but upon certain matters it is possible that your fears may get the better of your judgment." It is just possible, on the

other hand, that we entertain no more "fears" than *Viator* himself. *Viator*, and those who agree with him that there is no special danger from the Catholic Church, will be more likely to do justice to the views of those who see in it the chief reactionary influence of modern politics, if they dismiss at once the notion that the root of the latter opinion is an excess of timidity or weakness of nerve or deficiency of cool-headedness. The question is one of close and wide observation, of deliberate reflection, of careful inference and generalization, and not at all of "fears"; and we shall be more deeply impressed with the wisdom of the rose-colored philosophy, when those who hold it do not betray their own incompetence as observers by attributing to "fear" what is due to the study of important but scarcely noticed facts, to intellectual penetration, and to fixed, stern resolve. Be this as it may, it is well to remember that the best preparation for meeting danger undauntedly at last is to comprehend it thoroughly at first, to take in its full dimensions, and thus to familiarize the mind with what brings to the over-sanguine the surprise, panic, and demoralization of an unforeseen sudden emergency. It is because we hope, not because we fear, that we would rouse to action the indolent and self-complacent liberal public: we fear nothing but their own continued lethargy and neglect of duty.

Look at Europe. Is not the great new empire of Germany taxing her utmost strength to defend her very existence against the machinations of the openly hostile Catholic Church? Is not France swept helplessly backward into a renewed submission to the Pope, through the influence of the great Catholic revival which followed the downfall of the Second Empire and the Commune? Is not Spain, already sick of her brief experiment of republicanism and religious liberty, bloodily debating which of two kings to obey—each of whom pretends to be a little more intensely Catholic than the other; and each of whom, if successful, is ready to extinguish the feeble spark of spiritual freedom that has as yet survived the republic? Is not England convulsed with the Catholic question once more, and does she not tremble to her foundations under the perplexing necessity of deciding whether the Queen or the Pope is entitled to the first place in the hearts of Englishmen? Has not the *Pall Mall Budget*, referring to the lean and sorry fruits of the "Catholic Emancipation" which has just been glorified so mightily at the celebration of the O'Connell Centenary, groaned out the national confession of failure in dealing with the relations of England to Rome? Its words are too significant, and too applicable here, not to be quoted:

"But the disappointment of reflecting Englishmen in our own day is not altogether of this kind. What they clearly perceive is, not that Roman Catholic emancipation was demonstrably unwise, but that it has in no way solved the most formidable of problems, the question of the proper mode of dealing with the Roman Catholic Church. It might have been reasonably supposed that the grant of absolute equality would have turned the Roman Catholics into citizens of the State like any others, and that the special creed of Ireland would no more affect the interests and policy of the empire than the special creed of Scotland. But they find that a religion with world-wide affinities is not as the faith of a limited community, and that they have given an enormous advantage to a system of aggressive spiritual legislation of which the basis is the denial, and the object the suppression, of most things which Englishmen believe and prize. We may be quite alive to the coarseness of the measures by which German statesmen endeavor to cope with this difficulty; but there is not one Englishman in ten who now thinks that we have successfully, or finally, dealt with it by leaving it to solve itself."

Look now at America in general. Are we not to-day witnessing the strange spectacle of a Catholic curate in Montreal, in obedience to the orders of his Bishop, openly defying in the cathedral of Notre Dame the Privy Council of the Queen of Great Britain, refusing to bury Joseph Guibord in consecrated ground notwithstanding its express command, and teaching all Canada that the Pope's authority overtops that of the Queen? Do we not here see the great European struggle bursting forth like the flames of a volcanic eruption on our own side of the Atlantic, and threatening us with a conflagration almost at our own doors? In Central America have we not just seen a sanguinary riot excited by the Catholic clergy, and immediate admission to heaven promised to the rioters by the Bishop? In South America do we not behold the republic of Ecuador actually swallowed whole by the Church, and the struggle for secular national life going on in all the other States?

But look closer still at the United States. The direct issue between Church and State has not yet

been openly made here, for in this country Rome is cunningly biding her time, being content for the present with the fact of rapid and enormous growth in numbers, wealth, and power. But we call attention to a few typical signs of the time.

General Butler is a shrewd man who knows pretty accurately on which side his political bread is buttered; and it may be taken as one of the most significant straws in the current of the time, when such a man as he openly toadies the Roman Catholic priesthood. This is what he did in his recent speech at the O'Connell celebration in Boston, in terms which are too remarkable not to be quoted in this connection. They should be read as having reference to Irish Catholics and as being addressed to an Irish Catholic audience:—

"Some men are opposed to their religion; but who would not prefer the teachings of a Church which inculcates the responsibility of man to man, the responsibility of man to God hereafter for sins committed in the body, to that infidel scepticism that acknowledges no God, no hereafter, no future state, and no responsibility; and teaches that we are like the beasts that perish and go to the ground? Give me, sir, an educated, high-toned, moral, hard-working priesthood, who shall instruct the people in some faith, rather than that no faith, and no instruction, and no religion, that comes to us from some parts of Europe."

Again. The form which the Catholic question has thus far assumed in this country is that one relating to the common schools, the Catholics of the country becoming every day more united in their demands, and in Ohio having made this one of the issues of the present political campaign. The subject is thus referred to by the *Christian Union* of August 18:—

"The school question—in other words, the question of sectarian instruction in the common schools—is involved in the pending election in Ohio, the Democratic party having taken an attitude friendly to the views of the Catholics. The *Catholic Telegraph* indicates plainly enough which political party is relied upon to carry out the designs of its denomination: 'The political party with which nine-tenths of the Catholic voters affiliate on account of past services that they will never forget now controls the State. Withdraw the support which Catholics have given to it, and it will fall in this city, county, and State as speedily as it has risen to its long-lost position and power.' The *Telegraph* further says that 'the unbroken, solid vote of the Catholic citizens of the State will be given to the Democratic party' at the coming election! It may be true that the withdrawal of the Catholic voters would ruin the Democratic party in Ohio; but is not a submission to Catholic authority likely to alienate the support of an equal number of Protestants, and would not that be equally fatal to the party? Protestants will come to this issue regretfully, but they will not tamely submit to the subversion of the common-school system; and if Catholics take the question to the polls, Protestants will meet them there."

Further, this appeal of the Catholic party to the polls, about which so many liberals are either incredulous, jocular, or disdainful, is quietly going on in many quarters, not in a way usually to excite much attention, but yet in a way to secure the substantial fruits of victory. How many of the liberals are even aware that in East St. Louis the Catholics have actually succeeded in getting control of the school system? To show the tactics of the enemy, and to reveal the kind of danger to which the school system is exposed at their hands, we quote the following article from the Louisville (Kentucky) *Catholic Advocate* of August 12, notwithstanding its length; and we trust that no one of our readers will pass it over unread:—

PRO RATA SCHOOL TAX IN EAST ST. LOUIS.

Having heard, in an unreliable way, that the school trustees of East St. Louis had granted to the Catholic parochial schools their *pro rata* share of the school fund, we were naturally gladdened, but doubted the truth of the report. Being unwilling to make the *Advocate* the vehicle of unproven news, we wrote to Very Rev. P. J. O'Falloran, V. F., inquiring into the truth or fallacy of the report, and asking for information as to the means that were adopted to procure so happy a result. The following letter was received in reply:—

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., Aug. 4, 1875.

EDITOR CATHOLIC ADVOCATE:—

Yours of the 28th ult. was received, but, being absent from home, I could not answer you ere this. The scrap of news hailing from East St. Louis is true. The board of education permits us to select our own teachers, and they are approved of by the board according to law. Catechism is taught outside of school hours in the school rooms. Our textbooks are all right.

You seem anxious to know how comes it that our schools are supported by the public funds. Well, it is this wise: the majority of our population are Catholics, and they elect Catholic directors. This is the key that solves the grant.

You may make any comment you please. I simply give you the facts as required.

Yours very respectfully,

P. J. O'FALLORAN, V. F.

The Very Rev. gentleman invites us to make any

comments we please. The only comment that occurs to us is that Catholics may from this plainly see for themselves that the settlement of this fretted question depends altogether on votes. In cities, where justice to Catholics is most easy, there are always a sufficient number of Catholic voters to turn the tide of election in any way they please, if they will but unite and intelligently use their franchise—the only argument that can reach the non-Catholic public.

It is by no means necessary that Catholics should be in a majority in a community to obtain a division of the school fund—a small return for what they yearly pay for this purpose into the public treasury. It is only necessary that they should allow politicians to divide among themselves, as their own ambition and pecuniary interests will always divide them, and then cast the weight of the Catholic vote in favor of every good man who is willing to support the Catholic claim for justice. *In this way a comparatively small band of voters may elect to office men of their own principles.*

As an illustration of this statement let us take the August election of 1871 in Louisville. We select the figures of that year because those of the election of the second inst. are not yet returned for Jefferson County. In that election of '71 Governor Leslie was elected over General Harlan. Leslie ran with all the advantages that a Democratic candidate of great popularity possesses in Kentucky, and General Harlan with the disadvantages attendant on being a Republican. We have selected these two candidates in order to bring out the greatest majority attainable in any election contested by Democrat and Republican in Kentucky.

In that election Leslie received from Louisville and the rest of Jefferson County a total vote of 10,195, Harlan 5,532. So in this county Leslie's majority was 4,663. In that election, half this number, that is, 2,332 Democratic voters, held "the balance of power," and could, if they had voted for Harlan, have given him a majority of one vote in the county. As Kentucky Catholics are nearly all Democrats, it is fair to say that all the Catholics that voted in the '71 election voted for Leslie and against Harlan. And it would have taken but 2,332 Catholic votes to have given Harlan a majority in Louisville. It is also safe to say that there are 7,000 Catholic voters in Louisville alone—and not much short of 2,500 in all the societies in the city. So, then, at any time the Catholic societies alone choose to unite and agree upon an election policy, they can give a majority in Louisville to the most unpopular candidate. Judging from what is done at elections we are bound to conclude that our Catholic people are totally ignorant of their own strength, or very indifferent how they use it. Perhaps it is true to say that the great majority are both ignorant and indifferent. There is no gratitude in politics; but interest takes the place of gratitude, and people act accordingly. Catholics have served Democracy for generations, yet the Democratic party in Kentucky to-day robs them yearly of ten dollars per voter for school tax, nor gives them a copper in return. And the Democratic party will always act thus unless they are forced to yield to the cry of justice.

This forcing can be done only by a wholesale desertion of Catholics in Louisville to the ranks of the enemy. This desertion need not be permanent, but only so long as would be necessary to prove to the dominant party that Catholics do not belong soul and body to it; that they will not vote with a party that passes laws to plunder them, and that they will look out for their own interests first, and their neighbors' after. Were 2,500 Catholics in Louisville to vote the Republican ticket for one or two elections, not for love of the Republicans but to show their power to the Democrats, there would be no more trouble about the school tax.

Now these 2,500 votes can easily be mobilized in societies, and it is to be hoped that the coming State Convention, on the 25th inst., will effectively look into the school question, and devise such means as will obtain for the unfortunate and schoolless Catholic children of Louisville the same justice that well-applied votes have obtained in East St. Louis.

Such are a few of the signs of the time—mere specimens of what a vigilant eye may discern every day in the teeming American press. We have hastily brought them together here for a purpose: namely, to show that the same great conflict between the Catholic Church and the secular modern State which is now agitating Europe to its centre is slowly but surely making its way into American politics, and that we are playing the part of idiots to shut our eyes contemptuously or indolently to the vast public danger it involves.

Now what is the argument that *Viator*, representing a very large number of our most patriotic citizens, advances to prove the unreality of this danger? Briefly, that the Catholics are now, and are likely to remain, in a minority of the whole population; and that no real danger can arise till they constitute a numerical majority of it. What is our general reply to this argument? This—that, as the above article from the *Catholic Advocate* demonstrates, the danger begins long before the Catholics become a majority, and that it consists in the existence of a powerful, united, and thoroughly disciplined minority, holding the balance of power and utterly unscrupulous in the use of it. We are willing to concede for the sake of argument the main point of *Viator*,

though it is susceptible of considerable modification; but we maintain, nevertheless, that, so long as the great majority of the people are blind to the danger that exists, remains split into endless divisions among themselves, and take no measures for self-defence, they are practically at the mercy of the strong and united minority generalised by the Roman Catholic Bishops.

It is no new thing for a minority to govern. Alexander the Great, with a mere handful of well-organized, well-disciplined soldiers, defeated the swarming myriads of Darius in battle after battle, overthrew the Persian throne, and conquered an empire inconceivably vaster, richer, and more populous than his own little pocket-kingdom of Macedonia. Cortes and Pizarro did the same in Mexico and Peru. Not to go so far from home for illustrations, we need only look at the conquest of the United States not so very long ago by a minority of 300,000 slave-holders, who compelled the North for many decades to obey their imperious will; we need only look at the still more recent conquest of New York by the ridiculously small Tammany Ring, which for years ruled and robbed without check the commercial metropolis of our own country, simply because they were cunning and organized, while the great public were stupid, indifferent, and disunited. What gigantic and persistent exertions were necessary to break the sceptre of this half-dozen of treasury-thieves, and how small has been the success of those who tried to bring them to justice! Has not the arch-thief of the Ring brought to his feet David Dudley Field, one of the most eminent leading lawyers of New York, and by the power of money compelled him to prostitute his great talents to the work of saving to the thief his stolen \$6,000,000? Minority, indeed! Has not the world been ruled by minorities from time immemorial? The Catholic party is certainly a minority; nevertheless, it is winning victory after victory over the great helpless majority, and will continue to do so, fastening itself on the neck of the nation like the Old Man of the Sea on the neck of Sinbad the sailor, unless the majority have sense enough to open their eyes and combine to protect their liberties. Consider the chief elements of power possessed by the Catholic party.

1. The Roman Catholic Church is a FOREIGN POLITICAL POWER, aiming at universal dominion and hostile to every fundamental principle of the United States government and Constitution. Planted in American soil, it has but one concentrated and unsleeping ambition—to annex America to the Pope's vast diocese, by substituting the principles of Roman despotism for the principles of American freedom.

2. It is a SINGLE POWER, organized throughout to accomplish its one definite end, and wielding all its vast resources through a close corporation or oligarchy of Bishops. Its policy is unchanging, because seeking only its own aggrandizement; and its despotic organization is so cunningly constructed as to concentrate all its energies on the execution of this one fixed purpose.

3. The number of Catholics in this country is very great, and increasing more rapidly in proportion to the population than all other sects combined. Such, at least, is the statement and the claim.

4. The wealth of the Church, which is the great deadly weapon of its ambition, is already immense, and is accumulating with vast and disproportionate rapidity under the suicidal policy of the non-taxation of church property. With consummate sagacity, the Bishops have it all in their own hands in fee simple, and invest it as much as possible in real estate, holding it untaxed while its value rises through the labors of the outside world. Besides the constant contributions they collect in small sums from all their own members, they thus contrive to levy taxes on the general community, and put their hands into the pocket of every business man in the nation. In this manner they are compelling the American people to forge weapons to be used in the destruction of their own rights and liberties. History and experience go for nothing with the apathetic public, who submit to all this in the half-defined but insane notion that somehow or other the laws of Nature are not the same here as in the Old World. Meanwhile the process continues, and the Roman Catholic Church is becoming by far the richest corporation in the land, with all its despotic money-power in the hands of sixty-four Bishops who use it only to make it greater still.

5. The undoubtedly sincere devotion and self-sacrifice of the Roman Catholic clergy, who suppose themselves to be doing God service in thus working for the aggrandizement of the Church, must be

reckoned one of the chief elements of its power; for it enlists conscience on the side of their fanaticism, and commands submission from the ignorant millions they lead. But it is consistent with utter unscrupulousness in dealing with the heretic Protestant and non-Christian community; and thus the operations and plots of the priesthood are disguised from the easy-going, incredulous public.

6. But greater than all these positive sources of strength put together is the weakness of the public conscience and the unsuspiciousness of the public intelligence. The people submit half angrily, half lazily, to the control of caucus managers, petty rings, and utterly selfish politicians, who are all ready to make any sacrifice for immediate partisan success, and therefore to make any bargain, however corrupt, with those who hold the balance of power. Here is the unguarded point in the defences of the public freedom. It is this moral weakness and mental blindness of the people themselves which alone make the Catholic minority dangerous to the country. It will soon hold the balance of power; and therefore, minority though it be, the swarming army of truckling politicians, which controls the course of public affairs in all except great crises, will soon be cringing at its feet. America need fear nothing from Rome, were she only wise and virtuous enough not to entrust her destinies to unworthy hands; and, if she fall a victim at last, she will have only her own lack of virtue and intelligence to thank. But, things being as they are, we concede the full strength of *Viator's* argument, and reply nevertheless that the Catholic Church in America is a constant menace to liberty and a source of the gravest and most rapidly increasing peril to republican institutions.

And the safeguard?

Not panic, and not persecution; but, on the contrary, as we said last week, the immediate secularization of the State by the abolition of the existing legal privileges of the Church, and the adoption forthwith of the principle of universal guaranteed (or "compulsory") education. There is no need to be terrified, or to have recourse to the slightest oppression of the Catholic Church; but there is most pressing need of universal acquiescence in the "Demands of Liberalism," and of universal adoption of the policy which shall ensure a good elementary education to every child born in the land. These things are just, right, wise, practical, indispensable; and, we say it with utter coolness and deliberation, the continued existence of this free republic depends on their being done—the sooner, the better.

BY THE SEASIDE.

SWAMPSCOTT, Mass., Aug. 16, 1875.

A tempting and friendly offer, which promised to combine home-comfort and quiet with the luxuries of sea-air and bathing, brought me here to this sea-shore town, where the busy merchants of Boston come nightly to refresh their exhausted energies. Little do we see of the fashion and luxury for which the place is famous; but the roll of its chariots and the dust which they create remind us of its presence, and our young maidens wear reform-dress, and go bathing and boating and berrying without any hindrance from Mrs. Grundy. One may be very independent almost anywhere, if one chooses.

The health-giving influences of the sea-air are made still sweeter by the thought of the home for poor children, which a State benevolence has opened a little farther on. For when one sees the prodigality with which Nature has spread this feast of rock and beach and sea and sun and sky and moonlight gleaming on the waters, one feels as if every one of God's children ought to have a chance to bathe in these waters and be healed. We hope the new Lynn railroad will safely carry thousands upon thousands to enjoy their ten-cent ride and bath upon Chelsea Beach. Cannot Boston benevolence annex still more of the sea-shore, and put up the cheapest of houses on some of the beaches, so that every family can get away for a week or so during the summer; and, face to face with old ocean,

"Have glimpses of a faith to make them less forlorn,
Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea,
Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn?"

It is a speculation I should like to see tried; and I believe, with Col. Sellers, "there's millions in it."

Another great pleasure of this life is the quiet reading, not confined to hours when one is too weary to do anything else; not in snatches between anxious committee-meetings and busy household duties; but long hours of quiet reading on the piazza, dreaming between the chapters as the eye

rooms over sea and land, and giving one's self wholly up to the author's mood, and following where he leads.

So have I read that charming book already noticed in this paper, the *Life of Ezra Stiles Gannett*, by his son, Wm. C. Gannett; a book which portrays the mind of its subject and reveals the spirit of its writer. A thoroughly good biography is almost as rare as an epic poem. I cannot recall one of the heroes of our own day, whose record has been made by so true and so loving a pen as this. It is as sincere and interesting as the life of Blanco White, and far more beautiful; for we have here not only the intellectual and theological career analyzed and fairly judged, but the poetic imagination of the writer has brought before our eyes all the charm of home life, and the growth and beauty of the affectional relation of pastor and people. It offers a very profound psychological study, and shows us how deeply the Calvinistic influences have struck root in New England nature, and how far their baleful influence may extend. And yet Mr. Gannett is just to Calvinism, and has contributed no small share to one of the most important tasks which lies before Free Religious thinkers; namely, to show the true relation of Calvinism to human nature,—to explain its immense influence, and so, if possible, to retain its strength and value without perpetuating its errors and its horrors.

Catholicism understands well the tender weaknesses and sentimentalities of human nature, and knows how to adapt itself to almost every mood of the soul, giving it palliatives rather than remedies; the stronghold of Calvinism is in the dark, morbid humors which fill the mind with terror, and make the harshest surgery seem the needful cure. Its stronghold is the conscience, capable of the intensest sensibility. In the train of Catholicism come beauty, and peace, and sensuous joy in religion; Calvinism brings strong activities, and stern sense of duty and right. With Dr. Gannett, the high priest of Unitarianism, remained yet much of the influence of Calvinism; and if we must charge it with most of the morbid conscientiousness and narrow views of religion which made his life a tragedy, we must also credit it with much of the strictness of moral obligations, fervid piety, and spirit of self-sacrifice which made him such a power for good in his own day, and such a lesson to ours.

E. D. C.

Communications.

"THE ANIMAL"—ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I find in your issue of May 13, under the head of "Glimpses," a brief paragraph concerning the opinion of the Boston *Advertiser* on the "Position of Catholics." You say that the paper referred to "fondles the tiger's cub, and swears it is only a kitten"; and you close the paragraph with the italicized words, "*The animal will grow.*"

You are no alarmist; but upon certain matters it is possible that your fears may get the better of your judgment. I can but think it so in this case; and will try, as best I can, to show the foundation for my thought.

It is true that Catholicism, if an animal, is growing in America. But you will freely admit that its growth is explained by transient, and not by permanent, facts. The number of German, French, Italian, or Spanish Romanists, who come to make their home in the United States, is comparatively trifling. Moreover, the devotedness of these people to their religion is not for a moment to be compared with that of the Irish. In point of fact, it has come very nearly to this: that, if you speak of a Roman Catholic in America, you are almost invariably understood as meaning an Irishman or Irishwoman.

On first sight, this may not carry great weight as an argument. On second sight, there arises a thought; namely, that the fears of danger, if any, to be apprehended are supposed to be based on the present and prospective Irish Catholic population of our country. Not that nationality would produce any marked difference in the feeling of all Catholics, nor in their action, should emergencies arise; but that the chief recruitment of the Romish Church in America is through Irish immigration.

Let us suppose that there are now, in the United States, the entire number of Roman Catholics claimed by themselves—near seven millions. The entire population of Ireland is about five and one-half millions. Careful encyclopædists give eighty per cent. of Romanists. At this rate, the Irish Catholic population of Ireland is about four and one-half millions. Should there be a general exodus of this population, it would augment the number of inhabitants in this country to about forty-five or forty-six millions, of which number eleven and one-half millions would be Irish Catholics. Of Catholics of all other nationalities there may be another million, though hardly more. Indeed, in the seven millions now claimed, at least six in seven are, by birth or descent, Irish. Empty Ireland into the United States, therefore, and we acquire a Catholic population which is to the non-Catholic as about one in four. That it is possible for us to receive this influx within a century may be seen from the fact that emigration from the "Emerald Isle" is at the present rate of five per cent. in five years; chiefly to America. But at the century's end, is it unfair to suppose that the ratio of increase will be such as to keep the proportion of Catholics about the same, certainly not higher?

I grant the possibility, though I doubt the probability, that the colored people of the South may fall

into the arms of Mother Church. But if they do, it will still keep the Catholic element about one-third of the entire population, unless, indeed, there should come a great influx of people from other Catholic countries. But if to know the past is to learn the future, as Confucius asserts, the statistics of immigration forbid the fear.

But there is another word to be said. It is a fact beyond dispute that the zealous, ardent, devoted Catholic is the imported article. I have been a close observer of this Catholic question for at least fifteen years; and, if I have discovered anything worth learning, one important truth is that zeal for the Catholic faith is greatly diminished in those children of Catholics who are born in this country. Especially is this noticeable among the males. I hazard the assertion that of the young men of this country, born on this soil, of immigrant Catholic parents, not thirty per cent. of them enter a church twice a year; and often, at such times, it is to come out and joke about the priest or the services. Take the next generation, the grandchildren of such Catholic immigrants, and you will find that only a mere fraction of them claim, or are willing to bear, the name of Catholic. Now I very much doubt the existence of the seven millions of nominal Catholics in the United States. I doubt even if there are five millions. But be this as it may, the proportion who are merely nominal would make a sad (?) gap in the entire number. Whether all this is because "free religion" is in the air, affecting Catholic and Protestant churches about equally, we may not know. But if it be not capable of statistical demonstration, it is at least a "sweet reasonableness" that "the animal" does not grow, healthily, in the air of the Republic. He flourishes best in the quagmires and slums of the Old World.

Much is said by people not over well-informed concerning the remarkable fecundity of Catholic, and especially of Irish, mothers. Well, there is something in this; but are we to fear, therefore, the gradual increase of this part of our population through propagation on our own soil? The paragraph above will partly answer the question, but there is more to be said. The mortality record must be taken into the account. I am not aware of the existence of any statistics bearing directly upon this point, and speaking for the country at large. Until recently, I have given the matter but little attention. But I have in a very short time learned a few important facts bearing on the question.

The city of Lowell, Mass., is perhaps as generally healthy as any other in this country. It has few of those sinks of filth which abound in many other cities. It has ample water supplies. The employments of its people are not of a seriously "wearing" character. In the mills, American, English, Irish, and French Canadian men and women are employed side by side. A sufficiently large estimate of the Catholic population places it at about one-third of the whole number of people in the city. But now mark: the official report by the superintendent of burials of the number of deaths in the city is, for the week ending July 17, 1875: "Buried in the Catholic grounds," ten; all others, five! For the previous week: In Catholic grounds, fourteen; all others, ten! For the week following: In Catholic grounds, ten; others, nine! And so it averages; or has done for the past few months. I cannot believe that Lowell is the sole city in which these things are true. This stern fact tells a story which points its own moral. God send these Catholics better knowledge of hygiene! Human life is too valuable to be so wrecked.

Now, to my own mind, the energetic efforts of the Catholic priesthood in this country arise from the knowledge of these facts. Otherwise than politically, they cannot hope to become dominant here. They know it, and the grand struggle with them is not in some far-off future when their relative strength shall have decreased. It is in the immediate now! They see—and take advantage of what the sight reveals—that politicians are to be bought with votes and money. Not a few are thus already in their pay. They are making one tremendous effort to secure to themselves every possible element of political strength, that so, like the seekers after a Christian Amendment, they may prop up for a time the decaying timbers of a worse than worthless system.

I hope I have not trespassed too largely upon your columns. It seemed to me that these things needed to be said, and your paragraph was a sort of challenge to say them. I don't believe in calling the tiger's cub a kitten; neither do I believe in calling it an elephant.

Yours, VIATOR.

LOWELL, Mass., Aug. 15.

AN OPEN LETTER TO COL. WRIGHT.

COL. C. D. WRIGHT, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor:

My dear Sir,—I thought that I could not do better with a portion of my recently enforced leisure than to read carefully your last report, fragments of which I had only previously glanced at.

Having read it with great interest and satisfaction, it seems to me only due to those who have prepared a work of so much labor, and in such an evidently honest and impartial spirit—evinced also, as it does, so much mainly sympathy for the disadvantages and sufferings, not to say wrongs, under which the laboring class of our citizens are placed by our present system of industry,—to give some expression to my approbation of your work.

Coming from an unknown and uninfluential member of the class your report so powerfully befriends, I am aware that this will be of no value to you except as an indication that the spirit of fairness displayed is appreciated, to some extent, by those who never expect and seldom receive much consideration from "the powers that be."

I admire, even more than the intelligent review your report exhibits of the condition of the working classes of this commonwealth, the independent and manly tone that pervades the document. I see no indication of a desire to cover up defects, or to conciliate or please important interests or parties; and I believe that you have faithfully and earnestly endeavored to perform the duties of your position.

This faith in your integrity of purpose and openness to conviction emboldens me to call attention to two passages in Chap. 4, Part I, of the Report.

On pages 41 and 42, you present a remedy for "the overhanging domination of capital"; namely, "the elevation of the masses by educating them better."

On page 56, in explaining the effect on male operatives' wages of the introduction of child-labor into factory work, by stimulating the cupidity of employers, you suggest that, instead of denouncing employers, we "should rather find fault with human nature." You add, "And it is in this shape, as pertaining universally to human nature, that it is to be dealt with. It is for legislation to regulate human nature."

Will you pardon me for criticising these two remedies, or rather for making some remarks on them as a text? Not that I am opposed to the education of the masses,—on the contrary, I believe it to be the duty and interest of the State to see that every child born receives the fullest development of all his mental and physical faculties that can be obtained during his minority, and should have an equal start with every other child in his career of life: not that I think the regulation of the faculties of our human nature does not come within the realm of State supervision,—on the contrary, I believe that such regulation in accordance with the fundamental laws governing human relations is one of the most important functions of just government.

But the question is,—and this you do not touch upon, perhaps because it would extend your inquiries too far: Is it possible, under our present social and industrial system, for the State to exercise such supervision?

If the State was really, as it is theoretically, the collective authority of the whole people, governing for the benefit of the whole people, no doubt the interests of a few could be kept subordinate to the interests of all. Every individual citizen would be protected in his rights, but would not be allowed to trespass upon the rights of others. Nor would such a state of things be allowed to exist, as would give any individual or class the control over the means of livelihood and consequent independence of another individual or class. Every citizen would be secured in the just results of his labor, but would not be allowed to appropriate to himself any portion of the labor of others.

How is it now in this commonwealth, in this nation, in this stage of civilization all the world over? Do we not see everywhere two great classes, the rich and the poor? The rich, rich not because of superior natural ability, industry, or providence; but generally by inheritance, by superior advantages in their youth, or by some privilege not enjoyed by the masses of the poor. And the poor, poor not from the want of qualities possessed by the rich, but because of the disadvantages of birth and education, or in consequence of some privilege enjoyed by the others.

I believe it will be found on inquiry that, however great an influence is exercised by the accident of birth and early training, the great fundamental cause of the disparity of classes in wealth and power is to be found in the existence of a privilege held by one class of citizens, which affords to that class a controlling influence over the most important interests of the community.

The privilege I refer to is the private ownership and control by individuals and corporations of public or common wealth. By public or common wealth, I mean that species of wealth the possession of which by private individuals or corporations gives to them power over the lives or independence of their fellows. Such a privilege, in the Southern States before the war, was the right of private property in human beings held as slaves, and bought and sold as chattels in the market. Such a privilege is with us now the—

Right of property in land, and other natural wealth:

The right of property in railways, canals, telegraphs, and other avenues of trade and communication:

The right of property in manufactories, machinery, and other means of productive industry:

The right of property in the commodities and necessities of life, during the process of exchange and transportation.

I believe that these kinds of wealth cannot be considered justly as any other than public wealth, and, as such, ought to be placed under the direction and control of the collective authority of the whole people. If commonwealth means anything, it means this; if democratic government means anything, it means this; if government "of the people, by the people, and for the people" means anything, it means this. For it is only by placing in the hands of the government the power to govern, that just government can be secured.

The governing power of the world to-day is WEALTH: and whoever holds control of the wealth of a nation holds control over all its public interests.

If it can be shown that the wealth of this community is possessed almost exclusively by any class, it is clear that such class is possessed thereby of the governing power, and that it must be considered a privileged class. Our governments, national, state, and municipal, are but its creatures, and as such are subject to its interests and its will.

Also, if it can be shown that the wealth is accumulating more and more in the hands of fewer and

fewer of such class, so much more and more is its power absolute and the effect pernicious.

Can any one doubt that this is the state of things to-day in these United States? Witness the growth in numbers and influence of giant corporations controlled by a few leading members of each; witness the general corruption of government, legislative and executive; witness the operations of rings and lobbies; witness the general demoralization of public sentiment. How can we expect then, by educating the masses with a fractional amount of school knowledge, or by reducing the hours of labor of our operatives, or by appealing to the human nature of their employers, to obtain a more equitable distribution of wealth and power, while such a monstrous privilege remains in the hands of such as can secure it? It is not in human nature to give it up. Our system allows and encourages the abuse of one of the best faculties of our nature, the faculty of self-preservation. Every one bewails the growth of selfishness, and our prominent teachers seem to consider that it is a vice inherent in human nature, the removal of which would remove all the evils complained of, and establish the brotherhood of man; but the fact is, in my opinion, that selfishness is but a too great development of the necessary faculty of self-preservation, the cause of which is, not anything wrong in human nature, but a neglect on the part of collective authority to keep a faculty, absolutely necessary in itself, within the proper limits necessary for the good of the whole community.

This is the fatal error in our system of society, and it consists in allowing individuals to exercise control over matters of public interest that can only be justly exercised by the people in their collective capacity.

Meanwhile the evil grows apace. It grows as fast as the growth of machinery and invention. The most rapid advances in science and art only strengthen it. The Church supports it. The press supports it. Public opinion, through all its agencies, supports it.

There is no hope but in conscience,—the conscience of that great body of the middle-class public who do not directly benefit by it, but are, at present, too conservative or too dull to perceive it. How, then, can we reach it? Through a subsidized press—a subsidized pulpit—a subsidized platform,—with editors, preachers, and lecturers interested as they think in maintaining it? We cannot expect many Carlyles or Ruskins willing to sacrifice friends, honor, and fame on the shrine of human progress.

There is one more hope—a terrible hope; and that is fear. The masses will know sooner or later the cause and remedy of their wrongs. They partially know it now. Witness the society of the Internationals,—the bloody and destructive work of the Commune! It is their interest to know it, and they wince under their oppression to-day in every civilized country. Yes; fear may do what conscience will not; but I hardly expect it. History affords us many lessons, but none that I recollect of a great revolution without a life-and-death struggle.

But why have I written all this to you? To incorporate such revolutionary ideas in your next report? No; but simply to suggest matter for your own thought, with the hope, perhaps, that, if you see any truth in them, you may help in your preparation of statistics to collect such facts as will tend to elucidate the right or wrong of these opinions.

Wishing you every success in your important and responsible office, and with great respect,

I am, dear sir, yours,

W. G. H. SMART.

"NATURE AND HUMANITY."

Mr. Charles Moran, in the last number of THE INDEX, undertakes the defence of Nature against the aspersions made upon it in Mr. Mill's *Three Essays*, and in an article in the *Westminster Review* based on the *Essays*. In the course of his criticism he makes a number of assertions without offering any proof of their correctness, and appears to misunderstand the aim of the writers whom he attacks. If Mr. Mill arraigns Nature, his real quarrel is with the theism which is based upon the false assumption that Nature is, on the whole, beneficent. With Nature itself no sensible man would dream of finding fault, any more than he would dream of decreeing a punishment against the bullet which takes away life! It is the sentient agent that propels the bullet who is held responsible. In the same way, when Mr. Mill accuses Nature of wanton cruelty, he does it for the purpose of showing the absurdity of the theory which proclaims the universe to be the work of a Creator who is at once all-wise, all-powerful, and all-good. He says the Creator may be all-powerful or he may be all-good; but he cannot be both; for, if he were, all the current attempts to explain the existence of evil would fall to the ground, and the whole argument from design becomes futile. Mr. Mill's deduction is that the only Creator whom the present share of our knowledge will permit us to believe in is one whose benevolent designs are constantly thwarted by the opposing machinations of an evil principle, and who does the best he can under the circumstances.

When Mr. Moran says that "most of the evils of which the *Westminster* critic complains are penalties inflicted by Nature for the violation of her laws," he simply repeats one of those gratuitous assumptions which are so often made to do duty as arguments, but which cannot stand the most elementary tests. Take the instance adduced by Mr. Mill, when he points out, as a conspicuous example of the cruelty of Nature, that whenever a human being is brought into the world another is literally stretched upon the rack, and, frequently, is sacrificed. What infraction of the laws of Nature are the pains of childbirth intended to punish? And will Mr.

Moran explain for what transgression the pains of dentition and other sufferings of children are intended to be a penalty? Almost his entire argument reads like a transcript from Voltaire's *Candide*. Indeed, a paragraph which he quotes from a New York newspaper even seems to be intended as a burlesque upon the optimism of the pious, as may appear from the following sentences:—

"There has been a great deal of talk about the devastations of Nature during the winter just closed. It has been entirely forgotten that all the devastations committed have been owing to man's getting in the way of Nature. The trouble of this harbor has been with the shipping, the ferry-boats, and the public. The trouble of the ocean has been with the steam-ships and the sailing vessels. The trouble with the ice-gorges has been with the villages, bridges, and factories."

If this means anything, it means that Nature is antagonistic to civilization, and delights to destroy what man, through centuries, has laboriously and painfully called into being. And that amounts to conceding the point at issue. Again, Mr. Moran says: "The natural penalties and rewards that follow every action of man are the means by which he is induced, voluntarily (?), to contribute to his own welfare and progress, instead of remaining, like the brute creation, the mere passive recipient of Nature's gratuitous bounties." Without remarking upon the comic effect of the word "voluntarily" in the foregoing sentence, it may be observed that the two ends of it contradict each other. The proportions are: (1) that man's sufferings are inflicted for the purpose of improving him; and (2) that brutes are incapable of improvement. In that case, how are the sufferings to which brutes, equally with man, are subject to be explained away? And how can Nature be absolved from cruelty in their regard?

I refrain from pointing out other inconsistencies and question-beggings in Mr. Moran's article, as I am afraid of trespassing too far upon your space; but there is nothing novel in them, and they have been refuted over and over again within the last hundred years. It is one of the beauties of Nature that error exhibits the most wonderful vitality, and, though often scotched, is seldom killed. A. T.

NEW YORK, August 14, 1875.

NATURE RESPONSIBLE.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—With all diffidence in appearing to be, be it never so humbly, a defender of that great logician and thinker, John Stuart Mill, I should like Mr. Charles Moran to answer the following questions:—

If the seeds that are produced by Nature's monstrous fecundity "become the food of other organisms, or enrich the soil in which they die," who but Nature is responsible for the clumsy means of attaining those ends?

If the "ravages committed by locusts, grasshoppers, and other insects, are mainly due to the destruction by man of birds and other vital organisms that prey on these insects," who made man of such qualities as induced him to this, if Nature did not?

When man launches steam-boats, builds bridges which become engulfed by ice-gorges, scales mountains, dives into the sea, plunges into the bowels of the earth, and, in a word (to use the language of the New York journal which is adopted by Mr. Moran), "tries to cross-examine Nature," and encounters calamity, is it not Nature that impresses him with the faculties which impel him to the several acts?

These questions, if answered in the affirmative, must land us again on the charges made by Mill against Nature.

The fundamental error committed by Mr. Moran is in ignoring Mill's definition of the word "Nature," to which he devotes so considerable a portion of his essay.

That definition includes, as I understand it, not only man's ignorance, but his ambition, his obstinacy, and all his other "natural impulses." If these lead him to destruction, that destruction is one of the results of the clumsy methods by which Nature seeks to obtain her alleged ends.

Yours truly, SAM'L R. HONEY.

NEWPORT, R. I., Aug. 18.

KNOWLEDGE AND FAITH.

How little the faith preached by the Christian minister and sought by the credulous devotee of the Orthodox religion avails in the actual struggle of life! The laws of life are stern and inexorable, and no degree of faith in the supernatural can protect man from the consequences of his ignorance. Weekly do the pulpits of our country inculcate the principles of an anti-natural religion. In the very face of knowledge, superstition is taught as the guide of life. Every principle of reason and common sense which men are accustomed to employ in the practical affairs of this world is set aside by the religious teacher who seeks to perpetuate the old system of supernaturalism.

We hear people of every degree of character and of every condition in life admonished to "come to Christ," and be "one" in this supernatural faith; disregarding the patent truth that a disposition that has been acquired by hereditary laws and long years of natural education cannot be changed in a moment, and that those who have professed Christianity are not one in moral and religious character, any more than the adherents of a political party are one in fidelity and zeal.

Some time ago I attended a meeting of a Baptist congregation, and heard the preacher warn the members of his church against "laying up treasures on earth"; telling them to "take no thought for the morrow," but to trust the Providence that "feeds

the sparrow." I looked around on the audience, many of whom had felt the severe hardships of that "ill-matched pair, age and want," during the past year of destitution in our country; and I felt with deep indignation the profane mockery of this ancient superstition. How many of our Western people have been protected from the ravages of want by this blind faith in a supernatural providence during the late famine that has prevailed in their country? How do starving innocence and destitute righteousness confront this doctrine? The wail of suffering that is now heard all over our country, proceeding from the very altars of prayer and faith in many cases, is a crushing refutation of this superstition which the pulpit still teaches, and many good people try to believe. The ever-present laws and facts of Nature are contemptuously ignored by those who claim to teach the "way of life"; and a vain, delusive, impracticable system of superstitions is inculcated instead of the true philosophy of life, which would make men and women strong and self-reliant in the struggle with the evils of this world.

How long must superstition in religion repress the saving philosophy of science, and stupefy the human mind by exacting belief in dogmas that were conceived in ages of ignorance, before the light of knowledge dawned on this benighted world? How long will enlightened men and women support a theology that enslaves reason, by thrusting the supernatural into the affairs of this life, where law and natural causation are seen to prevail by all who have eyes to see and minds to reflect? When will the palpable inconsistencies and absurdities of popular religious belief and teaching be subjected to that common-sense examination which man applies to other subjects, and the false and pernicious cast out of our systems of faith as the errors of science are omitted from new editions of text books?

H. CLAY NEVILLE.

OZARK, Mo., July 31, 1875.

ABOUT "BITTERS": MASKED RUMSELLING.

EDITOR INDEX:—

In view of the artful and persistent advertising of disguised alcoholic poisons, the following extracts from the Annual Address of the President of the Michigan State Board of Health deserve a wide, as well as attentive, reading.

Every paper (glad yours is not one of them) that, "for a consideration," admits to its columns those paragons of puffery above referred to, ought, for the sake of justice and humanity, to print beside them, in every issue, and as conspicuously, Dr. Hitchcock's warning. N. E. BOYD.

PORTLAND, Me., Aug. 4, 1875.

EXTRACTS.

The baneful influence which so-called "patent medicines," and especially those bearing the name "bitters," have in securing recruits to the grand army of inebriates, is a matter of common observation. Some men drink these vile compounds, it is true, intelligently, thinking it a concealed or an excused way of taking whiskey; but many others, somewhat ailing, and for whom a neighbor, or perhaps a lazy or ignorant doctor, has recommended some "bitters," take them in ignorance, and continue to do so until the depraved appetite has been generated and fixed, and the way down to confirmed inebriety is straight and swift.

That I might speak intelligently upon this point, I have requested Prof. R. C. Kedzie to make an analysis of two specimens of these "bitters." I give his analysis below:—

LANSING, Feb. 4, 1874.

H. O. HITCHCOCK, M. D., President of State Board of Health.—Dear Doctor,—I have examined a bottle of "Drake's Plantation Bitters," and find it contains 36.14 per cent. of alcohol. I have also examined a bottle of "Hostetter's Stomach Bitters," and find it contains 40.14 per cent. of alcohol. Very respectfully,

R. C. KEDZIE,

Member of State Board of Health.

The doctor adds, "It is horrible to think that the sick and feeble should be beguiled by the promise and hope of health to resort to the use of these 'bitters'—persons, too, who would recoil from the habitual use of whiskey and rum. Yet if they use these bitters according to directions, and follow this course for any long period of time, they are unwittingly on the road to drunkenness. Any one would recognize this danger, if advised to take 'a wine-glassful' of whiskey or rum before each meal; but when they do the same thing unwarned, they still run the same perilous course so far as the establishment of an alcoholic appetite is concerned."

"Drake's Plantation Bitters contain a pint of poor rum, and four ounces of other material for flavoring, etc. Its use as a morning appetizer old soakers will fully appreciate."

"Hostetter's Bitters are worse than Drake's, as they contain more alcohol, and that more nicely disguised with sugar and aromatics. A bottle of Hostetter's contains the alcohol of one pint of whiskey."

"Is it not the duty of this Board," continues Dr. Hitchcock, "to recommend to the legislature to pass a law requiring that the manufacturers of all such 'bitters,' if they are to be sold at all in this State, should put conspicuously upon the label of each and every bottle the exact per cent. of alcohol in its contents? This would compel these vile compounds at least to take their places with alcoholic drinks, where they belong. Let the failure to label each and every bottle of such medicines sold within the State be visited with condign punishment, both upon the manufacturer and upon the seller."

The legislature has wisely passed an act to prevent the advertisement and sale of drugs and medicines designed to produce criminal abortion; but shall the State put such obstacles in the way of a woman who would prevent herself from becoming the mother of a child by a debased and drunken husband, with all the possibilities attaching to that child of being idiotic, insane, a criminal from inherited predisposition, or a worse drunkard than him who begat him; and shall it not put any obstacle in the way of a father or a mother becoming unwittingly possessed of the drunkard's appetite, and unwittingly made to bequeath to their offspring the drunkard's entailments?

A FIFESHIRE MAN recently took his child to the minister to be baptized, who asked him, "Are you prepared for so solemn and important an occasion?" "Prepared!" he echoed, with some indignation; "I hae a firlo' o' bannock bakin', two hams, an' a gallon o' the best Highland whuskey; an' I wad like to ken what better preparations ye expect frae a man in my condition o' life?"

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

ABRAM WALTER STEVENS.

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THE INDEX aims—

To increase general intelligence with respect to religion;

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual;

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

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Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India;" also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

Proceedings of Fifth Annual Meeting, 1872. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by J. W. Chadwick on "Liberty and the Church in America," by C. D. B. Mills on "Religion as the Expression of a Permanent Sentiment of the Human Mind," and by O. B. Frothingham on "The Religion of Humanity," with addresses by Rowland Connor, Celia Burleigh, Lucretia Mott, A. B. Alcott, C. A. Bartol, Horace Seaver, Alexander Loos, and others.

Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1873. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. S. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership."

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

"Should any readers wish to know more of such an Association, the first of these selections may meet their desire.—W. J. P."

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1875.

WHOLE No. 298.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —:

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

THE CATHOLIC RIOT in Montreal over the funeral of Joseph Guibord is a little cloud no bigger than a man's hand; but the shower is coming.

NEW YORK CITY has a debt of \$120,000,000, more than one-tenth of its entire assessed value. It is the result of the alliance of Democracy with Catholicism.

MR. D. H. CLARK, whose excellent articles in THE INDEX have been so well appreciated by its readers, has just entered upon his new engagement with the "Cosmians" at Florence, Massachusetts.

THE NUMBER of Presbyterians throughout the world is estimated as 30,000,000, or about a third of the populations classed as Protestant. The new Alliance aims to unite them all in one powerful church.

HOPES ARE cherished by many that the Conference of the Old Catholics, Greeks, and Anglicans at Bonn will lead eventually to the "Reunion of Christendom." How is that to be accomplished, if Rome is left out?

THE BONN CONFERENCE has come to an agreement as to the Procession of the Holy Ghost. This intelligence must bring rapture to all pious souls, whose chief anxiety now will be to know when the Procession starts.

CHURCH UNION is all the rage now-a-days. The believers are closing ranks, while the unbelievers fight "each on his own hook." Old Æsop has a pertinent fable about a bundle of sticks which it might be impertinence to allude to in this presence!

SAYS THE *Rocky Mountain News*: "The opinion of the best informed is that woman suffrage in Wyoming has resulted in making everything just as it was before, only a little more so." Captain Jack Bunsby, it seems, has got as far West as the Rocky Mountains.

DR. DOELLINGER's plan of confederation and intercommunion among the separated churches is based "on a mutual recognition of primitive truth, which may enable each church to admit members of other communions to its privileges in respect of divine worship and the Christian sacraments. At the same time an actual fusion, or the sacrifice of national or traditional peculiarities of form or church constitution is not contemplated. An unambiguous expression of the substance of Christian Doctrine and Practice as taught by the Bible and Fathers of the Ancient Church is sought as the real bond of union."

AT THE organization of the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance, forty-eight bodies of that denomination, numbering twenty thousand congregations, were represented. Dr. Stuart Robinson moved the first resolution: "That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is highly desirable that means may be devised by which the Presbyterian churches distributed over the world may come into more formal and stated intercourse with one another." A second resolution was moved by Pastor Decophet of the Reformed Church of France: "That this meeting has learned with much satisfaction that it has been resolved to form a Presbyterian Alliance, meeting from time to time in General Council, and cordially desires that the Divine blessing may rest on the scheme which has been so hopefully begun." Dr. Duff, of the Free Church of Scotland, moved the third resolution: "That notwithstanding the aggressive attitude of Romanism, and the wide-spread prevalence of infidelity, and other evils, this meeting looks with perfect confidence to the coming of the time when, according to the word of Scripture prophecy, the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of God, as the waters cover the sea." All the resolutions were unanimously adopted.

A HIGHLY respected correspondent lately referred

in these deserved terms to an occasional contributor to THE INDEX whose articles we are always very glad to receive: "You remember, perhaps, the remark I made to you at —, as coming from my departed friend —, that after awhile Radicalism would get in among the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and then it would organize and go like wild-fire. You opened your eyes incredulously; but in your correspondent, Dr. S. M. Whistler, you see some justification of —'s remark. Although I have never seen the Doctor, I could tell you of his courage, self-denial, and work done since his conversion to Radicalism. The Doctor is a Scotch Presbyterian by birth and education; and, if we had a hundred like him of organizing capacity, we could revolutionize the country in twenty years. Lord! how it gravels me to see the immense mass of mind, wealth, and influence the Radicals possess, all inert and of no account! What does it mean? If I were thirty years younger, I would make a spoon or spoil a horn!—Thanks for the exposure of C. F. Adams' weakness. He has never made a diagnosis of the Church case any more than Seward did of the State case in 1861, when he predicted in his dispatch to England that the Rebellion would disappear in sixty days."

SUCH UTTERANCES as the following, made in a sermon preached on July 25, by Rev. Florence McCarthy, minister of the Amity Baptist Church, Chicago, show what a vast change is going on all about us in the religious world, however little heeded or understood by the majority of the community: "It is agreed on all hands that the Christian Church is approaching some great convulsion. Tendencies in the public mind which cannot be the effect of design or effort, because they are epidemic and as yet unintelligible, indicate some universal upheaving like that of the sixteenth century as their objective point. The unexampled interest of the human mind in religious speculation, the contempt with which ecclesiastical tribunals are regarded, the growing impotency of creeds to influence human belief, and the merciless exposure of hypocrisy and licentiousness in the pulpit, which is a part of the current reformation, all point, like the handwriting on the wall of Belshazzar's palace, to a moral earthquake, in which all existing religious institutions are to perish, and on the crater and crags of which a new and better religious vegetation is to grow. I love to anticipate it. I am a natural iconoclast, and reverence nothing simply for its age. I luxuriate in the thought that the sects and the creeds, being in their dotage, are slumbering on the brink of eternal obliteration. For I see in it, not the ruin of Christianity, but restoration, and, saturated with that impression, I behold without alarm the gathering storm, and feel without dread the premonitory breaking of the ground under my feet. So far from it, I lift my unterrified face to the heavens, and cry 'Amen! Even so, Lord Jesus, come quickly.' One of the religious evils of which I have long been weary, and which I hope and believe will perish in the coming earthquake, is the professional Christian ministry. The men who occupy the pulpit of to-day are, as a class, unworthy, dishonest, insincere, selfish, corrupt, and useless. They make a trade of religion; they believe only what will pay in money; they are afraid to denounce sin; they live, many of them, in effeminate luxury and elaborate idleness; they are morbid, jealous, bigoted, and cruel; and the sooner they are cut out of the body ecclesiastic, and the sore place burned with moral lunar caustic, the better it will be for their hearers. These evils press upon my mind constantly, and I feel moved to speak to you concerning the kind of ministers of the gospel which this wicked and sorrowing world needs." Mr. McCarthy, it appears, is a lawyer, and earns his own livelihood.

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[FOR THE INDEX.]

Pictures from My Life.

BY MRS. MARTHA C. WOODWARD.

All our lives memories come back to us in the form of pictures, standing out perfect and distinct from blank surroundings, like mosaics set in ebony ground-work. We have no memory of events before or after; simply the pictures, which are welded together by unnoticeable incidents into that consistent whole which makes up a life.

My first childish memory is of the outside appearance of an unpainted house, surrounded by an indistinct mass of grass and trees, hedged in from a deep sandy road by a zigzag rail fence. One day a deer came bounding across the road, away off in the distance, but plain enough to become daguerreotyped on my memory forever, child as I was. It was a grand sight, as I saw it then, which the long stretch of years since has glorified into a picture famous as one from the old masters. I did not know then, but I know now, that this was my first lesson in grace and grandeur of movement, as well as the deeper lesson which underlies life of the race for freedom, typified by the terror-stricken deer.

All our lives we long to cast off the trammels which bind us in fetters closer and closer, until we stifle or break our bonds, and, like the deer, go bounding away from our pursuers to broader plains, and to fields of deeper verdure, where rivers and skies alone bound our vision. This is our dream, and only a dream; the limitations of our own natures being our real trammels. Again and again we struggle for air and light; and louder the voice is heard of, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." I remember that it was talked about as something of an event that a deer should venture so near the village. Doubtless, hunters were on his track, and he was fleeing for life.

Afterward the picture changes to another and larger house, and grounds about it, in the same vicinity. There is a room where some of the family are sick. They are sick for a long time, as it seems to my childish ideas, and I wander about by myself, everybody in the world seeming to be sick. I avoid the house, except to eat and sleep. I hear them talking about that "neglected child"; but I am only too glad to escape from this mystery of pain, which I cannot understand; and I quietly keep out of the way. I am torn and tanned, as I am told,—a fact supremely indifferent to me; and I vegetate and dream my childish dreams, unconsciously tintured to a sombre hue by the cloud that darkens the house.

The picture fades. It is a spring morning, cold and shivery. Somebody notices that the peach trees are in blossom, and that the frost of the night before, which still whitens the ground, will probably kill the buds. I go out with the rest to examine. The sun now shines brightly; the air is crisp and fresh; I feel its buoyancy, and jump and run; while older and wiser heads are picking the fresh, pungent blossoms to pieces to get at the germ, and wisely shake their heads, and lift up their voices in despondent prophecy of the blighted prospects of the peach crop.

My unquestioning faith in prophecy then made this announcement of deep import. Later in life, my faith in the peach crop would have been unimpaired by croakings of seers or prophets.

My out-door surroundings are all distinct in my

memory. I am seated upon the rail fence farthest from the house. There is to be a horse race, which, I have found, is to pass this spot; and I am here to witness it. My coming has been opposed and sneered at in the house, as a very unlady-like taste for a little girl to have; and I feel very much ashamed of myself for being here. I am very sensitive to their remarks, and I feel lowered in my own estimation as I sit here watching for the horses; and, as I think of it, my pleasure is half gone. But, presently, the horses' hoofs come thundering along the road, and every other feeling is drowned in the supreme delight of the moment, when the horses approach faster and faster, and in an instant of time pass and recede in the distance, leaving me in a triumphant glow of enthusiasm, gazing until they become but a speck on the horizon.

Again I remember a day in the deep, dense woods. My father, who delighted in this new and primitive country, entered into its pleasures with real enjoyment; and furthermore took pleasure in having some one of us children in attendance, usually myself, as being more fond of "roughing it" than the others. So we were in the woods, ostensibly for nuts; but I think now that my father loved to penetrate to the very heart of Nature in this way, and liked my childish companionship as a protection from the intense solitude. The trees, as I remember, seemed to me awful in their height and grandeur. It was a sunny autumnal day; the woods were alive with the sounds of its denizens; insects and birds were clamorous; deer were occasionally seen bounding away from our approach. I see the sunlight struggling down through the tall trees, and feel the fresh breath of the woods, as plainly as if it were but yesterday; and I, the child, following my father close, awed and fearful in great Nature's solitude. And when we emerged from these depths to the broad light of day, my father carrying the bag of nuts upon his back, and I walking by his side, we felt like two Rip Van Winkles, returning from a twenty years' sleep.

I know we must have had a dazed appearance after our visit to those "vast primeval shades." We ourselves must have felt disappointed in the common-place indications of civilization which our village presented, after having all day dwelt in Nature's temples, with high, over-arching trees, and glimpses of sunshine penetrating through leaves and branches, and frescoing our shelter in fantastic and beautiful designs,—and all the time having a secret knowledge, which we of course did not mention to each other, of wood nymphs and dryads peeping out from nooks and hollow places in the trees at us. When we came to a fresh green sward, looking as if it had been newly swept, we instinctively knew that fairies had danced there. In some places the moss looked as if it had been crushed; and doubtless they had had a regular break-down the night before in this very spot, and in their abandonment to fun and frolic had sunk down upon the moss, disturbing its smooth surface. They might have been all the time in the tree-tops, pelting us with leaves; it might have been they who shook down the nuts, which we stupidly gathered without knowing that they were fairy gifts. What clumsy stoics we must have seemed to them! How they must have mimicked and made fun of us all day long!

"But then, my dear wood nymphs, dryads, and fairies," I might have said (I did not, but I might have reasoned the case with them in this wise, and I know my father would not have blamed me), "you must remember that you are a fantastic and airy race, like Will-o'-the-wisps, decoying the unwary into lonesome glens and through tangled briers. You simply live for your own pleasures; you gambol and sport in brooks and streams; you frolic in the moonlight, and sink to rest in the bosom of roses; you sip the breath of flowers, and proudly you throne yourself on the leaf of a lily to catch the first rays of the morning sun. In a word, my dear fairies, you are without souls; after a life of pleasure you are but a breath of wind. We, to be sure, beside your fragile forms, appear common and rough; our hands and feet are large; coarse garments clothe us; but we have souls. Therefore we have responsibilities; we have work to do for others; we are gathering these nuts for somebody, and you in sport have helped us in doing so, working better than you knew. There is a legend, dear fairies, that, when we die, we shall rise again in some happier land, provided for us by a kind Father!"

I can imagine that at this they would have made a grand rush for their buttercups and their anemones, to cover themselves from my just reproof; and quietly my father and I would have taken up our bag of nuts, as mortals having cares and responsibilities, turning our backs upon these creatures of a day with contemptuous pity.

No wonder that we should look dazed, and feel dazed, as we entered our village, or even that our civilization should appear such a poor effort. For had we not argued with fairies? Had we not asserted ourselves as mortals? Had not these fairies made an ignominious retreat to their buttercups, leaving us victors of the field?

I can imagine that there would have been wild doings in those grand old woods that night; that wood nymphs, sprites, fairies, elves, and dryads would assemble in solemn conclave to devise means for their better protection against future intrusion, disturbing the birds in the domesticity of their nests by their clamorous arguments. The woodpecker would come out, and beat his tattoo on the big beach-tree, not knowing if war had been declared; and the squirrel would venture out of his hole, cautiously gaze, and with scared eyes run for his life. And I can imagine that all this flourish of trumpets would end in a disorderly break-up, and that soon fun and frolic would take the place of these wise beginnings.

Already, in the brook yonder, naiads are building boats from the leaves of the wild rose-bushes which border its banks, while others are boldly pushing out to sea on one of the petals which the builders have discarded. There is a very whirlwind of flitting sounds in the air; fairies are careering about on moonbeams over the tallest trees, pelting each other with dew-drops, catching at the tiniest twigs, playing pranks upon respectable bugs and insects, who venture to chirp a disapproval of these midnight doings. So it goes on all through the night; but, by the time daylight dawns, and the sun's splendor illuminates the world, these revellers have all trooped back to their haunts. The hunter resting in these great shades through the day is soothed to sleep by their gossip with one another; and, when he wakes, looks about with a dazed feeling, as if he had been entertained with village stories. And well he may; my father and I can understand, for we, too, have been entertained by fairies.

I remember, in those long-ago days, sitting before blazing fires, studying lessons for the next day's triumphs at the village school,—our reputation for erudition being as much at stake then as at any time in after life.

I remember the moonshiny winter evenings, when we were allowed to go out to the fields covered with ice for skating. Then we could not have imagined the walls and amphitheatres and the brilliant illuminations of modern improvements. We should have missed the companionship of the stars; we liked to feel that they were looking down upon us, and shooting about in unusual excitement over our sports. The moon would have been indispensable to our pleasures, affording us the light of her countenance as well as lifting our souls to poetic inspiration by her grandeur of movement, sailing in space far above us. For, though we enjoyed our sports in themselves, we enjoyed more unconsciously to ourselves the poetry of motion and of sounds, the glamour of moonlight, and the twinkling of the stars overhead.

Old Boreas sometimes treated us to a good blowing-up. Whether he did not like our noisy sports, just because he was old and crabbed, I do not know; but suddenly clouds of snow would come down upon us, scattering us to the four winds in search of shelter. In return for this shabby treatment, we would shake our puny fists in his face, and declare that he was a very disagreeable old fellow. Or, if I did not then, I think I should do so now. There is nothing like looking our wrongs squarely in the face, and courageously defying them. I have learned never to cower before a misfortune, but to make a great bound for the reins, taking them in my own hands; and leisurely considering the matter in all its bearings reduce it to philosophical interpretation. I will not be ridden over rough-shod; if my heart is breaking, I must drive. Then I can make great leaps over rough places; but I shall drive with slow and nerveless hand around dead bodies. Fate may guide the reins, but let me hold them.

Nature inclines to meditation. The problems of philosophers are wrought out in her companionship. The soul expands to its full proportions under her ministrations, giving a healthful impulse to vice itself; and, if I unwittingly loved her in those childish days, now in the days of my maturity I worship her, as in her bosom containing the essence of all knowledge.

In memory I hear them talking with anxious voices about that "odd child," wandering off by herself in such a way, and getting tanned to a copper color. I was sorry, and to be called odd was like a blow to me; but I went.

All around the fences in the fields raspberry bushes grew. The field I remember most distinctly is the one where to me a miracle was wrought. All the morning I had picked berries with about my usual success, when suddenly seeing some rocks in the distance surrounded with bushes, I was tempted to venture through the tall, damp grass to reach them,—my desire for investigation overcoming my terror of bugs and snakes, which I must say was the one great drawback to my ruralizing proclivities. Presently, coming upon a small, flat rock overgrown with tangled grass and low, running vines, I knelt down, and parted the foliage with my hands; and lo, a miracle! The ground was covered with deep, large, luscious blackberries, such as never before were seen. I knelt, awed for a moment, gazing upon this phenomenon; I expected them to vanish from before my eyes; but, venturing to pick one, and even to eat it, I found that, like the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge, it was pleasant to the taste; and, gaining courage, I picked them all. Venturing still farther on to a clump of higher bushes, I came upon a variety of wild grape, or plum, as they seemed. I have never seen anything like them since.

What convinced me of the fact of this being a miracle was that a day or two after, on going to the same spot, no such bushes or berries were to be found. Some one may incredulously suggest that probably these marvellous berries were simply dew-berries, which, they will say, grow just in this way. Yes, of course; but have I not said that I never saw or tasted any such before? And in any case explanations are odious.

A little incident of my later years comes to my mind, connected with this subject of the unbelief of others in things plain as day to ourselves.

We were sitting on the piazza of our hotel, facing the waters of Lake Superior, watching the arrivals from the boats, each one looking for some familiar face among the number now approaching; when in the crowd we recognized our old friend, Judge, P. from home. Accompanying him were one or two others with whom we were casually acquainted. After greeting them, of course the weather was discussed with the interest exhibited by people who

had come so far in search of the cool breezes of the upper lakes. The day was particularly fine and pleasant. Our friend remarked upon it, and compared it with the extreme heat at home, which he declared was intense and unendurable. Just then he was interrupted by one of the companions of his voyage quietly remarking, with unmoved countenance, "that it was just about such a day as this when we left." This remark came from a lady.

Our friend turned, and gave her a look of wondering surprise, and immediately changed the conversation. Nothing more was said then; but, after our return, again meeting him, I alluded to the manner in which he had been snubbed. Whereupon he indignantly broke out with the remark that, of course, she was cold; and added with emphasis that "she would be cold anywhere."

Another picture in my memory of those childish days is of a pair of butternut-stained hands in process of renovation through brushes, soap, and water. I shall never forget the shame of that time. An itinerant writing-master had, it seemed, come to the village, and, as it had long been felt by the family that some civilizing means ought to be used for my improvement, they took advantage of this school, about to be opened, to have me attend. But on inspection it was found that my hands were so thoroughly stained with the butternuts which I had commenced cracking long before they were in a state to be cracked, that at first it was thought I should be unable to hold a pen; and it was thrown at me that I was really not fit to go anywhere. To this day, one discouraging word from my friends is sufficient to dishearten me; and in the more sensitive days of my childhood it amounted to absolute misery. I felt that the wretch did not breathe, so lost to every sense of propriety. Disgrace was imminent, when one day a lady friend came to the house, and, the case being discussed, she volunteered, if I were allowed to go, to undertake the task of erasing the stains from my hands, and reducing them to their usual brown color. This lady was very handsome, and very fastidious, and to have her even look at such hands filled me with shame. Nevertheless, she took me in hand, and the scene of brushing and scrubbing is indelibly impressed upon my mind.

Afterward came those long lonesome summer evenings, when the family were out flitting about among the neighbors, leaving me in the house. But soon, as twilight deepened, and the rooms began to be peopled by unseen inhabitants (which, as my fears grew, seemed to fill the rooms to overflowing, up stairs and down, until I was suffocated and crowded out), with a long breath of relief, I would seat myself upon the front door-steps, in such a way as to guard approach from outside realities, or inside hobgoblins, and with untiring vigilance await their coming.

My surprise would be great, on entering the house at last with the rest, to find no evidence of any other occupancy than ours; although I always fancied that the rooms were a tired, mysterious air, as if borne down by the weight of untold secrets.

We have all been affected in a peculiar manner upon entering rooms after scenes of festivity, by the silent helplessness of the surroundings. Sad forebodings follow us, as we lift the faded garlands. "Gone forever!" is murmured by invisible voices as we pass on. Hurry,—bring the receptacle for the dead leaves and flowers,—let in the sunlight and the fresh air! Pleasure and Pain are then twin sisters—friends always.

My love for flowers, and of proprietorship in them, about this time became a passion. Heretofore the wild-flowers had been sufficient to satisfy me. I had been proprietor of them, so far as discovery went. I knew all their haunts, from the earliest buds in spring. I had watched carefully over them, concealing them from my companions by all sorts of devices. I had covered up with grass and bushes the clump of violets down by the spring, every day stealthily approaching the spot to examine the state of the buds, as well as to assure myself of their concealment being unviolated. I had gathered them in whole handfuls, and tied them in separate bunches for every member of the family. I had transplanted them to my own garden plot. I loved them well as ever.

But I had grown ambitious; some one had given me a double-pink root, a regular garden flower, very different from common wild-flowers, as I began to think. I knew of this pink root in passing the spot where it grew; I had looked with longing eyes upon its deep red blossoms, not dreaming of ever possessing anything so beautiful myself; and when at last a small portion of the root came to me as a gift, absolutely mine, my pride reached its zenith, and immediately I planted myself on heights far above any I had ever occupied before. I judged my less favored companions from these heights. My self-respect rose in proportion, hovering in mid air; finally settling down in calm dignity of demeanor, I bore myself as one having gifts closely allied to the gods.

But this state of feeling was doomed to disastrous overthrow. The pink root had flourished well, at last having put forth a bud which I had watched with jealous care; and when the red petals began to show themselves, I grew ecstatic, though calm, as one in my position might well do, over the wonder which would soon burst upon my expectant gaze. Any morning this new birth might take place, and every morning I was at my post as proprietor, to announce the fact.

It was an ideal morning, this of my disaster. The sun had just risen; dew sparkled on grass and trees. Had I overslept? What omen was this, that the sun should have gotten the start of me? I hurried out into the fresh morning air, turning instinctively toward the garden gate, from which

extended a broad expansive walk, as it seemed to me then, straight through the garden, on each side of which were beds where live-forever, flags, and jonquils grew. But not the pink; that was growing in individual beauty at the farther end of the walk.

I hurried on. I knew the pink must be in blossom. I had almost reached the spot, when suddenly I came upon my sister with a pink, the pink, my pink, in her hand! I stood motionless and dumb. I had grown tall and straight; she was tiny and small. As I stood, and as my outraged feelings grew in intensity, I felt that my height increased every moment, until I seemed to have become an avenging giant in stature. If I could have forgiven then, my wrongs might have glorified my life. Without a word I turned, she standing careless and defiant, and seeing a rail which had been detached from the fence close by, I seized it, and deliberately approached her. I do not know how it might have ended, had not my mother interfered; and in a moment, as it were, I was hurled from my lofty estate to deepest humiliation. This was my first experience of my own helplessness,—wronged, unappreciated, and condemned, yet no redress. In an instant of time my greatest pleasure turned to pain, and through no fault of mine.

In after life, all through my life, I have pondered this problem of justice as it is meted out to us, and the solution, so far as I can see, lies in that one word, forgiveness. "Father, forgive them."

We arrive at this condition through experience. Forgiveness is no cant word to be bandied about by priest or bigot, as of scriptural authority only, but a word that must be branded into the soul through the sufferings of a lifetime, which at last lifts us to higher planes. To forgive is godlike; but can we forgive God, since we cannot hope to reach heights grand enough to understand His plan?

There is a stir in the village; there is hurrying to and fro of armed men, from early morn. In a word, the militia are out. There is to be a parade on the square in front of our house. We are all out; everybody is out. They march up the street, in fine style, to the music of the fife and drum. General Brainerd (who has lost an arm, as is vaguely understood, in serving his country; afterward it came out that it was shot off at a fourth of July celebration)—at any rate he ought to have been a general, his bearing is so erect and soldierly—manages his men well, and gives his orders in tones of command through the big trumpet.

How could we have dreamed then of real battlefields? How could we know of the thrill of anguish which would wring our mother-hearts in after years, for children yet unborn? How could we know that we should become the mothers of heroes? Strange that the future was not foreshadowed to us in these mimic wars! We might have known that nothing is lost,—that all things work to some purpose. We might have divined that our sons would do the deeds of these pretenders! But we were no prophets. Through the rosy haze of those far-off future years, we could only discern life's triumphs. Our every effort should be crowned with success. We ourselves were equal to battling with giants. Only after weary years, and as one after another of our illusions have vanished—only after we have laid down all our dreams and hopes,—do we begin to understand that life means renunciation.

TOLEDO, Ohio, June, 1875.

[For THE INDEX.]

SAINTE BEUVE ON PROUDHON.

TRANSLATED BY BENJ. R. TUCKER.

The letters of Proudhon, even outside the circle of his particular friends, always be of value; we can always learn something from them, and here is the proper place to determine the general character of his correspondence. It has always been large, especially since he became so celebrated; and, to tell the truth, I am persuaded that, in the future, the correspondence of Proudhon will be his principal, vital work, and that most of his books will be only accessory to and corroborative of this. At any rate, his books can be well understood only by the aid of his letters, and the continual explanations which he makes to those who consult him in their doubt, and request him to define more clearly his position.

There are, among celebrated people, many methods of correspondence. There are those to whom letter-writing is a bore, and who, assailed with questions and compliments, reply in the greatest haste solely that the job may be over with, and who return politeness for politeness, mingling it with more or less wit. This kind of correspondence, though coming from celebrated people, is insignificant, and unworthy of collection and classification.

After those who write letters in performance of a disagreeable duty, and almost side by side with them in point of insignificance, I should put those who write in a manner wholly external, wholly superficial, devoted only to flattery, lavishing praise, like gold, without counting it; and those who weigh every word, who reply formally and pompously with a view to fine phrases and effects. They exchange words only, and choose them solely for their brilliancy and show. You think it is you, individually, to whom they speak; but they are addressing themselves in your person to the four corners of Europe. Such letters are empty, and teach us nothing but theatrical execution and the favorite pose of their writers.

I will not class among the latter the more prudent and sagacious authors who, when writing to individuals, keep one eye on posterity. We know that many who pursue this method have written long, finished, charming, flattering, and tolerably natural,

letters. Beranger furnishes us with the best example of this class.

Proudhon, however, is a man of entirely different nature and habits. In writing, he thinks of nothing but his idea and the person whom he addresses: *ad rem et ad hominem*. A man of conviction and doctrine, to write does not weary him; to be questioned does not annoy him. When approached, he cares only to know that your motive is not one of futile curiosity, but the love of truth; he assumes you to be serious; he replies; he examines your objections, sometimes verbally, sometimes in writing; for, as he remarks, "if there be some points which correspondence can never settle, but which can be made clear by conversation in two minutes, at other times just the opposite is the case. An objection clearly stated in writing, a doubt well expressed, which elicits a direct and positive reply, helps things along more than two hours of verbal intercourse." In writing to you, he does not hesitate to treat the subject anew; he unfolds to you the foundation and superstructure of his thought; rarely does he confess himself defeated; it is not his way; he holds to his position, but admits the breaks, the variations, in short, the *evolution*, of his mind. The history of his mind is in his letters: there it must be sought.

Proudhon, whoever addresses him, is always ready. He quits the page of the book on which he is at work to answer you with the same pen, and that without losing patience, without getting confused, without sparing or complaining of his ink. He is a public man, devoted to the propagation of his idea by all methods; and the best method, with him, is always the present one, the latest one. His very handwriting, bold, uniform, legible, even in the most tiresome passages, betrays no haste, no hurry to finish. Each line is accurate; nothing is left to chance; the punctuation, very correct, and a little emphatic and decided, indicates with precision and delicate distinction all the links in the chain of his argument. He is devoted entirely to you, to his business and yours, while writing to you, and never to anything else. All the letters of his I have seen are serious; not one is commonplace.

But at the same time he is not at all artistic or affected. He does not *construct* his letters; he does not revise them; he spends no time in reading them over. We have a first draught, excellent and clear, a jet from the fountain-head; but that is all. The new arguments, which he discovers in support of his ideas, and which opposition suggests to him, are an agreeable surprise, and shed a light which we should vainly search for even in his works; his correspondence differs essentially from his books, in that it gives you no uneasiness; it places you in the very heart of the man, explains him to you, and leaves you with an impression of moral esteem, and almost of intellectual security. We feel his sincerity. I know of no one to whom he can be more fitly compared in this respect than to George Sand, whose correspondence is large, and at the same time full of sincerity. His rôle and his nature correspond. If he is writing to a young man who unbosoms himself to him in epistolary anxiety, to a young woman who asks him to decide delicate questions of conduct for her, his letter takes the form of a short moral essay,—of a father-confessor's advice. Has he perchance attended the theatre (a rare thing for him) to witness one of Ponsard's comedies, or a drama of Charles Edmond, he feels bound to give an account of his impressions to the friend to whom he is indebted for this pleasure, and his letter becomes a literary and philosophical criticism, full of sense, and like no other. His familiarity is suited to his correspondent; he affects no rudeness. The terms of civility or affection which he employs towards his correspondents are sober, measured, appropriate to each, and honest in their simplicity and cordiality. When he speaks of morals and the family, he seems at times like the patriarchs of the Bible. His command of language is complete, and he never fails to avail himself of it. Now and then a coarse word, a few personalities, too bitter, and quite unjust or injurious, will have to be suppressed in printing; time, however, as it passes away, permits many things, and renders them inoffensive. Am I right in saying that Proudhon's correspondence, always substantial, will one day be the most accessible and attractive portion of his works?

HOW BAR-ROOM LIQUORS ARE MADE.—There may be seen daily on Chestnut Street, says the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, a man dressed in faultless apparel, with a great diamond upon his breast, vainly endeavoring to outglitter the magnificent *solitaire* on his finger. In a German university he learned chemistry, and not even Liebig knew it better. His occupation is the mixing and the adulteration of liquors. Give him a dozen casks of deodorized alcohol, and the next day each of them will represent the name of a genuine wine or a popular spirit. He enters a wholesale drug-store, bearing a large basket upon his arm. Five pounds of Iceland moss are first weighed out to him. To raw liquors this imparts a degree of smoothness and oleaginousness that gives to imitation brandy the glibness of that which is most matured. An astringent called catechu, that would almost close the mouth of a glass inkstand, is next in order. A couple of ounces of strychnine, next called for, are quickly conveyed to the vest pocket, and a pound of white vitriol is as silently placed in the bottom of the basket. The oil of cognac, the sulphuric acid, and other articles that give fire and body to the liquid poison, are always kept in store. The mixer buys these things in various quarters. They are staples of the art.

"IF A DOG'S TAIL is cut off entirely, will it not interfere with his locomotion?" "Not exactly; it will not affect his carriage, but it will stop his waggin'."

FROM ENGLAND.

LONDON, August 7.

The villager in little Epworth, Lincolnshire, will still show you on a gravestone in the parish churchyard the footprints of John Wesley. The great preacher, who to his dying day regarding himself as still in orders in the Church of England, and wore gown and surplice whenever he preached, once went back to that, his native place, hoping to tell the congregation in which his childhood had been passed, and which had heard the simple and honest sermons of his father until his lips were sealed in death, what were his real thoughts and feelings which the Church was caricaturing, but which were stirring the heart of the people to its depth. On the fair Sunday morning he approached the door of the little parish church so sacred in his associations, only to find the door barred by Episcopal command, and a large crowd gathered outside. The people wished to break in the door; but "no," said Wesley, "I will speak to you in the graveyard." Followed by the crowd he went into the graveyard, and taking his stand on the marble slab over his dead father, he preached such a sermon as had never before been heard in England. The traditions of it still linger in Epworth; and, as I have said, the peasantry still point to two hollows in the marble slab—worn there by the rains of many years—as the footprints of the holy man. It would no doubt surprise the flax-dressing Epworthites were they told that their superstition linked them across the centuries with those who first worshipped the footprints near Rome, said to have been left by Christ when he appeared there to Peter, and told him he was going to Rome "to be crucified afresh"; as these were linked to those who builded a church on Mt. Olivet over two footprints said to have been left there at the moment of ascension; and they again were linked on to those who, a thousand years before, had worn away with their kisses—while as yet there was no pope to hold out his foot to pilgrims—the footprints of Buddha, Krishna, Vishnu in Ceylon, Siam, and India. Probably, too, it would have surprised John Wesley had he foreknown what footprints he was to leave on his native land. Footprints he has indeed left, visible and invisible. Not altogether beautiful is that which is visible, and it is pretty well typified by those at Epworth, to which rustics pay homage; reminding one unpleasantly of the holy footprint of the Monk Augustine, which the Isle of Manet received when he came to bring Christianity to Britain, and which were visible to the eye of faith until the downfall of Romanism in this country. Wesley has been the means of sanctioning the belief in ghosts, and he gave a new lease of life to sundry other superstitions. The weight of his grand character went to the side of dogma, which has always found it easy to suppress his protest against the dogmatic spirit—which he carried even to the extent of editing the biography of a Unitarian. But the really deep and potent footprint of Wesley was that which he left upon the Church of England when he showed that a nobler life and character could be built up outside of it than in it. When, barred out of the parish church, he preached in the churchyard with an inspiration which all the pulpits in the kingdom put together could not gain, he proved that the Church could shut out the light, but could not shut it in. The power to make any sacred impress on heart or stone was outside there with Wesley, and the blue sky above him, the silent graves beneath him. He broke the old priestly monopoly of virtue forever. The keys of heaven fell from the hand of the Church never to be recovered. There is not one soul of man, woman, or child in this nation, which feels that it is less safe outside the Church than in it. The frantic efforts of the clergy to recover the old charm by the mass-in-masquerade process, by fine altars and candles and orientation, excite amusement, but make no serious impression. The clergy feel instinctively who the man is whose soul goes marching on, making all such efforts ridiculous—who the man was and is whose life represents the solemnity and success of "schism." A few years ago, the bishops seemed to have resolved upon a policy of wheedling the soul of John Wesley out of the land. Making the mistake of thinking that soul was embodied in the Wesleyan denomination, they began to tempt and bribe that sect to reënter the Church. They were too late for that. Methodism had grown strong and wealthy enough to prefer its own organization and first fiddle to the Establishment with second fiddle. So the leaders of the denomination had the inexpressible pleasure of snubbing a bench of bishops. A hundred years had brought round time's revenge, and a bishop was seen unbarring the door of the parish church and beseeching the once excluded prophet to enter, and be sure to bring the body of his society. The snubbed Church has now found its opportunity to return the indignity, but their blow back falls upon the Wesleyans of the visible, not him of the invisible, footprint. It has fallen upon those who wish to make the Methodist denomination a feeble copy of the Establishment. This class is apparently represented by Mr. Keet, who took care to have his child buried in ecclesiastically "consecrated ground," and to flaunt his title of "Reverend" on the gravestone. The clergyman says no, Mr. Keet is not a "Reverend," but a mere Wesleyan, whose orders the clergy cannot respect; and the Dean of Arches (fresh from deciding that a disbeliever in the Devil is a "notorious evil liver") maintains the clergyman in his position. As for this matter of consecrated ground, I recall a story which I heard from the lips of Dean Stanley. He (the Dean) visited the grave of Wesley behind the oldest Methodist chapel in the city, and after reading its touching inscription he asked the old

sexton, who stood by with uncovered head, whether it was "consecrated ground." The sexton replied, "Yes." The Dean, who was speaking in the technical sense, further asked, "By whom?" meaning by what bishop. The sexton said: "It is consecrated by the deposition of the dust of the servant of God, John Wesley." The Dean—who will soon place a memorial of the brothers Wesley in Westminster Abbey at his own expense in money, and probably in the howl of a clerical mob—seemed more impressed by the sexton's answer than might have been the case with Mr. Keet, who means to urge his claim to "Rev." before a secular court. It is not the friends of the Church who chiefly hope he will fail. The case belongs to that spirit of nonconformist snobbery which bends low to the Church, aping its fashionableness and coveting its honors, simply because it is established. It is the baser spirit of the Establishment itself, and its success would but secure for that Church to acquire a little less unpopularity by enabling it to turn its enforced broadness into an evidence of catholicity. The Wesleyans in their various divisions have this week been holding their annual assemblies, and exhibit tokens of worldly prosperity; but one would be glad to see fewer of such tokens, with more signs that they are gaining that fervor and freedom which animated the life and preaching of their great founder. At any rate, a society that still has such a man as Morley Punshon might well be indifferent whether he be called Reverend or not. There are, however, indications that the Methodists are sore about the non-recognition of their ministers under that title. They would do well to recall the phenomena of the days of their "first love"; the example, for instance, of John Wesley himself, who did not use the title, and is rightly described on his tomb as "the patron and friend of lay preachers." Still more they should recall some of the warnings of their earliest preachers; as this, which once fell from Dr. James Hamilton—doctor of medicine, not of divinity, which, in those days, was healthy enough without doctors: "Let the formalist and the pharisee, the Church bigot and the sectary, contend for ways of thinking, gestures in worship, and modes of Church government; but may ye never forget that ye are sent for a nobler end; that your commission is the same as St. Paul's, not to baptize, but to preach the gospel. Although I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, yet forgive me when I express my fears that, if ever the Methodists leave their several churches, if ever ye set up as a separate people by external distinctions and creeds, if ye substitute a silken gown and sash for rough garments and a leather girdle, and call one another Rabbi! Rabbi! then the glory will depart from you, and God will raise up another people." In these words one may see the invisible footprint of John Wesley, and if it be not discovered and "reversed," it will some day be recognizable only on the tomb of one of the sublimest movements which ever recorded its chapter in the religious history of England.

Leaving the Wesleyan side of the new agitation, we may see in the clerical side another indication of the tendency of our dear old Establishment to become a museum of sacred flint implements. Hebrew historians say that only after the great schools of Judea, which gave the term "Rabbi" significance, had decayed, did that title become a coveted designation. The learned also assure us that it was the importance of bridging the Tiber in early times that gave respectability to the "pontifex," or bridge-builder; and that it was only after the Tiber was fully bridged, and the title had lost its significance, that it became grand enough to be assumed by the Pope, along with all other high titles, and give him the affix of Pontiff, or "Pontifex Maximus"—Bridge-builder-in-chief. The English Church has long monopolized the title of "clergyman"—literally, "a writer,"—because once upon a time only priests possessed the clerk's accomplishment. And now the clergy add to their monopoly the title "Reverend," which even in Shakespeare's time was applied to the "most potent, grave, and reverend signiors," the Council of Venice. The Dean of Arches must have less sense of humor, if in his unofficial moments he does not see that he has made the term "Rev." what the savants call a "Survival." But, for that matter, the Dean of Arches is himself a Survival—as much as his wig. His Court survives for a little time the Court of Chancery which that clever Israelite, Sir George Jessel, has just dismissed into the fossil stratum; but he (the Dean) is already dealing with such ancient phantoms as the devil and the clerical titles, and his court cannot continue long after such phantoms are laid. Etymologically, "reverend" means a man to be feared; but the title is much more likely in the future to excite contempt than fear. Its significance, at any rate, is as far past as "venerable," applied to superior archdeacons, who are rarely philological enough to be scandalized by the alleged relation of "venerable" to Venus.

Perhaps I have been too fast in saying that our "reverends" are no longer feared. Whatever may be the case as regards their sacred performances, certainly they are still rather formidable as country magistrates. Their decisions are "survivals" of the Dogberry order; but having the army of England to back them until reversed, they are not without their terrors. Since the Rev. E. Jones sentenced little Sarah Chandler to fourteen days in prison and four years of the Reformatory afterwards for picking one geranium blossom (the child is free, but Jones is still Magistrate), people having children of flower-loving dispositions feel rather uneasy. A gentleman of my acquaintance, whose son is passing his vacation in Hampshire, was made frantic a few days ago, on receiving a letter stating that the lad had been sentenced to prison for a year by a clerical magistrate for gathering honeysuckles at Christ Church,

and he had called for a solicitor before discovering that it was a hoax. It never occurred to him or his neighbors that there was any improbability in the story. The general feeling now is that a clerical magistrate is equal to anything whatever in his peculiar line. This week the Rev. G. R. Grey, of Alcester, has sentenced a boy of eight years to one month's imprisonment, to be followed by five years in a Reformatory, for putting tiny pebbles on a railway. The child said he put the pebbles there to hear them "go smudge," but plainly had not the least idea that there was any danger in the act. This clergyman, however, is not such an "evil liver" as to disbelieve in the devil; he saw the boy as one "instigated thereto" by an evil possession. The worst of these cases is that it takes about a week before these reverend fools can be corresponded with and their folly undone, and during that time their victims suffer untold tortures. And yet (if I may be forgiven the iteration) to deal radically with the evil involves so much that no political leader dares attempt it. It would be like the chemist's attempt, in Hawthorne's story, to draw the birthmark from his wife's cheek. Under his potent applications the birthmark finally disappeared, but the wife lay dead. When this country once undertakes to deal with the clerical magistrate, the "lords spiritual" will be found close behind him, and the root of all will be found bound up with the very heart-life of the whole State-Church system.

Under these circumstances, the English radicals are naturally well pleased when their morning paper unfolds a new clerical scandal. The imprisonment of little girls for picking geraniums, and little boys for putting pebbles where they "go smudge," may some day be read as old English folk lore—with Rev. Joneses and Greys for ogres, little Sarahs for beautiful victims, and Home Secretaries for good fairies; but for the present, thousands of children listen while their papas read the deeds of the clerical magistrate with the terror which prepares that worthy's way to ogredom. Poor Saint Nicholas by being held up as a bogey to children had his name identified with Satan, as old Nick; and if the saintly title of "reverend" does not share a similar fate in the rural districts it will not be because its exclusive possessors have failed to invest it with terrors enough for the infant generation.—M. D. C., in *Cincinnati Commercial*.

THE REUNION OF CHRISTENDOM.

The probable importance of the recent conference at Bonn can hardly be overestimated. It was something more than an assemblage of clergymen to discuss abstruse theological points, although we doubt not that many of our readers who have tried to make out the nice shades of distinction relating to the "procession of the Holy Spirit," which constituted an important portion of their proceedings, considered the whole gathering as utterly without popular interest.

The results of the conference may not be immediately apparent in producing any great popular movement; but it will hardly be an exaggeration to speak of them as laying the foundation for the reunion of the now dismembered portions of the Christian Church. It must be remembered that for some ten centuries there was no formal separation of the Christian Church into the two great divisions of Eastern and Western. There were controversies, it is true, but no formal division took place until about the year A. D. 1054. There were six councils, which are called Ecumenical, in which representatives from the whole Church assembled; viz: Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon; and twice again at Constantinople, the last in the year A. D. 680.

One of the points leading finally to the separation of the Church into two great fragments was the insertion in the Apostles' Creed by the Western Church of the words "And from the Son," as relating to the Holy Spirit. The Eastern portion declared it an unauthorized addition, because not adopted in a general council. The decrees of the six undoubted general councils were received with the greatest veneration by the whole Church; but the "procession" question led to controversies, and these to others, until finally separation followed.

For a long time past the views and practices of the Eastern Church have been but imperfectly understood, the non-intercourse between the two branches having been very thorough. Within the last twenty-five years a great deal of enthusiasm has been manifested by members of the Church of England to make themselves acquainted with the doctrinal system and ecclesiastical usages of the Russo-Greek or Eastern Church, and various informal conferences have been held leading to the translation of liturgies and catechisms, and the comparing of standard authorities. Of late the Episcopal Church in this country has taken part, and has aided in gaining one very important point; viz: the extension of certain religious privileges by the Greek clergy to members of the Anglican communion sojourning in the limits of the territory of the Eastern Church.

Nothing, however, has tended to such important results looking to reunion as the Old Catholic movement in Germany. The avowed object of this movement being the restoration of the Roman Catholic Church to the purity of the Church of primitive times, it was brought at once into singular sympathy with the Eastern Church. And the Anglican reformation having been carried forward with the same object—viz: a restoration to the usages and doctrines maintained in apostolic days,—it was natural that there should be an intense interest in the aims of the Old Catholics. No sooner did the leaders of this movement come into notice, than they found

themselves encouraged and sustained both by the Anglican and the Eastern branches.

The conference which has just ended, although not the first of the kind within the last few years, is decidedly the most important; because now the distinct questions of reunion, and the hinderances in the way, received special attention. A number of well-known names appear as taking part in the deliberations, among whom Dr. Liddon of the English Church, and Dr. Potter of Union University, will be recognized as best known to general readers.

Without entering into the details of the discussions, it will be sufficient to note that there appeared no absolutely insuperable difficulties to prevent friendly intercourse between the Russo-Greek, the Anglican, and the American churches. Of course, the matter of organic union is a question of the future, but it follows as a natural sequence when once there is free intercourse. The subject is not without interest for the non-Episcopal bodies, for it is well known how deeply they have been interested in the question of bringing together the divisions of Protestantism. The work of the Evangelical Alliance is fresh in all memories. It will not be a great stride for them to look forward now to the still broader field of a reunited Christendom.

The conference at Bonn will, in this view, be of use in establishing the one important principle,—that the basis of reunion is the faith as held, while the whole Church could meet as one in general councils, prior to any divisions. It is manifestly improper to devise new symbols of the faith, or to make platforms; the only safe plan is to ascertain what Christianity was in its purest days, and return to that. If it involve changes in some directions in modes of government, and changes in other directions in expressions of belief upon minor points, these are but slight difficulties compared with the advantages to be gained by the breaking down of barriers which have grown up with the progress of time and the clashing of parties.

It will not be at all surprising when, with honesty of purpose, and with the calmness and freedom from passion which are needed for the examination, Christian people begin to think of reunion, they will find the points of agreement much more numerous than the points of difference. If the time should come when the great resources of the branches of the Christian family should be united in earnest efforts for the elevation of men, instead of being used for the building up of conflicting sects, the world would be infinitely better.—*Boston Advertiser*, Sept. 1.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN WYOMING.

A gentleman from Cheyenne, who has devoted some time to gathering the details, gives us the following interesting facts on the practical workings of woman suffrage in the Territory:—

The first notable point is, that there are not women enough in the Territory to make any particular difference in the state of government, though they were ever so active and wise. The population is estimated at 18,000, of which 2,000 are under the age of twenty-one. This leaves 16,000 adults, of whom 1,500 are women eligible as voters. This would leave 14,500 male voters; though, in point of fact, it is very rare for all to vote, so many being remote from the polls. Ten men to one woman is, however, the usual proportion.

The moral and social statistics are worthy of note. Cheyenne has thirty-five saloons and forty-five prostitutes—known as such. Laramie has twenty-six saloons and some twenty prostitutes. This includes "beer-jerkers" and variety girls of all grades. In Evanston there are supposed to be eight saloons and twelve prostitutes. Hilliard, Rawlins, Sweetwater, Fort Laramie, and other places, average about the same in proportion to population; the summary being that the whole Territory contains at least one hundred saloons and three hundred prostitutes! This does not seem to indicate that woman suffrage has tended in any great degree to abolish either of the "social evils."

But the most interesting facts are in regard to ladies as jurors. Good and evil are strangely mingled in the new Territories, and Wyoming contains a large proportion of intelligent and eminently religious and good women; it was hoped, therefore, that great good would result from placing them on juries. After a few trials, however, the system was quietly abandoned, and has never been revived. The reasons for this are many. First is the fact that so few women are eligible. The following classes are, from the necessity of the case, exempt: All nursing mothers; all approaching a condition of maternity; all the delicate, nervous, or hysterical; all who from temporary physical condition are not fit for sitting on a long trial; all of notoriously bad character, and all who are exempt from the same causes as men would be. These classes include nine-tenths of the whole sex. When to these are added those who have sick or very young children who need frequent care, it seems that all Wyoming has no more than a hundred women at any one time fit for jury duty. The system, therefore, was given up, not as a failure exactly, but as utterly impracticable.

Another difficulty presented itself. When a jury, consisting of men and women (five of the latter) was long detained and locked up for several hours, the resulting inconvenience was so great, and the expense so much increased, that both sexes were heartily sick of the experiment. The general result is said to be that both the friends and foes of woman suffrage are disappointed, as neither the good nor evil predicted has come to pass. One good is claimed—that there is better order at the polls than formerly. If any other benefit has resulted, it is not apparent

yet. Some complain that the cost of running for office has vastly increased, as the candidates have to bring out their lady supporters in carriages; but the ladies, in their convention a few weeks since, unanimously resolved against it, declaring themselves "as able to walk to the polls as to church or market." A few fights have resulted from challenging the votes of ladies. The first lady whose vote was challenged at Laramie dropped her ballot and indulged in a good cry, whereupon her escort sailed in and made it hot for her challenger. After a few fights on this subject, challenging ladies was, by common consent, discontinued; and in that particular at least they have an advantage of the men.

As to the effect of suffrage on the ladies, there are almost as many opinions as there are people in Wyoming. The majority, however, declare themselves unable to see any change. As far as can be known, the ladies divide their vote between parties as much as men do; rather more, perhaps, voting for personal friends. To sum up: the opinion of the best informed is that woman suffrage in Wyoming has resulted in making everything just as it was before, only a little more so.—*Rocky Mountain News*.

THE TWO ORGAN-GRINDERS.

On Saturday there was sitting in front of the residence of E. A. Brush, on Randolph Street, an organ-grinder who had been blinded by fire. His face bore dreadful traces of the calamity which deprived him of his eyes, and there was a pitiful lack of nickels in his box. Still he hopefully ground out his dismal tunes, nodding now and then as he heard the chink of coin dropping into his little "bank," and at each such sound spurring himself to fresh exertion. Poor fellow! It was his only way of testifying his desire to give his patrons their money's worth, and one could not withhold a sentiment of respect for his honesty of purpose. Presently there came that way another organ-grinder. He carried his instrument on his back. He had only one leg and that was not a good one, but he thanked fortune for "as good a pair of eyes as ever did duty in a poor devil's head." As he came abreast of the blind organist he paused, unsling his own organ, and, thumping his crutch down on the sidewalk, looked at him long in silence. Finally he dived into his pockets, raked up a handful of pennies, five-cent pieces and other small coins, and deposited them in the blind brother's box. Still without a word he picked up his scratched and battered old instrument, resumed his crutch, and stumped away. The incident was witnessed by several gentlemen who, as if in repentance of their own thoughtless neglect of the poor wretch, looked at each other an instant, and then doubled, quadrupled the gift of the man with the crutch, filling the poor fellow's box with a harvest of shipplasters, the like of which in quantity he had not received in many a day.—*Detroit Free Press*.

GENERAL BUTLER's speech at the O'Connell banquet was the highest and the lowest bid for the Irish vote that has been made for a long time, and it may be struck off to him yet. He abused the Pilgrim Fathers; rekindled the flames of the Charlestown convent; "resurrected" the poor dead Know-Nothings, and flayed them as if they were alive; besides glorifying such abolitionists as Garrison and Phillips, whom he used to denounce and vilify when they were unpopular. Then he misrepresented the Protestant spirit as hostile to freedom of worship for Roman Catholics, and complimented Tweedville as "the largest Irish city in the world." Waxing more and more eloquent, the patriotic and pious General claimed to be "a not very remote son of Ireland" himself, and cheerfully announced that he looked forward to the time "when Ireland shall govern New England." The devout hero closed by turning his speech into a sermon which indicated a glowing admiration of "the teachings of a Church which inculcates the responsibility of man to God hereafter for sins committed in the body," and expressed a laudable and holy horror of "that infidel scepticism that acknowledges no God, no hereafter, no future state, and no responsibility, and teaches that we are like the beasts that perish and go to the ground." It is to be feared that General Butler will reach the ground before Ireland can govern Massachusetts by entrusting the State House to "a not very remote son" of the Green Isle. The priests must think that there is a great plenty of blarney-stones in the quarries of Cape Ann. If they ever secure the orator for the Confessional they will have, what Mr. Lincoln called the suppression of the Rebellion, "a big job." But the Pope may get as badly jilted as Jefferson Davis.—*Christian Register*.

A FAMILY in this city, the widowed father of which has been somewhat afflicted of late with an attempted intermeddling of uproarious sisters-in-law, has a six-year-old girl that has a "faculty of prayer." A few evenings since she enumerated the objects of her supplications as follows: "God bless papa and my governess, and my sisters and brother, and my Uncle Sam, and my Aunt Georgia, and my twin cousins, and Cousin Julia, and all my relations, except Maur and Jane and Ellen (the obnoxious aunts); and the less you have to do with them the better it will be for you."—*San Francisco Chronicle*.

ONE OF THE MOST ingenious advertisements issued at San Francisco during the summer was the following:—

"Tee, ice, ice—
If you want it pure and n
And at a reasonable pr
Follow no new dev
But send me in a tr

at my off-ice, for I have the largest and best stock ever put up in this city."

Poetry.

"COFFIN SHIPS."

BY ARTHUR MATTHISON.

In the great London Parlyment House, lads,
They're a talkin' about us Jack Tars;
'Bout us, and the ships as we sail in—
Bolts, timbers, sails, riggin', and spars.
An' it's pretty nigh time as they *did* talk,
Them big wigs as settles it all!
Tho' I wish we could tell 'em what *we* think,
In that Lingo ship, Westminster Hall!
D'y'e know what they call them old hulks, lads,
As all on us know, and all curse?
"Coffin ships" is the name as they gives 'em,
An' I don't want to give 'em a worse.
For, mates, we might just as well all be buried,
As sail in them thin-ribbed old craft,
As 'ain't got a sound timber in 'em,
From the hold to the mast, fore and aft!
I shipp'd in a coffin myself, lads,
From a port in the North, years ago;
An' back'd out—"Sail you must!" says the owner;
"If you don't man, to prison you go!"
I went as if it 'ad bin to the gallows;
But what can a poor fellow do?
Then—liefer than mould in a prison,
A true salt 'ud be drown'd in the blue!
You, most on you, know'd young Bill Severn,
The heartiest blue jacket afloat;
He was one of the crew of that ship, lads—
"Ship!"—it warn't strong enough for a boat!
Her bolts wasn't fit for a hen-coop,
She'd a swamped in a breeze on the Tyne;
Though she look'd trim and seaworthy too, lads,
And as bold as a ship o' the line.
Look'd so spick, and so span, and so new, lads,
They insur'd her for double her worth;
But them innocent chaps as insure ships
Thinks they're safer at sea than on earth!
In a week comes a gale as we'd laugh at
In the stout ship as holds us all now;
It stove *that* in, as if the Great Eastern
Had struck her 'midships with her prow.
She went down, lads, as quick an' as easy
As a bucket with holes in a pool!
Or as them little cockboats, all paper,
The land-sailor boys make at school!
When the day broke, there me and Bill Severn
Lay floating about on the mast,
Of the short muster roll of the living,
In that doomed barque, that man-trap, the last!
Poor shipmate! he was to bin married,
When the vessel come back, that same spring!
An' she'd giv' him, to wear for her sake, lads,
The half of a little gold ring!
An' there he lay dying afore me,
For he'd hurt himself bad in the wreck;
An' he takes of his half of the ring, mates,
As always hung round his brown neck.
And his big hand, now weak as a baby's,
Tremblin' plac'd the gold token in mine:
"Carry this—Ben—to Mary—and tell—"
Quick and dead were alone on the brine!
If the owner, that minute, before me,
Had stood with his throat near my hand!—
But there—thank the Lord as he didn't;
Thank the Lord, I ain't mark'd with his brand.
I was picked up, getting on tow'rds nightfall,
By a lugger bound out from South Wales;
But the rest of the crew in that "Coffin"—
They can't—poor fellows—tell tales!
Mates, I've spun this yarn, often and often;
Widows, mothers, and sweethearts have cried;
But in vain to make old England listen,
England's sea sons and daughters have tried!
Coffin ships they yet sail o'er the waters;
Death sneaks in his salt-water den!
Ship Owners—Ship Knackers! I calls 'em,
And sea-devil slayers of men!
But they're talking about us in London,
England's big heart, at last, mates, is stirred:
And though we can't speak for ourselves, lad,
Them as *does* talk, thank God! *will* be heard!

—London Hornet.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 4.

J. Church, \$13; Fred Bird, \$1.50; Chas. F. Blake, \$3.20; J. Towne, \$3; C. B. Darrow, \$3; George Woods, \$3; W. C. Fuller, \$3.20; D. C. White, 20 cents; C. H. Goddard, 20 cents; H. W. Hazzer, 25 cents; Lucy E. Church, 20 cents; J. H. Miller, 10 cents; Chas. Moran, 50 cents; E. H. Aldrich, 50 cents; J. H. Ward, 25 cents; Kate G. Bliss, 20 cents; Clemens Vormegut, \$10; W. P. Chambers, \$10; Chas. Graeter, \$10; G. W. Peckham, \$30; S. L. Wilder, \$20; Free Public Library, 20 cents; C. W. Newton, \$10; A. Bate, \$20; J. E. Oliver, \$14.40; J. S. Ketcham, \$2; Edward Hastings, 10 cents; T. B. Skinner, \$2; James Westwater, \$3; A. Miller, \$3.20; W. E. Darwin, \$2.25.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

The Index.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 9, 1875.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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(England), Editorial Contributors.

AS THE lecture season is about to begin again, it gives us great pleasure to say that among the new candidates who will appear will be Mrs. Caroline E. Streeter, of Boston. This lady is not unknown already to many of the citizens of Boston as an interesting lecturer upon important social topics, she having spoken with great acceptableness in this city, upon several occasions, within the last two years. Mrs. Streeter is a lady of fine personal appearance and bearing, has enjoyed unusual educational advantages, possesses powers of observation trained in a wide and rare experience, and is capable to discuss the subjects of her lectures with excellent ability and judgment. We would especially commend her to radical and liberal societies, inasmuch as she is thoroughly sympathetic with the most advanced and progressive thought of the times. Among the topics Mrs. Streeter treats upon are the following: "Children's Woes;" "Woman Yesterday, To-day, and Tomorrow;" "Homes, Wives, Intemperance." Her personal address is Hotel Dudley, Boston Highlands, Mass. Her lecture agent is B. W. Williams, 114 Washington Street, Boston. A. W. S.

F. R. A. ANNUAL REPORT.

The Report, in pamphlet form, of the Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association for 1875 is now ready.

It contains an Essay by Wm. C. Gannett, on "Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and an Essay by F. E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. B. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

It can be obtained, in Boston, at A. Williams & Co.'s, and by mail by addressing "Office of Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston, Mass."

Price of single copy, 35 cents; package of four copies or more, 25 cents each.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

CALL FOR THE SEPTEMBER CONVENTION.

The Liberal Leagues throughout the country are cordially invited to send five delegates each to a Convention to be held in Philadelphia on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of September next, for the purpose of disseminating our principles and of making arrangements for a general Congress of Liberals to convene next year during the Centennial exhibition. It is very desirable that every Liberal League in America should be fully represented at the September Convention. Now is the time to work. The enemies of religious freedom are busy in preparing to utilize human ignorance and superstition for the strengthening and perpetuating of an organized system of mental repression, hostile alike to science, reason, and the right of private judgment in all matters of faith and conscience.

Let us endeavor to overcome ignorance by intelligence,—superstition by reason. Let each League send a full representation of men and women, so that from the combined wisdom of both sexes and all our societies we may be able to inaugurate a new era of impartial justice, perfect freedom, and scientific religion.

As soon as delegates are elected, Leagues are requested to notify the undersigned, and also THE INDEX.

JOHN S. DYE,
Sec'y Phila. Liberal League,
2527 Brown Street, Phila.

PHILADELPHIA, July 22, 1875.

N. B.—All Liberal Societies which sympathize with the objects of the Liberal Leagues and wish to be represented are included in the above Call.

DELEGATES REPORTED.

PHILADELPHIA LIBERAL LEAGUE.—Carrie S. Burnham (President), John S. Dye (Secretary), Isaac Rhen, Damon Y. Kilgore, Jesse B. Beam.
BOSTON LIBERAL LEAGUE.—F. E. Abbot (President), Geo. A. Bacon (Secretary), A. Bronson Alcott, B. F. Underwood, John Wetherbee.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The Convention of Liberal Leagues will meet in Philadelphia on Friday, Sept. 17, 1875, at 2 o'clock, P. M., in Lincoln Hall, at the south-east corner of Broad Street and Fairmount Avenue.

All liberals who are interested in the movement for *Entire Secularization of the State*, or in the perfecting of arrangements for a *General Convention of Liberals in 1876*, are invited to meet and consult together on this occasion.

JOHN S. DYE,

Sec. Phila Liberal League.

CASTING THE HOROSCOPE.

Mr. Dyer D. Lum, whose essay on "Buddhism Notwithstanding" in THE INDEX a few months ago attracted so much attention and admiration, makes in another column of this issue some "Prognostications" respecting the probable development of the Catholic question in this country which we cannot do better than to consider here. The extent of our agreement with the earlier portion of his article is so large that we shall confine our remarks to the latter portion of it; and we offer them not so much for the purpose of debating Mr. Lum's conclusions as for that of making some independent suggestions on the same subject.

1. It is indeed quite likely that the Catholic Church will continue to mask its designs in this country, until it feels strong enough to push them openly; and the result of this concealment will probably continue to be the effectual soothing and lulling of public suspicion. Meanwhile parties will divide on other issues, as heretofore; and the Catholics, consciously possessed of the balance of power, will be contented with accomplishing their aims through the subserviency of existing parties, rather than risk the loss of all they have gained by an open contest with the great non-Catholic majority. The danger to be apprehended is not that they will *themselves outvote* the rest of the community, but that they will *control the votes* of so large a body of non-Catholic voters as to carry their ends against the feeble and nerveless opposition of a disunited, though numerically superior, public. This is no dream of the excited imagination of enthusiasts or fanatics, but has actually been done again and again, especially in New York. In 1870, over a million of dollars was there appropriated to sectarian institutions, and the Catholic Church got by far the most of it; yet the Catholics were in a minority. As Mr. Lum says, their designs were "aided by dominant men within the [ruling] party"; and nothing but the overthrow of the Tammany Ring put a stop to this spoliation of the public by the Catholic Church. The priesthood practically controlled the votes of an entire great party which was only Catholic in part; and their power was the direct result of their own thorough organization. Just so long as the great opposing political parties are under the management of unprincipled leaders, the people will be exposed to the great peril of secret and corrupt bargains between these leaders and the Catholic priests. The wealth of the Church is a vast corruption fund, by which it can and will buy its way to power; and, in order to increase this wealth, the priests are all ready to barter the ignorant votes they control in exchange for all sorts of open or disguised grants from the public treasury. Yet the infatuated people suffer the non-taxation of church-property to continue, by which the wealth of the Catholic Church is so rapidly rolling up; and the Protestant sects, rather than surrender the little they themselves gain by the same privilege, are blindly and foolishly playing at the game of self-destruction. Money is here the sword of Rome; and kneeling America puts it into her hands, with its point aimed at her own heart!

2. Mr. Lum points out truly that, to meet the gathering and darkening cloud of danger, moral principle is required—moral principle that is a vital, controlling force of public action; and he intimates with equal truth that the radicals give little indication of possessing it. Now what is the "moral principle" demanded by the occasion? Neither more nor less than self-sacrificing devotion to the principle that IN AMERICA THE CHURCH AND THE STATE SHALL BE ABSOLUTELY SEPARATE. On this principle the republic was founded; on fidelity to this principle its future existence depends; by neglect of this principle it will surely die. To-day it is simply untrue that the Church and the State are absolutely separate in point of fact: the "Demands of Liberalism" sufficiently indicate where they are still practically, though not avowedly, connected. Numerous transient questions are now absorbing the attention of the American people,—all important, doubtless;

yet this question of State Secularization is deeper and in the end more important than them all. The republic has no need more vital or pressing than that of intelligent, ardent, heroic men who shall take up this neglected duty of completely secularizing the State, resting not and faltering not, despite all discouragements, till the great end is achieved. The principle at stake is a thoroughly positive, not "negative," one; for it demands the further and higher fulfilment of the national ideal out of which this great republic was born, and aims at nothing but the completion of its architectural building-plan. That the radicals of the country should be so little enthusiastic at present in the service of this principle is mortifying enough, but perhaps not much to be wondered at; they do not yet appreciate the necessity of making the republic still more secular in order to keep it even as secular as it now is. It surely cannot be that they are unteachable by events, which after all are the chief teachers of mankind. Inert and supine as they now appear, we believe they will yet rouse themselves, though late and after the experience of public misfortunes which prompt action might have averted. Not so much resistance to Rome (which is incidental) as devotion to America is what is needed; and we have not yet lost confidence in the substantial patriotism of the radicals, despite the apathy they now show in the practical application of their own ideas.

3. When the necessity of actively opposing the denationalizing influences of Rome becomes generally apparent, Mr. Lum thinks that the Protestant Christian party will take the lead and shape the issue; that there will be, as of old in Europe, a battle between Catholicism and Protestantism, and not between "Rome and Reason"; and that in the end the Protestant Christianizers of the Constitution will triumph alike over Catholics and radicals. In this, of course, Mr. Lum may prove to have possessed more penetration than any of us; yet we doubt the likelihood of any such issue of the coming struggle. The conditions are not here what they were in the old world, when the cry of "No Popery!" was merely the battle-cry of Evangelical Protestantism. By the ineffably fortunate fact that the framers of the United States Constitution were so profoundly and so largely imbued with the principles of free thought, the mighty and subtle influence of the organic law has been for nearly a hundred years moulding the mind of the nation in the direction of absolute secularism—an influence which has powerfully affected even the Protestant Evangelical party itself, and habituated them to the idea, at least in the abstract statement of it, that Church and State must be separate.

If, therefore, the radicals only do their duty, and give moral, intellectual, and political force to the demand for a thorough practical secularization of the State, as the only sure defence against the ambition and wiles of Rome, the Protestant party may greatly dislike the utterers, yet will perforce recognize the utterance as the proclamation of their own traditional policy. The Protestant sects suppose to-day that the State is actually secular; they do not generally comprehend the objectionableness of the practices against which the "Demands of Liberalism" protest, or perceive that they are so many points of attachment, so many ligatures, between Church and State. In this fact that the Protestant Evangelical party are perfectly familiar with the verbal, abstract statement of the true American principle, and suppose themselves to be its champions as against the Catholic Church, lies the great opportunity, as well as the great duty, of the radicals; for the latter alone are qualified to perceive the actual incongruity of the American practice with the American theory, or to point out the vast advantages derived by Rome from it, or to insist with any degree of moral force on the rectification of it. The radicals, therefore, owe it to their country to give to the American ideal of a purely secular State a broader and fuller meaning in the popular apprehension, to educate the Protestant party in a better knowledge and more faithful practice of the principle they nominally accept, and thus to erect an impregnable barrier against the encroachments of Romanism. This is the special duty of the radicals to-day—a duty of great importance to the future welfare of the nation. It can only be discharged by a bold, vigorous, and persistent agitation of the whole question, covering all the points of the "Demands of Liberalism." The Evangelical Protestants (thanks to the influence of our "infidel" constitution!) mean to stand by the principle of a secular State; they think they do so now; they fail, however, to do so, and are meanwhile greatly strengthening the Catholic Church by their

fail ure. Can anything be clearer than the place and work of the genuine liberals of the land at such a junct ure? Is it not self-evidently to show to the Protest ants what a secular State really is, and to exert themselves to the utmost to induce the Protest ants to abolish those surviving Church-and-State connections, which are now ripening the seeds of great national peril?

If Mr. Lum, then, is correct in supposing that the Protestant party are going to be the only considerable bulwark against the incoming tide of Roman Catholic aggression, on the radicals it rests to lead this party forward to the only true or safe position. Without their active exertions, the Catholics have every chance of flanking and defeating the Protest ants. Leave the privilege of church-exemption untouched,—leave the Bible in the common schools,—leave the other similar abuses unreformed,—and the Roman Catholic Church will grow stronger every day, and laugh at all the efforts of the Protest ants to hinder it. But let the Protest ants make clean work of all these abuses, and put in active operation the principle of universal guaranteed education,—and all danger of serious trouble from the Catholic Church will have passed by. Moreover, in defending themselves effectually against the Catholics, the Protest ants will also have effectually defended the whole community against the Christianizers of the Constitution; for the latter can do nothing in a secular State. But the Protestant sects are not sufficiently well-grounded in American principles to act in this intelligent way without being led far in advance of their present confused position on the Church-and-State question; and, to secure this result, the radicals must go to work. Will they do it? If not, Mr. Lum is correct, and the Constitution of the United States, unprotected by the intelligence that should be its shield, will lie at the mercy of Christianizing bigotry. If "Liberal indifference" is to remain a "constant quantity," his "prognostications" will probably turn out to be verified prophecies. But we still reckon on a generous devotion of the liberals to the cause of liberty, and on their willingness even yet to agitate earnestly for the absolute secularization of the State.

NATURE'S TRUSTWORTHINESS.

That was a deeply significant saying of Confucius, "Does Heaven speak? The four seasons pursue their courses, and all things are being continually produced; but does Heaven say anything?" Nature does not reveal her purposes by any articulate message; she does not tell us in advance what she means to do; not from the heavens above or the earth beneath is anything said in her realm, but only something doing. Yet the things she does are done with such constancy of aim and result that we come to know her in intimate and trusting security. Though the skies have never opened to give miraculous revelation of her intent, yet we know her and can trust her almost better than ourselves. She utters herself only by actions. But knowing her by our own familiar experience of her actions, and by the aggregate inherited experience of unnumbered generations of our ancestors, her character is revealed to us through all this gathered knowledge. No life-long friend, beloved, leaned upon at our side, is more thoroughly known, or a surer reliance. Even the dependence of the child on parental love is not more sure than the confidence with which we cling to the hand of our silent mother, Nature,—the mother who never spoke one word of promise to us, but whom we know by her past faithfulness to all the generations of men.

For thus knowing Nature, we know her not only as power, but as power that aims at order, method, use, harmony, beauty. We know that her forces work with such constancy, and with such regularity of tension towards fixed results, that we call her operations *Laws*. To them we know that human law must bend and human power be subservient. And if by any means any of her methods which we name Laws can be evaded or abrogated, it is only by calling into service some other of her forces that is for the time and place superior,—that is, by setting into operation another law. Nothing, indeed, is more clearly known in the universe than that Nature is a law-abiding power; that she is moved by an impulse that is not reckless, not chance nor whim, but an impulse that aims at and accomplishes definite results. Whatever apparent exceptions there may be in the working of her energies, human experience has yet learned that her aims may be trusted, her forces confided in for reaching certain ends. The whole stability of human society depends upon this trust,—the trust, begotten by experience, that what

Nature has been and done she will continue to be and do.

Thus much is within the experience of our common humanity. But science is beginning to indicate something more than this. Scientific discovery is beginning clearly to show that along with this law-abidingness, this constancy of method, there is an order in Nature that means advance, progress, ascent, unity of forces in one plan, gradual growth into finer symmetry of proportion, and higher beauty of form, and more useful capability. Deep within the beauty which all eyes see, there is advance to a higher idea of beauty. Deep within the movement of forces which all minds can perceive, there is the unfolding of a mighty plan, which only scientific research has revealed, wherein it is seen that these forces are self-improving and self-regenerating; so that, when we look upon her vast periods of activity, it is clear that Nature has been advancing upon her own work, making the bad good, and the good better, and aiming, as it were, ever at a Best. Thus has Nature, though working in silence, revealed herself through human experience and knowledge, and won the trust of mankind.

And it is much the same in human history as in the history of Nature. Man is the energy of Nature become self-conscious, and capable of articulate expression of itself. Yet it is mainly by the faithfulness of hidden and silent human energies to certain definite tasks of their place and time that the great advances of mankind are made, and the inner meaning of the forces that thus work through Nature and man is finally revealed. Not so much, indeed, by any uttered words in behalf of righteousness, though spoken never so eloquently by prophet or martyr, as by the silent grip with which the masses of civilized humanity adhere to truth and virtue, the stability of society is assured. There are certain principles of mental and moral intelligence which have come to have the same constancy in the world of mankind as the laws of physical force have in the world of matter, and upon which we rely with the same trust and security. They may never have been spoken from any miraculously opened heavens; they may not even have been clear endowments of the human mind when man first made his appearance on the earth; but may, as now seems most likely, have been gradually and slowly evolved through the long disciplinary struggle of human and ante-human experience, and may be variously mingled with human infirmity and error; yet, deeper than aught else in man's nature, these principles declare the purport and destiny of his being. Whatever their origin, these common and now inherent attractions of the human mind to the true and good are the silent witnesses which, growing continually clearer with man's historic advance, interpret for him all other revelations, and

"Which, be they what they may,
Are yet the fountain light of all our day,
Are yet a master light of all our seeing."

W. J. P.

THE NEXT ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The following communication deserves especial attention from all who are interested in the proposal to hold a free thought convention at Philadelphia in 1876:—

EDITOR INDEX:—

The prospect of a convention of free thinkers at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia next year is cheering to all earnest radicals. The annual meeting of the Free Religious Association occurs, according to custom, two or three months earlier.

As the spirit and purpose of these two gatherings will be similar, would it not be well that they should coincide in respect to time? It would be somewhat out of order, it is true; but the objections to such a plan, it seems to me, would not be of so much weight as the considerations in its favor.

Though dispensing with the usual public exercises of the Free Religious Association of anniversary week, it need not preclude a meeting for the transaction of business at that time, if deemed advisable. The special advantage would be that those who desire to attend both occasions could do so without performing separate journeys; while the essayists and speakers of the Free Religious Association, if called upon for a similar service at the Philadelphia convention, would be relieved from the necessity of a double preparation. I throw this out as a suggestion, and would be glad to know what others may think about it. Certainly, if the convention referred to takes place, we all desire that it shall be a grand success, if possible; and this may be easily achieved,

if the liberals of the country possess an adequate appreciation of the opportunity, and respond to the proposition with becoming interest. D. H. C.

FLORENCE, Mass.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—I am tempted to invite your readers to examine the following extract from a sermon by the Reverend Charles Spurgeon, entitled *Advice to Revival Converts*. The extract has come to me in a very roundabout way; and it gives me pleasure to have seen it first in the *Indian Mirror*, which is the organ of the Brahmo Somaj of India:—

"Now I do pray you who profess to have found Christ, do not make a sham of it. Do let it be salvation from sin that you have got. Salvation from hell—is that what you want? That is not the salvation you ought to try after. It is salvation from sin. That will bring salvation from hell. You know every thief would like to get salvation from going to prison, and that would not be of any use to him. The salvation that is worth having is the salvation from thieving any more, Mr. Thief. If you get that, you will get salvation from prison, too. Salvation from hell is not the matter, but salvation from sinning. Now let us see how you live, you converts. You go home, madam, and be snappish at your servants. You go home, servants, and be slovenly over your duty. You, working man, give half a day's work for a whole day's wage. You, master, act the tyrant over your men. And then you have been converted, have you? I pray God undo such a conversion, and begin again with you. There are lots of people who need to be unconverted before they are converted,—to have the rubbish they have built up themselves pulled down before Christ can begin. Suppose you have some ground, and it has an old ramshackle building on it. You have to get that out of the way. There are plenty of people who have a good-for-nothing conversion that wants sweeping away before God can do anything with them."

I claim the hearty thanks of your readers for putting before them this little gem of right-down good religious teaching. Come from whom it may, it is welcome; but from Mr. Spurgeon, of all people, it is doubly so, and still more because boldly spoken at the very time when the other sort of revival was raging. Moody and Sankey never said or sung anything half so good as this—to my knowledge; and I question much whether they would give such a hearty welcome to it, as we can who have seen the frightful consequences of the preaching of hell-fire. The "Come-to-Jesus" Gospel does not quite harmonize with the conversion to good works advocated by Mr. Spurgeon. I imagine no words spoken against the Moody-and-Sankey revival were so potent as these. Wherever they travel and are thoughtfully read, there they will eat into the very vitals of the popular gospel, and leave little besides the mere shell.

You may perhaps think I am making more of these words of Mr. Spurgeon than he intended them to carry, or than can fairly be drawn from them. If, however, you thoroughly appreciate their drift, you will see that Mr. Spurgeon throws overboard the Moody and Sankey theory altogether, and puts another in its place.

Roughly stated, Moody's theory is this:—

"If you want to escape hell-fire, believe in the Lord Jesus, and you shall be saved. The moment you believe, you are converted."

Spurgeon's theory takes up the man where Moody left him, and says: "You are converted, are you? How do you live, man? If you are not good, you shall still be damned for all you believe to the contrary. Your conversion is not worth a half-penny if it be not a conversion of your soul from love of evil to love of good, and of your daily conduct to match."

I say these two theories of conversion are directly antagonistic to each other, and thus mutually destructive. If Sankey sings—

"Cast your deadly doing down;
Doing ends in death;"

Spurgeon would say:—

"Doing is the chiefest thing;
Doing leads to life."

Some two years ago I wrote to you about a visit I paid to Mr. Spurgeon's tabernacle; and I spoke warmly of the impression made upon me that he was an honest man—good and true,—and doing his best. I believe his integrity is being now rewarded by the opening of his mind to clearer and truer views about man and God, and that this timely protest of his is the best proof we could have that he is growing himself, and is leading others to grow likewise. Relatively speaking, who would care about the theological views of one who thus vigorously teaches practical righteousness? What can it matter whether or not it be mixed up with obsolete or

old-fashioned notions which would not bear a severe rational test? As a member of society, Spurgeon deserves our hearty thanks for putting things into their right place, and seizing the right moment to administer an antidote to the religious poison which was circulating around. As a sign of the times, this extract is of very high value. Spurgeon's name is a great power among millions of professing Christians, because his life is a useful one, and he is always in earnest. What he says about conversion will, therefore, have immense weight with all who, like himself, are earnest and good at heart.

He is no slave of expediency; no trimmer to popular breezes; and should he ever come to a conviction that more still of the prevailing Orthodoxy is false, rotten, and mischievous, he will not wait long before telling it right out to his nearest and most powerful friends. The clouds of ignorance, error, and superstitious fear have brooded over us long enough. We have never lost our faith in the glorious sun behind them; and now on every hand there are golden and silvery streaks which tell us that our faith was well founded, and our brightest hopes are hastening to fruition.

I am, sir, very truly yours,
CHARLES VOYSEY.

Communications.

PROGNOSTICATIONS.

F. E. ABBOT:

My dear Sir,—The opponents of Rome are growing alarmed at the rapid increase of wealth of that mighty and unscrupulous hierarchy that stands today faithful to the ideas of its past. The astute Bismarck has long seen the nature and significance of the impending struggle between modern and mediæval ideas, and sought to arouse the Protestant mind to a sense of the danger. The ex-Premier of England (Gladstone) has startled Protestant England with his earnest words and prophetic warnings. Are they alarmists? The supposition is absurd. Is it a mere appeal to religious fanaticism as a stepping-stone to power? The general prevalence of the feeling of danger among all the Protestant nations evinces that the causes of these fears lie far deeper. America, too, is agitated by the same questions. Church-and-State independence and the preservation of our common-school system have become vital questions in politics. From the West already we hear these questions discussed in political gatherings; State conventions expressing themselves on the subject, and the party orators growing eloquent over the threatened danger. In other States we can see evidence that the feeling is by no means a local one; for leading journals, such as the *Evening Post, Times, and Tribune*, of New York, are giving their attention to the subject, and adding to the feeling of insecurity. Day by day it acquires new prominence, and bids fair soon to be the vital question of the hour.

What position will the Liberals occupy in the contest? Will it be a prominent or a subordinate one? For years Mr. Abbot has sounded the alarm through *THE INDEX*, and sought to enlist our sympathies. A League has been formed in Massachusetts—one solitary League,—and the State flooded with petitions to obtain a popular protest against the exemption of church property. Yet while Liberals are complacently smiling at the extravagance of Mr. Abbot's zeal, Roman Bishops continue to add to their already immense possessions, and smile incredulous at the idea of taxation.

But the question is no longer a trivial or forced one; it has gained legitimate entrance into the political arena, and it requires no very profound mind to see that, with the settlement of the currency question, it bids fair to overshadow any question of tariff and revenue reform.

While all indications point to the Republican party as the self-chosen "defenders" of civil liberty in the impending conflict, it is not at all likely that the question will ever be presented so baldly, or at least that the lines will ever be drawn so closely, as to constitute the Democratic party the "defenders" of the Roman hierarchy. Even now in Ohio the Democratic platform demands "the complete separation of Church and State; religious independence and absolute freedom of opinion; equal and exact justice to all religious societies; and purely secular education at the expense of the tax-payers, without division among or control by any sect, directly or indirectly, of any portion of the public-school fund." Political parties are not proverbially guided by great moral principles so much as by expediency, and platform resolutions offer but a slender reliance where political chicanery and Jesuitical craft have a controlling influence.

Is it possible to forecast the future? However hazardous the attempt, I cannot resist the temptation to point out a few of the results that may be likely to arise in the near future. Is it not true that the law of motion, "following the lines of least resistance," is not only applicable in the domain of physics, but also in the social organism? This law, so important in the explanation of mental action by rendering the psychological acts of the individual subject to the universal law of evolution, may enable us to forecast the social actions of the future; inasmuch as a clear apprehension of the course of individual mental action leads us to see more clearly the

actions of society. In the social organism, the "lines of least resistance" are more readily discerned than in the individual; and, however changeable they may be under special causes in the individual, the laws of sociology but exhibit the general average of individual action, and consequently offer us a relatively constant quantity.

While firmly believing that the social organism cannot be radically changed, even by the most zealous reformer, except by efforts made in unison with the prevalent spirit of the age—in other words, unless the motive force of the idea be in the well-defined "lines of least resistance" presented by society,—still the task of the reformer is not a hopeless one, if he confines his efforts to pointing out the laws of health to which the social organism must conform, and does not seek to accelerate the process of Nature by unnatural methods; it still remaining true, if I have to whisper it, that disease (or disordered action) often becomes chronic, and even incurable, in both the physical and social organisms alike.

A few of the results of my efforts at prognostication I offer for your amusement, though with no thought that your fervid faith will accept my by no means cheerful conclusions.

I. The designs of Catholicism will be pushed without an open avowal of the ends desired, and the opposition to its claims will continue divided and led astray by party glamour and side issues. Where political leaders do not see or act clearly, the masses will not manifest a superior sagacity. While false issues will probably be the leading ones, yet, if party platforms should be eventually driven to a clear expression of the great underlying principles involved, the Romish designs will be aided by dominant men within the party, supporting the party platform for party ends (*vide* Thurman in Ohio), yet consciously or unconsciously aiding and abetting the Roman hierarchy.

II. To meet successfully the threatened danger to our institutions requires the dominance of moral principles. Their intellectual acceptance will not suffice; they must become assimilated into our moral natures—must become a vital and controlling force. Where have we such a vital force? Force can exist only in its manifestation, and with radicals the controlling force is mainly a negative one; but philippics against "old Orthodoxy" will avail nothing. Can we rally to save under the banner of an *anti*-something? The Spiritualists, intoxicated with the eloquence of "Red Jacket," "Big Thunder," and other departed worthies, offer us but a sorry spectacle and a slender hope.

III. The leadership of the organized opposition will naturally devolve upon the Protestant Church: and under the fervor of their appeals the cry of "No Popery" will sweep the land in the avowed interest of Protestant liberty and the Protestant religion. One of the direct results of such appeals to the religious sentimentalism of the age would undoubtedly be what is known as a "revival of religion," and a host of Moodys and Sankeys,—a "revival" on so grand a scale that the designs of Rome would be effectually frustrated, and the Protestant religion preserved.

IV. Out of such a struggle the Protestant cause would come with such acquired momentum, so to speak, that, "following the lines of least resistance," there would be required new guarantees for Protestant liberty, and the country would be formally dedicated to the "Cause of Christ." Our government would become a Christian government; and the dream of the Liberals of a contest for religious and civil liberty would become a fact only in so distant an age, that I frankly confess my inability to forecast either its advent or result.

V. Will you tell me that the principles of truth and justice forbid the betrayal of the cause, and repeat the old and hackneyed sentimentalism that "Truth is mighty, and will prevail?" I listen incredulously, and ask for its verification in the pages of history. Has truth always prevailed? Is "truth" a clearly defined force among the factors of social evolution, and of so potent a character that it will inevitably prevail, and determine the result? Will you tell me that I have not embraced all the factors in my calculation? The main factors upon which I have relied are (1) Romish persistence; (2) Protestant zeal, embracing the moral force of the country, as auxiliary factor; (3) political chicanery; and (4) Liberal indifference,—its force spent in negative assertions. Are not these constant quantities? While zeal and moral enthusiasm are alone to be found in the "religious" camp, where shall we look for the "vanguard of liberty"?

Therefore, I frankly confess, the struggle to which you invite us, or rather which you discern as inevitable, appears to me to be a struggle between Rome and "Christ," rather than Rome and Reason. On whichever side Liberals range their forces, it must still be under the standard of the cross, and they will eventually find themselves ground to the dust under a moral enthusiasm that now but provokes their derision.

DYER D. LUM.
NORTHAMPTON, Mass., Aug. 23, 1875.

TRUTH UNVEILING FALSEHOOD.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I lately visited the studio of Mrs. L. M. Spencer, in Newark, where I saw her allegorical painting of "Truth Unveiling Falsehood." The idea which it embodies seems so fully in unison with that for which *THE INDEX* is working, that I am prompted to send you a notice of it. It has been exhibited in Boston, and perhaps you may have seen it; but many of your readers, I presume, have no knowledge of it. The artist herself gives the following description of it:—

"Truth is the centre figure. Falsehood is on the left, with Ignorance at its feet. On the right is Con-

fidence, resting against Truth, with Innocence in her lap. The picture is intended to represent and contrast the beauty and power of Truth, with the opposite results under the deceiving cover of Falsehood. Truth is represented as a spiritual being, to typify its eternal principle. It is represented as shedding light, because Truth dispels the darkness of Ignorance, as day does that of night. The face of Truth is calm, passionless, and inscrutable; for in Truth there is neither love nor hate. It is not through revenge that it exposes villainy, but because it is a law of the great All, that light will banish darkness. It is not from love that it protects Confidence and Innocence, but because it has, with them, affinities. Naught can change its calm, for it is the source of all power. Under its mere presence the veil and mask of Falsehood arise, and are dissolved by the attraction of Truth, as the mists and fogs of night disappear at the approach of the morning sun. Ignorance, grovelling at the feet of Falsehood, is frightened, not at the brutal monster that Truth unveils, for she refuses to look or hear; but her weak and perverted vision is dazzled and horrified by the beautiful light of Truth, and she buries her grey and dishevelled head in the folds of what she has always supposed, and still supposes, to be her only support and protection. Quite the reverse is the case on the other side of the picture, where Confidence and Innocence, protected by Truth, nestle against her pure and simple robe in blissful security. Truth is represented as assuming the human form, because it is humanity that needs Truth to enlighten and protect it; and woman in particular, that her smile and her words, which are the first that mankind in its innocence looks up to, may not teach it error."

I am not a critic in art, and cannot say what technical faults this picture may have; nor did I even, at the moment of looking at it, desire to know. It was enough to give myself up to the impression of the exceeding beauty of many of its details, and of the force and truthfulness of the idea conveyed by the allegory. The face of Truth has in it, to me, an impress of the Eternal Beauty; and Confidence and Innocence—the mother and child—have, to me, far more expression and interest than those copies of the Madonna and Child that are presented to us.

But perhaps my impressions would not have been so vivid and satisfactory, if the artist herself had not been at my side, diffusing the glow of her own idealizations and enthusiasm over this offspring of her brain and heart. Though not very familiar with the term Free Religion, and scarcely knowing of the existence of *THE INDEX*, I found her in full sympathy with the principles and spirit of each; and in her way laboring and sacrificing for what she believes to be truth, irrespective of pecuniary reward. Besides giving the impression of being a woman of rare genius, she also gives evidence of being actuated by high-toned, moral principle.

Mrs. Spencer does not wish, at present, to sell this picture. It is the first of a series of three which she has planned, and is an embodiment of ideas which she felt constrained to put upon the canvas, which she feels to be a part of herself, and which she hopes may, at some time, be a benefit to the world by its teachings. Pecuniary circumstances, however, induce her to make the attempt to realize something from the work, without further delay. She has therefore made arrangements to have a limited number of photographs of the highest order taken of it, for which she wishes to obtain subscribers, at \$15.00 a copy. The original painting may be about six by eight feet in size, and the photograph about eighteen by twenty-four inches. The copy gives a good rendering of the original. It seems highly desirable that the artist should succeed in disposing of these photographs; and the lovers of truth and freedom, as well as those of art, can hardly fail to appreciate and encourage her noble efforts. A. H.

THE BEECHER-TILTON CASE.

OZARK, Mo., Aug. 12, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I have been pleased with the course you have pursued in regard to the Beecher-Tilton scandal during the progress of this sensational drama. You have very commendably refrained from making any of those unchaste or prejudicial comments on the case during the trial that other papers have so unscrupulously given to the public. Since the evidence on both sides of the case has been given to the public, and a partial technical verdict rendered, I think *THE INDEX* has done its duty as a journal of independent and honest convictions, in expressing its own opinion of the scandal, and the moral which it teaches.

If Æsop's personified foxes and crows could teach the ancients the spirit of those times, certainly this great modern scandal, involving some of the leading characters of the age, is not without its moral for us, if we can discern what the "*Hæc fabula docet*" is. Whether this protracted trial has proven Henry Ward Beecher guilty of adultery, or Theodore Tilton guilty of a dark, malicious conspiracy against his friend and benefactor, the partisans of the two principal actors in this unique legal drama will continue for a time to dispute; and whether the whole truth can ever be extracted from the falsehood and intrigue that have been employed by the parties from the incipency of this affair may be reasonably doubted. But that the public estimate of the cardinal virtue on which our whole social structure is founded—marital fidelity—has been explicitly expressed, as you have said, during this trial cannot, I think, be denied by any observing mind. What that estimate is, the agonizing wish of thousands to see Mr. Beecher's character exculpated from the charge of adultery, and the crushing denunciation of

others who believed him guilty, have unmistakably shown during the six months of the trial.

Whatever may be the extent of secret licentious practices and marital incontinence beneath the public life of society, chastity in both man and woman is still esteemed as a virtue of inestimable worth; the marriage vow and the purity of home are still sacred to the moral sentiments of civilized mankind; and a libertine, though a gifted and popular minister whom the world has loved to honor, finds no protection from the doom of his iniquity, when he violates the public conscience by invading the sanctity of home, and forming illicit relations with the wives of other men. Ignoring the guilt or innocence of all the parties in this trial, the case, as you have shown, has a moral for this age. It reveals, with a truthfulness that few other events could have done, the real views of the public on the most important subject of social life. This seems to be a transitional age in regard to many philosophical and religious beliefs; and during this transition we may naturally look to see the wildest and most pernicious theories and practices prevail among some. Reforms are always accompanied by fanaticism and dangerous heresies. Seeing some of the old beliefs and customs retreating before the march of modern thought and progress, a few hasty theoretical adventurers have concluded that all the institutions of religious, social, and political life, the collective wisdom of the past, are without any foundation in the nature and wants of man, and have attempted to inspire the world with their own infatuation.

Prominent among such agitators are the advocates of the "free love" doctrine. The discussion of woman's rights has revealed the dark picture of woman's subjugation to man. A strong feeling of rebellion against this condition has been excited in many minds that love justice and hate tyranny. A general and healthy feeling of opposition to the unjust restrictions and oppressions which have retarded the development of womanhood has been produced by the woman's right's movement, which will not abate till woman receives her rightful position as the equal co-laborer with man in the struggle of life. But some infatuated social theorists have rashly attempted to destroy the most sacred and indispensable institution of our social life, by advocating a sickly, sentimental doctrine which they are pleased to call "free love." To analyze this so-called "gospel of freedom," and show its radical incompatibility with social order and moral purity, would require more space than you can afford one correspondent. But is not the Beecher-Tilton scandal a more lucid commentary on this new theory of sexual ethics than any *a priori* argument could present? Whether Henry Ward Beecher has been proven guilty or innocent in this late trial, "free love" has certainly been tried on its own boasted principles, and found by the verdict of the public mind hopelessly defective as a basis of social organization.

Admitting all that has been charged against the parties in this trial, they have but acted in conformity with the teachings of "free love." They have but exercised the sexual rights which Mrs. Woodhull and her coadjutors maintain inalienable. If Mrs. Tilton yielded to the amorous solicitations of Mr. Beecher, she was but manifesting a "beautiful and womanly concessiveness"; while Mr. Tilton, in attempting to protect his household from the rapacity of this clerical sensualist, or in concerning himself about the secret relationship between his wife and her gifted pastor, was following the promptings of a selfish and barbarous nature, and deserving the withering rebuke of all the generous men and women emancipated from the old thralldom of sexual slavery! Will the advocates of this perverted freedom consider the moral which this noisome scandal teaches, and study more thoroughly the broader ethics of the sexual relation, which lie at the very foundation of domestic security and social welfare?

Yours truly, H. CLAY NEVILLE.

ANOTHER WORD ON "SELFISHNESS."

MR. ABBOT:—

I wish, with your permission, to occupy a small space for the purpose of saying a few words touching my "Short Essay on Selfishness," which you did me the favor to publish in THE INDEX of July 15.

I frankly confess that I believe the motive which prompted me to write it, and send it to you for publication, was nothing more or less than pure selfishness. I will explain.

I have a great desire to entertain an exalted opinion of our race. Anything that I can hear, see, or experience, tending to the establishment of that opinion, is intensely gratifying to my feelings, and, therefore, of inestimable personal benefit to me.

Being well aware that the views I hold in regard to the selfishness of mankind are opposed to those of a great majority of people, I hoped, and much desired, that the publication of my thoughts on the subject would bring forth from some of your very able correspondents evidence sufficient to convince me that I am wrong.

I am thankful to "W. C. R." for criticising me in THE INDEX of Aug. 5. His article indicates that it is not the first time he has given thought to the subject; and, no doubt, he fancies he has finally succeeded in persuading himself into the belief that man is *not*, "under all conceivable circumstances, selfish." He says some things that, upon superficial observation, sound pretty correct, but will not bear the test of close scrutiny. He fails entirely to gratify my selfishness with that which I have been, and am now, so earnestly seeking; namely, satisfactory proof that the views set forth in my essay are incorrect.

Permit me to add that "W. C. R." cannot possibly be more strongly opposed to the dissemination of anything having immoral tendency than I am. I

presume I am as thoroughly convinced that I am right, as he is that I am wrong. I am a seeker—I might say a worshipper—of truth; and, when I think I have found it and give it publicity, I cannot see that I am guilty of doing wrong. When I sent my essay to you for publication, I did not intend, or for a moment think I was, doing anything immoral; nor do I now, after having had time for due reflection, think so.

J. R. S.

A QUESTION.

MR. ABBOT:—

In your article, "The Republic's Need," you say that what the republic needs above all else is the "religion of universal consecration to intelligence and virtue"; and that, as means to this end, every child should be required to receive as good an education as the common schools can furnish. All of this I heartily indorse. You must, however, be aware of the continued and exhausting struggle, on the part of the masses of the people, for a bare subsistence, and of the assistance that many children are compelled to render towards paying house rent, securing food, fuel, and current expenses.

I wish to ask you the question, How shall these children be allowed time, furnished with needed clothes, books, and incidental expenses, to attend school, and the entire family not be caused to suffer from lack of the lost means? Would not many families really suffer for physical comforts were the children sent to school?

I am not discussing the question whether people have a moral right to keep children from school, and impress them as laborers; but simply ask, if a still greater injury would not occur, if this class of children were forced to attend school while the present unjust relations between capital and labor exist?

OLIVE N. PRESTON.

[This is a very proper question to ask, and it is very well put by our correspondent. We cannot pretend to give it, however, a full answer in detail; for the difficulty is one which only experience and great practical sagacity can fully meet. But no system of universal guaranteed education would be complete or feasible, which should take no account of it; and the community should in some manner provide that no real suffering should follow in the cases described. The children must be educated for their own future welfare, and the temporary needs of their parents are no sufficient reason for depriving them of schooling; but honest and industrious parents who are so poor as to require the earnings of their children to eke out the family expenses should receive all the assistance needed to make good this loss. Whether this end should be accomplished by public or private philanthropy, might be a question; but there can be no question of the children's right to education, or of the parent's right to all necessary help while the children are receiving it.—ED.]

A MAN OF STRAW.

EDITOR INDEX:—

When your correspondent "Pendragon" was a boy, I think he must have been a leader of his associates in the sportful practice of setting up and knocking down men of straw. What he could find in my letter from which to spin such a yarn of a lecture on liberality as he did in THE INDEX of Aug. 19, I am wholly unable to see. He must either have read my letter very carelessly, or else on that particular occasion used Christian spectacles. I am the more inclined to accept the latter hypothesis, from his facility in the use of that endearing title, "brother." Now let us look over his communication a little, and see if he is not belaboring an enemy of his own creation.

Brother Pendragon says: "Christianity and the creeds may be no preventive of crime." Now this remark contains "the head and front of my offending." Brother Pendragon here admits everything I asserted in my letter, the whole drift of which was to show that the claims set up for "Christian influences" as a corrective of morals are not supported by facts. I did not say that Piper killed the little girl because he was a Christian; I said that the much-vaunted efficacy of "Christian influences" was powerless to prevent his killing her. I did not say that Dr. Lorimer's ear-splitting homilies and ludicrous contortions incited Pemberton to the commission of his awful crime; but I said that a church that defended and approved the lasciviousness, the intemperance, the debaucheries, and the hypocrisy of a Kalloch cannot be expected to tolerate a man in its pulpit who does not put sectarianism above morality, and consequently that such a church is a frail defence against the crime of which this "worshipper" Pemberton has been proved guilty.

Now, brother Pendragon calls me many hard names, all because in his heedless reading of my letter he tortured a meaning from it which its language does not justify. He went off at half-cock. Read it again, brother Pendragon, and you will see, if you will wipe a little of the Christian dust from your spectacles, that I called attention to these murders committed by attendants on the sanctuary, not as a consequence of such attendance, but to show that the claims set up for the influence of Christianity upon the morals of those within the sphere of its influence are without foundation. Now what is there in all this that so stirs the ire of brother Pendragon as to lead him to characterize me as illiberal, bigoted, intolerant, unwise, unfair, absurd, insulting, false, and inconsistent?

Z.

DIVINITY.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The equanimity with which Mr. Voysey answered my letter (INDEX No. 286) is worthy of an admiration I am sorry I cannot extend to the reasons he offered. His temper is sweet, but his argument is defective. He slides off the subject in hand to others not in controversy.

First, he has "no doubt I will agree with him, if there is a God at all, He must be good." Well, what of it? Gravitation is good. The quality or standing of the being referred to I did not, and do not now, inquire about. Before we talk of the properties of a thing, let us make sure it is a thing in reality, and not a figment of the imagination that is before us.

Secondly, Mr. Voysey says: "Mind as we know it upon earth is no more fathomed yet than the Divine mind." Now I make no move to fathom any mind, either human or so called divine. The human mind is a fact; not so the other. Let us know if we have or can find a divine mind at all, before we talk about measuring it. Here Mr. Voysey indulges in a current sophism it seems needful to notice. He places the mind of earthly beings and the Divine mind, by way of comparison, in juxtaposition, and then diverts attention from the real point of the proposition by declaring our inability to fathom either of them; at the same time he forgets to take note of the difference between them. A prime difference is that one is a thing we know, while the other is a supposition "only assumed as the necessary cause of mundane phenomena." Is not this "necessary cause" another assumption? Is it logical to draw the same conclusion from an assumed postulate as from a known one? He falls to the work of comparing two things before he is lawfully possessed of one of the two objects of comparison.

Thirdly, he says that "evolution required mind," or his synonyme, God. Such is the easy method and habit of theology. It found a God behind every truth, while the painstaking scientist finds behind those truths, not mind or God, but law; and the expounders of evolution of life and form banish mind, eject gods, and demonstrate in their stead the adequate supremacy of law. Law is without heart or brain, void of sympathy or feeling, and respects nothing but itself—its own rule of action.

Agassiz propounded a truth which his friends seemed disposed to dissipate, when he said: "God goes out of the universe as fast as Darwinism comes in." Theologians winced under the force of this fact, long before it was uttered, as they saw it from time to time pointed out by the index-fingers of astronomy and geology. Mr. Voysey does not know the "mode of God's existence." Again we say, Never mind the "mode": what God does he mean? "The gods have fled, but man is here"—the only known sovereign of the universe, the suns excepted.

Thus Mr. Voysey goes from problem to properties. Mark Twain says he can always make an impromptu speech, if he have three weeks to prepare it in. The celerity with which Mark goes from the impromptu to something else is laughable. Mr. Voysey's transit from the main point to collateral ones is almost as dexterous, but not unctuous enough to laugh at.

A. S. H.

OAKLAND, July 18, 1875.

GOD.

The assumption of materialism that intelligence is not commensurate with that which involves a tissue of absurdities. For if intelligence is not commensurate with that which is, then (absurdity number one) the finite transcends the infinite, the effect surpasses the cause; and therefore (absurdity number two) the infinite itself is finite, or limited. Now as the limited, no matter how vastly beyond conception it may in the aggregate be, cannot be self-sustaining, we reach absurdity number three; the climax, *i. e.*, the non-existence, of all things. On the other hand, if we assume the existence of a personal God who knows all things, who is the source of all power, from whom all things proceed, we arrive at the same absurd conclusion—the non-existence of all things. For if there is a personal God, then there is a culminating point; and if there is a culminating point, then infinity is a myth; and if infinity is a myth, then we and all things else are myths. It is by virtue of there being nothing outside of which there is not an infinity of things, that anything is in existence; it is by virtue of there being no power outside of which there is not an infinity of power, that there is any power at all; it is by virtue of there being no knowledge outside of which there is not an infinity of knowledge, that there is any knowledge whatever. It is by virtue of there being nothing outside of which there is not an infinity of things, by there being no power outside of which there is not an infinity of power, by there being no knowledge outside of which there is not an infinity of knowledge, that there is nothing outside of God; *i. e.*, that he has no outside, and, therefore, no limit. Hence, it is evident that intelligence and power are commensurate with, but cannot transcend, that which is; and that that which is God.

In a word, it is obvious that God is that which is (something), or that which is not (nothing); and as he cannot be a part of that which is, as a part is necessarily limited, he must be that which is in its infinity. To which must necessarily attach infinite power, infinite intelligence; for to be infinite in one is to be infinite in all; to be finite in one is to be finite in all.

E. B. B.

Boston, Aug. 4.

ACCEPT COMMOTION before stagnation, the leap of the torrent before the stillness of the swamp.—Tyn-dall.

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Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India;" also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1875.

WHOLE No. 299.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, it is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT: PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

SEVERAL AMERICAN clergymen attended the Bonn Conference, which lasted three days.

OF THE 70,000 voters controlled by Tammany Hall in New York city, 60,000 are said to be Irish Catholics.

FATHER BEKK, General of the Jesuits, is the Pope behind the Pope, and has made Pius IX. for twenty years or so the instrument of that crafty society.

THE RAPID increase of rascality among mankind might excite alarm lest Virtue should finally forsake the earth, were it not that there is at the same time a notable increase in the number of Upright Pianos.

PROFESSORS TAIT AND DEWAR, according to *Nature*, have disproved the supposed discovery of Mr. Crookes that light exerts a mechanical action, and refer the highly interesting motions of his little "wind-mills" to the action of heat.

THE NEW YORK *Herald's* correspondent has been lately indulging in a week's "investigation" of the materialized ghosts exhibited by the Eddy brothers, but returns only to scoff in a very perverse way at what he saw—or didn't see.

HON. J. W. THORNE, who was expelled last winter from the North Carolina Legislature for alleged blasphemy and atheism, has been elected to the Constitutional Convention in that State by a larger majority than that by which he had been elected to the Legislature.

AT A MEETING of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences on July 28, Dr. Döllinger stated that in the fourteenth century monks were burned as heretics, under the Emperor Ludwig, for asserting the infallibility of the Pope. Times have bravely changed since that day.

A RUMOR that the Prince of Wales had recognized at a garden party the princely rank of Cardinal Manning, which of course was conferred by the Pope alone, was enough to excite attention and inquiry in the House of Lords. England is very sensitive to the Pope's claims as a sovereign just now.

REV. W. H. H. MURRAY, ex-pastor of Park Street Church in this city, is to start a new weekly paper, called the *Golden Rule*, on October 6. It will be of the "Liberal Orthodox" order, and is probably designed to supplant the *Christian Union*—Mr. Murray being compared by his admirers to Henry Ward Beecher.

THE ABBE MICHAUD thus exposes in the *Independent* the miserable position of the "Liberal Romanists" of France, who are ground between two millstones: "They are despised by strict Romanists, who treat them as heretics, on account of their Liberalism; and they are despised by the Liberals on account of their Romanism." These words apply with a slight change to the "Liberal Christian" sects here at home.

THIS TELEGRAPHIC despatch in the daily papers is certainly a sensational one, and we only give it for what it is worth: "WASHINGTON, Sept. 7.—A singular story has been current here for two or three days to the effect that Cardinal McCloskey carried with him to Rome the details of a scheme devised to break down the public school system of this country, and, if approved by the Pope, it will be immediately inaugurated."

GEOLOGISTS are divided as to the probable effect on the climate of Europe, if the proposed conversion of the Desert of Sahara into an inland sea should be actually accomplished. Some think that the cessation of the hot winds from the Desert would so lower the temperature of Europe as to cause a new glacial epoch; while others think that it might so diminish the rain-fall of the Italian and Swiss Alps as actually to reduce the existing glaciers. It would be wise to arrive at some degree of unanimity of opinion on the subject, before taking a step which might be fraught

with momentous consequences to the whole civilized world.

THERE IS something very touching in the joy of Ernst von Bandel, the aged sculptor of the colossal Hermann monument, in the final completion of his life-work, and its dedication in the presence of thirty thousand spectators on the pine-covered Grotenberg. For thirty-seven years he had toiled patiently over this magnificent realization in art of his ideal of German unity and strength; and when at last the Emperor grasped him by both hands, and congratulated him amidst the wild applause of the spectators, he sank into a chair overcome with emotion. His great statue was finished; the national ideal it embodied was already an accomplished fact; and now, at seventy-five years, the venerable artist beheld the double fulfilment of his life-dream. Seldom has human ambition been crowned with such success; and seldom has it deserved the crown so well.

IT APPEARS that we were misled by the now forgotten journal on the authority of which we recently referred to Judge Taft, of Cincinnati, as the Republican candidate for Governor of Ohio. A correspondent writes to us: "He was not nominated for Governor of Ohio by the Republican party. It had not the pluck to nominate so good a man." We are sorry to have made this mistake, and still more sorry to learn that it is one. Another informant states that Judge Taft would undoubtedly have received the nomination, if it had not been for his connection with the Cincinnati Bible-in-Schools case in 1870. All the greater is the pity, if his bold defence of the right side of that important question frightened the Republicans of Ohio from making so excellent a nomination. It is the State of Ohio, not Judge Taft, that will prove to be the loser by their moral cowardice.

THIS communication to the *Montreal Daily Witness* of September 3, on the Guibord riot, from a writer characterized by that journal as "one of our foremost and most thoughtful citizens," contains a lesson even for the United States: "It has become too evident that here, as in Spain and in Sicily, Vaticanism adopts as its natural allies disloyalty and brigandism, and is striking at the very roots not only of constitutional government but of social order. It may be doing this blindly, and may not be directly responsible for the lawlessness of its mobs; but it is responsible for its fruits, and in any case it has become absolutely necessary that Montreal shall promptly and decisively remove the stain cast upon it by the apparent lawlessness of its people. This should be done under form of law, and by the properly constituted authorities; and if they feel themselves weak, let them not hesitate to swear in every loyal man in the city as a special constable, and overawe the conspirators and ruffians by force and numbers. A second failure to enforce the law would be an irretrievable disgrace to the city, and the police authorities are bound to exonerate themselves from the blame of allowing yesterday's riot to proceed unchecked. Still the matter should not be made an occasion of unnecessary display or parade of any kind. It is altogether an occasion of humiliation and sorrow that in Canada, in the nineteenth century, the interference of the highest court in the realm should have been necessary to secure common justice in such a case; and the less said about it the better. We should also bear in mind, independently of higher considerations, that the reputation of Montreal for neglect of sanitary precautions, priestly domination, and for mob rule, are already driving capital and skill from our doors, and damaging seriously our commercial prosperity. The checking of these evils is, therefore, becoming not merely a question of sentiments of loyalty and patriotism, but of absolute self-preservation for all classes and creeds of our people."

The Struggle for Supremacy over Conscience.

A DISCOURSE DELIVERED IN NEW YORK, JAN. 31, 1875.

BY O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

The recent discussion in England between the friends and foes of the Church of Rome, on the question of civil allegiance, may yet reach us with its agitations. But whether it does or not, it touches a matter of vital concern to ourselves, even to all mankind; a matter of deep, practical, and permanent interest—this, namely: the lawful supremacy over conscience; to whom does it belong? Is there any such supremacy? And if so, where is the claim to it lodged? This is the heart of the issue in England. All other issues cluster about this, and owe their significance to it. This, indeed, is the only radical issue. The friends of the Church affirm that she is, by divine appointment, king and priest over conscience; the opponents of the Church dissent, going so far as to say that no such king or priest has been anointed; that in fact no such king or priest can ever be acknowledged. The very idea of such authority on the one side, such submission on the other, must be repelled; conscience is not bound, but free.

In this discussion it should not be forgotten that the Church of Rome has, in every period, borne faithful testimony to the dignity and authority of conscience. The strongest words on this point have been spoken by its greatest teachers. Conscience is called "the commander and messenger of God"; "a divine tribunal, placed by God, and made supreme for us"; a power that "binds by virtue of divine precept," "so binds that he who does not fulfil its commands commits sin." She teaches even, according to some, that "an invincibly erroneous conscience, when dictating what is positively wrong, must be followed under pain of sin"; for conscience is the rule by which all morality is measured. High authorities in the Church declare that to go against conscience is never lawful. Dr. John Henry Newman states the case forcibly in this language: "Certainly, if I am obliged to bring religion into after-dinner toasts (which, indeed, does not seem quite the thing), I shall drink—to the Pope, if you please; still, to conscience first, and to the Pope afterwards." This is strong, though not especially strong, language. It sounds like the speech of a rationalist. It might proceed from an advocate of the extreme doctrine of freedom. Hearing it, one is tempted to exclaim: There is then no controversy on this point between Rome and Reason. If God judges through conscience; if disobedience to conscience is guilt; if obedience to conscience is virtue; if conscience is before priest and bishop; if they, who, without any fault, are convinced that theirs is the true religion, and serve God in justice, are to be reckoned among the members of the true Church,—then the case of the free rationalist is conceded. Nay, not quite. The Church bears this emphatic testimony to the dignity and rank of conscience, only to make more august the authority to which it must bow. It seems to say: Yes, conscience is high born; it holds a sceptre, and wears a crown. How noble, then, must be the power to which it must submit! The Church is not a king of menials, but a king of kings!

These lofty encomiums are never pronounced without qualification. The most liberal Catholics are careful to urge the necessity of having "a right" conscience, of "loving the supreme good," of "seeking light for the removal of doubts." They are particular to say that in praising conscience they mean conscience "properly understood." If they mention conscience before the Pope, they do mention the Pope in the same breath with conscience. Dr. Newman expressly defines the "rights of conscience" as "the rights of the Creator," and the "duties of conscience" as "duties to the Creator"; intimating plainly that the Creator has established a tribunal at which conscience must render an account. He denounces in strong terms the popular notion of conscience as a natural faculty which is a law to itself, not amenable to any other law, lawgiver, or judge, and independent of unseen obligations; that he calls "a counterfeit of conscience," "the fiction of an irreligious age." The authority of the Church over conscience has been asserted too often, too recently, and too unequivocally, to be denied or questioned now. Such authority is implied in the very existence of the Church as a divine institution. The Churchman who believes, as every Churchman does believe, the Church to be a divine institution, established to meet a human necessity; an institution planted, illuminated, guided, inspired, empowered by God himself; the organ of the Holy Spirit, and the visible body of the Christ who is the Creator's fullness; its sacraments charged with grace; its dogmas vital with truth; its priesthood instinct with regenerating life,—must concede the authority of the Church over conscience. What other authority is there than that? What can be the function or the use of a church that has no such authority? The papal syllabus does not go out of its way when it denounces, as a fatal error, the notion that any but members of the "true Church of Christ" can be saved, and brands as heresy the doctrine that moral laws "stand in no need of divine sanction." The Vatican decrees teach no novelty when they declare that "man being wholly dependent upon God, and created reason being absolutely subject to uncreated truth, we are bound to yield to God, by faith in his revelation, the full obedience of our intelligence and will." In a volume of *Essays on Religion and Literature*, edited a few years ago by Archbishop Manning, the submission of con-

science to the supreme authority of the Church is taught with a fullness and a positiveness that leave nothing to be desired. It is there stated, on page 36, that "Catholics regard Christian virtue as the will's abject prostration before Almighty God,—an attitude of mind which their opponents condemn as degrading and unmanly; and, since they happen to be our fellow-countrymen, they brand it as un-English." Elsewhere, on page 45, the natural virtues of "justice, benevolence, courage, patriotism, and the like, which their opponents regard with much respect and admiration," are pronounced "the distortions and caricatures of virtue rather than real virtues." "The Church," it is written on page 90, "we must never forget, is an infallible guide, not in faith only, but in morals also; and every single proposition of which right or wrong is a predicate is under her direct jurisdiction." To quote further: "The society (Church) is supernatural solely in virtue of the fact that Christ is its head; and since without him it would be no divine society at all, it would be wanting in the one condition required for success in readjusting and restoring the spiritual nature of man." And once more: "Unless the society could do more than offer an opinion, it could not enlighten; truth alone can enlighten. But the society has the truth; any body of men which has not, or does not teach, the truth is not the society, or any part of it; but to teach the truth is at once the object of the society's existence, and to be conformable to the will of God, that is to be holy." Numerous passages to the same effect might be cited from this volume, but they are unnecessary; in fact, no declarations are necessary to establish a position which follows inevitably from a first principle. The claim of the Church to be king and priest over conscience is implied in its mere existence; the confessional is a visible assertion of it; the pretence of infallibility covers it. By freedom of conscience the Romanist means freedom to have and exercise and enjoy such a conscience as the Church approves—freedom to surrender conscience to its dominion, freedom to submit conscience to its decree. As I once heard an eminent doctor in that communion say in public—the words are as fresh in my memory as if heard yesterday:—"Freedom of religion is freedom to profess the true religion, which is the Catholic."

That this doctrine is fraught with extreme danger to society, who but a Romanist will dispute? He who claims authority over conscience claims authority over all human concerns, public and private, of great and of small degree. On this point Mr. Gladstone, dropping for an instant the judicial calmness of the reasoner, breaks out in glowing indignation: "I care not to ask," he says, "if there be dregs or tatters of human life, such as can escape from the description and boundary of morals. I submit that duty is a power which rises with us in the morning, and goes to rest with us at night. It is co-extensive with the action of our intelligence. It is the shadow which cleaves to us go where we will, and which only leaves us when we leave the light of life." It is strange that any should fail to perceive that spiritual authority carries temporal authority with it; that the right to rule conscience conveys the right to rule the State, society, the home, the details of individual existence. It is strange that any should fail to perceive that the resignation of temporal authority is a resignation of all authority whatsoever; that to decline interference with political, social, household, private affairs is to decline interference with intellect and morals—with the most interior concerns of the soul. There is simply nothing men do, in any department, in any relation, in any direction, that does not involve in some proportion the elements of the moral law. It is plainly impossible for a human creature to act at all without putting into his action, knowingly or unknowingly, a moral sentiment and judgment.

The authorities of the Church, when they speak sincerely, have no hesitation in admitting this. In the volume of *Essays* just quoted, Archbishop Manning himself says, page 18: "If England is ever to be united to Christendom, it is by submission to the living authority of the Vicar of Jesus Christ." And on the next page he declares that "the royal supremacy has perished by the law of mortality which consumes all earthly things; and at this period of our history the supremacy of the Vicar of Jesus Christ reënters as full of life as when Henry VIII. resisted Clement VII., and Elizabeth withstood S. Pius V. The undying authority of the Holy See is once more an active power in England; the shadow of Peter has fallen again upon it." It is not within the capacity of the English language to make a more explicit declaration than that. The right to control education, marriage, the nurture and instruction of children, follows as a thing of course, and is asserted with an unreserve as frank as it is imperative.

This danger of interference with civil concerns is no imaginary one. It is concealed in the mere existence of a spiritual power. It is covertly avowed by every one who professes faith in the authority of such a power. It is no bugbear, but a very real peril. It is not a peril that menaces England alone, though it menaces England seriously at present; it is a peril that menaces every form of government, every State, every mode of social organization, in proportion as allegiance to a spiritual authority is confessed in it. It may yet be a danger in America; it is already a danger and more than a danger in those portions of America where the Catholic faith is strong.

But the assertion of lordship over conscience involves another peril more subtle and radical still. I mean the peril of moral perversion, corruption—yes, disintegration. The legitimate fruit of this principle is that ugly thing called Jesuitism, the very name of which excites such horror in the mod-

ern mind, as being associated with the evil doctrine that the end excuses the means, and with the ingenious casuistry that makes the worse appear the better reason, and justifies, or seems to justify, treachery, deceit, falsehood, in the cause of God. "This," says Thomas Carlyle, "is the fell heresy bequeathed to us by Ignatius (the founder of the Jesuit order), that no man speaks the truth to you or to himself; but that every man lies—with blasphemous audacity, and does not know that he is lying,—before God and man, in regard to almost all manner of things." "There had been liars in the world; but there was in this of Jesuit Ignatius an apotheosis of lying, a kind of subtle quintessence and deadly virus of lying, the like of which had never been seen before. Measure it if you can: prussic acid and chloroform are poor to it! Men had served the Devil, and men had very imperfectly served God; but to think that God could be served more perfectly by taking the Devil into partnership—this was a novelty of St. Ignatius."

But this, too, was a simple, we may even say an inevitable, consequence of the doctrine that the Church has authority over conscience. For the Church, being an institution in society, an organization among others in the world, having at heart the security of its dominion, the extension of its sway, the spread of its influence, the confirmation of its authority, becomes, from the exigency of the situation, committed to diplomatic relations, and immersed in the complications of politics. Its divine right to exist being assumed, the divine right to preserve its existence follows. That is naturally justified and warranted which is conducive to this end; the expedient is regarded as lawful; the convenient is confounded with the right; and the precept to do all for the glory of God is construed as a command to equivocate and palter and lie for it. The Jesuit principle conducts immediately to this conclusion. The assumption of a divine authority in any organization contains all that this conclusion implies.

Idle is any protest against this inference. Idle is the attempt to confine the practical confirmations of its justice to past times and obsolete conditions of society. The principle, if valid at all, is valid in one period as much as in another; the inference from it is as clear in one period as in another. And if the inference is not openly illustrated in processes of law and conduct, it is partly because opportunity for such illustration is not given; it is not because the laws of reasoning are abolished.

The attempt to reconcile the doctrine of authority with any conception of moral freedom is sheer casuistry. The Catholic theory of freedom of conscience is at the heart fallacious. "Freedom of conscience is freedom of conscience to obey the divine law." Very well; but who is commissioned to announce the divine law? To say that the Church of Rome is so commissioned is simply to beg the whole question. As cordially as I admit the truth of the definition, so heartily I deny that the divine law has any organized tribunal, or any authorized expositor, among men. Neither Church nor State, neither code nor book, neither popular usage nor established ethics, have any title to so august a dignity. The divine law, I contend, has never been voiced so that all may hear it, or written so that all may read it, or instituted so that all may consciously live under it. It is to a great extent undiscovered; its revelations are to be gathered from many different sources by the exercise of observation and reason. It is proclaimed in the material creation; it is wrought into the texture of society; it is inscribed on the tablets of the heart; it is articulated in the lessons of experience; it is expressed in literature; it is enunciated in the first principles of reason,—but we see no ground for thinking that it is committed in full and explicitly to the keeping of any human power, spiritual or temporal; that it surrounds any crowned or mitred head with the halo of its majesty; that it bestows its immortal sanction upon any soul, or any collection of souls, however arranged and disposed.

The Romanist would gladly drive the objector to an alternative. He says: You must either accept this doctrine of freedom that I contend for, or you must avow a doctrine of license, which, so far from being freedom, is bondage to animal passion. There is no freedom, he cries, worth speaking about, but rational freedom. Rational freedom is freedom to obey the dictates of reason. Reason dictates that one shall love the truth and practise righteousness. To love error and practise unrighteousness is bondage. Is the magnetic needle free when it deserts its watch of the North Star, and, veering unsteadily from side to side, points to any shining orb that chances to pass before its vision? Is the mind free when, throwing off its allegiance to knowledge, it offers up its enthusiastic devotion to every fancy of the hour?

Of course not. The errant needle is simply discharged of its magnetic force, and demoralized. The disloyal mind has lost its intellectual principle. But what should we say of a needle that pointed to a gilded ball in the sky, mistaking it for the North Star? What should we say of a mind that soberly surrendered itself to a dogmatic fiction, under the impression that it was the full and final knowledge? We should say that the needle retained no quality of the magnetic needle whatever; that the mind was destitute of all the attributes that belong to intelligence. To us the Church of Rome is such a gilded ball; to us the authority of Rome is such an ecclesiastical fiction.

The doctrine of the Church makes itself impressive and persuasive by the stress it lays on the grand virtue of obedience. It is put forward as the guarantee of that virtue, the bulwark on which it reposes; and by the solemnity with which it insists on the dangers of moral and social anarchy, it half convinces the timid and thoughtless of the validity of its prin-

ciple. But here again the words of Thomas Carlyle occur to me: "Obedience, a virtue universally forgotten in these days, will have to become universally known again. Obedience is good, and indispensable; but if it be obedience to what is wrong and false—good heavens! there is no name for such a depth of human cowardice and calamity, spurned everlastingly by the gods."

Dr. Newman is eloquent over the contemptibleness of conscience, falsely so-called, "the right of thinking, speaking, writing, and acting, according to judgment or humor, without any thought of God at all; the right to be one's own master in all things, and to profess what one pleases, asking no one's leave, and accounting priest or preacher, speaker or writer, unutterably impertinent who dares to say one word against one's going to perdition, if he likes it, in his own way." But he cannot make a fair issue there between himself and the rationalists. No caricature like that can be passed off as a just description of the doctrine of a free conscience as held by thoughtful people. The import of that doctrine is no more or less than this: that conscience shall be free to obey the laws of reason, unrestricted by legal enactments, unembarrassed by social pains and penalties. The champions of the right of private conscience believed in conscience, or they never would have fought for the privilege of obeying it. They believed in conscience to the point of never confounding it with self-will, caprice, passionate impulse, or cold-blooded calculation of interests. They did not encounter persecution in its worst forms for the privilege of doing as they liked, but for the title to do what they ought. They wanted their own way in being religious, not in being irreligious. When they lived and struggled, conscience was not free. In not many places now is it perfectly free. If it be true that it is illegal for a Unitarian to vote in Maryland, conscience is not free there. If it be true that a Catholic cannot legally vote in New Hampshire, conscience is not free there. Conscience is free when no law or usage hinders its effort to yield allegiance to the rational laws as they are apprehended. Freedom to disavow conscience, to repudiate it, may be called freedom of wilfulness; it is a misnomer to call it freedom of conscience. Freedom to have no religion at all may be a desirable thing, but it is not freedom of religion. Freedom to blaspheme may be permitted, but it is not freedom of worship. The advocates of a free conscience merely claim the right of conformity with truth, conscientiously held, and of practising goodness as honestly revered. They believe in obedience, but to rational powers. They are earnest with a double earnestness,—an earnestness of desire to find what the rational power is, and an earnestness of loyalty to it when discovered. They are students first, and subjects afterwards. If they repudiate artificial authorities, it is only that they may revere authorities that are not artificial but genuine.

Theodore Parker, like other sturdy men of the transcendental school, in place of the tribunal of the Church, erected a tribunal in his own breast. He claimed for conscience a peculiar gift of vision by means of which it gazed on moral verities face to face, and by intuition beheld the eternal law of right. As the eye, by virtue of its structure, he said, takes cognizance of the forms and colors of material objects, so the conscience, by virtue of its constitution, takes cognizance of the unseen shapes of the moral world. "Conscience enables us not merely to learn the right by experiment and induction, but intuitively and in advance of experiment; so, in addition to the experimental way whereby we learn justice from the facts of human history, we have a transcendental way, and learn it from the facts of human nature, from immediate consciousness."

A doctrine like this seems to open the way to all manner of license. For in thus legitimating the individual conscience, and removing all outward standards whatever, room is given for every possible freak of wilfulness; self-delusion, passion, self-will, have full encouragement to play out their parts, and cloak their escapades under the mantle of conscience. But Mr. Parker was cautious. He would study the constant facts of the spiritual world, and thereby obtain a rule of conduct. He will hear what his friends have to say, what public opinion has to offer, what the best men advise; then he will consult his conscience, and follow its decision. "I am to do God's will soon as I know it, not before, and to take all possible pains to find it out." There is surely no license of wilfulness about this! The claim is for perfect but reasonable freedom.

The earnest conscience stands before a tribunal, but it is an invisible one. It admits the authority of a church, but a church never yet instituted or organized among men. It bends its head before a lord, but a lord whom human hands never crowned. It turns its gaze to a great crowd of witnesses, but no eye ever saw them, or ever will see them. When the early Christians refused to burn the pinch of incense in honor of pagan Jupiter, preferring death by the lions to life with an affronted conscience, they behaved not wilfully, though they seemed to. It was no individual conscience they consulted. They had regard to a vast body of moral conviction, stored up in the creed and lives of noble forerunners who had finished their course, and kept the faith. When Garrison, a poor, lonely youth, without helpers or mates, felt his conscience burn against slavery—still burn, though no kindred fires kept it in countenance; still burn, though the authorities he had revered failed him, society refusing its sympathy, law withholding its sanction, religion expressing its dissent; still burn, when all these turned against him, called him presumptuous and fanatical, and would fain have held him to silence,—he was far enough from yielding to the bidding of private caprice; far enough from repudiating the authority of the divine law

over his conscience. It was then most of all that he showed his reverence for that authority. It was then that he bent lowest, and disavowed most utterly the wrestling impulses of his own breast. It was then, when to all appearance his personal conceit touched its sublimest point, that his personal humility touched the lowest; for then he felt most profoundly the presence of those eternal powers which were supreme over Church and State and society. Then, through the letter of his faith, he felt its spirit; then, through the form and semblance of his religion, he felt its soul; then, through the chapter and verse of his Scripture, he felt the Word.

This was authority, genuine authority, palpable authority, supreme authority, the authority of the invisible Church, which is the real Church anywhere and everywhere; this is the essential authority of the Church of Rome. "One with God is a majority." Indeed it is. But a man must be very sure that he is one with God, and not with some fiction he chooses to call God, some phantom of his fancy, some *ignis fatuus* of his desire, before he claims to be. It will not do to hang celestial robes on some immense Ego, some overtopping and overshadowing vanity, some private infallibility of judgment or whim, and, calling that God, to claim the spiritual world as on one's side. That is simply being one with an inordinate and exaggerated selfishness, which, sooner or later, will topple over into insanity. But where there is simplicity, sincerity, reverence for essential greatness, enthusiasm for large aims, sympathy with broad objects, the claim, even of an individual, to be one with God is no dream. He may be one with great principles; he may be one with spiritual laws; and these are the best representatives of God we know. To apprehend these may not be easy; it is very far from easy. One cannot put himself in communication with them by joining even the oldest and most comprehensive church, by professing even the most venerable creed, by accepting membership in the most Orthodox communion; for they are not embodied thus. They are made real and familiar only by the earnest exercise of the highest faculties, bent on discovering the principles on which the social world is governed, and on conforming to them. These laws "have their seat in the bosom of God; their voice is the harmony of the world."

A great teacher says: "Conscience is authority, is supreme authority." He means the moral law which gives to conscience its sanction is authority. Conscience can hardly be called authority. Authority is not in the priest; it is in the sanctity the priest represents. Authority is not in the king, but in the principle of social order the king stands for. Authority is not in the conscience, but in the truth the conscience reports. Only as conscience reports that, or means to report it, is it venerable. The conscience that does not report it, or mean to report it, or care to report it, has no title to veneration; for it ceases to exercise the functions of conscience. It is an organ whose pipes are bent, and full of dust, and disconnected with the bellows; it is a loose-stringed harp without a player. The thing that gives authority to conscience is the bond of obligation which unites men in brotherhood; the effectual spirit of humanity which makes people in sympathy and interest to be cordially one.

Is it anything but this that gives to conscience the universal character of sacredness that belongs to it, clothes it with such noble associations, and makes its very name so majestic? If we ask what it is that imparts to the idea and fact of conscience a dignity that is not shared by the thought of interest however urgent, or expediency however pressing, the answer is that interest and expediency are words that call up incidental, occasional, or external objects, comfort or well-being of a physical kind, on the material level of life; while conscience is a word that calls up substantial, permanent, essential objects, advantages of an intellectual, social, or human sort, on the rational plane of life. There are degrees of sentiment, taste, appetite, affection. Some pleasures are coarse, some refined; some joys are base, some elevated; some satisfactions are low, some high; and the element that constitutes them one or the other is the quality of the associations they gather about them. The pleasures of the table are keener than the pleasures of music. A thousand enjoy the former to one who enjoys the latter. The verdict of the multitude would unhesitatingly pronounce in favor of a dinner at Delmonico's as preferable to a Philharmonic concert. Put a symphony of Beethoven in competition with an oyster supper, and the symphony would have the smaller number of patrons. And yet the pleasure of music is the higher pleasure. It is not only claimed to be such by those who can appreciate it, but it is allowed to be such by the general sentiment of mankind; nay, it is conceded to be such by those who cannot appreciate music at all, who would immensely prefer the oyster supper, to whom the delight of modulated sound is unknown; and for the reason that music is associated with art, intellect, sentiment, delicacy of feeling, sweetness of aspiration; with creative genius and the response of heart to heart; with beautiful singers, and marvellous composers, and wonderful instruments of metal and wood; with emotions that have stirred, and passions that have exalted, mankind; while the oyster supper is associated with bivalves and stew-pans, the gullet and the gastric juice.

For the same reasons conscience is counted noble above private ambition or selfish interest, the love of ease, or power, or fame. Its associations are with more majestic concerns, and with grander people. As peddling is less dignified than systematic trading, as trading is less dignified than large commercial business,—so conscience, which deals with relations that concern all mankind, is more dignified than the self-regard which busies itself with the affairs of an

individual man or woman. The faculty is ennobled, not through any quality inherent in itself, but through the company to which it grants introduction. That ennobles.

The battle between the powers that would hold conscience subject and the powers that would make conscience free has not yet been finally fought, in any land. In America it has not yet been joined. And before it begins, as it may at any moment, it will be well to state the issue fairly. In the judgment of many of the most thoughtful and earnest people it will be a great mistake to make the issue between an instituted authority, like the Church of Rome, and the utter rejection of all authority whatsoever; between conscience on the one side and whim, caprice, fantastic notion, and levity on the other; between bondage and license; between subjection to established powers and revolt against all powers. The issue is between two authorities—established authority on one side, rational authority on the other; a historical authority on the one side, a human authority on the other; on one side an authority of priests, on the other side an authority of principles; on one side an authority of statutes, on the other side an authority of law. On this issue let the battle be fairly joined. In these two camps let the combatants be massed; the one camp containing the hosts of formal authority, the other containing the hosts of rational authority—the idlers, pimps, vagabonds, and dissolute camp-followers being sent to the rear; then there can be no doubt on which banner victory will perch. But even an artificial and mechanical order cannot be fought with disorder. Any miserable despotism will be preferred to anarchy. The merest figment of law will be clung to when lawlessness is the alternative. To the figment of law oppose law; and the friends of virtue, perceiving clearly the party to which they belong, will easily put the enemies of rational goodness to flight.

THE GUIBORD CASE.

The person concerning whose mortal remains the great conflict was to be waged between the authority of Pope Pius IX. and that of Queen Victoria was a printer, and worked nearly all his life industriously at his trade, most of the time with the late Louis Perrault. He bore an irreproachable character, was quiet and unassuming, yet thoughtful and studious. He was one of the original members of the Institut, and in 1852 was elected first Vice-President. His wife was Henrietta Brown, of Canadian birth but of Irish parentage. Guibord was a sincere Catholic, and faithful in the observance of his religious duties. He died on the 18th of November, 1869. It was a curious fact that Guibord had a presentiment of the manner in which his corpse would be treated after his death. Hon. Mr. Dessaulles related, in an address before the Institut in December, 1869, that, meeting Guibord in the street one day, three or four weeks before his death, the latter asked him what was the latest news from Rome about their appeal. Mr. Dessaulles answered that he hoped they would get justice.

"Well," said Guibord, "I am glad of it; but I shall probably not live to see it, for I feel that I am failing every day. And if the matter is not settled before I leave you, there will likely be a row (*tapage*) about my coffin. I am a poor man, and haven't much chance of being protected. If they can do it, they will no doubt put me along with those that have been hanged."

"Don't worry about it, my dear Guibord," said Mr. Dessaulles; "your friends will take care that you are no worse treated than a rich man."

"Thank you," returned Guibord, shaking hands with his friend; "I shall rely upon it."

THE BISHOP AND THE INSTITUT.

The ostensible origin of the difficulty between the Bishop and the Institut was the pretence by the former that the library contained immoral books. In 1858 certain members of the Institut, acting under clerical advice, proposed a committee for the purpose of making a list of books in the library which in their opinion ought to be thrown out. An amendment was carried by a considerable majority, to the effect that the library contained no improper books, and that the Institut was the sole judge of the morality of its library. Shortly afterwards the Bishop published a pastoral letter in which he referred to the action of the Institut, and, after praising the course of the minority, pointed out that the majority had fallen into two great errors: first, in declaring that they were the proper judges of the morality of their books, an office that belonged only to the Bishop; and, secondly, in declaring that the library contained only moral books, whereas it contained books which were in the Index at Rome. His Lordship went on to cite a decision of the Council of Trent, that any one who read or kept heretical books would incur sentence of excommunication; and that any one who read or kept books forbidden on other grounds would be subject to severe punishment; and he concluded by making an appeal to the Institut to alter their resolution, otherwise no Catholic would continue to belong to it. The issue thus raised between the Institut and the Bishop continued for nearly seven years, until 1865; when several members, including Guibord,

APPEALED TO ROME

against the conduct of the Bishop, claiming to be entitled to all the rites of the Church. The authorities at Rome seemed, for four years, to take no notice of the matter. But in 1869, when the Bishop went to Rome to attend the Vatican Council, he, without communicating with the members who appealed, sent a pastoral letter to Canada, setting forth that the Pope had rejected the appeal, and condemned the Institut. The pastoral letter contained the De-

cretum, in which it was pointed out two things were especially forbidden: 1. To belong to the Institut while it taught pernicious doctrines. 2. To publish, retain, keep, or read the "Annuaire" of 1868; and he added that any person who persisted in remaining a member of the Institut, or in reading the "Annuaire," would be deprived of the sacrament, "même a l'article de la mort." The Institut held a meeting on the 23d of September, 1869, and resolved:—

1st. "That the Institut Canadien, the object of whose foundation is purely literary and scientific, teaches no doctrine of any kind, and carefully excludes all teaching of pernicious doctrine."

2d. "That the Catholic members of the Institut Canadien, having learned of the condemnation of the 'Annuaire' of 1868 of the Institut Canadien, declare that they submit purely and simply to this decree."

These concessions produced no effect. The Bishop, in a letter from Rome to the Administrator of the Diocese at Montreal (which that officer received, he says, on the 17th November, the day before Guibord's death), denounces these concessions as hypocritical for the following among other reasons:—

"Because this act of submission forms part of a report of the Committee, unanimously approved by the Institut, in which a resolution is proclaimed, until then kept secret, which establishes the principle of religious toleration, which has been the principal ground of the condemnation of the Institut."

THE REFUSAL TO BURY GUIBORD.

This "principal ground of condemnation" of the Institut, viz., that it had passed a resolution which established the principle of religious toleration, was entirely new, and, it would seem, could not have been known to Guibord. It should also be mentioned, in order to complete the history of the case, that Guibord, about six years before his death, being dangerously ill, was attended by a priest who administered unction to him, but refused to administer the holy communion unless he resigned his membership of the Institut, which Guibord declined to do. Guibord having died on the 18th of November, 1869, of a sudden attack of paralysis, on the 20th the widow caused a request to be made to the Curé, and to the clerk of the Fabrique, to bury Guibord in the cemetery, and tendered the usual fees. Previously to this application, M. Rousselot, the Curé, having heard of the death of Guibord, and knowing that he was a member of the Institut, had applied to the administrator of the diocese for his directions. The latter replied that he had yesterday received a letter from the Bishop directing him to refuse absolution, *même a l'article de la mort*, to members of the Institut; he could not, therefore, permit "la sépulture ecclésiastique" to Guibord. The Curé then refused to bury Guibord in the consecrated part of the cemetery where Roman Catholics were ordinarily buried, but offered to inter him in the portion allotted to criminals without religious rites. It seems that the agent of the widow offered to accept burial in the larger part, without religious rites; but this was refused. The remains of Guibord were, therefore, temporarily deposited in the vault of the Protestant Cemetery.

THE WIDOW INVOKES THE LAW.

This refusal of the Church authorities to allow Guibord Christian burial aroused the liveliest sympathy of the members of the Institut for the widow. Messrs. Joseph Doutre and R. Lafamme espoused her cause; and, upon her behalf, proceedings were instituted in the Superior Court to compel the Church authorities to bury the body in the consecrated portion of the cemetery. A writ of mandamus was applied for to this effect. Seventeen days were occupied in arguments, which were heard before Mr. Justice Mondelet. It was contended on the part of the Fabrique that, by the terms of the cession of Canada to Great Britain, the worship of the Roman Catholic religion was to remain free from all interference from the civil authorities. On the other hand, it was contended that the right to an ecclesiastical burial was a civil right which the Church could not deny.

Judge Mondelet, in an elaborate opinion, sustained the cause of the applicant, and quoted the opinion of Sir George Cartier to show that the Curé of the Parish of Notre Dame could be constrained by judgment of the Courts to solemnize baptisms, marriages, and burials in which his parishioners were concerned. The Judge ordered a peremptory writ of mandamus to issue, commanding the Curé and Fabrique to bury the deceased within six days. From this decision the Church authorities appealed to the

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consisting of Judges Berthelot, Mackay, and Torrance, who reversed the decision of Judge Mondelet, and dismissed the application upon the technical ground that the action should have been brought against the Curé personally, and because the writ was informal. An appeal to the

COURT OF QUEEN'S BENCH

was then taken by the widow. At the opening of the December term of this Court, Mr. Doutre challenged the four Roman Catholic Judges, viz., Chief-Justice Duval, Caron, Monk, and Drummond, on the ground that they belonged to the Church of Rome, which had, by the Syllabus of 1864, promulgated the dogmas that the ecclesiastical authority was exercised independently of the civil government; that the State, even when governed by a Protestant sovereign, possessed no authority, even indirectly, over matters of religion; and that in cases of conflict between the State and ecclesiastical authority the latter should prevail. When the last day of the term arrived, the five Judges (the Protestant Judge being Mr. ex-Jus-

tice Badgley) declared the petitions inadmissible, inasmuch as the charges contained in them amounted to accusations against the Judges of treason and perjury; whereupon Mr. Doutre moved for an

APPEAL TO HER MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL.

The appeal to England involved a heavy expense. The Institut Canadien contributed \$1,000 for that purpose, and various private citizens of Montreal, Catholic and Protestant, generously contributed the means to prosecute the case before the Privy Council. In the meantime, Guibord's widow was distracted at what she regarded as a dishonor to her husband's memory, and by her vain attempts to secure his remains Christian burial. She was, moreover, surrounded by people who tried to persuade her that, if she had recourse to law against the clergy, there would be no salvation for her. Finally the unhappy woman's reason almost gave way; and soon after she died, March 24, 1873. By her will she devised her property to the Institut Canadien, and also appointed that body as her universal legatee. Leave was granted by their Lordships of the Privy Council to the Institut Canadien to continue the case in her behalf. The case came formally before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, on the 27th of June, 1874. Mr. Doutre had proceeded to England to represent the Institut, and with him was associated H. M. Bompas, Esq., as counsel; Messrs. Few & Co. acting as solicitors. The counsel for the Fabrique were Mr. L. A. Jetté, of Montreal, and Messrs. Westlake, Q. C., and Matthews, of London; Messrs. Morris Ashurst & Co. being their solicitors.

Mr. Doutre, however, is the only member of the Canadian Bar who participated in the argument in London.

THE DECISION.

The case remained *sub judice* for several months; but on November 21, 1874, judgment was rendered at length by Sir Robert Phillimore. The judgment reviews the status of the Roman Catholic Church in this Province before the law, as secured to it by the Act of Session, and by the Treaty. It also narrowly reviews the laws of the Church itself, and grants that if a sentence of excommunication were passed against a Roman Catholic in Canada, it might be the duty of the Civil Courts to respect and give effect to it. But their Lordships find that no sentence of excommunication was ever passed against Guibord, which would, according to the Quebec ritual, or any law binding upon Roman Catholics in Canada, justify the denial of ecclesiastical sepulture to his remains. The plea set up by the defence that Guibord was a "public sinner," and had therefore forfeited his right to ecclesiastical burial, their Lordships find not to have been proven. They therefore advise Her Majesty to reverse the decrees of the Court of Queen's Bench and the Court of Review; and that a peremptory writ of mandamus be issued, directed to "Les Curé et Marguilliers de l'Oeuvre et Fabrique de Montreal," commanding them, upon application being made by the Institut Canadien, and upon tender of the usual fees, to prepare, or permit to be prepared, in that part of the cemetery where the remains of Roman Catholics who receive ecclesiastical burial are usually interred, for the burial of the remains of the said Joseph Guibord; and that, upon such remains being brought to the said cemetery for that purpose, at a reasonable and proper time, they do bury the said remains in the said part of the said cemetery, or permit them to be buried there. And that the defendants do pay to the Canadian Institute all the costs of the widow in all the lower Courts and of this appeal, except such costs as were occasioned by the plea of *recusatio judicis*, which should be borne by the appellants.

ACTUAL POSITION OF THE CASE.

On the arrival of the news in this country of the decision of the Privy Council, M. le Curé Rousselot declared from the pulpit of the Church of Notre Dame that he would go to prison before he would bury Guibord's remains in consecrated ground; and he has reiterated his refusal to conform to the decision in a letter to Mr. Doutre only a few days ago. At the present time the Institut Canadien is waiting the arrival of the Decree before proceeding to compel the Church authorities to obey the order of the Privy Council. The Decree is expected from day to day.—*Montreal Witness*, July 28, 1875.

THE GUIBORD FUNERAL.

DIGGING THE GRAVE—ALL QUIET.

This morning Mr. A. Boisseau, Superintendent of l'Institut Canadien, armed with a receipt signed by A. Choquet, and dated 16th May, 1873, conveying to the Guibord estate the lot 873 in section N of the Cemetery of Notre Dame des Neiges, proceeded to the Catholic Cemetery to oversee the digging of the grave. On the way a visit was paid to the vault in the Mount Royal Cemetery wherein repose the remains of the late Joseph Guibord. Mr. Spriggins, the very efficient superintendent of the cemetery, kindly opened the vault, and allowed an inspection of the coffin. It may be remarked that this coffin enclosing Guibord's remains was first laid in this vault—being the new or right hand one, as it is approached from the gate—in November, 1869, whence it was not long after removed to the old vault on the left. About three weeks ago, however, the coffin was moved back again to the new vault, as it was supposed to be more safe there than in the other. The exterior coffin is composed of rough pine boards, painted a dark red, and occupies a position on the lower tier of coffins, on the right hand side of the entrance, about midway of the vault. The coffin is covered with a damp and peculiar white mould, though it was apparently sufficiently sound except in one place on the top where the wood is slightly

decayed. On the end next the passage is a cardboard with the name "Joseph Guibord," scarcely legible from the dirt and mould.

IN THE CATHOLIC CEMETERY.

Mr. Boisseau and his friend then entered the Catholic Cemetery adjoining, where they found the two workmen previously engaged waiting for instructions to dig the grave. Lot 873 is situated on the north side of the Catholic Cemetery, about sixty rods from the enclosure separating this from the Mount Royal Cemetery. The lot is seven feet long by four feet wide at one end, and seven at the other. The body of Guibord's wife occupies one side of the lot, leaving but a narrow space at one end. The two grave-diggers set to work at 9.50 o'clock. There was not the least sign of any suspicious parties about, and only here and there two or three small groups of individuals engaged in burying their own friends. A Catholic Irishman, a laboring man, came along, and after exchanging a few friendly words with the workmen and the gentlemen present, went off again on his business. Pretty soon a gentleman and lady, apparently Americans, drove up, and inquired if that was where Guibord was to be buried. Upon being told that it was, they alighted, and inspected the place with much interest, and then drove away. During the progress of the work two or three other laboring men employed in the cemetery came up, one by one, and, after a little friendly conversation, departed. Mr. Boisseau, finding that everything was progressing satisfactorily, left the ground at 10.30 o'clock, and expected the grave would be completed about noon. At 10.45 the workmen had reached the lid of Guibord's wife's coffin. The two will be interred in the one grave.

A gentleman who entered the graveyard by the entrance, and asked Mr. Deroche where Guibord's lot was, was told to go and find it, unless he had a certificate from the cemetery.

CATHOLIC CEMETERY GATE BARRED AND BOLTED.—A YELLING CROWD INSIDE.—FEARS OF TROUBLE.—MILITARY SENT FOR.

At 2 o'clock some two or three hundred persons had assembled in the Protestant Cemetery to witness the procession. Mr. Doutre presented a written order for the delivering of the body, which order was presented to the trustees of the Mount Royal Cemetery, Messrs. M. H. Gault, Wm. Turner, Andrew Robertson, and George Macrae. Among those present were a number of the members of l'Institut Canadien and old friends of Guibord. The only relative of Guibord present was Mrs. Rose, his wife's sister. At 2.10 o'clock Mr. Spriggins opened the door of the vault, and the coffin was lifted by three laboring men, carried out, and deposited upon a frame. Mr. Doutre then uncovered his head—so did also the other gentlemen standing about,—and asked Mr. Spriggins: "Is this the same coffin that was brought here on the 20th of November, 1869?" Mr. Spriggins answered, "It is the same." The coffin was then placed upon the hearse, which was supplied by Mr. Richard Seale, St. Antoine Street, and was driven by his son. The procession, comprising a dozen carriages, then formed, and left the cemetery at 2.25. The procession went round the mountain at a smart trot, and reached the gates of the Catholic Cemetery at about 3 P. M.

ON THE ROAD.

At 1.30 about three hundred people—mostly young men—were wending their way up the Cote des Neiges road toward the Catholic Cemetery. The majority were French-Canadians. About 2 o'clock the space in front of the little church in the grounds was well filled with a waiting crowd, who were earnestly discussing the situation; twenty or thirty women were also present. As soon as the procession had left the vault in the Mount Royal Cemetery, the crowd of spectators—some two hundred—gathered about, started to the boundary fence between the two cemeteries, and getting over it walked over to the grave. It was shallow, being only three feet in depth, and the lid of the coffin of the late Madame Guibord formed the bottom. A plain black cross stood at its head, on which was her name and the date of her death. This point seemed one of considerable interest, as the French Canadians came flocking up the dusty avenues, and threaded their way between the tombstones to get a look at it. Soon after the cry of "Here comes the procession!" made all start towards the gates, and as the hearse drove up at 3 P. M. the gate was found

BARRED AND BOLTED.

Mr. Doutre and his friends stood in indecision, while some hundreds of yelling and jeering French Canadians stood inside, refusing entrance, and pouring insults on Guibord and the Institut Canadien. The crowd grew very large, and the Canadians were filling their pockets with stones. The hearse was driven down off the entrance to the graveyard, and now stands facing the street. There is great excitement and fears of bloodshed. Military have been sent for.

AT THE GATES.

3.20 P. M.—Mr. Doutre has despatched Bailiff Boucher to notify the guardian of the cemetery that the hearse awaits admission; he is also communicating with the authorities in town. The mob inside is very quiet, and standing up close against the gates; the friends of Guibord and a number of prominent Protestants are outside, gathered in groups, and discussing the situation, which looks decidedly bad. Some fifteen hundred people are now present. The mob did not close the gates till the noses of the horses attached to the hearse had almost touched them. The hearse stayed facing the gates for a few minutes, and then it was turned about, facing the street, some stones being thrown,

The authorities of the Seminary are being asked by special messenger whether it is by their command the gates were closed. People think it was done solely by the mob, and without the order of Deroche, the guardian. The crowd is fast getting larger; nearly everybody is armed. Lines of carriages extend both sides of the road for a quarter of a mile. The crowd inside numbers about two hundred and fifty. At 3.30 the hearse was stoned off the ground, and the mob is stoning spectators at intervals. The hearse is in the road, a few yards from the entrance to the cemetery. Mr. Lumsden, of the *Gazette*, was hurt by a blow from a stone on the hip.

Another funeral has just arrived, and demands admittance.

THE BODY TAKEN BACK TO THE MOUNT ROYAL CEMETERY.

At 4.15 Mr. Dautre decided, after consultation with his friends, that it would be impossible to get admission into the graveyard; and as the bailiff had come back, and reported that it would take some time to get the volunteers, the hearse moved off, amid the derisive cheers of the multitude ensconced behind the gate. William Seale, the driver, was cool and collected, and walked his horses at a slow pace down the road, followed by carriages containing Mr. Dautre and friends. The mob for a moment made as if to follow and attack the receding procession; but when they saw the friends of Guibord and a number of Protestants close in behind, they desisted, and remained on the ground. A report was in circulation that Mr. Deroche, the guardian, had been seen to issue ammunition to the crowd at the gates. This was not noticed by our reporter; but others outside heard the crowd crying, "If you shoot, we can too." The roughs also shouted, "We are guarding this cemetery for the Fabrique." "Take the cursed Guibord away!" It was noticeable that the crowd was composed of a very low and debased class of the French Canadian population, and many of them were semi-intoxicated through drinking at taverns in the neighborhood. Not one Irish Catholic was noticed, though when the crowd heard Mr. Dautre had sent a bailiff for the military, they (the French Canadians) said, "We can get plenty more in Griffintown to help us."

Seale, the driver of the hearse, was struck by a stone, but many more aimed at him fell short, and his conduct in quietly keeping his seat showed great pluck. There was a rush when the first shower of stones came, and many got struck in the back, while others were nearly run over by the horses which were standing amid the crowd. It was at one time proposed for a resolute body of men to "go" for the gates; but Mr. Dautre thought it best to wait for the assistance of constituted authority.

Not a guardian of the peace was to be seen on the road, and some very uncomplimentary reflections were made on the inability to rely on the city police for help in an emergency. It is not known whether another attempt will be made to bury Guibord tomorrow or not; the military can be called out on the requisition of two magistrates. Bishop Bourget, it is said, notified the Mayor this morning that he feared a disturbance at the cemetery, and the Mayor is stated to have consulted with the Chief of Police, who, however, did not think any trouble need be apprehended.

THE ONLY FIGHTING.

After the hearse had departed the crowd remained for a few minutes, and then began to disperse. An elderly French Canadian, in his shirt-sleeves, who had made himself conspicuous at the gate in resisting the entrance of the hearse, and in kicking the horses, and violent conduct generally, was struck on the head with a stone, which laid the flesh open. A few moments after his assailant was attacked in turn and badly beaten; but a crowd of friends came to his assistance, and, driving away those who were beating, chased two of them over the hills, but without catching them. This is the only fighting that took place up to 4.30 o'clock, when the crowd began to disperse. It was remarked that nearly all the mob were French Canadians, who live in the country parts back of the mountain. A rumor has for two or three days been current that the Curés in some of the parishes on the western portion of the island had been preaching to their people last Sunday in a manner to excite them to violence. A great many one-horse carts were remarked on the road, and it is possible that most of the trouble was caused by *habitants*.

In the meantime the body of Guibord has been carried back to the Protestant Cemetery, there to await further and more decisive action.—*Montreal Witness*, Sept. 2.

THE GUIBORD RIOT.

The trustees of the Mount Royal Cemetery yesterday afternoon advised Mr. Dautre to place Guibord's remains in the vaults again till further action should be taken. The crowd of rioters were agreeably surprised to see the hearse moving off, though for some time they believed it was only a temporary departure, and refused to reopen the gates on any consideration; saying, "We know too much for them," and, "The police will never get in." Several gentlemen, however, got access to the cemetery through a gate farther west, and saw one of the officers of the Fabrique, who seemed somewhat excited and pained at the disgraceful conduct of the mob of his countrymen. He explained that he was there to receive the dues which were always paid on the entrance of a funeral, and that he had tried hard to persuade the mob to open the gates and be quiet. He admitted this was a hopeless task, and believed even the presence of Rev. Curé Rousselot himself would not have the least effect on the infuriated crowd, who were at

this very time, as if to emphasize his words, yelling like maniacs. He, however, very singularly, held that the blame for the whole disturbance rested upon the shoulders of the friends of the deceased; for the reason that if no announcement had been made as to when the funeral would take place, the roughs could have known nothing of it. He, however, admitted that the Institut Canadien could hardly be expected to sneak into the cemetery with the coffin, as if ashamed of the job.

FILLING UP THE GRAVE.

In the meantime, while the yelling host remained at the gates, cursing Mr. Dautre and the members of the Institut, and bragging how easy it was to frighten off the funeral, another body of young fellows, fired with holy zeal, and supplied internally with something stronger than pump-water, went to Guibord's grave, and with shovel and spade rapidly filled it up, the clods clattering in an ominously hollow way on the lid of the wife's coffin. Some lads, when it was half full, rushed off to convey the glad news to their brave comrades at the gate, and cheers and laughter showed how welcome was the news.

The Mayor, who was with the funeral of the late Chief of the Fire Brigade, on hearing of the riot, at once despatched a body of police, and, entering carriages, they drove up to the cemetery; but by the time they reached the gates, 5 P.M., all the disorder was over.

When the Mayor, accompanied by Chief Penton, appeared, the gates were opened at once for their admission, and the crowd cheered them lustily as they rode towards the guardian's residence. At the grave, which had been filled up by the mob, a crowd stood eagerly discussing the situation; and it was not until the shades of evening had settled down that the last of them had left the cemetery, a few going round by the Protestant Cemetery vaults to watch the return of "the cursed Guibord" to his temporary resting-place, and the majority plodding down the dusty hill, recounting the exploits of the day with infinite gusto. Several women trudged along with them. One of the fair sex, young and strong, and who was in the cemetery when the gates closed, climbed up to the top of the fence to see the hearse. While so engaged, a volley of stones was fired over her head by her friends inside; she became frightened, and, in her anxiety to get down, jammed her foot between two of the palings, receiving a nasty fall. Her friends rescued her, and she left.

ANOTHER FUNERAL

came up while the Guibord funeral was standing in indecision, and the driver of the hearse called to those inside to open, as he was a friend. "Entrez, messieurs," replied a flushed French Canadian, in his shirt sleeves, as he took down one of the bars, and a moment after the gates swung half open; an array of clubs guarded the entrance as the funeral cortege trotted in, whereupon the gates were as suddenly closed again. It was soon after this that the third volley of stones was fired, which bruised several gentlemen. The crowd opposite the road on the cliff also contained enemies, who fired down rocks weighing four and five pounds. The men in the marble yard here knocked off work, owing to the interruption. The news of

THE VICTORY

flew like wildfire through the Quebec Suburbs and the Tanneries, and thousands expressed themselves gratified. Last evening excited groups could be seen all about the streets, discussing the results of the riot. Some Catholics, while saying they were well pleased that the gates were closed upon the funeral, were sorry to hear that the mob had stoned the hearse, which in their eyes was a fearfully sacrilegious act. Mr. Dautre was denounced by many with fearful oaths and curses, and the feeling against him is singularly bitter. Among Protestants, there was but a single opinion expressed, and it was that the law of the land would have to be enforced at any cost and at all hazards; and many were the expressions of satisfaction with which the news was received that the Prince of Wales Volunteers had been ordered to hold themselves in readiness. They rendezvoused at their head-quarters on St. James Street last evening, ammunition was supplied, and they are ready whenever required. The "Vics" are held as a reserve, as well as the other forces.

A gentleman residing in the Tanneries says that early this morning crowds of young men set off for the cemetery, the impression being that the attempt to bury Guibord would be renewed to-day.

The coffin of Guibord was wrapped yesterday in the British flag, and on the hearse was a medium-sized gilt cross. The throwing of stones at these emblems is looked upon by many as an insult to both heavenly and earthly sovereignty—the cross having been struck and dented.

A young gentleman at the riot got several names of ringleaders, one an educated young man; a St. Jean Baptiste laborer, named Paquette; and another whose name is not given.

COMPOSITION OF THE MOB.

A gentleman belonging to the Quebec Suburbs states that a large number of the rowdies at the Catholic Cemetery yesterday were armed with revolvers, some of which were said to be new; and he heard many say last night that they were arming themselves for a bigger fight on the next occasion. He says that instead of the mob being largely composed of *habitants*, they were principally from the Quebec Suburbs, and known as frequenters of taverns, and low blacklegs, ready for any job of that kind, providing there is pay at the end. They say if Guibord should by any possibility be buried, they would dig his bones up and scatter them broadcast.

WHERE WAS CURÉ ROUSSELOT?

The question is asked, Where was Rev. Curé

Rousselot yesterday? Knowing well that there would be a disturbance, and that by his simple presence at the gates they would have been opened by the mob, why was he not there; and why did not Mr. Deroche, the guardian, come down from the chapel to the gates when he was sent for?

The Montreal Garrison Artillery were last evening ordered to hold themselves in readiness for active service. Some sixty of the men were assembled in the Drill Shed, till the return of the officers from head-quarters with the necessary orders.

WHEN THE BURIAL WILL BE ATTEMPTED AGAIN.

It is this morning impossible to say when the funeral will take place, though probably not this week. Preparations are being made on an extended scale, and it is determined, if possible, not to be balked the second time. Mr. Dautre is now engaged in consultation with friends as to what is best to be done.

At the office of the Fabrique this morning, an official, in the absence of Mr. Choquette, said he (Choquette) was up at the cemetery yesterday, and on seeing the gates closed sent his assistant Deroche to tell the mob to open them; that Deroche did so without the least effect whatever; that the affair is a sad one for all concerned; and that the burial would be a grievous insult to all good Catholics. He said no wonder the grave was filled up.

FURTHER PARTICULARS.

An eye-witness of the disturbance at the Catholic Cemetery yesterday states that among the leaders of the mob were two men from the Mile-End, named Galipeau and Paquette, who came out of the crowd inside the gate when the hearse bearing Guibord's remains drove up, and, seizing the horse's bridle, declared that they would kill the driver if he didn't turn back. A beadle from St. James' Church, St. Denis Street, is also said to have made himself conspicuous by exciting the mob. A large number of the carpenters and joiners at work in the French Parish Church were noticeable among them. Several of the crowd went into the little chapel inside the cemetery, and armed themselves with the handles of pickaxes, which were found there within easy reach. The desire of the mob appeared to be to get possession of the coffin containing Guibord's remains, and to murder Mr. Dautre and other prominent friends of Guibord who were present. Our informant says the rabble was composed almost entirely of a low, ignorant class of people, nearly every one of whom were French Canadians. During the afternoon Mr. Dautre found himself standing near a crowd of young roughs, who were saying to each other that it was Dautre they wanted to catch and give him a good drubbing. No one could have been more visible than he was at the moment.

It is rumored the funeral will take place to-morrow.—*Montreal Witness*, Sept. 3.

LACQUER WORK.—The *Japan Mail* quotes from a Consular report an interesting account of one of the oldest industries of that inventive people. According to the native chroniclers, the art of lacquering was discovered in the year 724 A. D. By the end of the 13th century it had attained such perfection that a distinguished member of the craft is recorded to have then started a particular school of painting in lacquer. The material used in the work consists of the sap of the *urushi* tree, a plant cultivated partly for its sap, and partly for the fruit, from which a vegetable wax is obtained. These trees attain their prime of life in the short space of five or six years, when the sap is drawn from them by an elaborate process requiring great judgment and experience, and in which the inhabitants of a particular district are celebrated for possessing a special skill. After the sap has been fully extracted during the four or five autumnal months, the tree is condemned and cut down. But its usefulness does not even then cease; for its wood is so light, and at the same time durable, as to be used very generally for making floats for fishing nets, and for many other purposes. As for the process of lacquer painting it is rather elaborate; but it consists in the main in applying successive layers of varnish, gold powder, and paint, followed again by varnish, and, lastly, rubbed successively with a particular kind of charcoal, polishing powder, and horn dust. The manipulation of all these various ingredients and appliances may well be believed to be a delicate matter, requiring manual skill and neatness as well as good taste. It would make a pretty amusement for some of those ingenious ladies whose talents are now devoted to the preparation of less elaborate ornaments, and who are on the lookout for a new sphere of decorative art.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 11.

Edith W. Bradford, \$2.35; R. E. P. Thacher, \$3.20; A. E. Ewing, \$1; S. Cole, \$2; Lucius H. Smith, \$3; John Roberts, \$3.20; P. V. Weaver, 75 cents; Robert Ormiston, \$10; Pebe A. Palmer, \$20.20; R. L. Gunter, 40 cents; E. E. Phelps, 30 cents; W. J. Kirkwood, 10 cents; W. J. Duffie, 35 cents; James Eddy, 35 cents; Cash, \$20; T. M. Lamb, 35 cents; W. A. Clarke, 10 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 16, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
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CIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), Editorial Contributors.

SISTER ROSE EVERETT, a niece of Edward Everett, is reported to be about to establish a convent at Dallas, Texas. At present she is mother-superior of St. Vincent de Paul, at Jefferson, in the same State.

THE MASSACRE of negroes at Clinton, Mississippi, on the fourth of September, was one of the wickedest and most cruel of crimes. It is in vain to try to "get the negro out of politics," so long as such diabolical acts are of possible occurrence.

HERE is an item that is going the rounds of the press: "A Catholic priest refused to officiate at the funeral of a poor Irish woman at Battle Creek, Mich., recently, because the friends could not pay the assessment. But the oldest daughter stood at the head of her mother's coffin, read the Catholic service in a broken voice before the few sympathizing neighbors who had come in, and at the conclusion burst into tears. One carriage followed to the grave."

F. R. A. ANNUAL REPORT.

The Report, in pamphlet form, of the Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association for 1875 is now ready.

It contains an Essay by Wm. C. Gannett, on "Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and an Essay by F. E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. B. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

It can be obtained, in Boston, at A. Williams & Co.'s, and by mail by addressing "Office of Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston, Mass."

Price of single copy, 35 cents; package of four copies or more, 25 cents each.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

CALL FOR THE SEPTEMBER CONVENTION.

The Liberal Leagues throughout the country are cordially invited to send five delegates each to a Convention to be held in Philadelphia on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of September next, for the purpose of disseminating our principles and of making arrangements for a general Congress of Liberals to convene next year during the Centennial exhibition. It is very desirable that every Liberal League in America should be fully represented at the September Convention. Now is the time to work. The enemies of religious freedom are busy in preparing to utilize human ignorance and superstition for the strengthening and perpetuating of an organized system of mental repression, hostile alike to science, reason, and the right of private judgment in all matters of faith and conscience.

Let us endeavor to overcome ignorance by intelligence,—superstition by reason. Let each League send a full representation of men and women, so that from the combined wisdom of both sexes and all our societies we may be able to inaugurate a new era of impartial justice, perfect freedom, and scientific religion.

As soon as delegates are elected, Leagues are requested to notify the undersigned, and also THE INDEX.

JOHN S. DYE,
Sec'y Phila. Liberal League,
2527 Brown Street, Phila.

PHILADELPHIA, July 22, 1875.

N. B.—All Liberal Societies which sympathize with the objects of the Liberal Leagues and wish to be represented are included in the above Call.

DELEGATES REPORTED.

PHILADELPHIA LIBERAL LEAGUE.—Carrie S. Burnham (President), John S. Dye (Secretary), Isaac Rhen, Damon Y. Kilgore, Jesse B. Beam.
BOSTON LIBERAL LEAGUE.—F. E. Abbot (President), Geo. A. Bacon (Secretary), A. Bronson Alcott, B. F. Underwood, John Wetherbee.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The Convention of Liberal Leagues will meet in Philadelphia on Friday, Sept. 17, 1875, at 2 o'clock, P.M., in Lincoln Hall, at the south-east corner of Broad Street and Fairmount Avenue.

All liberals who are interested in the movement for *Entire Secularization of the State*, or in the perfecting of arrangements for a *General Convention of Liberals* in 1876, are invited to meet and consult together on this occasion.

JOHN S. DYE,
Sec. Phil'a Liberal League.

DISINTERESTEDNESS IN MORALS.

"Be good, and you will be happy." Yes, but don't be good for the sake of being happy, for that takes all the goodness out of it."

This was the off-hand, rattling good-by of a bright man, as he stood with his hand on the door and shot back his little moralism in a half-jesting way. But he hit the target in the bull's-eye.

Ever since men began to reflect seriously on the moral meaning of life, there have been two radically unlike modes of explaining the ultimate springs of human action. One is to regard all human conduct without exception as having its origin, directly or indirectly, in the desire for individual happiness—in private self-interest, either well or ill understood. The other is to recognize the full force of all considerations based on self-interest, and to concede the large and legitimate part which such motives play in the direction of conduct and the evolution of character, yet at the same time to affirm the existence, power, and positive influence of motives which are thoroughly disinterested. That all motives are exclusively self-interested ones,—that some motives are self-interested and others disinterested,—these are the two essential positions taken by the only two opposing schools of moral science which are logically clear and consistent.

But there are many other schools which are not logically clear and consistent, but build more or less evidently on contradictory principles. Of this latter class is the theory of those who hold that the highest possible moral motive is exclusive regard for the "greatest happiness of the greatest number": a theory which on the one hand affirms that the desire for happiness is the ultimate end and aim of all human conduct, yet on the other hand denies that the happiness desired must necessarily be that of the actor himself. The question at once arises, "Why ought I to desire and act for the greatest happiness of the greatest number? If happiness is the supreme good, why am I under obligation to sacrifice my own supreme good to that of others? If desire for happiness is the ultimate motive of all human actions, what motive can I possibly have for acting directly counter to this desire? How can the claims of others' happiness ever supersede the claims of my own?"

To these questions we are not aware that any satisfactory reply has ever been offered. So long as happiness is held up as the sole legitimate object of action, it will be impossible to show that the happiness of other people is, or can be, more desirable than our own; and the consequence is that the assumption of a superior desirability in their happiness is really made in violation of the principle ostensibly laid down. In itself considered, our own happiness is necessarily more desirable to us than that of any other person; and, if we find ourselves seeking another's happiness at the expense of our own, depend upon it that some higher principle than desire for happiness is at the bottom of our conduct.

"But," answers the advocate of this intermediate theory, "I seek the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number' because I find my own highest happiness in doing so." Very well, then; if you seek it because it makes YOU happy, what you really seek is your own happiness, and not the "greatest happiness of the greatest number," as you delude yourself into supposing. Either you do, or you do not, seek your own individual happiness as your highest object in life: if you do, you are not seeking the "greatest happiness of the greatest number," and are ready to sacrifice this to your own, on emergency; but if you do not, and really sacrifice your own happiness to that of the greatest number, then you must find some deeper reason than any desire for happiness as the explanation of your conduct. Happiness is exclusively an individual matter; the happiness of other

people is not and cannot be yours; and, if you prefer theirs to your own, sacrificing the latter in reality, then you have not acted from the desire for happiness, but from some other motive. No one who fully comprehends this objection can break its force; he can only evade it in one way or another.

Disregarding, then, all attempts to find a middle ground of reconciliation between the two contradictory theories of human conduct, let us very briefly glance at the real issue to be met. One of these two things is self-evidently true: either men act always and everywhere from a sole regard to their own individual happiness, or else they act sometimes from other and higher considerations. Which is the fact?

The love of simplicity, the pleasure of explaining all things by a single principle, leads a large number of minds to embrace the theory that enlightened or unenlightened self-interest is the sole explanation of all human actions. But this seductive love of simplicity tempts them to throw overboard the facts which do most honor to human nature, or else to account for them in a way which destroys their peculiar nobility. The glory of *disinterestedness* crowns all the characters which have attracted the permanent love and admiration of mankind; it is this which lifts them above the crowds wrangling for selfish advancement, and sets the star of a nobler purpose upon their foreheads; it is this which constitutes the sole proof of the latent divineness of human nature, and startles us with a sudden blaze of unearthly beauty, when we encounter it, as we often do, shining in the unconscious faces of the good and true about us. Between *self-love* and *self-sacrifice* even the careless world knows how to distinguish; and, selfish as may be its own average daily life, it has yet even in itself enough of disinterestedness to perceive, to believe in, and to admire the not unfrequent cases of luminous self-sacrifice which redeem human life from intolerable meanness. Whence came this very word "disinterested"? Does it stand in our language as a representative of absolute unreality? Or is it a natural recognition by all men that self-interest is not the only explanation of human deeds? The charms of a simple theory are great and powerful; but he who would take account of all facts, as necessary to the fulness and completeness of truth, must often hold himself ready to admit the existence of things which no simple theory will explain. There is a baffling complexity in Nature which often defeats our crude essays at classification; and of all her products man himself is the most complex. Science has made as yet far too little progress to warrant the hope that we can succeed in the attempt to reduce all human actions to a single principle; and obstinate adhesion to a simple theory sometimes proves the most serious hindrance to her advance. So long as the self-interest theory of morals has no intelligible account to render of genuine disinterestedness, but prefers to deny point-blank a fact the explanation of which overtakes its intellectual resources, the sober thought of mankind will accept the fact and wait for the explanation.

What, then, is the fact? Put negatively, it is simply that self-interest, or the desire for individual happiness, is not an adequate explanation of certain classes of human actions which common language groups together under the word "disinterested"; that is, not-interested. The existence of these classes of actions must be recognized, if the spirit of science is not to be disregarded out of overweening attachment to theory. When, however, we come to a positive explanation of them, we may or may not succeed in pointing out other motives than self-interest which adequately account for them. It is altogether necessary not to lose sight of this distinction. To claim that a certain well-recognized motive, self-interest, fails to explain all human actions is one thing: to claim that we can assign motives which will explain them all is a very different thing. The first position we take decidedly, while we as decidedly decline to take the second. Mere instinct, blind and automatic,—desperate passion, riding rough-shod over all considerations of self-interest and all expectations of happiness,—exalted love, aiming at the highest welfare of the beloved object in utter forgetfulness of self,—lofty self-sacrifice of all private interests for the interests of a great cause,—these and other lower or higher motives may be instanced as springs of action which are not explicable as in any true sense identical with the desire for happiness; but it would be very presumptuous to attempt an exhaustive enumeration of them all. The happiness-theory does not go either high enough, or low enough to embrace all human impulses, motives, and acts; and this restrictedness of range in both directions is sufficient to prove the necessity of

a broader and more thoroughly inductive treatment of morals, before there can be established a genuine science of ethics.

Is it possible, however, to attain a definite conception vast enough, profound enough, and vital enough, to serve the purpose of a commanding ideal of human life, and reign in the private soul as an ever-present, all-comprehensive, and supreme motive? To ascribe all actions to any one motive is indeed chimerical; yet may not thought rise so high as to blend all right motives in the unity of a single dominant life-purpose which shall identify itself with the current of universal being, and yet perfectly preserve the balance of the self and the not-self? This seems possible. In any one whose moral intelligence is well developed and whose will is in unison with it, the conditions exist for the formation and continuance of such a life-purpose. He will set before himself, as the permanent aim to which his being is dedicated in the nature of things, the MORAL HARMONY OF THE UNIVERSE. Of the universe he himself is a part; and, so far as he is a part of it, the harmony of the universe depends on the degree of conformity which he freely establishes between his own action and the universal laws of moral being. What to others will be a mere vague abstraction—the cause of truth, of justice, of purity, of benevolence, of freedom, of order—will be to him that Moral Harmony of the Universe to which he owes allegiance through the mere fact and recognition of himself as a moral being. The bare perception of the moral relation he thus stands in to the universal All,—the bare comprehension that truth, justice, purity, benevolence, freedom, order, are universal laws of all moral action in the very nature of things,—constitutes in his consciousness the fact of moral obligation; and this consciousness of moral obligation becomes itself the ultimate spring of his moral action. In other words, when he discerns that the Moral Harmony of the Universe depends, so far as he is concerned, on his voluntary obedience to the law of truth, justice, and benevolence in all his active dealings with mankind, he also discerns that he is bound, by his mere existence as a moral being, to promote that Moral Harmony of the Universe, to obey those laws, and thereby serve *his own highest welfare* incidentally in the very fact that he serves the *highest welfare of all*.

This is the only possible reconciliation of the selfishness-theory and the disinterestedness-theory of morals. He who aims at the Moral Harmony of the Universe aims simultaneously at the highest welfare of all moral beings, *including himself*; and it is to be achieved solely by obedience to the laws of truth, justice, purity, benevolence, freedom, order, irrespective of all calculations as to the probable effect of his actions on anybody's happiness. Things are so constituted that, on the average and in the long run, perfect obedience to the moral law best conduces to the general happiness; but it does not always conduce to individual happiness, which it sometimes requires to be sacrificed. The individual, in order to promote the highest welfare of all men, must be prepared to sacrifice his own happiness, if need be; he must know that the highest welfare of all men consists in the highest attainable Moral Harmony of all; he must know that the highest object of his own individual life is to promote this Moral Harmony, by individually obeying the moral law at any required sacrifice of happiness; and he who knows this and does this is a myth or an inscrutable mystery to the advocates of the selfishness-theory of morals.

Nevertheless, it is possible to become so thoroughly possessed by this ideal of the Moral Harmony of the Universe that it constitutes practically the dominant life-purpose. There are men and women all about us who would die at a moment's warning rather than do a great wrong,—many of them, too, without the least expectation of another life. They may not have philosophized about their own convictions, or shaped them into an abstract statement such as we have here given; but they substantially conduct their lives on no other principle than that of moral disinterestedness. They may not consciously have consecrated themselves to the Moral Harmony of the Universe, or they may have named it Jesus or Jehovah; nevertheless, absolute devotion to truth and right means nothing else, when translated into abstract terms, and it is the glory of mankind that moral disinterestedness, however doubted in the schools, is now and then so exemplified in daily life as to startle and thrill a beholding world with the spectacle of those who do not shrink to die, that truth, justice, and freedom may still live among men.

ONLY POINTS OF DEPARTURE.

In the history of the mental evolution of the wise, there is a beginning, but no end. The really wise man feels that he never can graduate from the university of knowledge; nay, that he can scarcely get beyond her primary school. No man is so foolish as to think that he can drain off the ocean into any private mill-pond of his own; no more does the wise man suppose that he can exhaust the sources of truth through any one of its countless streams. In travelling to reach the setting sun our journey never ends; so, too, the wise man in search of truth finds that she has an interminable road, and that the best he can do is nightly to "pitch his tent a day's march nearer home."

But so many are not wise; hence so many are dogmatists, partisans, and sectarians. The conceited collegian thinks he is learned because he has a diploma in his pocket. The narrow-minded believer supposes that he has decided the truth about infinite things, because he has set his name or given his consent to a platform or a creed. The world never has had but a few great travellers, who were never tired of going up and down the earth, making discoveries, and prosecuting enterprises of exploration into new and unknown lands; most are content to make only short journeys, to go only to frequented places, and to travel only by accustomed paths and methods. There are also, at any time, but few tireless and brave searchers after truth; few who are not content to go only where the many go, and to stop where the many stop; few who, like Livingstone, only allow death to overtake them while they are pressing forward on the road, with their right foot advanced, their face resolutely set towards the heart of the undiscovered country.

Oh yes, most of us are cowards and conservatives, say what we will; we might as well confess it, even the most liberal of us, and so have the virtue of frankness at least. We are radical and bold only for a little while; fear and foggism overtake most of us before we die. We say our brave and incisive word, and stick to it—until somebody comes along and says a braver and a keener one; then we dodge, and go to cover, from whence we fling a stone at the new man. It always has been so, in nine cases out of ten; all history shows it. It shows that the man and the party are rare who end as they begin, in being liberal; who are liberal all round the circle, and narrow nowhere. Luther and Protestantism began well in their day; nobody and nothing was so brave and broad,—but both ended in being illiberal and persecuting. So did the Puritans and Puritanism; so did the Quakers and Quakerism; so have the Unitarians and Unitarianism. Is any one fully prepared to expect that, in this respect, history will be contradicted by Free Religion and its followers? Or by Infidels and Infidelity? Human nature is human nature, yesterday, to-day, and forever. Resolutions and platforms may be as broad as broad can be; even the first intentions of individuals may have no flaw of narrowness,—yet fear and prejudice creep upon the hearts of men all unawares, like a thief in the night; so that before they know it they are regarding with distrust and dread some other movement or body of free thought.

It is so hard to have *utter* faith in the truth and in her power to take care of herself! So hard neither to be afraid of her nor for her! So hard to hold our convictions in earnest, without suffering them in time to become our Delilah, and to bind us in slavish submission! It is so almost impossible, also, to begin to put our convictions into parties, organizations, and institutions, without simultaneously beginning to be impatient and intolerant towards those who cannot see their way clear to work with us! To be a man of charity, of patience, of fearless faith, of quenchless hope, of broad, loving sympathies,—ah, this is a high attainment, and how few are equal to it!

The fact is that we are prone to emphasize only what we see; and the twin fact is that we almost always forget that what we see is finite, while what we do not see is infinite. "The things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are unseen are eternal." The truly wise man will lay even more emphasis on what he does not see than on what he does see. In the true spirit of the dauntless discoverer, the objective point of interest to him is always in the unknown rather than the known. He is always at the point of departure, never at the end of the journey. Like the bright-witted child who always wishes a new plaything, so the wise man, the moment he sees and thoroughly comprehends a thing, is seized with fresh desire to start on

the quest of something unseen and uncomprehended. Not merely curious and inquisitive is he; rather generously hospitable and quenchlessly aspiring towards all truth. Socrates' idea of wisdom was that it is the condition of mind wherein a man knows himself to be ignorant. Why are we more impressed when we sit by the sea than when we peer over the rim of the goblet from which we slake our temporary thirst, except that in the one case we know that we are gazing at the unfathomable and boundless, whereas in the other we are looking only to the length of our finger's end? And even from the wide and deep sea we are fain to lift up our eyes to the wider and deeper night-skies, and revel in the thought that we are straining our vision into space that is infinite! When my friend has told me all he knows, and revealed to me all there is in him, it is time that he should step aside and suffer me to pass on to another. The beauty and wonder of a true love and friendship are that the object of them is an unfathomable soul that is capable of giving us fresh beauties and wonders every hour. Tame and tireful are all other social relations!

We must seek to grow young, not old, forever. We always must feel that we are infinite, not finite. We never must allow any belief, organization, or institution to grow round us, and become our shell or rind, imprisoning us in limitations and bad air until we shrivel and die; but our souls must continually exude through every environment, exhaling and efflorescing season after season.

"Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul,
As the swift seasons roll!
Leave thy low-vaulted past!
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast,
Till thou at length art free,—
Leaving thine outgrown shell by life's unresting sea!"

A. W. S.

DANTE.

An article by Mr. L. F. Soldan on "Dante," reprinted in pamphlet form from the *Western*, gives a very clear and interesting *resumé* of the leading incidents of Dante's life, and of the influences of the times upon the development of his life and thought. It also gives in very few words the plan of the *Divina Commedia*, and then proceeds to a more special analysis of the *Inferno*. The writer presents with great skill the peculiarly strong imagination of Dante, and his realistic force, by which he makes these purely imaginative scenes as solid and real as if he were describing the actual world. The young student too often reads the *Commedia* one canto at a time, with all the difficulties of a strange language to perplex him, and fails to grasp the unity of the whole. This rapid condensed sketch will aid him in doing so, at least as regards the *Inferno*. But it seems to be the tendency of nearly all critics to emphasize this portion of the poem to the neglect of the others; while, as Shelley truly says, the *Paradiso* is "a grand psalm of love," and is just the needed complement to the terrible spectacle of avenging justice in the *Inferno*. The horrors of the *Inferno* strike the imagination more forcibly; but the delights of the *Paradiso* are not meaningless rhapsody, but full of the same glowing imagination mingled with the tender beauty of the *Vita Nuova*.

Mr. Soldan criticises the harsh spirit of Dante towards the sufferers, and it is indeed with no gush of sentimentalism that he looks upon what he considers the just punishment of the sinner; yet, if memory serves us, there is many an expression of tender sympathy which shows us the great heart of Dante, always strong and severe, and capable of love and hate as we believe a healthy, vigorous nature always must be. We recommend this essay to all students of this great poet.

E. D. C.

FREDERICK THE GREAT was very fond of disputation; but as he generally terminated the discussion by collaring his antagonist and kicking his shins, few of his guests were disposed to enter the arena with him. One day, when he was more than usually disposed for an argument, he asked one of his suite why he did not venture to give his opinion on some particular question. "It is impossible, your Majesty," was the reply, "to express an opinion before a sovereign who has such strong convictions, and who wears such very thick boots."

ONE OF OUR lawyers was seen at the railway station, with carpet-bag in hand and overcoat on his arm, apparently waiting for the up-train. A brother lawyer seeing him, accosted him thusly: "Going north, Mr. F.?" "No, sir." "What then have you got your carpet-bag and overcoat for?" "Because, if there is any one thing in God's world I abhor more than another, it is to see a man standing about the station without any apparent business." Then the conversation ceased.—*Lancaster Republic*.

Communications.

THE "THOUSAND ISLANDS" CAMP-MEETING.

Within the score of years just past, and more noticeably within the last decade, a class of men have drifted into power in the counsels of the Orthodox churches, who, to use a common phrase, believe in "fighting the devil with fire." Every one, however prejudiced, must admit that, in a certain light, they have been eminently successful. So much tact has been displayed in selecting available weapons, and so much zeal has been manifested in practising with them, that to-day it is exceedingly difficult to distinguish the adversary and his host from their strategic enemies. They have promptly seized upon and appropriated all those sharp-edged blades wherewith Beelzebub was wont to wage war upon mankind—Pride, Envy, Covetousness, Luxury, Hypocrisy, and the like,—and have certainly attained to a remarkable degree of proficiency in the use thereof. The opulent sister in Israel can gather up her skirts just as disdainfully, and elevate her sanctified nose just as scornfully, when passing a less-favored and poverty-stricken sister, as can the most devoted hand-maiden of the Prince of Darkness; and how weak-minded and useless appears the Sybarite Dives, who lazily tolerated Lazarus, by the side of the rector who virtuously handed the starving beggar over to the charitable police, in our own metropolis the other day! They have thoroughly mastered Lucifer's own pet methods of warfare, and with them they loudly boast their power to conquer him; but there are some few humdrum, puritanical Christians still extant, to whose minds this pompous boast recalls that ingenious fable of the Tartar who was fairly captured, but who couldn't be brought to look at it in that light.

I have just had the rather questionable privilege of seeing these tactics in active operation, at the new Thousand-Island Camp-meeting, upon the St. Lawrence, near Claytown, N. Y. The grounds consist of a thousand acres upon Wells' Island, some six miles from the American shore, and are owned by an "association" composed of ministers and influential lay Methodists of the States and Canada. The object of the association is to combine the glorification of God with the more practical benefits to be derived from selling lots for over ten times their cost, and running a Christian boarding-house upon the most approved financial principles. Here they have "flung to the winds the flag of their Master," and under it sell dinner-tickets for sixty cents and lodging (two in a bed) for half-a-dollar. Now watering places are, in themselves, no doubt, praiseworthy institutions; indeed, there is no questioning the benefits accruing in the shape of ruddy cheeks, embrowned hands, and invigorated appetites; but there is a serious question of moral benefit involved in the consideration of a camp-meeting that is openly managed in the individual interest of ministers of the gospel.

The good done by camp-meetings is always of a questionable nature, and this one is very, very far from being an exception to the rule. The old-fashioned, primitive camp-meeting, which we all remember—and which, whatever its faults or absurdities, we were bound to admit, was sincere in purpose,—has passed away, gradually giving place to this hybrid abomination; and with this change has been lost the only virtue it ever possessed—that same earnestness of purpose. Then, the ministers, exaggerated and ridiculous as their extreme views might have been, still honestly believed in their absurdities, and were all aglow with the fire and enthusiasm of making proselytes, of spreading the faith of which they were the not unworthy exponents. Then, the religious element was all prominent; it demanded our respect, if nothing more. Now, the religious feature is of fifth-rate consideration. Everything is subordinated to gain. Take, for instance, the clergyman who used to be the life and light of the old-school camp-meeting, rude and rough in person and speech, with face and hands tanned and burned by a score of summer suns, yet with burning, fervid eloquence lurking concealed behind his homely dialect; with indomitable, unconquerable perseverance, that faced summer's heat and winter's snow, braving all things alike, in the service to which he had devoted his life. Where is he? In his place you find the man-of-the-world divine, who is clad in the glossiest of broadcloth; who holds stock in this enterprise for the furtherance of the gospel (it pays him a respectable dividend as well); and who—by a shabby trick played upon outsiders, which the least scrupulous broker in Wall Street would be ashamed of—owns the choicest lots in the thousand acres. And even he, intrenched in the brass of a thousand collections, or dedication beggings, is ashamed of himself. He is forced to garble his texts; to watch his words lest, out of his own mouth, he condemn himself. He dare not choose at random the subjects for his discourses, lest he stumble upon some one of the hundreds that rebuke and denounce him and his practices. As to the effect, the fervent, vivid appeals of old camp-meetings have regenerated into the rapid, flabby, namby-pamby conventionalities of the modern watering-place. What a horrid intrusion a sermon upon "come ye out from the world," or, "ye cannot serve God and mammon," would be, in the ears of these stock-holding gospellers!

It is very, very difficult to imagine Paul and Barnabas buying up a plot of ground just back of Lystria, building (upon a mortgage) a few buildings, getting a couple of policemen from Syracuse, and then inviting the Lystrians to come and buy lots at an advance of a thousand per cent.; to board and

lodge in their houses at so much a head (Lystrialets under twelve, half price); and, if they wanted to come Sundays, not to come in at the big gate, "because we have our name to keep up, you know," but to go around, and climb over the back fence; and, finally, mentioning incidentally that a new kind of a religion would be preached at 10 A. M., sharp, which would serve to relieve the monotony! They and their fellows went forth without purse, and scrip, and shoes, in the highways and byways, proclaiming the gospel to rich and poor alike; living the life that they taught; meek and lowly and pure in heart. How does that picture of the poor fishermen contrast with the one spread out each day for us of our own modern divines? One owns the finest stud of horses in the State; another has pews in his new church valued at \$8,000; a third has a salary large enough to buy up the greater part of Jerusalem.

Is it not time to cry out against these men, blind leaders of the blind, who bring shame and contempt upon our institutions, and are a dead weight, clogging and hampering every progressive step? Is it not the duty of honest men, of thinkers of all creeds, all races, who see this crumbling, decaying fabric of vanity, of covetousness, of hypocrisy, in all its naked enormity—to push it over before it engulfs another generation in its predestined, fore-doomed fall? What chance is there of instilling simplicity, or truth, or modesty, or any of the old-time virtues, in the minds of the rising generation, under the blighting shadow of this great evil? Gifted men, the leaders of the race, trimmings pick and weigh their words, lest peradventure they offend some one who sets a good table, or owns a swift-sailing yacht. The press, which has taken the place of the old orators and teachers, shrinks from the plain task that lies before it; it has no strong, emphatic words in which to denounce this upas growth of sanctimonious iniquity, but contents itself with an occasional fling, pun, or derisive smile. Twenty years ago, a little band of heroic thinkers overthrew a great system, a crying disgrace upon our institutions, that was entrenched in the precedents of two centuries. Where are the Sumners, the Garrisons, the Greens, that will throttle this new and deadly foe to free thought, to free institutions? Who will play Brutus to this new Caesar of the Republic? HAROLD FREDERIC.

WANTED, A POET.

It is a matter of regret that the genius of some of the great world-poets has been hampered by inadequate themes,—as Dante by a horrible theological hell, and Milton by a thoroughly fictitious war between God and Satan. The reader must be aroused by the sublime thoughts and glorious imagery of these poets; yet the unworthiness of the framework continually oppresses. One thinks, "Pity he did not write about something true!" Pope, although only a great literary artist, has shown in his *Essay on Man* what a field poetry may find in science and philosophy.

Absolute realism is impossible in poetry; we had best, however, have Nature at but one remove.

The mighty progress of the world in knowledge and culture since the great poets has furnished material and scope for another galaxy such as shone in the Elizabethan period in England; and they may be looked for when the rawness and abruptness of the recent works of Giant Science have mellowed into coherence and integration.

Imagination is based on knowledge. No facts, no images. And never was there so much and so accurate knowledge as now; never so much of suggestion in the sciences, pointing toward indefinite extension and correlation, and filling the mind with thoughts too bold and vague for the prose of scientific speculation, yet the very food for the poet. The poet of evolution may present to his readers in a pithy, sententious page the marrow of a laborious chapter or book; and an important condensation possible no other way may thus be effected.

A curious idea exists in some minds that science is essentially unpoetic; yet the great poems of the world are great just in proportion as they are scientific; that is, scientific in the widest sense,—true to Nature, keen in analysis of mind and motives, and pleasing in artistic beauty.

In a brief glance let us notice some of the materials that this coming poet might use:—

The evolving universe, holding in its first simplicity of air everything we now see,—men, cities, forests, oceans, skies.

The indefinite, but not infinite, future, when evolution shall run its course; until this universe, one of a series, ends where it began, and gives birth to another.

The evolution of the globe from the molten sea to the Europe and America of to-day.

The hierarchy of the forms of force; first simple gravity, then heat and light, then the electric current, and so on, until the crystal, the magnet, and the cell, give rise to nobler things; while laws of unbroken continuity connect grade with grade and state with state, from the atom at one end of the scale to the human brain at the other.

Wave motion, which now explains the phenomena of sound and light, has been shown to be made up of the circular motions of particles in wide circles, while the particles rotate on their own axes; a striking analogy, with astronomical motions pointing to a common mechanical origin of these motions, and of the medium making them visible to us.

The solidarity of the universe, never an atom nor a unit of force more or less than now; every part affecting every other; a mariner at sea now guiding his ship by a star, and anon having his compass deranged by a solar storm.

The wonderful interplay of forces, as when a drop

of liquid, rounded on or in a plant, serves as a lens to divide solar beams to several uses.

The exact and legible registration by forces of the details of all their acts; as when an Owen builds a mammoth from a tooth, or a Lockyer makes a ray of light tell the constitution and motion of a star, separated from us by the radius of the visible universe.

Gravity, the simple and universal force, binding in a way that no genius has yet guessed all things together: now directing a constellation, and now moulding a fruit, or deciding the height of men.

Human evolution—the tragedy of the savage struggling for existence with types now much lower, which yet in the dreary past may have seemed destined to win the first place.

The tragedy of savage against savage, still surviving in the angry breasts of men!

Religions, always fit and never true, from the time when treps and clouds were invested with spirits only to be displaced by many gods, finally reduced to one, who is now being absorbed in the idea of the universe.

The growth of moral feeling, with victories ever attended by the perception of new possible ones, new wrongs to be righted. When the pirate was banished, the slave was felt to be a slave; the slave freed, the laborer, the criminal, and the drunkard engage the sympathy and demand the justice of men.

Hope and fear, the children of ignorance and weakness, gradually displaced by a knowledge increasing in power of prevision, knowing what to expect.

The spread of the belief in causation, doing away more and more with praise and blame; banishing at once revenge and adulation from the children of a common mother.

The recognition of the supreme justice of Nature, which gives no gifts, yields nothing unearned; and through mazes and difficulties ever maintains the even balance, to the disappointment of undue expectation, and the ultimate righting of apparent wrong.

Sociality, beginning when two together were noticed to be stronger than two singly; progressing to the nations and societies of to-day; destined doubtless to abolish war, and live in more and more of unity.

While each individual does his duty well, he insensibly helps the common weal. The coral insects produce such works of beauty as a skilful artist might design; yet each insect but takes the line that is nearest, and builds where it is easiest.

This coming poet shall be a Shakespeare; no specialist in verses, no mere teacher. He must be a great but an impersonal man, with his identity lost in his work; for that is a small banner of truth that does not hide the man who holds it up.

The opportunity is here, and it shall form its interpreter. J. G. H.

MONTREAL.

THE OHIO DEMOCRACY.

SALEM, Ohio, Aug. 21, 1875.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Will you allow me a word or two on the money question? It grieved me when I read your few words of condemnation relative to the new departure of the Ohio Democracy; your eulogy of the policy pursued by the Republican party; and, still more, your quotation from a New York daily that is controlled by the cold-blooded money power, to substantiate your ideas. You have not room in THE INDEX for one-tenth part of what I would like to say to the readers of that paper; but allow me to submit the following propositions and facts, without using space to offer proof or comments for the present:—

1st. There is a reform-element in the Democratic party; and that element was victorious at the late convention at Columbus, by declaring against the national bank system, favoring the legal tender (greenback) in place of the national bank currency, demanding the repeal of the act of Congress declaring that we shall resume specie payment on the identical day of July 1, A.D. 1879; *et cetera*.

2d. By a logical necessity this element of that party has come to the rescue of labor and our crippled and prostrated industries.

3d. The act of Congress aiming to force resumption has put the possibility of that attainment farther off (so says Peter Cooper), because it has prostrated our industries; and the building up of our industries is the only means by which we can ever reach specie payment.

4th. The national bank system, by which the producers of this country (through treasonable agents at Washington) have given the thirty thousand national bank stock-holders \$354,000,000 for the period of twenty years without interest, and exempted them from taxation, is a robbery of labor to the extent of \$31,000,000 per annum.

5th. If the government choose to tax our industries to the extent to which it has allowed national banks to tax them, and apply the same to the payment of our national debt, it would all be paid in less than twenty years.

6th. All intelligent people know that the national bank monopoly is a curse to our people; and yet the Republican platform of Ohio (and no other one that I know of) says not one word against the usurpation.

7th. The financial policy enunciated in the Democratic platform of Ohio is approved by the following named leading men of the times, all hitherto leading Republicans, or independent reformers; and some of them are known as having been leaders in the anti-slavery movement; namely, Wendell Phillips, Henry C. Carey (the oldest and most profound political economist in America), Wm. D. Kelley, Henry Carey Baird, Moses W. Field, B. F. Butler,

Mr. Buckingham, Alexander Campbell, Peter Cooper, Pliny Freeman, Wallace P. Groom, besides many other men of thought and worth. Most, if not all, of these men are assisting in the election of Allen, either directly or indirectly; and some of them are engaged to speak in his behalf during the campaign.—Henry Carey Baird for one (I forgot to mention E. M. Davis, President of the Radical Club and the Woman Suffrage Association, Philadelphia, who appeals to the old anti-slavery people of Ohio to support Allen.

8th. Many of the manufacturing establishments of the State, the proprietors of whom have heretofore been leading Republicans, are organizing green-back clubs, and I believe one hundred thousand Republicans of Ohio will vote for Allen.

Cordially yours, CHARLES BONSALE.

SPECIE PAYMENT RESUMPTION.

EDITOR INDEX:—

As you have permitted an occasional article on finance to appear in your columns, will you allow me space for an attempt to answer Mr. Boecklin's question, "How to resume specie payments." But first let us clear away a little fog in which Mr. Boecklin has thought proper to hide the "kernel" of the trouble, and which makes this "lump of painted beeswax" appear so much like a hard nut. Mr. Boecklin says: "To resume specie payments, we must reduce our eight hundred millions of currency to two hundred millions"; and he then exclaims: "Now crack this nut." But such a reduction of the currency is not necessary. The proof that this reduction is not necessary need not be given now, as it will appear as we go on.

There are two processes by which the country can reach specie payments: one sudden and violent, the other gradual and quiet.

The first is, without preliminary, to repeal the Legal Tender Act. This would accomplish the object most effectually, but would be followed by the immediate appearance on the streets of financial wooden legs, armless sleeves, black eyes, and bruised heads; though fortunately the victims would not generally be those who had "suffered for their country." This process would make the government, the banks, and individuals, competitors in the market for gold; the consequence of which would be the influx of that commodity, precisely the same as of any other commodity for which there was a sudden and increased demand. Of course many would be submerged, simply because they could not hold out till the flood had reached its level. But a level would be reached, and the amount of paper that would be displaced by gold would depend upon the general solvency of the country.

If Mr. Boecklin has no stomach for this method of conveyance to his desired lunar abode, we have another and better route, on which the Muses rather than the Furies shall be his companions. This other method is contraction of the currency, as a preliminary to the repeal of the Legal Tender Act. The amount of currency required for the traffic of any country of unimpaired national credit, but possessing an inconvertible currency, is unerringly indicated by its value as compared to the money standard of the civilized world—gold. A convertible currency is self-regulating; for by every issue of paper the same amount of gold is driven from circulation, and consequently the volume in circulation (which alone affects general prices of commodities) cannot be permanently affected by this process in respect to the wants of traffic; but an inconvertible currency, having no such means of self-regulation, can only make its superabundance apparent through its effect on prices, including that of gold. Suppose that every piece of paper of the currency in circulation in this country to-day should be stamped by the authority of its issuers with a figure representing double its present value; what would be its effect upon prices? Of course prices would be doubled; and gold, the exchange value of which is, like all other commodities, based upon the cost of production, would show the same rise.

Now here are two important facts which, being recognized, help to simplify the main question under discussion. A convertible currency tends to self-regulation in respect to the amount needed for trade. An inconvertible currency shows its superabundance for the needs of trade by its value as compared to the precious metals. Now if these positions are admitted to be true, it will be seen that the first step necessary, both in the direction of resumption, and also to bring the currency to a natural and healthy volume for the interests of trade, is to commence the process of contraction. This can be done so gradually that the debtor class, whose interests are popularly supposed to be endangered by the policy, will "never know what hurt them"; and by the time that we discover prices (including that of gold, of course) to have fallen about fifteen per cent., we shall also have the pleasure of observing that nearly all contracts will be based on conditions suited to the new order of things. But, so far, this only remedies an evil constantly liable to occur through the misuse of an inconvertible currency; namely, over-issuing. What we want now is a convertible currency that will hereafter take care of itself; to accomplish which all that is wanted is for the government to enact that a promise to pay gold shall mean what it says, and after a few plunges in the new atmosphere the "moon" is reached. When, however, the time comes in which there is nothing to be made in the speculation with gold, the transition from an inconvertible to a convertible currency will hardly be noticed; and it will not only not be necessary to reduce our currency to \$200,000,000, or even to \$600,000,000, but we shall not in all probability be obliged to displace a dollar of it with gold. As your correspondent

Mr. Mead amusingly illustrates: if gold is to be had, nobody wants it; and when speculators find that government means business in this matter their occupation is gone.

But Mr. Boecklin seems to think that a return to specie payments involves the necessity of the holders of \$800,000,000 in currency making instant demand for gold therefor, when there are but \$170,000,000 in gold to respond with. What object will they have to do so, since the gold will buy no more than the paper? But what if they should, out of mere wantonness or through panic, make a run for gold? Well, some might get hurt, but such a state of affairs would probably be anticipated in time to provide for it; and, if a people should ever entirely lose their faith in a paper currency, it will be replaced, as by a law of hydrostatics, by gold and silver, as those commodities will surely go where there is the greatest demand for them.

The nut that Mr. Boecklin desired you to crack for him was simply how to get back to specie payments. If I have cracked the nut to Mr. Boecklin's satisfaction, I shall be gratified.

Z.

"FIXED VALUE."

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The currency question is quite too large to discuss in the few lines I propose now to write. But there are some fundamental errors in this question that crop out every time men holding certain views speak. They are such terms as "fixed standard of value," "fixed value," an "invariable measure of value," "intrinsic value," etc., etc. Now, strictly speaking, these terms have no such significance as is generally given to them.

The civilized world cannot give, as Mr. Meade says, "certain fixed value" to any thing. The value of one thing is some other thing for which it will exchange; and this is just as true of gold and silver as of any other commodity.

James Mill tersely expresses the truth in the following language: "Metallic money, or, more generally speaking, the precious metals, are nothing more, considered strictly and in their essence, than that commodity which is most generally bought and sold"; and again: "When we speak of the value of the precious metal (gold), we mean the quantity of other things for which it will exchange." There is, in fact, no real analogy between money, as a measure of values, and a yard-stick or a fixed weight. Value is necessarily a ratio, and cannot be fixed.

This does not alter the fact that the precious metals are more readily and conveniently exchangeable throughout the civilized world for all other commodities than anything else.

This currency question is not to be disposed of in a word; and I am not so sure that a thorough going over of the entire question would not lead to some modification of the expressed views of THE INDEX. At any rate, it is best to start with correct definitions, and get right on fundamental ideas.

A. J. W.

MARIETTA, O., Aug. 29.

DUNCAN, SHERMAN, & CO.

NEW YORK, Aug. 19, 1875.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Dear Sir,—The very favorable notice of the action of Duncan, Sherman, & Co., in a late number of your paper, should be criticised a little.

Any merchant receiving the property of others on trust should, while such property is subject to the risks of his business, do a careful business. Especially is this true of a banker who holds in trust money belonging to others, and promises to return the same when properly called for.

When a banking firm have by an established reputation gained the confidence of the general public, it is their duty to be more particular than ever that their transactions are made carefully. It is well also to remember that all large firms "make up," each half year, a statement of their business, showing actual assets and liabilities, any profit or loss for preceding six months appearing. If the firm in question properly considered this matter, and were not speculating (which, of course, no honorable banking firm will do), how can it be possible that now, for the first time, they realize that their assets are but about half as much as their liabilities; and, in fact, that they can safely pay creditors but thirty-three and a third per cent.? Perhaps their neighbors in similar business had not the same faith in their responsibility that the general public had; then, knowing this as they must, want of care in conducting their business was decidedly wrong. As it is, to express the matter kindly, the facts show that somewhere Duncan, Sherman, & Co. were far too careless in their business, at the very least; and there are times when carefulness and honesty are as one.

As an INDEX reader and a radical, believing "character is everything," I am jealous of any one receiving your generous praise who does not fully deserve it. Be kind enough to accept my words as not personal, and believe my motive the hope to assist to a proper decision of a now public matter.

Yours truly,

"A."

["A." is entirely right in this matter, and our original "Glimpse" was entirely mistaken. The mistake, however, was the consequence of trusting the flattering first statements of the Associated Press despatches; which warranted all we said, but which were afterwards totally overthrown. In these times of shamefully frequent corruption, we were eager to notice with praise an apparent case of honesty and high-mindedness in business; but we sorrowfully admit that our praise was undeserved.—Ed.]

PRAYERFULLY.

EDITOR INDEX:—

In this day of church premiums and pious lotteries, I have failed to notice any scheme which appeals more directly to religious enthusiasm, than the following extracts of an advertisement published in Western papers:—

"Gold! Gold! \$600 in Gold will be paid to three agents who send us the largest number of subscribers between July 15 and Oct. 1, 1875, for the fast-selling book just out,—*Marvels of Prayer and Leaves from the Tree of Life*, illustrated by incidents from the Fulton Street prayer-meeting; by Rev. Matthew Hale Smith."

The great persuader is that the money will be gold, and must operate as a powerful tonic upon those pious colporteurs who have not heard its jingle since the inauguration of greenbacks.

The announcement then adds: "To save time, send \$3.00 for an outfit" (whatever that may be), "which will be sent prepaid."

All this is for the benefit of the great "Evangelical Publishing Society," who request that all remittances be carefully made by post-office order, draft, or check.

This book, of course, will be a welcome guest to all who really believe that the requests of these Fulton Street fossils will change the decrees of an unchangeable God.

The "leaves from the tree of life" are not clearly defined, but we may infer they are lineally descended from that ancient vegetable which flourished among those four rivers of Eden, and proved to be a tree of death according to the story about Mr. and Mrs. Adam.

Probably the curse attending the eating of the fruit does not equally apply to the handling of its leaves.

Some poor radical, however, may insinuate that the raving maniacs of our insane asylums, who are constantly talking night and day about the visions of Daniel, and of the dreams of the Apocalypse, are slightly cursed by the stray leaves that they have plucked from this wonderful tree.

The fact of the whole matter is this: the tree of life about which we hear so many pious platitudes is an unmitigated nuisance, whether it is cultivated by Spurgeon, Talmage, Moody, Sankey, or this Evangelical Society, who are undoubtedly making a good living for decayed ministers out of the credulity and superstition of weak nerves and torpid livers.

J. E. HAYNES.

THE BIBLE IN VINELAND SCHOOLS.

MR. EDITOR:—

Quite a commotion has been caused here recently by Mr. E. R. Wood, a teacher in South Vineland, being deposed under the following circumstances, as reported by the trustees, George H. Church and J. P. Rooksby, in the *Vineland Advertiser*, Aug. 21, 1875:—

"Mr. Wood was engaged to teach school in this place last fall; and after the school had been in session a few days, complaints were made that the custom of opening the school with reading a passage of Scripture was departed from by the teacher. He was waited on by the trustees, and requested to read a passage from the Bible as an opening exercise, which he refused. This request was made several times; and, when the matter was pressed upon him by the trustees, he said he would consider. He did consider, and decided to read the Scriptures; but first prefaced the reading by saying to the scholars that he should read it because requested, but he wanted it distinctly understood that he did not consider it a sacred book. . . . The personal friends of Mr. Wood were anxious to have him employed next fall. . . . The trustees decided to have the matter settled by the legal voters. A meeting was called, and by a decisive vote Mr. Wood's services were rejected. It was also voted unanimously to continue the practice of opening the school by reading the Scriptures."

Mr. Editor, is not Vineland sadly in need of liberal missionaries? Have you none to send who will preach the "Demands of Liberalism," and teach the people that a good teacher who will not read the Bible, except conditionally, and who does not believe it to be a sacred book, is a better teacher for "Orthodox youths" than a poor teacher who can repeat it from Genesis to Revelation, who believes it sacred, and infallibly inspired by God?

ELLA E. GIBSON.

VINELAND, N. J., Aug. 25.

FRANKLIN ON RELIGIOUS TESTS.

The following is an extract from a letter of Benj. Franklin, written Oct. 9, 1780, to Richard Price:—

"I am fully of your opinion respecting religious tests; but, though the people of Massachusetts have not in their new Constitution kept quite clear of them, yet if we consider what that people were one hundred years ago, we must allow they have gone great lengths in liberality of sentiment on religious subjects; and we may hope for greater degrees of perfection when their Constitution, some years hence, shall be revised.

"If Christian preachers had continued to teach as Christ and his apostles did, without salaries, and as the Quakers now do, I imagine tests would never have existed; for I think they were invented, not so much to secure religion itself, as the emoluments of it. When a religion is good, I conceive that it will support itself; and when it cannot support itself, and God does not take care to support it, so that its professors are obliged to call for the help of the civil power, it is a sign, I apprehend, of its being a bad one."

The above is quoted from the second volume of Bigelow's *Life of Franklin*.

Advertisements.

THE PATRONAGE

of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support. To this end, all improper or "blind" advertisements, all quack advertisements, and all advertisements believed to be fraudulent or unjust to any one, will be excluded from these columns. No cuts will be admitted.

THE INDEX must not be held responsible for any statement made by advertisers, who will in all cases accept the responsibility for their own statements.

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For 1 to 12 Insertions, 10c per line.
 " 13 " 25 " 8 " "
 " 26 " 51 " 6 " "
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TO ADVERTISERS.

The following states the experience of a successful Bookseller who has advertised in THE INDEX:—

TOLEDO, Ohio, Sept. 20, 1872.
 TO THE INDEX ASSO., Toledo, O.:

Gentlemen,—Having had occasion to advertise in your paper during the past two years quite largely, I take pleasure in stating that I have always obtained very satisfactory returns—better in fact than from book advertisements in any other paper I have advertised in. Not only have I obtained immediate results, but orders have frequently been received months after the insertion of the advertisement, showing that your paper is kept on file and referred to by your readers. Yours truly,

HENRY S. STEBBINS.

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It is the object of THE INDEX to give public utterance to the boldest, most cultivated, and best matured thought of the age on all religious questions, and to apply it directly to the social and political amelioration of society.

It is edited by FRANCIS E. ABBOT, assisted by ABRAHAM W. STEVENS, with the following list of Editorial Contributors:—

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Almost every number contains a discourse or leading article, which alone is worth the price of one year's subscription.

Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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 Boston, Mass.

1 8 7 5. PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

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Religions of China, by Wm. H. Channing. 25 cents.

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Taxation of Church Property, by Jas. Parton. 10 cents, singly; package of ten, 60 cents; of one hundred, \$3.

These publications are for sale at the office of the Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston. The Annual Reports for 1868 and 1871 cannot be supplied, and the supply of others previous to that of 1872 is quite limited. Orders by mail may be addressed either "Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston," or to the Secretary, New Bedford, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER Sec. F. R. A.

THE INDEX, A Weekly Journal

DEVOTED TO

FREE RELIGION.

PUBLISHED BY THE

INDEX ASSOCIATION,

AT

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EDITOR:

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

ABRAHAM WALTER STEVENS.

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 CHARLES VOYSEY, England.
 GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, England.

THE INDEX aims—

To increase general intelligence with respect to religion:

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

In addition to its general objects, the practical object to which THE INDEX is specially devoted is the ORGANIZATION OF THE LIBERALS OF THE COUNTRY, for the purpose of securing the more complete and consistent secularization of the political and educational institutions of the United States. The Church must give place to the Republic in the affections of the people. The last vestiges of ecclesiastical control must be wiped out of the Constitutions and Statutes of the several States in order to bring them into harmony with the National Constitution. To accomplish this object, the Liberals must make a united demand, and present an unbroken front, and the chief practical aim of THE INDEX will be henceforth to organize a great NATIONAL PARTY OF FREEDOM. Let every one who believes in this movement give it direct aid by helping to increase the circulation of THE INDEX.

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"One purpose of this volume is to give an answer to the question, now not unfrequently asked, What is the meaning of the Free Religious Association? It is one of the objects of that Association to encourage and to bring before the public just such discussions of religious problems as this book contains. It aims to discover and to establish truth in religious matters by the method of intelligent free inquiry. Lectures, Conventions, and Publications are its instrumentalities; and this volume is made up chiefly of Essays and Addresses that have appeared upon its platform. In addition to the foregoing more elaborate essays it has been thought advisable to append some selections from the less formal discussions which occurred in the annual meetings of the Association, and have been preserved in its Reports. The following extracts, made entirely from these annual pamphlets, will show what a variety of representative voices have been heard in the Conventions of the Association, and indicate somewhat the range of topics which have been touched. It will be perceived that the organization represents certain principles and tendencies, and not any new creed or jointly-subscribed system of faith. These principles and tendencies are perhaps best suggested by the title of the book, *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion*.—Freedom of inquiry and opinion, and yet Fellowship in spirit and aim. And they are expressed in the two chief articles of the Constitution as follows:—

"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

"Should any readers wish to know more of such an Association, the first of these selections may meet their desire.—W. J. P."

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1875.

WHOLE No. 300.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE
FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSES.

MR. CONWAY is arrived in this country, and has, we doubt not, a brilliant lecturing season before him.

THE NUMBER of Old Catholics in Prussia is reckoned as 20,000, while that of Ultramontanes is about 8,000,000.

SAYS THE *Catholic Telegraph*, of Cincinnati: "The unbroken, solid vote of the Catholic citizens of this State will be given to the Democracy at the Fall election."

IT IS impossible to report this week the results of the Liberal League Convention at Philadelphia; but we shall do so in our next issue, and meanwhile are glad to say that the Convention was successful and satisfactory.

SAYS THE *Toledo Catholic Review*: "Every Catholic should vote for the Democratic ticket. Those who do not do it will be false to themselves and false to their own interests. The only political favors which Catholics have ever had in this country have been received at the hands of the Democratic party."

THE BAPTISTS and Methodists in this vicinity are getting restive over the "violation of the Sabbath" involved in the Sunday travel caused by their own camp-meetings. Some of them feebly lay blame on the railroads and steamboats; but others boldly tax the camp-meeting associations with the sin. It is a queer and rather embarrassing scrimmage.

THE NEW Spanish Constitution makes Roman Catholicism the religion of the State, allows freedom of worship to other denominations, and forbids all public processions and "manifestations" to Protestants—which are supposed to include announcements of religious meetings, open air preaching, and advertisements of religious books! This is "freedom of worship" with a vengeance; but it is all that the priests will understand by the phrase, if they have their way.

BISHOP BOURGET, of Montreal, solemnly cursed the grave of Joseph Guibord, on Sunday, September 12. The victory of the civil authorities over the Roman Church seems to be thus turned into a complete defeat; for it would be impossible to force the Bishop to bless the grave or withdraw the curse. The *mandamus* of the court requires that Guibord should be buried in consecrated ground; this is done, and the Bishop unconsecrates it! How can the State cope with an invisible and inaccessible enemy? The end is not yet.

THIS BIT of political gossip from the Boston *Advertiser* is worth noticing: "The Ohio Democracy find that troubles follow each other thick and fast. The latest blow they have had to meet is the re-nomination of Mr. John J. Geghan, the author of the Geghan law, which has given rise to the sectarian strife in the canvass. The *Enquirer* is equal to it, however, for it 'repudiates Geghan in the name of the Democracy of Hamilton County,' because his nomination is an 'insult to every intelligent voter,' since it is an open boast of an alliance between the Catholic Church and the Democratic party."

MR. AUSTIN KENT thinks we unintentionally misrepresented the "free love" theory in citing Philip Bessinger's conduct lately as a practical illustration of it. We certainly intended no misrepresentation, nor does Mr. Kent at all point out wherein we fell into it. The main features of Bessinger's course were forsaking an old love for a new one, offering his wife \$2000 to leave him forever, threatening to kill her if she returned, and tendering to her two of his three children to support. The threat, of course, we regard as an illustration of free hate rather than of "free love," though a terribly natural result of the situation; we cannot see what else a fearless advo-

cate of the "free love" theory could consistently blame in Bessinger's course. It could not make any difference whether his wife cheerfully acquiesced in the separation, or whether she went off in despair to drown herself and her children together: the right to "love freely" means the right to discard the outgrown love, does it not? If so, that involves the whole tragedy; and we misrepresented not a whit.

THE SUPREME COURT of Massachusetts decided on the first of September, in the case of Trinity Church *versus* the City of Boston, that "real estate held by a religious society not more than sufficient in extent to meet its reasonable requirements in this respect, and devoted by such society in good faith to the erection of a church-edifice upon which the work of erection already commenced is prosecuted without unreasonable delay, is entitled to the exemption from taxation given by statute." Assessor Thomas Hills, of this city, states that such property has always paid taxes hitherto in this State, until actually occupied for religious worship. The new decision does but illustrate the universal tendency to retrograde, when the process of advance has ceased. The State will certainly grow either more secular, or more ecclesiastical, year by year; and its growth now is in the wrong direction on the church taxation question. The Boston Liberal League made a stout fight on this question in 1874, as readers of THE INDEX will remember; but, being left by their fellow-liberals to struggle almost alone, and being met at once with powerful and concerted opposition, they were unable single-handed to secure the reform so much needed. Judge Wells alone dissented from the present ruling of the Supreme Bench.

THE FOLLOWING paragraph from the *Nation* of September 9 well exposes the character and probable result of the late attempt of the New Jersey Catholics to interfere in politics directly: "On Tuesday the people of New Jersey voted on the constitutional amendments described in our last issue, and which, with barely an exception, deserved the support of every good citizen, and were in harmony with the spirit of reform which has nowhere of late so powerfully and hopefully manifested itself as in our State Constitutional Conventions. A body called the Catholic Union of New Jersey appealed to Catholic voters to vote against four of the proposed amendments whose importance will be recognized: namely, forbidding any town or county to give money or property, or loan its credit in aid of, or own the stock or bonds of, any association or corporation; forbidding the State or any municipal organization to give land or appropriate money to any association; directing the legislature to provide for a thorough and efficient system of free schools; and forbidding special legislation in certain cases, as in granting to any corporation, association, or individual any exclusive privilege or franchise whatever, and again in providing for the public schools otherwise than by general laws. In accord with the Catholic Union, what was perhaps never before witnessed in New Jersey, prepared ballots were distributed in the Catholic churches last Sunday, with admonitions how to vote; and the Bishop of Newark went so far, on account of an amendment (otherwise objectionable) which threatened to make church property liable to taxation, as to recommend cancelling all the amendments. In fact, at many of the polls one saw Catholics distributing ballots which were entirely erased. As we write, the result of the election is not known. One result, however, cannot be doubtful. Whenever and wherever the religious issue is raised in this country by the priests, it will be taken up, and it will not be disposed of to their advantage. In the long run, they will gain no more in the United States than they lately did in Bavaria by interfering openly in politics."

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[For THE INDEX.]

Spiritualism from a Materialistic Standpoint.

ABSTRACT OF A LECTURE DELIVERED IN BOSTON, SUNDAY MORNING, AUGUST 29, 1875.

BY B. F. UNDERWOOD.

There is as much evidence, it is said, of mind as of matter; if the latter is indestructible, why not the former? "Matter immortal, and shall spirit die?" exclaims the poet Young. To this we reply that, if mind be regarded as an element or combination of elements, its imperishability as such is not to be supposed; but since matter is constantly changing—its forms appearing and disappearing,—if we reason from analogy in regard to mind, we must conclude that its individual forms are transitory, while the substance alone is without end. So if mind is something diffused throughout space like the ethereal fire of the Stoics, it is no proof of the immortality of any individual mind. But science does not speak of mind as a substance. It knows only the living, thinking organism, with its activities and aptitudes.

It is frequently said by our Spiritualist friends that, if life commenced on this globe with a speck of protoplasm, and organic forms have been evolved during the ages until the perfection of the human form and the present intellectual condition have been reached, must we not believe that this progress will continue in the future? If death is the end of man, is there not an abrupt termination of the chain of existence? "Grant the soul of man eternal, or in man the series ends." But how can the fact of progress in this material world lead to the conclusion that one of the results of this progress—man—will always exist? The only progress suggested by the history of life on this planet is continued progress in *this material world*. The improvement of organisms will go on, doubtless, while favorable conditions last. Accumulated advantages, which will result by natural selection in the struggles for existence, always insuring the "survival of the fittest," must give us higher and higher organisms, until their environment becomes unfavorable to the higher classes of animals—or, in other words, until the earth undergoes changes making it impossible for the higher forms to subsist. But now does evolution even intimate the existence of man in a spiritual condition, and that existence immortal?

Man's desires and aspirations, to many, are a strong indication that man will exist forever. It is the old argument:—

"It must be so. Plato, thou reasonest well;
 Else whence this pleasing hope, this fond desire,
 This longing after immortality?"

But how our hopes and desires and longings for continued existence prove its reality I do not understand. We desire and hope for many things we never get; we aspire to many positions we never attain. It is said Nature never creates a demand for which she does not provide a supply. Of course it is those things which exist in Nature that we desire, for it is those with which we become acquainted, and which contribute to our happiness. We have an appetite for food, and there is food to gratify it. We should not have the appetite if there were no food. Our appetite and our desire are the results of our environments. That is clear enough. Well, it is equally clear that we love life, and in life we have daily the gratification of this love. The desire for

endless life is simply a desire for uninterrupted existence; for of an endless existence we can have no conception. The desire for a life that will not cease is no more evidence that we shall have it, than the desire for boundless wealth is evidence that we shall possess that. The wish for a continuance of this life beyond the grave is no more evidence of its ultimate realization than the Indian's desire for his bow and arrow, his dog, his pony, and his scalping-knife, after death, is evidence that he will have them there.

The inequalities of this life are pointed to by many Spiritualists, as they are by religionists generally, as an argument for future existence. It is assumed that there must be a state in which the wrongs of this earthly life will be righted. But persons who use this argument suppose a Being possessing the benevolence and love of man without limitation; and then, to make the existence of this supposed Being possible (for infinite power is also ascribed to him), they imagine those who suffer unjustly here will be compensated hereafter. A batch of assumptions. If a God of infinite power and boundless goodness permits injustice and suffering here, why not there? If it be said that that shocks our sense of justice and our feelings of humanity, and that we must not suppose God will do anything wrong or cruel, I reply that we, with our dispositions, would not, if we had the power to prevent it, allow suffering and wrong here. Perfect justice in some other state cannot be logically inferred from inequality, injustice, and wrong in this state. There is, then, no assurance from the condition of earth that there is what corresponds with our ideas of justice in any other state of being. We have, then, no arguments for a spiritual state in the wrongs of this material world.

Many of the writers and lecturers on Spiritualism still speak of heat, electricity, and magnetism as "refined matter"; and they claim that matter still more refined must exist, and that is spirit. But this is a crude thought in the light of modern science. Heat, electricity, magnetism, etc., are no longer regarded by scientific men as substances in a refined state, but as modes of motion; and of course they presuppose material bodies in motion. Far from being links, that connect gross matter with spirit, they are words which represent the conditions of gross bodies like steel and wood, as well as matter in a more rarefied state.

Another metaphysical argument for immortality is founded on memory, which, it is said, shows there is something in man that resists those changes by which, in an ordinary lifetime, the body changes its material several times. Impressions must be made on something that is not subject to mutations like matter. The argument is plausible, and involves the discussion of fine points. We can only reply here, that a scar which remains on the body for years, retaining the same form and appearance, seems to show that the particles of the body which leave are replaced by others which serve the same purpose. And this suggests that the new molecules which replace the old ones in the brain may take the same shape, and perform the same functions, so far as is necessary to preserve identity, as those which originally received the impressions. How this is done, of course, we do not profess to explain; but it seems more rational to hold to this view, than to imagine inside of the physical brain a something capable of receiving impressions, and yet not admitting of disintegration. And what becomes of the notion that the spiritual part of man is *refined matter*? How does that tally with the assumption that the mind or soul is something that is exempt from change—from disorganization? How fine must matter become before it ceases to be subject to the laws of matter-integration and disintegration, distribution and re-distribution? If spirit is refined, sublimated matter, there is no possibility of immortality, unless at a certain stage of refinement matter ceases to act in accordance with those laws which we now observe in all material operations; which is an absurdity.

To the materialist, life and intelligence seem to depend upon, in fact to be the combined activities of, organisms. Destroy the organism, and the activities, whether they be those called physical or mental, evidently cease. The substance is changed to other conditions—enters other combinations; the organic forces are converted into other activities corresponding with the material modifications.

What we call mind is evolved with the brain and nervous system. Feeble in infancy, strong in mature life, it declines in old age, and the last symptoms which the mind exhibits are disorder and insensibility, the precursors of annihilation. When we consider that the condition of the brain and nervous system and that of the mind exactly correspond; that any alteration in the one is attended with an alteration in the other; that to all appearances they grow and decay together; that any injury of the brain produces disturbance of the mind,—the conclusion seems unavoidable that the dissolution of the body, the destruction of the brain and nervous system, must be followed by extinction of intelligence and thought. Every object with which we are acquainted has a beginning and an end. Aggregation implies segregation; formation implies dissolution. How contrary to analogy, as Hume remarks, to imagine that one single form, seemingly the frailest of any, and subject to the greatest disorders, is immortal and indissoluble! Some of the modern Spiritualists, like those of old, seeing this absurdity, have recourse to the doctrine of preexistence. But common sense tells us that our mental existence began with our bodies—our existence as conscious, intelligent beings. Can immortality be reconciled with this fact?

Modern Spiritualism, however, claims to have evidence of a direct, experiential character, in unquestionable communications with, and the reappearance

of, former inhabitants of the earth. These evidences are by no means new. All the so-called proofs of modern Spiritualism were known to the ancients. This is admitted by intelligent Spiritualists, and the fact by no means makes the evidence either more or less valuable.

The communications from spirits have not made much impression on scientific investigators. They can generally be traced to the minds of the mediums. Have any of them been demonstrated to come from supra-mundane beings? The character of the communications usually makes them very suspicious. We have messages and volumes from Theodore Parker that would reflect no credit on any ordinary mind, while they exhibit none of the distinguishing characteristics of that great man. I have many times received communications from Thomas Paine; but he has been exceedingly unfortunate in his efforts to recall even his place and date of birth and death, the title of his works, or important incidents in his mundane career! It is strange that intelligent men can believe that the communications which we get, and which are ascribed to our departed sages, proceed from those minds which, it is claimed, freed from earthly care and toil, and enriched by their varied and accumulated life-experiences in the body, have in addition enjoyed facilities for intellectual progress unknown to earth! Strange that a world where there is no death, where to the wisdom of earth is added the greater wisdom resulting from centuries of thought, study, and experience in the "Summer Land," is able to impart to the groping and struggling denizens of this world so little,—I will not say that in advance of our discoveries and speculations, but that is worthy the attention of men and women of ordinary intelligence and culture! We have communications from the philosophers of Greece and Rome, the priests of Egypt, the sages of China, the great minds of modern times, the light of whose genius yet lingers on the earth; but when we read their productions, and consider what they were when they trod our globe, and what they must be now if the communications purporting to come from them are genuine, we find relief in the thought that the great ones whose names are used have not thus degenerated, but are in the quiet, everlasting sleep of death; while these childish thoughts and words ascribed to them are but the productions of undeveloped, ignorant, and abnormal minds among us. I believe that all intelligent and candid Spiritualists will concede that the intellectual emanations from the spirit world are far inferior in point of excellence to the productions of those advocates of Spiritualism among us, who have written in a normal state, and given us their own thoughts.

Observe, further, the contradictory character of these communications. One spirit will tell you one thing, and another something diametrically opposite; and this in regard to matters of fact, and not simply concerning speculative points. For instance, it is still debated among Spiritualists and mediums whether there are brutes in the spirit world; because some spirits say yes, while others as positively say no. And yet we are on the very "boundaries of another world," and in daily conversation with its inhabitants! If two persons claim to have been to Europe, and one reports that there are no horses there, and the other that they are there just as they are here; and if we extend our inquiries, and ask hundreds and thousands the same question, and we find that they answer yes or no, as they are fond of or dislike the animal,—what should we think, if such a thing were possible? And yet thousands of pretended spirits, claiming to be in many cases relatives and friends, say that all the animals of earth continue to exist as individuals after death, with dispositions and proclivities such as they possessed on earth,—that they see them every day, just as they see the spirits of their own race. Other thousands, just as intelligent, and apparently with equal sincerity, say that there are no brutes in the spirit world. Some of our pretended invisible friends and teachers tell us that, animals losing their identity at death, their spirits are resolved into "elementary primates," and afford food for the spirits of human beings. Other spirits solemnly declare "through the mediums" that no food is used or needed in that invisible world. I once heard a distinguished trance-speaker say that the relation of the sexes is continued after death; that human beings are there begotten, and ushered into existence, and pass through the stages of infancy, childhood, adolescence, and manhood and womanhood, as they do here. Other communications—one from Socrates, and another from Lord Bacon, among the many—assure me that the notion of births in the world of spirits is false, and must have come from some lying, mischievous spirits. Appealing to men and women of common sense, I ask, Is it not evident that these utterances and messages about the land of spirits are simply the vagaries of the mediums' own brains?

The common explanation that, the instruments which the spirits employ being defective, the control is imperfect, and that these contradictions and inanities are due largely to that cause, was never satisfactory to me. If a medium has defective or diseased organs of speech, I can understand that a spirit might have difficulty in speaking through the medium, for it has to use these organs to speak; but since a spirit does not depend (so we are told) on the brain of a medium for its thought, its knowledge, its wisdom, why should the imperfection of the medium's brain, or the ignorance of the medium's mind, be urged in behalf of Cicero and Webster, when they have spoken fluently, without let or hindrance, for a full hour, and talked only transcendental fustian of the cheapest quality? Why should this be offered in excuse and apology for Thomas Paine and Theodore Parker, when they have controlled a medium to write rapidly whole pages with-

out giving one strong, vigorous sentence, without attempting to demonstrate any proposition, or to put together a series of sensible statements having a perceptible connection with one another?

Clairvoyance is often appealed to by Spiritualists in support of their theory. My investigations have never brought to my view one genuine case of clairvoyance. I do not deny the reality of the condition; but of the scores of clairvoyants I have tested, I have never yet found one person who has given me any evidence of his or her ability to see objects at a distance. I do not believe there is one in Boston who can stand on one end of this platform, and tell me four words, written on a paper, that I may hold in my hand at the opposite end. But it is possible that there are rare instances of vision without the direct use of the eyes, and medical journals contain accounts of such cases, in diseased persons. But, if true, does clairvoyance prove the existence of spirits? Some electricians have suggested the possibility of communication between two batteries, placed at elevated positions, without the use of wires. It may yet be realized. And possibly two living galvanic batteries, human brains, may, in certain states, and under exceptional and peculiar conditions, have communications when at a distance. I do not affirm this; I say its possibility, supposing clairvoyance real, should make us cautious in drawing the conclusion that spirits are concerned in the phenomenon.

It is said persons see spirits. Some see them in daylight, and with eyes wide open. I have talked with many such persons. I believe they are generally honest, and my conviction is quite as strong that they are in a state of chronic mental aberration, or on the verge of violent insanity. Quite a large class of persons see spirits in the dark, generally in circles; or when they are in an abnormal state of mind; whether self-induced, as in the case of trance speakers, or mesmerized, as we have seen persons under the influence of Grimes and other experienced manipulators. Are the visions of persons generally diseased in body and mind, in these abnormal states, to be taken for sober realities? If so, we may as well prepare to believe anything and everything that is fanciful, strange, and wild.

The strangest and most talked-of manifestations just now are the so-called *materializations*, accounts of which from different places come to us thick and fast. Concerning those which I have seen, it may be justly said that "distance lends enchantment to the view." They never come up to the expectations which are justified by the published accounts. I have never been at one of these materializations when the conditions were such as to preclude the possibility of fraud. On the contrary, they are such as to prevent rigid scrutiny and thorough investigation, and to create strong doubts as to the fair and honorable character of the performances. Without the time or the money to visit all the places advertised, I have to form my opinion of these "manifestations" generally from those which I have seen. Of these I am obliged to say that the conditions were to some extent such conditions as would be imposed, if fraud were to be practised; and in the absence of evidence of the appearance of spirits, I must decline to believe that the faces I saw were the faces of persons who had passed from earth, or were faces manufactured by spirits to make themselves visible to the dull eyes of mundane beings. If these materializations are, as I believe, fraudulent performances, they will be so conducted that visitors will not be afforded an opportunity to expose them. The conditions will be such as to favor concealment and fraud. Ninety-nine out of a hundred must go away astounded by the exhibitions, as they do from those of Anderson or the Japanese performers. Must one, therefore, be charged with obstinacy, if he can neither believe that these performances are by spirits, nor understand how they are produced? We are frequently told of the performances in the presence of Prof. Crookes. No doubt they were ingenious. Those attested to solemnly by the truthful and noble, but unfortunate, Robert Dale Owen would be regarded as quite as satisfactory, but for the discovery which led to the exposure of the medium who practised the deception. Crookes' name carries weight as a scientist; but we may be permitted to believe he is fallible, and that, if the facts were known, it would appear that he was as much deceived as Mr. Owen. "In theology," some one has said, "we balance authorities; in science, we weigh facts."

Making an allowance for deception and fraud, I do not question that there are unexplained phenomena under the name of Spiritualism. There are some which I have witnessed that I have never seen satisfactorily explained. Some of the explanations are as difficult to accept as the theory of spiritual agency. But although I have attended circles, and witnessed the usual doings which are ascribed to spirits, in many States of this Union, I have never seen any satisfactory proofs that invisible intelligent beings, once inhabitants of this earth, now exist, and have the power of manifesting themselves to us.

One of the bad features of Spiritualism is that it encourages and develops marvellousness. People come to delight in ghost stories; and the more strange and extraordinary, the more important and interesting they are. The tendency of ghostly literature is to destroy the desire for substantial intellectual food. The doings of spirits become, to the mind, more important than the concerns of earth. That the tendency of some of the teachings and performances of Spiritualism is to develop insanity, when there is a predisposition thereto, does not, I think, admit of doubt. A spiritual circle, with real or imaginary invisible beings prowling about in the dark, communicating in whispers, or producing strange sounds, is not just the place for an individual whose mind is in an unhealthy condition. I do not urge this against

the truth of Spiritualism, but I mention it as one of its tendencies, which ought not to be ignored by Spiritualists themselves. Many cases of insanity have been attributed to Spiritualism, when the persons had a tendency to insanity from their birth. It would be truer to say that there are some things in Spiritualism for which persons with predispositions to insanity have an affinity, and to which they are attracted.

Spiritualism is frequently charged with having produced a vast amount of domestic discord, and encouraged licentious views and practices. I have no doubt that thousands have been led to separate from their partners for the reason that pretended spirits have advised them to look elsewhere for their "affinities." Thousands who have been brought up to believe in the authority of a book, on becoming Spiritualists, have but transferred their reverence and their allegiance to spirit guides, whose word and advice with them is the highest authority. Taking advantage of this weakness, mediums, some of them honestly, and others dishonestly, have been able to exert an influence that cannot be fully appreciated. While I do not see anything in the philosophy of Spiritualism that interferes with the domestic relation, it must be admitted that the teachings of a large class of pretended spirits, and the importance and authority attached to their views and counsels by multitudes of people, have had no good effect on our social condition.

I only say, I am sure, what candid Spiritualists know and deplore, when I say that Spiritualism is accompanied by fraud and humbuggery of the worst kind, and to a lamentable extent. Thousands live on the sick and the credulous under various names, with no claims to confidence whatever. By flaming advertisements many are induced to send their dollars to heartless persons who are too lazy to work, and too shrewd to rob in the usual way. Fortune-telling is carried on by persons who in some places are prominently identified with Spiritualism. Their cards crowd the columns of the spiritual journals, whose editorial silence would seem to indicate either that they acknowledge their claims, or they do not think it policy to question them. And so thousands are systematically swindled. Dark circles are held nightly in our cities by persons recognized as cheats and humbugs by the better class of Spiritualists; and these same persons make themselves prominent at the Spiritualist meetings, where they distribute their cards, and advertise their nefarious business. Nobody utters a public protest, although the honest Spiritualists in private confess and lament the fact. If a fraud is exposed, there are almost everywhere accomplices or unscrupulous friends to come out in defence of the medium, who gets advertised thereby, and in the end comes to be regarded as a victim of malice and bigotry. For these, and other reasons which could be stated, and which are not less creditable to Spiritualists, there are large numbers who accept the philosophy, standing aloof from it, who will not attend Spiritualist meetings, nor have anything to do with the public demonstration. Some of my statements may be thought severe, but their severity is in their truth. I am not prejudiced against Spiritualism, nor have I any disposition to speak harshly of its adherents. In as far as Spiritualists oppose the superstitions and follies of the Church, they have my cordial sympathy; and their peculiar views in regard to the existence and communicative powers of supra-mundane beings have ever received from me respectful consideration, although I am unable to accept them. But when dishonesty and fraud appear under the name of Spiritualism, I should be untrue to myself, if I failed to denounce such impositions as freely as if practised by those connected with the Church. Spiritualism has suffered less from its open enemies than by the knavery of some and the credulity of others within its ranks, and by the machinery which it furnishes unscrupulous men and women for swindling the ignorant and the superstitious.

Much can be said in favor of modern Spiritualism. No doubt, like other systems, it is a source of comfort to multitudes that no longer rely on the teachings of the churches in which they were brought up. I know many who are happy in the belief that their loved ones are around them, and ready to welcome them beyond the portals of death. Without doubt, Spiritualism has assisted very largely to destroy faith in the authoritative character of the Bible. Many have been emancipated from the thralldom of the Orthodox superstition who could have escaped in no other way. They found in Spiritualism a field for the exercise of that marvellousness which before was fed by the fables of the Bible; and while the pleasant belief in immortal life was increased, it was divested of the horrors of the old faith. Spiritualism has gone among a class that materialism could not reach, and done a work that materialism could not do, except by a long period of education and experience. It could be shown that modern Spiritualism, by destroying old standards, and familiarizing the people with the discussion of sacred subjects, has encouraged freedom of thought and liberality of sentiment.

I can only add in conclusion that, while I am no Spiritualist, I think that Spiritualism in the present transitional stage of thought is doing a work that is much needed,—the value of which, however, would be increased, if through its press and its influential advocates it could be brought to oppose with "righteous indignation" the frauds and corruptions which now have protection under its wing. There is so much in the theory and history of modern Spiritualism that is in marked contrast to the popular theology; its teachings in many respects are so far in advance of those of the churches; its literature so much more liberal and in keeping with the spirit of the century; its press and its platform

so comparatively free, and the intelligent and informed among its adherents so much more courteous and generous in the treatment of opponents,—that it has required from me something of a sacrifice of personal feeling to offer the criticisms which I have uttered, and which I believe justice and impartiality demand.

"THE CATHOLIC CONSPIRACY."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Mr. S. P. Putnam's letter and your own comments upon it, both under the above rubric, in THE INDEX for the 26th August, are among the numerous proofs that a subject which, as an American citizen, it is my duty to have much at heart is beginning to obtain the attention which it deserves. All this will lead to the thorough examination of the question; and a free people cannot be expected to move, even in the right direction, with regard to any question, before there is a public understanding of it. Hitherto, however, I see nothing more, with regard to this important and threatening question, than splashing the water around it in an aimless way; and neither your article nor that of Mr. Putnam seems to me an exception, though both are able and earnest.

Of course no American, not even such a novice American as I, who am of last year's make, can for a moment imagine that the American people will ever violently interfere with Romanism on the ground that, as Mr. Putnam suggests, "its very organization contravenes the law." Mr. Putnam himself is too good an American to do any such thing, were this an opportunity for deeds instead of words. How can a religious organization contravene the law when, by our Constitution, it is on the law itself that the burden is cast of abstaining from contravening religious conscience? On this point I agree with you. But you and Mr. Putnam appear to me to be engaged in a rather ludicrous controversy as to whether the canon law of the Romish Church shall or shall not be made a part of the public law of the United States. The first thing that strikes a foreigner who knows anything about the canon law, when he comes to England or to this country, is that, through the patchwork legislation which has made Romanism, and all forms of Protestant dissent, pass from a state of oppression to their present condition, the canon law, not only of the Church of Rome, but of every Protestant sect, is part and parcel of the law of the British Empire and of the United States. Whenever a case between a minister and his congregation or his synod is brought before a civil court, the court calmly ascertains what the canon law of that Church prescribes on that particular point, and orders the sheriff to execute it. A short time ago such a case occurred, in which the court, in due obedience to the canon law, enforced the authority of the bishop; and I even think I remember that this did not escape the notice of THE INDEX.

This is a canon-law country, sir; and in presence of this sad truth it is a melancholy satisfaction for me to think that the editor of THE INDEX does not, at any rate, want more canon law than we already have, but is perfectly satisfied with the present amount. For God's sake, let us not have more canon law in our legal system than we already have: let us rather have less if possible; for could my colleague, Saint Paul, witness an ecclesiastical trial in one of our civil courts, I hear him ejaculate, "Ye men of America, I perceive that in all things ye are too canonical." I would even have in our civil courts no canon law at all. When a priest and his bishop, or a predicant and his synod, come before a civil tribunal to have some canonical quibble decided, I should like them to get the answer which the common sense of eighteen hundred years ago inspired to a Roman judge; an answer of which my colleague's disciple, Saint Luke, evidently took pleasure in preserving for us the keen edge:—

"If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, oh ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you; but if it be a question of words and names and of your law, look ye to it; for I will be no judge of such matters."

If it is to the canon law of their Church, whether through civil courts or not, that four millions of American Catholics and four thousand and five hundred priests are looking for protection against the tyranny of sixty bishops, they had better take my advice, and look in another quarter. On the other hand, the tyranny imposed upon them by the canon law and the sixty bishops would be, take my word for it, a very mild one, and one very little dangerous to our institutions, were not that tyranny identical with the arbitrary disposal of all the property of the American Catholic Church by the said sixty bishops. As Mr. Putnam has very clearly shown, this property is immense, comprising, as it does, the places of worship, the cemeteries, the convents, the colleges, the hospitals, and the investments in real estate or notes of credit on which the salaries of thousands of clergymen depend. How has that property been accumulated? By being coaxed out and leached out of the people in the various ways which, to those familiar with clerical methods, whether in Romanism or in Protestantism, are no matter of mystery. It is the whole of their equitable claim to that property, or of their equitable share in it, that the Roman Catholic American people at large, and every priest and layman in particular, have to lose, unless they submit in all things, reasonable or unreasonable, to the wishes of sixty or seventy men who have themselves no will of their own, but are governed by a foreign journalist, of whose common sense we may judge by the astonishing editorial articles in his periodical, *The Bull*.

But why, I ask, is all that property in the hands

of those seventy men? Is it because Roman Catholics are fools, or because we are? I say it is because we are. Each Roman bishop, in the eye of the civil law, owns the whole ecclesiastical property of his diocese in his own name; not in any official capacity, but as a simple citizen. Should a bishop die without leaving a will, all this immense property would pass to his natural heirs, and the Church would be frustrated. But he invariably makes a will through which the property is made to pass to his successor. Let us not pass further without paying a tribute of respect to what must be the high moral character of an episcopate in whose hands, under such an arrangement, the church property can be perfectly safe. Nor let us refuse to admit that, by thus standing before the civil law as individuals, not as corporations, Roman Catholics in England and America give a fine example to Anglican and other dissenting churches, all of which would at once collapse into atoms, did the State for a single day refuse to recognize and enforce their respective corporate existence under mediæval laws. The Roman Catholic Church in England and America is the only Church which is not a State Church by law established; the only Church that stands before the State as every church ought to stand before it in the nineteenth century. It asks of the State no favors, no recognition. It even refuses that recognition. Its existence as a corporation is a private affair among its members, an affair which it demands that the State should entirely ignore. When it sends its members before the courts, it sends them there as individuals to demand their rights as British subjects or as American citizens. In all this there is very much for liberals to admire, rather than blindly join in the chorus of Protestant clamor. And when we see that that ecclesiastical organization is the strongest, which alone, to all appearances, receives no special addition of power from the favors of the secular arm, our admiration would be complete did we not accidentally discover that most of that apparent spiritual strength is, in reality, the power of money through a flaw in our laws.

Our laws on testamentary wills are, in fact, only suitable to countries where such a Church as the Roman Catholic either does not exist, or is established, and as such duly kept in bridle by the State, or is persecuted; one of the three having always been the case while the Anglo-Saxon laws were growing to their present shape. They are totally unsuitable to a state of things in which the Roman Catholic Church exists, and is neither established nor persecuted, but simply free, as it ought to be. In these new conditions, the law which allows a man to devise at his death the whole of his property to whom he pleases, suddenly assumes a working most dangerous to the State. Property rapidly accumulates in the hands of a religious oligarchy, until that oligarchy becomes, through that property, a political power capable of holding the State itself in minority. Against that working, which legislators of times past foresaw too well, they guarded by the illegitimate expedients of establishment or persecution; whereas the proper step would have then been, and would now be, the limitation of the testamentary power. Instead of the law which allows every man to leave his property to whom he pleases, defrauding his natural heirs, let us, by a contrivance similar to that of the French code, secure to the natural heirs the largest part of the property, allowing the testator to dispose of only a fair and limited share. This will at once put a stop to the accumulation of property in the hands of the few bishops. Zealous Catholics will not be so foolish as to make to those bishops large gifts of lands and capital, well knowing that, at the death of the bishop, the greater part of that property will pass, not to the bishop's successor, but to his natural heirs. Instead, therefore, of making, once for all, gifts of real estate and other capital to raise a perpetual income to be used irrespective of the will of the people, Roman Catholics will make their yearly contributions toward the support of their worship and clergy more liberal than hitherto. Financially that will amount to the same. Morally that will be the same also; for whoever holds the strings of the purse, whether it be the bishops or the people, the priests will have to earn the pennies by subservience to those by whom they are paid; and of subservience to the bishops or subservience to the multitude the degradation is equal. But politically there will be an immense difference. Let the clergy, whether among Roman Catholics or other sects, have to live year by year on the free good-will of the people, and free institutions at least are well secured against clerical encroachments.

Under the law which I propose, the bishops will have no alternative but to accept the situation which I have described, or to take refuge against it in a position parallel to that of every Protestant Church of this country, the position of an Incorporate, that is Established, Church. But the three last articles of my platform, which you published, provide the means of dislodging them from this new position.

The law which I now propose is entirely in accordance with the spirit of our institutions, as it interferes with the religious liberty of no one, but treats the testamentary will of a bishop as that of any other citizen. The right for a citizen to disinherit, completely at least, his natural heirs is an exorbitant right. It is no natural right; for the natural rights of jurisdiction of any man on any things here below are limited to the term of his natural life; and no man has a natural right to govern this world, or part of it, after his death. It is, therefore, only a positive right. But rights created by the positive law are conferred upon individuals with a view to the public good. The right for a man to leave his property to his natural heirs is precious not only to

him, but to the nation, as it leads to the perpetuity and harmony of one of the families of which the nation consists. The right conferred upon a man to leave his property to others than his natural heirs is the right to foment hatred and discord after his death, when he will be no more present to bear the blame and shame of his misdeed. His act is like the act of a man who sets fire to a house where he has been hospitably entertained, and runs away before the inmates awake. If the case of the Romish bishops constitutes a special variety to which what I have just said does not apply, it is only to be fraught with consequences very much more terrible; terrible to the nation, terrible to every Roman Catholic. While quietly enjoying an evening, surrounded by his wife and his children, after his daily toil, he must always see this sword of Damocles suspended over his head: the fear that when his mind will be less clear than now, when the nightly ghosts of superstition will haunt his dying bed, the priest will prevail upon him to make him disinherit all those beloved ones, and leave his property to the Church. There it will go; not to be devoured in a few years by a board of vultures, as if it had been bequeathed to some Protestant institution; no! but to be honestly and profitably administered, and thereby remain forever the subsidy of a standing conspiracy against all that our country holds precious.

Against such evils Napoleon the Great, and the juriconsults of every Roman Catholic nation, have deemed it their first patriotic duty to guard by the firmest legislation. But as for us, we slumber, or we have no patriotism. We sacrifice the highest interests to the most paltry considerations, sometimes to mere *amour-propre*. Speak to the best father among us of surrendering the right to disinherit his children—a right which he will never use and which others will abuse,—and the vivacity of his answer shows that you have attacked a privilege which he holds most dear. There is not a one-horse Protestant sect among us that would not, rather than surrender the principle on which it holds a few die-of-hunger endowments—endowments which it cannot even keep, for they will be stolen,—see those United States, through the application of that same principle on a very different scale, become a prey to Jesuitism, until every star in our flag is in turn extinguished in darkness. "THE CATHOLIC CONSPIRACY" is not an appropriate title under which to treat this subject. It is the Protestant conspiracy as well, or rather it is everybody's conspiracy,—the conspiracy of a whole nation for its own destruction.

I am, dear sir, truly yours,
JULIUS FERRETTE.

CAMBRIDGE, 28th August, 1875.

GLADSTONE AND THE POPE.

A LECTURE BY REV. REUEN THOMAS.

Rev. Reuen Thomas, the pastor of the Harvard Church, Brookline, delivered a lecture last evening in the chapel of the church on "Gladstone and the Pope." There was a large audience present to hear the views which Mr. Thomas, as an Englishman, has had better opportunities of forming on that subject than fall to the lot of many Americans. The delivery of the lecture was listened to with great interest, and received with much favor. . . .

The reason why all should be interested in the question was not because it was a religious one. It is not that chiefly—only indirectly. Those who have considered it an attack upon the Roman religion have quite misunderstood and altogether misrepresented it. The question raised by Mr. Gladstone is purely a political one; namely, "Can a Romanist, accepting the Vatican decrees of 1870, be a good citizen, trusty and faithful to the State?" Mr. Gladstone comes to the conclusion that no religious ends alone were or could have been contemplated in the enactment of those decrees; because all religious ends, that is, all ends in connection with the free profession of their religion—all dominion of the Pope over the faith and creed of Romanists—were secured already. Then we must look beyond the religious realm into the political. There we found ample reasons for the claim of universal and entire obedience from all Romanists everywhere. Individual servitude, however abject, will not satisfy the party now dominant in the Roman Church; the State must also be a slave. And it was for the purpose of using the votes, the influence, the money, of Romanists for the enslavement of the States in which they dwell, that these decrees were passed. "A Romanist first, an Englishman afterward," are the notorious words of a leading Romanist in that country; words which mean, as Mr. Gladstone says, that in case of any conflict of authority between the government and the Pope the "convert" is to follow the Pope.

According to the power with which the Pope of Rome is invested by the Vatican decrees, he is really and truly the Sovereign Ruler, politically, of every Romanist in the wide world. According to them, it is at the peril of his salvation that any Romanist acts on his individual responsibility; and he is in a position of the very gravest difficulty as to rendering allegiance to any other sovereign ruler than the Pope. Anything more sweeping in its compass, more dangerous in its action, more complete in the thoroughness of its subjection of the mind and life of men, has never been attempted in the world's history. As Mr. Gladstone says: "The claim made upon the Romanist by the authority which he solemnly acknowledges requires him to surrender his mental and moral freedom, and to place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another. The Romanist can be a citizen of no country over which the Pope is not absolute and undisputed sovereign." The question then is a purely political one, and Mr. Gladstone, as one of the most prominent of English-

men, speaks on it with a weight attaching to his words which would belong to those of no one else.

The Vatican decrees threaten personal liberty, and the laws of this country secure personal liberty to every one of its citizens. What statesmen now have to look to is that any religion, whatever name it may bear, which deprives a man of his personal freedom, must be confronted by the State laws, and taught better manners. Every despot of every kind, and, above all, foreign despots, must be made to recognize the doctrine that every citizen of this country is a free man.

But many Protestants ask, What can the Pope do to us,—having no army, and no power to do as Popes once did, excommunicate a nation by one solemn bar? There are two ways of breaking into a house. One is to burst the doors in as burglars do, and the other is to do it as the fogs do—get through the key-hole, and under the door, and down the chimney. That is how Romanism works now-a-days. Nothing is more noiseless or sliken-footed than the way in which that portion of the Roman Church now in power works. There is a great difference between a warrior and an assassin,—as much difference as there is between a religion which fights its battles openly and one which stabs in the dark. The former may be true; the latter must be false.

Those who believe the priests at Rome can do no harm because they have no soldiers might well be asked two questions: Who was it defeated Mr. Gladstone's Education Bill in England? Who was it made the Franco-German war possible? What power is it now which seeks to prevent the unification of Germany, and sow discord among that great people? Mr. Gladstone himself said that the Romanist Bishops in Ireland (instructed, of course, from their counselors at Rome) thought fit to procure the rejection of the Education Bill by the direct influence which they exercised over a certain number of Irish members of Parliament.

The war between France and Germany was a priests' war. The Jesuits poured all sorts of reasons for it into the ear of the French Empress, who was under their thumbs, and she persuaded her fool of a husband to run his head full tilt against that brazen wall, united Germany. To the third question there is but one answer: Popery, in Germany and out of Germany, is trying with all its might to prevent Germany becoming a nation. Bismarck aims at German unity as the one work of his life, and he will fight for it to the last. The Jesuits in Germany receive pay from the State, and are the servants of the State. Bismarck has a right to demand obedience from them as much as from any other salaried officers in Germany.

The Vatican decrees make Romanists the subjects of two earthly sovereigns. Dr. Döllinger, the greatest living theologian the Roman Church has produced, says: "That by the decrees it is the duty of every Roman layman to obey the intimation that any question has been decreed for him by the Pope. When the Pope orders a man to vote in a specified manner, though he were a member of Congress, he must obey." The decrees of the Pope are meant to sow division among Protestant nations, and Mr. Gladstone did the duty of a strong-voiced sentinel in announcing, in tones which were never spoken weakly or falsely, the imminence of the danger.—*Boston Journal*, Sept. 8.

THE PANTHEON AT ROME.

Having seen the most magnificent of modern Christian temples, I next bent my way to the most splendid of the pagan temples of old Rome, the Pantheon; that model of ancient architectural beauty, which even now, with its perfect interior, its simple grandeur and proportions, notwithstanding the vandal additions of various Popes who seemed to vie with each other in plundering pagan temples, or rendering the beautiful structures, which they could not rival or approach, hideous by their additions or alterations,—even with the mangling that the Pantheon has received, it rises in my recollection as a thing of beauty that is a joy forever.

The impression of its faultless beauty came over me as I stood in the centre of the perfect circle of this great temple to all the gods, a rotunda one hundred and forty-two feet in diameter, and one hundred and forty-three feet high. There are no windows, but a perfectly circular aperture in the top, of twenty-eight feet in diameter, admits a light that lights the whole, and through which the blue Italian sky and fleecy clouds are seen. Around on all sides are now Christian altars, and the great niches are vacant that once held marble figures of heathen deities; the magnificent bronze plates that sheathed the most perfect dome in the world are stripped away; nay, even some of the stone and marble work is whitewashed or otherwise disfigured,—and yet you cannot stand upon the floor of this magnificent old temple to the gods, built twenty-seven years before Christ, without involuntary expressions of admiration at its perfect beauty of proportion.

What must it have been in its prime, with its magnificent front, not as now sunken, as modern Rome or as successive modern Romes have heaped their soil up over the old city, till now you step down into the Pantheon! Eighteen centuries ago, its magnificent portico, with its grand front of over one hundred feet, supported by sixteen Corinthian pillars thirty-six feet high (which still remain), was above the level of the street, and was approached by a flight of six marble steps and the vestibule, a beautiful vista of white marble pilasters; the pediment above was ornamented with glorious bass-reliefs (you may see the holes in which the bolts holding them were placed, to this day), and the roof was sheathed with bronze which Pope Urban VIII. not only was vandal enough to strip off and melt down for bronze col-

umns and cannon, but perpetuated the act, that there should be no mistake as to who the despoiler was, by recording it in a Latin inscription over one of the doorways. Then he increased the outrage by adding two ugly bell-towers to the dome ("asses' ears" they are very justly called); and another Pope, Benedict XIV., who was Pope from 1740 to 1758, tore away beautiful marbles from the upper part of it to adorn buildings he was erecting.

But despite all this, the grand and perfect beauty of the temple could not be destroyed; and we can imagine, standing here upon what was once the elegant pavement of porphyry and marble, that the pagan altar reared its height beneath the then perfect vault of bronze, the smoke of ascending sacrifice rose through the great opening direct to the nostrils of mythical Jove himself; and in these now empty niches, fifty feet above the pavement, stood, looking down upon priest and people, the colossal sculptured figures of Jupiter, warlike Mars, and majestic Minerva, Apollo with bent bow or with lyre in hand, and Vulcan pausing o'er his thunderbolts. The sides of the vast circle glittered with polished marbles and elegant carving; the attic or roof gleamed with sculptured silver and bronze, and was upheld by caryatides of Syracusan bronze; statues of Rome's emperors and senators peopled niches at the entrance or in the porticos, and Marcus Agrippa's temple to the gods was one of the glories of old Rome.

The ancient bronze doors remain, and the Corinthian pillars of red granite, with marble capitals, roughened and blackened with the breath of eighteen centuries, will continue to command attention, extract admiration, and remind the student of the architecture of classical times; but all around the interior in the different recesses he will find the modern altars of the Roman Catholic Church, with their florid and often tawdry ornaments, tinsel, and frippery, which ill accord with the ancient surroundings. The building is said to be a species of brick work, and was coated or veneered with marble; but the exterior coating was stripped off by the spoilers of modern times. So also was plundered the sculptured silver on the interior of the roof by successive vandals.

Rome built and raised her most costly and beautiful edifices from the spoil of plundered cities, and by the captives brought by emperors "home to Rome, whose ransoms did the general coffers fill"; and the law of compensation or of retribution was at last wrought upon herself, and by some of the very people from whom she had wrenched fathers, husbands, and brothers, treasures and spoils. Base barbarians, that proud Rome once despised, ran riot through her streets, plundered and despoiled her temples, and only consented to leave Rome's supplicating ambassadors their lives on condition of their surrendering everything else.—*Curtis Guild's "Abroad Again," in the Commercial Bulletin.*

"BRAIN AND INTELLECT."

In the current number of the *Lancet* there is an interesting paper by Dr. Lawson, pathologist, to the West Riding lunatic asylum, on the relation subsisting between the weight of the brain and the extent of the intellectual powers of human beings. It appears from the investigations of the writer and his colleagues that not only persons of great mental capacity, but also lunatics, occasionally possess brains which are considerably heavier than the average brains possessed by ordinary but sane people. The average weight of the brain, according to Dr. Lawson, is commonly accepted to be forty-nine ounces in men and forty-four ounces in women. If we remember rightly, it is placed about an ounce higher for either sex in Quain's *Anatomy*. But the point is unimportant as regards the conclusions at which Dr. Lawson has arrived. Some of the heaviest brains, the weight of which has been accurately ascertained, were those of Cuvier, 64 oz.; Abercrombie, 63 oz.; Goodsir, 57.5 oz.; Sir J. Simpson, 54 oz.; Daniel Webster, 53.5 oz.; and Dr. Chalmers, 53 oz. Against these six names of more or less distinction, Dr. Lawson gives the weight of the brains of six lunatics who died at the West Riding lunatic asylum. They were 58 oz. in two cases, 58.5 oz., 59.5 oz., 60.5 oz., and 61 oz. None of these equal in weight the brains of either Cuvier or Abercrombie. But Dr. Lawson observes that perhaps, if all the elements of the case were to be considered, the heaviest adult brain on record might be found to be that of a senile dement, who died in the West Riding asylum at the age of seventy. His brain was found to weigh 61 oz. Following the generally-accepted principle that the brain loses in weight to the extent of an ounce in each decennial period, this man's brain, after allowance has been made for physiological diminution, may be presumed to have weighed, when he was at the age of forty, no fewer than 64 oz. But in this case pathological supplemented physiological changes, and the more rapid atrophy which accompanies senile dementia justifies the conclusion that at the time of his maturity this man's brain may have outweighed that of Cuvier. Moreover, out of 705 patients who have died in the West Riding lunatic asylum, the weight of brain was found to be in all cases little if anything below the average as stated by Dr. Lawson. Among rather more than 300 insane women at the same establishment, brains were found weighing from 50 to 56 ounces, which, in proportion, were equal to male brains of 55, 53, 60, and 61 ounces. Relatively speaking, says Dr. Lawson, these insane women had more brains than Chalmers, Webster, Simpson, Goodsir, and many others adduced as illustrations of the statement that great size of brain usually accompanies great intellectual capacity. Similarly with regard to criminal lunatics; though the average weight of brain among a single

dozen of these, examined by Dr. Orange, of Broadmoor, is an ounce and a half under the general male average, there are in that limited number two brains which exceed that of Chalmers in weight, and one which outweighs those of Chalmers, Daniel Webster, and Sir J. Simpson, and is within half an ounce of being equal to that of Goodsir. Small-headed people may take comfort from these statistics. But assuming equal quality, superior quantity of brain would, as it is natural to assume on grounds of physiological analogy, unmistakably tell in the result.—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

Sir,—In the *Nation* of August 20 is an inquiry for the manuscript of President Lincoln's Address at Gettysburg.

Mr. Lincoln arrived in Gettysburg in the afternoon of the 18th of November, 1863, and was a guest of one of our citizens—Judge Wills. He was called out in the evening to reply to a serenade, and at a late hour went to his room. Sending for his host, he inquired the order of the exercises of the next day, and began to put in writing what he called some "stray thoughts" to utter on the morrow. When delivered, they were read from an official letter-sheet. It is uncertain whether this manuscript has been preserved.

But when Mr. Lincoln was asked, in April, 1864, to send to the Baltimore (Md.) Fair for the relief of soldiers and sailors an autograph manuscript, he sent a copy of his Gettysburg Address; which, lithographed, is to be found on pages 3, 4, and 5 of *Autograph Leaves of our Country's Authors* (Baltimore: Cushing & Bailey, 1864). Every word is written with distinctness and care; and there is no room for mistaking even a letter or a punctuation point. This is, undoubtedly, the final form he gave the Address, and is that by which he intended it should be judged. I inclose an exact copy.

Very respectfully,

EDWARD MCPHERSON.

GETTYSBURG, Pa., Aug. 31, 1875.

"ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE DEDICATION OF THE CEMETERY AT GETTYSBURG.

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"NOVEMBER 19, 1863."

SUPPOSED ATTEMPT TO STEAL THE JEWELS AT WINDSOR CASTLE.

The *London Daily News* of August 28 has the following: "The south-eastern division of the Bucks police, under Mr. Superintendent Dunham and Inspector Pearman, of Eton College, are at present investigating a very extraordinary matter. About the 9th of this month, in order to permit some building operations upon the premises of Mr. Goodman, the boat-builder, near Windsor bridge, the waters of the Thames were drawn off, lowering the river by several feet. While the stream was thus lower than usual, a man who was walking near a back-cut adjacent to Cuckoo Weir, which is about half a mile from Windsor bridge, and on the Bucks side of the river, observed a piece of string fastened to the lower branch of a bush overhanging the water course. His curiosity was excited, and seeing something attached to the string he pulled it up, and found that it was a gentleman's japanned dressing-case. Turning the small key he opened the case, and found it contained a large number of keys and other things. He at once placed the case in the hands of the police, and Mr. Superintendent Dunham, upon examining its contents, found that in all there were twenty-five keys, the larger ones having been fastened in a bunch at the top of the case. Upon one side of the flat smooth surface of the handle of two of the medium-sized keys are the words 'Equerries' stables, 100 steps,' and on the other side the word 'Porter.' The twenty-five keys vary in size from such as would open gates, posterns, and room doors, to small ones fitting the jewel-cases in the royal apartments of the castle. Besides this extraordinary collection of keys there were in the case pieces of wax bearing impressions of the key wards, two bottles of gold liquid for smearing the keys in order to ascertain the shape of the locks, a box of vestas, and two large canvas money-bags, such as are used by bankers. One ap-

parently from the coin marks had contained gold, and the other silver. It is the belief of the police authorities that the dressing-case and its contents were intended to aid some person or persons in effecting an entrance from the 'Hundred Steps' to the private apartments of the palace occupied by Her Majesty and the royal family, and to sweep off the priceless jewelry. Whoever designed this daring scheme has been frustrated in a most singular way. Those who placed the case and keys in the stream, till some dark night a favorable opportunity might arise for the grand coup, fastened the string to a branch of the bush, which, when the waters of the Thames are at their ordinary summer level, was about a foot below the surface of the little stream, and thus well concealed. They had not calculated upon the sudden drawing off of the water—an unusual circumstance—which revealed the hiding-place of the duplicate keys. Yesterday, Mr. Superintendent Dunham, accompanied by Mr. Inspector Pearman, proceeded to the office of Mr. W. Seabrook, in the lord chamberlain's department at Windsor Castle, and had an interview with the palace authorities."

THERE is a queer old German proverb which says, "When needs must, the devil will eat flies." Belzebub, or Baalzebub signifies "Jupiter-fly."

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

NONQUIT.

BY MRS. LOUISA S. HOPKINS.

Summer has flashed her golden shuttle by
My dreaming eye;
Its shining web of days so soft and fair,
Without a care,
Is folding down into the silent past,
Too bright to last.

Night unto night has told its peace serene,
While Luna, queen,
Paved her white shimmering path above the deep,
That stirred in sleep
To lisp its dreamy bliss around the shore
Forevermore.

Day unto day ushered its beauty in
With happy din;
Thrush and song-sparrow trilling through the hours,
While myriad flowers
Bespangled dewy grass and fragrant wood;
And all was good.

The odorous breeze wafted its music round,
A varied sound;
Called from the wide campaign the whistling quail;
The tern's shrill wail
Answered afar; and boomed from rock to rock
The billow's shock,

Here have I sat without my cottage door,
And watched the shore,
Followed its curving line to where the town
Lies sloping down,
Its clustering gems in simple beauty set,
Fair coronet!

And still along its amber thread of strand
Stretches the land,
Till the grim fortress at the harbor's mouth
Looks threatening south,
But hears no sound save dash of spray that wet
Its parapet.

Then on and on the rippling waters spread;
By cliff and head,
By long, low neck, and sunny, sanded isles,
The blue bay smiles,
Till, like a soul within the conscious seas,
Sits Penckese.

And to and fro the opal sails have sped,
Or glimmered red
The seven coast-lights about the land-locked bay;
While night and day,
The broad blue sky with sun or star has lit
Light-bathed Nonquit.

But now the slopes are shadowing with wings,
And southward swings
The clamoring host of swallows o'er the sea;
'Tis time for me
To seek my closer eaves, and, sighing, fold
This cloth of gold.

September, 1874.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 18.

Julius Kirschbaum, \$1.35; D. P. Wilcox, 20 cents; Fanny Lawler, 25 cents; Carl Doerflinger, \$1.30; Alfred Warren, \$1.30; J. R. Hawley, \$2.60; S. M. Greene, 20 cents; W. H. Spencer, 25 cents; D. H. Clark, \$1; J. Wilson, \$1; Mr. Tomlinson, \$3.20; J. H. Buffum, \$3.20; J. Fisher, \$3.20; F. S. Platt, \$3.20; S. Cooper, \$6; Lewis G. Jones, \$3.20; F. S. Allen, \$3.20; G. H. Parkhurst, \$1; R. T. Stow, \$3.20; Edw. Wallis, \$5; D. K. Hall, \$3.20; J. F. Ruggles, \$3.20; Chas. Hazeltine, \$1; Jas. S. Lusby, 25 cents; Gust. Travenstein, \$3.20; Thos. B. Blair, \$1.50; Ensign Clifford, 50 cents; C. V. Culver, \$8; O. Spaulding, \$6.45; E. G. Patterson, 75 cents; George Wilson, \$1.60; John Frank, \$4.45; A. F. Bailey, \$3.20; W. H. White, \$1; J. Haskins, \$3; G. E. Frothingham, \$3; L. T. Wilcox, \$3.20; W. V. Warrington, \$3; F. Fradley, \$3; J. M. Macomber, \$2.25; E. M. Davis, \$5; Sarah J. Derby, \$3; George Chamberlain, \$3.20; F. Andriessen, \$3; George H. Barton, 20 cents; W. H. Sayward, \$3.20; George Lewis, \$10; H. S. Glover, 20 cents; M. D. Conway, \$19.22; R. H. Ranney, \$1.50.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

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N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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F. R. A. ANNUAL REPORT.

The Report, in pamphlet form, of the Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association for 1875 is now ready.

It contains an Essay by Wm. C. Gannett, on "Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and an Essay by F. E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. B. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

It can be obtained, in Boston, at A. Williams & Co.'s, and by mail by addressing "Office of Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston, Mass."

Price of single copy, 35 cents; package of four copies or more, 25 cents each.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

REFERRING to the Geghan law in Ohio, which "secures to convicts their choice of clergymen," the New York *World* has delivered itself of sentiments which are about as brutal, despotic, and unjust as can well be imagined: "The religious preferences of a man who has not religion enough to keep out of jail are about the last thing a sensible Legislature would consult. A man who has become a disgrace and burden, instead of an ornament and defence, to the community had best take what religion the community supplies him with, and be thankful. There is no religion by which he could not behave himself better than the one which he has previously preferred and practised, whatever form of religion or irreligion he has professed. His 'preferences' would lead him away from religion and also from penal servitude, and are in both cases to be profoundly disregarded." Now the principle of the Geghan bill is the only just principle, if the State may justly support the chaplaincy system at all. What business has the State to require Roman Catholic convicts to listen to Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, or Episcopalian preaching? Would not there be a sectarian howl from one end of the land to the other, if a Catholic chaplain were appointed to the State Prison? The cases are in principle precisely the same. Our own protest is against the whole chaplaincy system; we deny the right of the State to support any ministers of religion anywhere. But so long as chaplains are appointed at all, there ought to be as many chaplains as there are religious sects represented among the convicts, who have just as good a right to a conscience in religious matters as the prig who wrote the above insolent nonsense in the *World*. We cannot help seeing that the Catholics are right in demanding the services of a priest for convicts of their own faith, provided the State undertakes to furnish religious services at all in its prisons and reformatories. The whole system is false and pernicious, and ought to be abolished; but even a convict has rights which the State is bound to respect—none of them more sacred than the right to worship as his conscience dictates, or not to worship at all, if that suits his conscience better. While the chaplaincy system continues, we would vote for a Geghan bill in every State of the Union, as the only just measure under that system. To declare that a convict "had best take what religion the community supplies him with, and be thankful," is but to put the combined injustice, tyranny, and absurdity of that system in the truest, because the most odious, light.

THE "CANON LAW."

On another page of this issue Bishop Ferrette, to quote his own phrase, "splashes the water in an aimless way" respecting the canon law in this country, in an article criticising Mr. Putnam's "Catholic Conspiracy" and our reply to it,—a rather ludicrous controversy," as he describes it. But when the origin of his amusement is investigated, it may be discovered in certain mistakes of his own, contained in such astonishingly rash assertions as the following: "The first thing that strikes a foreigner who knows anything about the canon law, when he comes to England or to this country, is that, through the patchwork legislation which has made Romanism and all forms of Protestant dissent pass from a state of oppression to their present condition, the canon law, not only of the Church of Rome, but of every Protestant sect, is part and parcel of the law of the British Empire and of the United States. . . . This is a canon law country, sir."

Now this is singularly confused, being partly true and partly untrue. The "canon law" is something altogether distinct from the by-laws or regulations which ecclesiastical bodies voluntarily impose on themselves and by which they administer their internal affairs; these are not "law" at all in any public sense, nor so recognized. The "canon law" is only such portions of the law of the Roman Papacy as, modified or unmodified, have been as such actually adopted in any country as a part of the law of the land; and, in any such country, there will be the proper spiritual courts to enforce it. There is no "canon law" at all in the technical sense, except as the law of the Church of Rome, and such parts of it as have been authorized by the government in the countries where established churches derived from the Church of Rome, as in England, are supported. Whatever ecclesiastical rules or regulations may be voluntarily adopted by any Protestant sect, they concern only such sect; they are not "law," nor can they be enforced as "law" by the courts. It is perfectly preposterous to call this a "canon law country," when there is no "canon law" as such from Maine to California. But let us determine exactly what canon law is, and how far it exists in Great Britain. Cooley's edition of Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (volume 1, pages 80-84) will give us some trustworthy information on this subject:—

"The canon law is a body of Roman ecclesiastical law, relative to such matters as that Church either has, or pretends to have, the proper jurisdiction over. This is compiled from the opinions of the ancient Latin Fathers, the decrees of general councils, and the decretal epistles and bulls of the Holy See; all which lay in the same disorder and confusion as the Roman civil law, till about the year 1151 one Gratian, an Italian monk, animated by the discovery of Justinian's Pandects, reduced the ecclesiastical constitutions also into some method, in three books, which he entitled *Concordia Discordantium Canonum*, but which are generally known by the name of *Decretum Gratiani*. These reached as low as the time of Pope Alexander III. The subsequent papal decrees, to the pontificate of Gregory IX., were published in much the same method, under the auspices of that Pope, about the year 1230, in five books, entitled *Decretalia Gregorii Noni*. A sixth book was added by Boniface VIII., about the year 1298, which is called *Sextus Decretalium*. The Clementine constitutions, or decrees of Clement V., were in like manner authenticated in 1317 by his successor John XXII., who also published twenty constitutions of his own, called the *Extravagantes Joannis*, all which in some manner answer to the novels of the civil law. To these have been added some decrees of the later Popes, in five books, called *Extravagantes Communes*; and all these together, Gratian's decrees, Gregory's decretals, the sixth decretal, the Clementine constitutions, and the extravagants of John and his successors, form the *corpus juris canonici*, or body of the Roman canon law.

"Besides these pontifical collections, which during the times of popery were received as authentic in this island, as well as in other parts of Christendom, there is also a kind of national canon law, composed of *legatine* and *provincial* constitutions, and adapted only to the exigencies of this Church and kingdom. The *legatine* constitutions were ecclesiastical laws, enacted in national synods held under the cardinals Otho and Othobon, legates from Pope Gregory IX. and Pope Clement IV., in the reign of King Henry III., about the years 1220 and 1268. The *provincial* constitutions are principally the decrees of provincial synods, held under divers Archbishops of Canterbury, from Stephen Langton, in the reign of Henry III., to Henry Chichele, in the reign of Henry V.; and adopted also by the province of York in the reign of Henry VI. At the dawn of the reformation, in the reign of King Henry VIII., it was enacted in Parliament that a review should be had of the canon law; and, till such review should be made, all canons, constitutions, ordinances, and synodals provincial, being then already made, and not repugnant to the law of the land or the king's prerogative, should still be used and executed. And as no such review has yet been perfected, upon

this statute now depends the authority of the canon law in England.

"As for the canons enacted by the clergy under James I., in 1603, and never confirmed in Parliament, it has been solemnly adjudged upon the principles of law and the constitution that, where they are not merely declaratory of the ancient canon law, but are introductory of new regulations, they do not bind the laity, whatever regard the clergy may think proper to pay them.

"There are four species of courts in which the civil and canon laws are permitted, under different restrictions, to be used; 1. The courts of the archbishops and bishops, and their derivative officers, usually called in our law courts *Christian Curie Christianitatis*, or the ecclesiastical courts. 2. The military courts. 3. The courts of admiralty. 4. The courts of the two universities. . . .

"1. And, first, the courts of common law have the superintendency over these courts: to keep them within their jurisdictions, to determine wherein they exceed them, to restrain and prohibit such excess, and, in case of contumacy, to punish the officer who executes, and in some cases the judge who enforces, the sentence so declared to be illegal.

"2. The common law has reserved to itself the exposition of all such acts of Parliament as concern either the extent of these courts, or the matters depending before them. And therefore, if these courts either refuse to allow these acts of Parliament, or will expound them in any other sense than what the common law puts upon them, the king's courts at Westminster will grant prohibitions to restrain and control them.

"3. An appeal lies from all these courts to the king, in the last resort; which proves that the jurisdiction exercised in them is derived from the crown of England, and not from any foreign potentate, or intrinsic authority of their own. And, from these three strong marks and ensigns of superiority, it appears beyond a doubt that the civil and canon laws, though admitted in some cases by custom in some courts, are only subordinate, and *leges sub graviori lege*; and that, thus admitted, restrained, altered, new-modelled, and amended, they are by no means with us a distinct independent species of laws, but are inferior branches of the customary or unwritten laws of England, properly called the king's ecclesiastical, the king's military, the king's maritime, or the king's academical, laws."

From this it appears that Bishop Ferrette is altogether mistaken, when he says that "the canon law, not only of the Church of Rome, but of every Protestant sect, is part and parcel of the law of Great Britain." In the first place, no one of the dissenting sects has any "canon law" at all, in the only sense concerned; their private ecclesiastical regulations are not "law" at all, nor recognized as such in any court of the kingdom. In the next place, only so much of the "canon law of the Church of Rome" (which is the only "canon law" recognized in England) as has been directly sanctioned by Parliament and the common law courts for the proper administration of their national Established Church, constitutes the canon law of England; and these portions of the Roman canon law have not only been actually amended and revised by England, but are subject to further amendment, revision, or even abolition, whenever Parliament shall so decree. So much for Great Britain.

With reference to the United States, Bishop Ferrette is still more extraordinarily in error, when he declares that "the canon law, not only of the Church of Rome, but of every Protestant sect, is part and parcel of the law of the . . . United States." The Protestant Episcopal Church in this country to some extent adopts the canon law of England, as above defined; but, not being in any degree recognized as "law," either by Congress or the courts, it becomes the merely private ecclesiastical code of a sect, like that of every other sect, and possesses no authoritative or public character whatever. This is sufficiently apparent from the total absence in this country of ecclesiastical or spiritual courts, which would be indispensable to the administration of canon law. To quote explicit authority for these statements, however, we cite the following passages from Tyler's *American Ecclesiastical Law*, a standard work on the subject:—

"The English Ecclesiastical Law is the public and general code of rules and regulations of the Established Church. It covers the entire ecclesiastical polity of the Church of England, taking cognizance not only of ordinary matters of discipline, but of numerous crimes committed against the decrees and ordinances of ecclesiastical authority." [Page 49.]

"We have no ecclesiastical establishments in the United States, nor ecclesiastical courts, as in England, but all matters and cases cognizable by the English Spiritual Courts are here conveniently and properly disposed of in the Surrogates', Probate, and common law courts." [Page 53.]

In fact, there is no such thing as "American ecclesiastical law," except a mere collection of such general statutes and ordinary court decisions as happen to affect the interests of ecclesiastical bodies, regarded as private voluntary corporations; yet Bishop Ferrette apparently confounds this ut-

terly secular "ecclesiastical law" with the "canon law"—a technical term of special application which means a very different thing.

"Whenever a case between a minister and his congregation or his synod," the Bishop continues, "is brought before a civil court, the court calmly ascertains what the canon law of that church prescribes on that particular point, and orders the sheriff to execute it. A short time ago such a case occurred, in which the court, in due obedience to the canon law, enforced the authority of the Bishop; and I even think I remember that this did not escape the notice of THE INDEX." In reply to this it is only necessary to say that no court in the United States can possibly render "due obedience" to a canon law which does not exist here; that, if a civil court inquires into the private regulations of any sect (which Bishop Ferrette here directly confounds with the canon law, as if that were a general term including all such private regulations), it is only for the purpose of enforcing the fulfilment of a contract, a bequest, or a trust, according to common law or equity; and that it recognizes no canon law whatever in doing so. The particular case alluded to is probably that which was recently decided in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, by which the Roman Catholic Bishop was adjudged to possess exclusive control over the church property because the title-deed was made out in his individual name; but in this decision the canon law was not at all involved. When the court, however, refused to interfere in the matter of entrance fees to the church building, or to meddle with the disciplinary treatment of his flock by the priest, it did so on the express ground that these were matters of internal administration over which it had no control—thereby disowning all obligations which the canon law might have imposed. In truth, the court practically said to the litigant Catholics what Bishop Ferrette himself quotes so approvingly: "If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, O ye [Catholics], reason would that I should bear with you: but if it be a question of words and names and of your [canon] law, look ye to it; for I will be no judge of such matters."

As to the question, therefore, which of the three parties to this "ludicrous controversy" is best entitled to bear away the entire glory of its ludicrousness, we will now leave it to our readers, or even to Bishop Ferrette himself, to decide.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—Is there any voice that can reach the "deaf adders" of our times, or wake from their childish dreams those who profess to be the Lord's watchmen?

Of all the mournful and disheartening facts of the age, none is more so than the pious trifling of the chief priests. They seem to me to be utterly impervious to questions of really vital importance to mankind—both here and hereafter,—and absolutely blind to the fact that while they are exerting themselves in elaborate idleness over the decoration of their upper stories, the very foundations of their building are being undermined. Every one who is awake, and is exercising a moderate vigilance over the movements of thought around us, sees that the real questions which are being agitated are of such solemn and tremendous import as "whether there be a God at all or not"; whether or not men live after death; whether or not men are responsible for their actions.

In the solution of such problems, all of us, one would think, were deeply interested; especially those who, as professional theologians, are supposed to be the authoritative expounders of all such mysteries.

To the clergy of all churches and sects one naturally turns for such light as they may have discovered through their special pursuit of these inquiries, and the calm attention they are supposed to be able to devote to them. But if we turn for a moment to see how they are engaged, and to listen to their latest utterances, what do we see and hear? Take, e.g., the Bonn Conference. With Dr. Döllinger at their head, a number of gossiping bishops and priests have met together to try to make a new corporation or an amalgamation of churches which have split off from the Papacy.

And in the pursuit of this perhaps harmless endeavor the champions of the various parties expose, with an amazing unconsciousness of their ridiculous position, the occupation of their minds by theological trifles which require a microscope of high power to enable us to see at all. The old question of the

filioque has cropped up again, and these venerable and learned men are gravely discussing whether the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father, and twisting language to the verge of snapping it in the effort to express that the Holy Ghost does so proceed and does not at the same time.

All this while, however, the world at large is waiting to know—not the exact relation of the "three Persons" to each other, but if there be a God at all about whom any discussion is possible.

Can it matter one brass farthing how the Holy Ghost proceeds, or does not proceed, while the hearts of men are needing the cleansing influence of pure motives and holy affections?

Will one poor man or woman ever be the better for the settlement of this infinitely trifling question? Scarcely less ridiculous is the object of the Conference itself. Why make such a fuss to "unite" Christendom at all? It does not want union. Union would be death to free thought; paralysis to inquiry. It wants more light and knowledge, more zeal for good works, and more discretion.

If Dr. Döllinger feels "out in the cold," and has not been used to being snubbed and isolated, why should he want to get shelter for himself and his *filioque* followers under the ancient canopy of the Eastern Church, which the Western has been all these centuries cursing from the bottom of the Papal heart? Why, too, should our old-woman-like bishops and clergy go meddling over there to force the Greeks to take in the shivering ex-Romans?

And these are the very men whose profoundest dislike and contempt are kept for the Protestant Dissenters at their own doors. They turn their backs on Baptists and Congregationalists; will not allow a Wesleyan minister to call himself "Reverend"; and yet run over to Rome to hug a patriarch from the Eastern Church, and to play the part of mediator for a Roman apostate! Verily these good folk see the world upside down.

Trifling, however, is not confined to picking the dry bones of dead controversy. Taking up a number of the *Church Herald*, I find pages of correspondence on—what do you think?—"the cultus of the Blessed Virgin Mary." With the utmost gravity these divines are writing to urge the introduction of hymns and litanies to "our Blessed Lady, Mother of God."

Here, again, obliquity or blindness is manifest. While the people are longing to know whether they have a God at all, the priests are teaching them to worship God's Mother, who is also God's daughter and God's wife!! If the Holy Family be thus on the road to recognition and divine honors, possibly God's grandmother, St. Anna, may be the next favorite, or the poor hen-pecked St. Joseph may be restored to his conjugal rights; then in time we shall have the servants of the family duly installed and canonized—not forgetting the faithful ass which carried the Mother of God and her infant God down into Egypt. The poor beast might be useful in treading the path in the valley of death, and might comfort some soul that was too tired to walk.

We are on the high road back to that polytheism from which Catholic Christianity sprung, and the ritualistic clergy are leading us there as fast as they can.

But no! They are in a dream from which they will be rudely shaken before long. The real mysteries of life, of God, and of the future, are at length recognized; and the real men and women who rule and guide the world have been brought face to face with them, and they will neither shirk the painful duty of solving them, nor drown their quickened anxieties in the opiate of superstition.

"Nero fiddled while Rome was burning" is an attitude not complimentary to his good sense or good-feeling; and if the shepherds play little airs on their pipes while their flocks are falling over precipices, or being devoured by wolves, they will have to render an account some day which cannot be contemplated without shame and without dread.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S.E., Aug. 20, 1875.

GENEROUS ADMISSIONS.

A recent paragraph of ours with reference to the Chief-Justice of Arizona, and a lecture he has delivered against the common school system, seems to have pleased some of our Catholic contemporaries; and, as we are very glad to have earned even qualified praise for fairness from those whose political designs we so unsparingly criticise and oppose, we deem it no more than just to say in return that their

willingness to recognize such a quality in one who never can cease to oppose their public policy seems to him a fresh, though not needed, proof of their own religious sincerity in pursuing it.

The first of the two articles to which we allude is the following from the Louisville, Kentucky, *Catholic Advocate* of September 2:—

A WORTHY EXAMPLE.

If our Protestant contemporaries could but copy the spirit of justice occasionally displayed by the Free Religion INDEX, the vexed question of school education would be much more easy of solution. And if such organs as the INDEX could be uniformly consistent in adhering to the spirit that prompts the following extract from its columns, the matter would be still more simplified. What Catholics most desire is a hearing on this subject by the American non-Catholic population. But there is not in all the land a single non-Catholic paper that can resist the temptation of garbling and misrepresenting Catholic arguments. We have long looked for a fair attempt at the refutation of the Catholic claim for denominational education, but must say that we have never seen one that did not wilfully misstate the Catholic side. The nearest approximate we ever saw to a just statement of the Catholic side was by THE INDEX itself, and even that statement was so unanswerable that THE INDEX did not attempt to refute it, but concluded, with the brute force doctrines, that, as the "liberal" conscience was "enlightened," and the Catholic conscience darkened, the Catholic should be pushed to the wall. This was a plain confession that, no matter what justice said, numbers alone, and an unreasoning majority, would do what they had the power to do. The present doctrine of THE INDEX is a perfectly fair one. It is to be hoped it will not retract it again, and that the Evangelical papers will copy some of its truth and manliness. THE INDEX says:—

"The Chief-Justice of Arizona, being an ultra-montane Catholic, delivered recently a lecture against the American common school system in the Legislative Hall at Tucson, the capital. A bill was soon after introduced in the council of the Territory establishing sectarian schools, and abolishing the common schools, and was only defeated by a single vote. Eugene Lawrence, in *Harper's Weekly*, complains of the Chief-Justice for giving this lecture, to which he attributes great influence. We consider the complaint unreasonable. Let both sides be heard, and let everybody be welcome to plead either. If ignorance and sectarianism can beat knowledge and liberality in fair debate, the country must make the best of it. No one ought to blame the Chief-Justice for arguing against the school system who would have applauded him for arguing in its favor; and the subject is one which is as free to a Chief-Justice as to any other. But those who believe in the common schools should see to it that their cause is not suffered to go by default. We are sorry to know that Arizona has so many dull brains or lazy mouths. Why did not somebody refute the Chief-Justice? Mr. Lawrence should distribute his censure among those who neglected their duty by silence, and not bestow it upon him who discharged his own duty according to the little light that was in him."

The other article is from the Brooklyn, New York, *Catholic Review* of September 7:—

PROTESTANT ABUSE OF CATHOLICS.

"Strike but hear," was a good old Greek motto which was listened to with manifest advantages. "Abuse us, but consider our arguments," may be taken as the Catholic-American version of the Grecian's request. Abuse we certainly shall receive, but we fear there is not much willingness to argue with us. It is well to shirk argument if one is conscious of weakness or injustice. This is what has been done in the case of the recent lecture of Chief-Justice Dunne of Arizona, whose brave and just sentiments on the school system have not been answered except by appeals for his resignation and personal abuse. To these he has replied with great dignity and force in a pleasant letter to an old friend. We are glad, however, to see that a large number of our fellow citizens, who are not the editors of political papers, looking for a new issue, are a little ashamed of the constant abuse, and the just as constant avoiding of fair discussion with which the political papers assail us. It is comforting, though we acknowledge in a degree proportionally trifling as compared with their influence, to find the organ of the liberals, the Boston INDEX, complaining that the Chief-Justice and the Catholic cause have not been fairly treated in this matter. It says:—

"Eugene Lawrence, in *Harper's Weekly*, complains of the Chief-Justice for giving this lecture, to which he attributes great influence. We consider the complaint unreasonable. Let both sides be heard, and let everybody be welcome to plead either. If ignorance and sectarianism can beat knowledge and liberality in fair debate, the country must make the best of it. No one ought to blame the Chief-Justice for arguing against the school system who would have applauded him for arguing in its favor, and the subject is one which is as free to a Chief-Justice as to any other. But those who believe in the common schools should see to it that their cause is not suffered to go by default. We are sorry to know that Arizona has so many dull brains or lazy mouths. Why did not somebody refute the Chief-Justice? Mr. Lawrence should distribute his censure among those who neglected their duty by silence, and not bestow it upon him who discharged his own duty according to the little light that was in him."

We are sorry to have to dispel the delusion of our Boston friend, for in doing so we have to intimate

that the "little light" and "ignorant sectarianism" which it mentions are on its own side of the fight in favor of the so-called free schools; but we thank him for his otherwise fair words on Judge Dunne's side, which is that of a respectable and consistent minority of this people, who have some rights which are to be settled on other principles than those of numbers. We ask the INDEX to bear in mind and to give circulation to this passage from the Chief-Justice's recent letter on the subject: "There are," he says, "two ways of treating those earnest demands of about 8,000,000 fellow-citizens; one is to let them feel, as Patrick Henry is supposed to have put it, that they have been 'spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne,' and you know how perfectly satisfactory that kind of treatment is to American citizens; the other is, to discuss the alleged grievance in a fair and reasonable way. We have had as much as we care to stand of the first kind of treatment, and we respectfully suggest a change."

Communications.

CULTURE AND LIFE.

Truth, as we perceive it, can be but partial. Whoever writes anything writes it with a thought that transcends the expression. Therefore what is written seems to lack depth and comprehensiveness to the author. What he has written may meet the need of a few, and uplift them. But he, seeing more of the Absolute Thought which is in all things, feels that his work lacks artistic finish, and that he himself is but a poor artist. As a teacher he has helped, just as a painter of daubs helps some taste of a low order to grow to better things, or a writer of poor novels infuses into the intellectual mind an ideal better than any it could itself originate.

But, as an artist, who is not a failure? He is least a failure who sticks to one masterpiece, and puts his whole soul into it. Least of all is he a failure whose masterpiece is his own nature, made rich and strong and tender by simply living earnestly, truly, and intensely. That exquisite story of the "Madonna of the Future," as told by Henry James, Jr., embodies a true idea. It is the history of a man who was too true an artist to do poor work, and wasted his life making ready for his masterpiece which was never begun. Who shall say it was never begun, or wherein lay the man's true work? Was his idealization of his art nothing? Was his grand loyalty to that art, his "passion for perfection," nothing? Such spirits are not made for gross work in the raw material. They work by radiation. There is a subtler power, a more infinite influence. They are a part of the divine power that (to use Matthew Arnold's phrase) "makes for righteousness." They have attained such a spiritual height that they are blended with the Infinite, are at one with its purpose, and feel that their altitude of rectitude and truth to the ideal perfection is their work and their grandest speech. Partial utterance they cannot be content to make, for they see through and beyond it, and have no faith in it. To such spirits, art and culture are more than all else, and they are justified in sacrificing all to them; but such natures are rare.

The question, "Which—self-culture or self-sacrifice?" is the problem of many lives. If one is so true an artist that he would sacrifice his life, his fame, and his ambition to be true to his art's highest principles, he will doubtless do the world more good by adhering to his art than by sacrificing it to commoner interests. But few are thus exceptional. Generally speaking, the problem is quickly solved.

Culture is not an end, but the means to an end. The result is the main thing; and that is character, a perfect spiritual stature. This is not attained by the cultivation of the intellect and æsthetic instincts alone. Self-sacrifice, the merging of self in duties and loving ministrations to others, includes the highest and broadest kind of culture. It brings self-control, which is repressed force. It is a long road to character through many books and much study, and it is the way some must take. But let them not despise those others who take a short cut, and arrive at the goal by their inner aspirations and perceptions, climbing by the simple aids life offers. The characters that everywhere most compel reverence are not those who know books better than those around them, but those who know more of life and the human heart, and who are strong to devote themselves to generous purposes. I wonder, often, should we ever exist on a spiritual plane of existence, what good a mere knowledge of books, even of science, can do us. What can it serve us then to know all there is to be known of this paltry planet, this speck in the universe, earth? And how much of that which we have laboriously stored up in our memory will be found to be erroneous! How much will be found to have been only wrapped about the mind, and never received within it! Experience alone can bring wisdom; and wisdom is more than knowledge. We know, not what we have read or heard, but what we have felt. And the use to us of all learning lies in the mental drill gained in attaining it—the power of mind and spiritual perception developed by it. This insight, feeling, and inner force will pass current on all planets and in all spheres of existence,—wherever we find soul, and we find it everywhere. Subtle intuitions, deep and broad sympathies, a rich inner life, self-forgetfulness, helpfulness, self-control,—these give the nature a gentle dignity, a keen insight, and a silent force which can grasp the secrets of all worlds and all life, and which in expending itself awakens the intellect, driving it on with giant strides. Soon all

culture is at the feet of such a soul; for art—all the arts—becomes its needed expression. It is not now an aping of culture, affecting delight in what constitutes the ticket of admission to good social circles, talking literary twaddle or artistic twaddle. It is expression because of something within to be expressed. It is the genuine efflux of a rich nature; and art takes its proper place, subordinate to the soul, and merely the expression, or reflection on the surface of material things, of the soul's realities. Art is no god to be worshipped. We are the gods, and the arts our servants. Through them the divine element in us, which is part of the Absolute Thought, would find expression, struggling to shine forth, to radiate its unconquerable and infinite vitality.

"But," says the bowed and chained spirit, chafing against the bare rocks, and struggling with its galling chain, "am I to possess nothing? Is life to be only uncongenial labor, and its results only those I esteem unworthy? Is this all?" Yes, all, and also best. Art and literature are much. An ideal life is much. But the soul is more. The results you imagine to be most worthy of effort are less than those you are now attaining. Your own nature is a piece of rare sculpture. Self-discipline is the chiseling and moulding process. Be a great artist in spiritual sculpture, and so transcend your wildest dreams of greatness. Does your life seem spoiled? So to ignorant eyes does the fair block of marble, when the first rough strokes increase its irregularity. The artist knows it is the first step to better things. The soul that craves expression in any of the arts already has within it the eternal reality of which that art is but the fleeting shadow. Why mourn for the shadows, when you yourself are the substance? You have the organization, the perceptions, the ideals, the infinite and unutterable emotions. The expression would be less, and could add nothing to your real being. If you are not permitted to express yourself, it is because you are destined to a broader and fuller development than Genius could give you. It is because you need to crystallize, and to grow clear and fine of texture. People are as metals, and steel is the finest for use. But you are full of longings; you could paint that beloved face; catch forever the charming landscape; mould that exquisite form whose beauty thrills you; you could weep with longing to utter the dreamy charm of autumn, or the blithe joy of spring, or to sing of all human joy and sorrow,—if time and circumstance did not thwart you. Well and good. You have all these things. In some past eternity you may have lived in them. But in the existence now yours it is evident you are to learn some lesson unknown to you; develop some power the seeds of which as yet lie dormant within you; round out your nature in a new direction, aiming surely, by the force of unknown laws, at ultimate symmetry. So be of good cheer! In due season you shall reap the fruit of that frail germ now struggling into life with such pain. Theodore Parker once said that in Southern countries, in the vintage time, the grape yields at the first pressure a weak, light, sweet liquor, fit for girls; at a stronger pressure, a liquor for young men; "but 'tis only the strongest pressure that forces from the grape's reluctant heart the wine that keeps good for centuries, and gladdens the heart of strong men!"

What we want and what we need are seldom identical. We desire according to habit and fixed ideas. We need the hitherto unknown. Books, people, things, when the need is at its uttermost, drift to us in obedience to a law of supply and demand. The higher the life-level we are treading, the more apparent becomes the perfect working of this law, which some call Providence, or God; but both terms have become narrowed to finiteness. It is the Absolute Thought, the Infinite; and we do well to throw ourselves, trusting and serene, on the bosom of it.

BOSTON, August.

E. MERRIAM.

THE CATHOLICS IN OHIO.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Having long been a reader of THE INDEX, and sympathizing in the main with its views, I can testify to the spirit of fairness and candor which has always governed the course of its editors. Therefore I doubt not that certain errors in your late article on "The Catholic Peril" were entirely inadvertent, and that you will be glad to correct them.

I agree with you that the school question, as agitated and forced upon us by leading Catholics in various parts of our country, is a grave one. I would by no means underestimate its importance and gravity. But, in order to uphold our own views successfully, it is all important to do no injustice to our opponents; still more, to any political organization composed largely of those whose interests and sense of justice should lead them to fight for us, instead of against us.

THE INDEX is evidently misled, by a partisan paragraph copied from the *Christian Union*, to take the ground that, in the Ohio political contest, the Democratic party has "taken an attitude friendly to the views of the Catholics."

Is this a fact?

If it be a fact, then is it also a fact that THE INDEX has taken ground favorable to the views of the Catholics; for the views of the Democratic party of Ohio, in their only authoritative expression, the platform of the late State Convention, are precisely the views held and advocated by THE INDEX.

The following is the resolution adopted by the Democratic State Convention of last June:—

"Thirteenth. We favor the complete separation of Church and State, religious independence and absolute freedom of opinion, equal and exact justice to

all religious societies, and purely secular education at the expense of the tax-payers, without division among or control by any sect, directly or indirectly, of any portion of the school fund."

I think you will admit that it would be difficult to formulate the "Demands of Liberalism" on this question, in more emphatic language; and, having read something of the discussion of this question in the Ohio papers, we have yet to see the opinion of any leading Democratic paper or orator in opposition to this position. If the Catholics of Ohio generally accept this platform, then we heartily agree with them.

It is at least certain that the school question has not at this time been forced upon the attention of the people of Ohio, either by the Catholic leaders, or by the Democratic party. It is purely a trick to catch votes, sprung upon the people by unscrupulous Republican leaders, and likely to influence no one but those of extreme Orthodox proclivities, who believe in keeping the Bible in the public schools, and to that extent support a union of the Church with the State.

The only weapon to which the Republican leaders appeal in their contest of falsehood is the so-called "Geghan Bill," introduced in the late legislature by a Democratic member, and passed. But this bill contains not one syllable relating to the public schools, nor infringing in any way upon the rights of any person of any religion. On the contrary, it protects the rights of a Radical or Infidel, as much as it protects a Catholic. The following is the complete text of the bill:—

"An act to secure liberty of conscience in matters of religion to persons imprisoned, or detained by authority of law.

"SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That as liberty of conscience is not forfeited by reason of conviction of crime, or by reason of detention in any penal, reformatory, or eleemosynary institution, or any house of refuge, workhouse, jail, or public asylum in this State, no person in any such institution shall be compelled to attend religious worship or instruction of a form which is against the dictates of his or her conscience; and it shall be the duty of every director, trustee, superintendent, or other person, having in charge any such institution, to furnish ample and equal facilities to all such persons for receiving the ministrations of the authorized clergymen of their own religious denominations or persuasions, under such reasonable rules and regulations as the trustees, directors, managers, or superintendents shall make; but no such rules shall be so construed as to prevent the clergyman of any denomination from fully administering the rites of his denomination to such inmates, provided such ministration entail no expense on the public treasury."

As will be seen, while this law protects the enforced inmates of public institutions in the enjoyment of their own religious observances, as is perfectly proper, it also protects them all against the enforced observance of any religious ceremonies.

We are quite aware that there is a determined movement on the part of certain Catholic leaders, inspired, no doubt, by the authorities of the Church at Rome, to undermine our school system by compelling a division of the school funds, for the support of their Catholic schools. Whenever the question arises in this form, it cannot be met too promptly or condemned too emphatically; but how shall we meet it, except by planting ourselves on the very platform of the Democratic party of Ohio?

Even the Catholics are not united to-day in favor of a division of the school fund. Some of their ablest men are quite willing to accept the complete secularizing of the public schools, as advocated in the "Demands of Liberalism" and the Ohio Democratic platform. Such is understood to be the position of Senator Kernan, of this State, and of many others.

That this division exists among them, the leading article in the *Catholic World* for September bears significant testimony. This article commences by admitting that "these Protestants and philosophical adversaries of revelation, who deny Catholic doctrines, are consistent with themselves, when they deny to the Church the rights which she claims over education." Their logic is admitted to be "correct"; and the writer discreetly declines to attack their position, or assail their premises. His argument is addressed entirely to "certain Catholics," who "make common cause with the enemies of their faith, in repudiating all control of the Church in questions of instruction and education."

In the conflict before us the division is not to be between Republicans and Democrats, nor, we trust, between Catholics and Protestants. It is to be between sectarian bigots, striving for a practical union of Church and State, on one side, and the fair-minded, liberal men of every sect and party on the other.

Let us not, then, by unfairness or injustice, alienate any of our natural allies, but claim boldly and constantly what is right, and draw to us all who can be led by appeals to reason and common sense.

On the financial question we deem the Democrats of Ohio to be radically wrong. But, so far as their pledges and public acts attest, on the school question they are radically right. Let us give them the credit for it.

LEWIS G. JANES.

[Mr. Janes says above: "THE INDEX is evidently misled, by a partisan paragraph copied from the *Christian Union*, to take the ground that, in the Ohio political contest, the Democratic party has 'taken an attitude friendly to the views of the Catholics.'" One would suppose that the words we have italicized were those of THE INDEX, since Mr. Janes apparently quotes them as such; whereas they are the words of the *Christian Union*, and not of THE INDEX at all. The only statement we made on this whole subject, in the article criticised, was that the Catholics in Ohio have made the school

question "one of the issues of the present political campaign." That is all we said, and we see nothing in it to correct. As to the *Christian Union* paragraph, it was quoted with due credit, but not indorsed, and stood on the sole authority of that paper. What Mr. Janes has to say, therefore, should have been said as a criticism of the *Christian Union*, not of THE INDEX; and, as such, we cheerfully give it space in these columns.

Our information respecting the local issues in the Ohio campaign is quite restricted, and we therefore made no statement whatever respecting the Democratic party, its professions, or its acts; we are glad to say that the extract from its platform above quoted is excellent and unexceptionable. But the Ohio Catholic papers themselves have openly avowed their support, as *Catholics*, of the Democratic party; and that means, despite all platform proclamations, some common understanding on the school question. Judge Taft's defence in 1870 of the secular school principle made the Republicans this year afraid to nominate him as Governor; why was this, if the Democrats are really working for the same principle? Whether or not the Democrats have publicly formed an alliance with the Catholics, the Catholics have publicly formed an alliance with them: as the *Catholic Telegraph* says, "The unbroken, solid vote of the Catholic citizens of the State will be given to the Democratic party." And that this means that the Democratic policy on the school question will be pleasing to the Catholics, goes without saying. We want to do no injustice to the Democratic party; but facts are facts, and must be recognized.—ED.]

WM. H. SEWARD ON THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

EDITOR OF INDEX:—

None of our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens will accuse Mr. Seward of prejudice against their faith, or any disposition to abridge their political rights in this republic. Remembering the attitude he maintained towards them in the most active days of his political life, his testimony after its close, in regard to the policy pursued by the antique Christian hierarchy, is very significant. It may be found in his very interesting and instructive *Travels Round the World*, page 211, under date of Nov. 17, 1870. I hope THE INDEX will make room for it; and the sincere Catholic papers cannot do better than to copy and comment. ELIZUR WRIGHT.

EXTRACT.

By the laws of China, the Roman Catholic religion is tolerated here. That Church has on paper divided the empire into bishoprics and vicarates. It counts eight bishoprics or more, sixty foreign priests, one hundred and twenty native priests, and four hundred thousand native converts.

We visited, to-day, the Cathedral at Peking. It is a fine, large, stone edifice, with an adjoining nunnery. The sisters are French and Irish. There is a large number of native servants. It seems quite apparent that converts are obtained as fast as the missionaries are able to furnish them employment and support, which is an indispensable condition. Native jealousy feeds on a tradition that the spacious grounds occupied by those institutions were obtained without equivalent. Nor does the same jealousy fail to take notice that the Church arrogates a right denied even to foreign embassies, of using the imperial yellow color in the ornamentation of its portals and walls. Sister Louise, lamented as the noblest and best beloved of the martyrs at Tientsin, had arrived there just before the massacre. The sisters gave us relics of her. What shall we say concerning that terrible transaction?

It is right, just, and wise, that all the Christian nations shall mourn together over the victims, sympathize with the survivors, and unite in demanding such satisfaction from the Chinese government as would afford security against a recurrence of persecution. But this has been already done, it seems to us, as fully as possible. The Chinese government has beheaded eighteen of the murderers, has provided for repairing and restoring the demolished buildings, and paid an indemnity of six hundred thousand taels for distribution to the families of the victims. It has, moreover, sent one of the most eminent statesmen of China, who is fully conversant with the details of the tragedy, to make such further explanations and give such further guarantees as the French government may reasonably demand. The French minister here, under high excitement and with threats of war, demanded, besides those concessions, the heads of the two chief mandarins who were in authority at the time the massacre occurred. The Chinese government brought those mandarins to trial. The charge of complicity was not sustained. Nevertheless, the government banished them for life, as a punishment for their imbecility. We know that here, as well as throughout Europe and the United States, it is alleged that these proceedings of the Chinese government are fraudulent and evasive; but we fail to find evidence of fraud, nor can we divine a motive for it. It is not to be forgotten that persecution of Christian missionaries, and especially persecution of Roman Catholic, is not exclusively confined to the Chinese. The Roman Catholic Church, with its high ecclesiastical pretensions, its monastical institutions, and its denial of the right of judgment by individual

conscience, has come into conflict not only with the pagan systems of Asia, but with the enlightened civilization of the age. Here, as in Europe and the United States, it has fallen, however undeservedly, under popular suspicion in two forms: first, a suspicion of political usurpation, that is to say, an attempt to establish *imperium in imperio*; second, the suspicion of impurity of morals in celibate life.

In which of the Western nations has the conflict between that Church and those who dissent from it been carried on without occasional riot, massacre, and martyrdom—not to speak of the religious wars which attended the Protestant Reformation? In what Western nation did a government ever offer more effective or liberal reparation than that which the Chinese government has given in this case? It is not to be expected that the Protestant countries in the West, which have suppressed monastic institutions, and sequestered ecclesiastical estates, will sympathize with the demands of France that shall go beyond a guarantee of rights and privileges for all Christians in China. Missionaries of all sects ought to remember that, where the Gospel comes, there "it must needs be that offences come"; nor should they forget that the command, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations," was accompanied by the warning injunction, not less sublime than the command itself: "Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye, therefore, wise as serpents and harmless as doves."

INDIA.

Liberalism has its claims, doubtless, and claims more important than those of Orthodoxy; for have we not the mission to disabuse the world of error, to cast down the many false gods—erecting on their pedestals the fair forms of Truth and Purity? Yet these are works to be carried out in our own way, and, to a great extent, in our own time. No great organizations are required, such as the Orthodox can boast of, who find some post for each member to fill, thus giving him an interest and stake in the cause. We do, indeed, require support for liberal papers, and even tract-distributing may fall to our lot. Yet these are not regarded with such seriousness as our Orthodox friends' duties are, or as their own importance requires. It might be as well, perhaps, did we take up with such really necessary requirements, and do what we could to hasten the dawn of the day of freedom! The Orthodox sects deserve commendation for the manner in which they find employment for their followers; and, as it seems to be a natural requirement of the human mind to work with others, it becomes a question of how far it is wise of us to be contented with so much unnecessary individualism (excepting, of course, in thought), and so little necessary union.

That there are objects and aims to the attainment of which all liberal thinkers can work, and that together, no one will deny. It may be as well to speak of one such now.

One of the greatest works the churches in the past have set themselves has been "missions to the heathen." Whether it has not often been a sending from heathen (judging from a few of the customs of "Christendom") to heathen, I will not now discuss; but the "mission" work has been largely impressed upon the churches, and many of the missionary societies enjoy princely incomes. It is notorious that these societies have, as a rule, been failures; "conversions" have been few and far between, and most "costly"; and missions might justly be condemned as wasteful expenditure (remembering the sad needs of many at home), were it not that mere contact of one race of men with another cannot but fail to result in permanent benefit to both.

In India, for instance, the natives are themselves the first to avow their great indebtedness to British rule, while years to come will show how vast have been the benefits accruing to the Western nations from contact with the East and its rich stores of ancient literature.

The "National Indian Association of Great Britain" was founded by Miss Carpenter a few years ago, for the purpose of diffusing a knowledge of India among the "people at home"; of awakening a sympathy with its inhabitants, and for creating a general interest in so great a country, and one so nearly connected with Britain. Of the Aryan race ourselves, the least we can do is to have some little sympathy with, and interest in, a people of the same stock who have preserved amongst themselves the ancient literature of our common ancestors.

In the *Journal* of the association, I gave two years ago a short series of papers on the Hindu religious books,* and it needs but a little acquaintance with the extensive stores of religious, philosophical, and romantic compositions of India to arouse a lively interest in her, and a strong desire to help her out of the deep mire of ignorance and superstition into which she has been cast by the influence of the priests. Alas, how much the priests have to answer for, at home and abroad! In my now publishing book on *Hindu Thought; or a Short Account of the Religious Books of India, with some Remarks concerning their Origin, Character, and Influence*, I conclusively show what (to borrow a phrase from a Hindu convert to Christianity) "a splendid religion the Hindu religion must have been"; and how effectually the priestly class gradually assumed authority over them, and thus kept them in darkness and all superstition.

The *Journal* of the association supplies information concerning prison and reformatory arrangements, and other interesting matter. Mrs. Bush, of 9 Park Square, Boston, has kindly consented, at Miss Carpenter's request, to act as Secretary to the

*These are now republishing, in book form, with additions and enlarged; copies may be ordered of C. F. Somerby, Eighth Street, New York.

Boston Branch, and will be pleased to supply copies of the *Monthly Journal*, and receive subscriptions.

W. A. LEONARD.

BRISTOL, England.

A MONSTROUS STORY.

"SUDDEN DEATH OF A KENTUCKY BLASPHEMER.—A man named Louis Burke, who lived at Burkesville, in this county, a few days ago indulged in very blasphemous language because his crops had been destroyed by high water. He cursed God for having his crops destroyed last year by heat and drought, and for destroying them this year by the flood; and concluded his blasphemy of the Creator with the expression, 'God damn him!' His tongue clove to the roof of his mouth, and he died the next night, never uttering another word."

OTTAWA, 1 Sept., 1875.

F. E. ABBOT, Esq.:

My Dear Sir,—A friend of mine, who wants very much to be Orthodox if he can, takes some comfort out of the above paragraph, and asks me to "explain it on scientific grounds."

Is there any INDEX subscriber or correspondent, living in the neighborhood of the place where the miracle is said to have occurred, who would take the trouble to investigate the facts for truth's sake? If the man died as reported, probably a coroner's inquest was held on his body, and it would be satisfactory to know the verdict.

There is quite a disposition amongst believers at present to spread abroad reports of miracles, prodigies, etc. Something is wanted very badly to prop up the tottering system. With kind regards,

Yours very truly, WM. D. LESUEUR.

[If any one of our readers has accurate information on this subject, we should be glad to publish it. The Editor of the *Investigator* states in reply to a correspondent that "the Owensboro' (Kentucky) Examiner denies the statement, and says it does great injustice to the farmer, Mr. Lewis Burke, who is still living." In that case, a better refutation of the absurd story could not be desired.—ED.]

EVIL AS REAL AS GOOD.

I think I see intelligence and design in Nature. But Nature is self-antagonistic, and produces misery as really and as naturally as it produces happiness. Hatred and cruelty are as natural to animals and men as are love and sympathy. *Designing hate* is as plain and unmistakable in Nature as *designing love*. If "loving design" proves a "creating God," or good, malicious design must prove a creating devil, or evil. If not, will Mr. Moran or somebody tell us why not?

Good and evil are alike real—alike actual. If good is an entity, in a like sense evil is an entity. I challenge—I respectfully defy—all men to confute the foregoing propositions.

If I was obliged to give the cause of the condition of things a name, it should be—*Intelligent Necessity*.

I have no doubt that good and evil are alike a necessity, and alike eternal; and that the universe as a whole can never be more or less, better or worse. Eternal improvement would be an eternal creating of something from nothing. And if it were possible, nothing would be gained by it; since as much as the future was to be better than the present, so much the past must have been worse than the present.

A. KENT.

STOCKHOLM, N. Y., Sept. 8, 1875.

THE SUNDAY BELL.

As I sit listening to the Sabbath bell, as it peals sadly over hill and dale, it creates a feeling of sadness within my heart.

The thought comes to my mind (and I must even trace it at its birth), Why should this sad monotone still be in existence? Why not let the bells peal out joyfully, to welcome the Sabbath-goers? Within these costly edifices, they will tell you of the good tidings which Christ's birth brought to all people; there they will tell you to sing praises to the "Lamb." If this is the home of "good tidings which shall be unto all people," give us not these sad forebodings, brought to our hearts by the melancholy tones of the ringing bell. Ring them out joyfully, for is not all Nature joyous this beautiful Sabbath day? We feel it in the song of the birds and the crickets' chirp at this delightful midsummer noon. Give us the joyous peals of the bell, which will bid us come hopefully, happily, beneath the belfry dome, and there listen to cheering words which shall give joy unto every living heart. Do not give us any more the old dogmatic tones which were pealed forth for the old dogmatic theorizing times; but give us good, hearty, full-toned, liberal peals, that shall bring us to the house of "Liberal Christianity," and "Church of Humanity." W.

HYDE PARK, Mass., Aug. 29, 1875.

"BUB, did you ever stop to think," said a Michigan avenue grocer recently, as he measured out a half peck of potatoes, "that these potatoes contain sugar, water, and starch?" "Noa, I didn't," replied the boy; "but I heard mother say that you put peas and beans in your coffee, and about a pint of water in about every quart of milk you sold." The subject of natural philosophy was dropped right there.—*Detroit Free Press*.

"WE FREQUENTLY see it stated," said Mr. Oddfish, "that such and such men started from extreme poverty, coming into town in the first place without a farthing of money, and rising by their own exertions. When I first came I had to borrow money to get here, and I've been borrowing money ever since. It is a great thing at sixty to have established such a wonderful credit."

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Almost every number contains a discourse or leading article, which alone is worth the price of one year's subscription.

Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age," an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India," also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

Proceedings of Fifth Annual Meeting, 1872. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by J. W. Chadwick on "Liberty and the Church in America," by C. D. B. Mills on "Religion as the Expression of a Permanent Sentiment of the Human Mind," and by O. B. Frothingham on "The Religion of Humanity," with addresses by Rowland Connor, Celia Burleigh, Lucretia Mott, A. B. Alcott, C. A. Bartol, Horace Seaver, Alexander Loos, and others.

Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1873. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. S. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains verbatim reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Sonnenschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Calthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity, as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"—together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Keshub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. Wasson.

Religions of China, by Wm. H. Channing. 25 cents.

Reason and Revelation, by William J. Potter. 10 cents.

Taxation of Church Property, by Jas. Parton. 10 cents, singly; package of ten, 60 cents; of one hundred, \$3.

These publications are for sale at the office of the Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston. The Annual Reports for 1868 and 1871 cannot be supplied, and the supply of others previous to that of 1872 is quite limited. Orders by mail may be addressed either "Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston," or to the Secretary, New Bedford, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER Sec. F. R. A.

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It aims to discover and to establish truth in
religious matters by the method of intelli-
gent free inquiry. Lectures, Conventions,
and Publications are its instrumentalities;
and this volume is made up chiefly of Essays
and Addresses that have appeared upon its
platform. In addition to the foregoing more
elaborate essays, it has been thought advis-
able to append some selections from the less
formal discussions which occurred in the
annual meetings of the Association, and
have been preserved in its Reports. The
following extracts, made entirely from these
annual pamphlets, will show what a variety
of representative voices have been heard in
the Conventions of the Association, and in-
dicate somewhat the range of topics which
have been touched. It will be perceived that
the organization represents certain
principles and tendencies, and not any new
creed or jointly-subscribed system of faith.
These principles and tendencies are perhaps
best suggested by the title of the book, *Free-
dom and Fellowship in Religion*,—Freedom
of inquiry and opinion, and yet Fellowship
in spirit and aim. And they are expressed
in the two chief articles of the Constitution
as follows:

"I. This Organization shall be called the
Free Religious Association,—its objects be-
ing to promote the practical interests of
pure religion, to increase fellowship in the
spirit, and to encourage the scientific study
of man's religious nature and history; and
to this end all persons interested in these
objects are cordially invited to its member-
ship.

"II. Membership in this Association shall
leave each individual responsible for his own
opinions alone, and affect in no degree his
relations to other associations; and nothing
in the name or Constitution of the Associa-
tion shall ever be construed as limiting
membership by any test of speculative opin-
ion or belief,—or as defining the position of
the Association, collectively considered, with
reference to any such opinion or belief,—or
as interfering in any other way with that
absolute freedom of thought and expression
which is the natural right of every rational
being."

"Should any readers wish to know more of
such an Association, the first of these selec-
tions may meet their desire.—W. J. P."

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1875.

WHOLE No. 301.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, undimly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

GLIMPSSES.

THE GEGHAN BILL in Ohio is said by some to forbid the payment of salaries to chaplains in penitentiaries or other public institutions. We think this is a forced construction of the bill, but should be glad to be found in error on the point.

THE SECOND RADICAL CLUB of Boston held their first meeting of the season last Monday evening. It was fully attended and delightfully social in character, and the cake and ice cream were so good as to be quite indistinguishable from refreshments of the most conservative bias.

IT IS declared that only twenty-three men in the Montreal police can be relied on to put down any religious riot which may grow out of the Guibord troubles. People make a great mistake who content themselves, in estimating the strength of the Catholic Church, with merely consulting the census returns.

KARL BLIND, 3 Winchester Road, South Hampstead, London, N.W., England, has favored us with a copy of his *Fire-Burial Among our Germanic Forefathers: A Record of the Poetry and History of Teutonic Cremation*, which is an instructive and erudite article on the subject first published in *Fraser's Magazine*. All interested can obtain it by addressing the author as above and enclosing an English shilling.

A CORRESPONDENT writes us from Montreal, under date of September 17, with regard to the Guibord disturbances: "People are very much excited about it here, and it would not take much to cause riot and bloodshed." Let such sad facts as this bitter religious excitement over so small a matter as where a dead citizen shall be buried be well pondered by those who "pooh pooh" the idea of a religious war in the nineteenth century.

A SUBSCRIBER to THE INDEX, writing from Leipzig under date of September 10, says very kindly: "I have now been reading THE INDEX for some time. It is one of the boldest, freest, and most thoughtful papers I have ever read. If I may serve the noble cause it advocates by any means from this country, I shall very gladly do so." In response we would say that a paper which pleads a cause so unpopular as that of THE INDEX is obliged to depend upon its earnest friends for support and growth, and that an increase of new subscriptions is what it needs the most.

ONE OF the new amendments to the New Jersey State Constitution is said to prohibit the exemption of church property from taxation. On this the *Christian Statesman* remarks: "If this prove to be true, it is another example of the danger in which a State with so definite and well understood religious convictions constantly stands of flying into the arms of one enemy in avoiding another." But between Catholicism and Liberalism there is no logical or in the end practical middle ground; and the *Statesman* is all the time helping either one or the other, without being aware of the fact.

BISHOP McQUAID, of Rochester, N. Y., made this threat publicly in an address at Cincinnati: "It is said by Protestant ministers that the public schools are adverse to the Catholics. Did they ever think of the possibility of the tables being turned? They make the mistake which is too often made by the stronger party. A Protestant minister said to me: 'When you get the power, will you put the screws to us?' I replied, 'How could we dare not follow your illustrious example? We would collect all the taxes and control the schools, so that you would have to support your own and ours also.'" This bold language shows exactly how the use of the Bible in public

schools exasperates and strengthens the Catholic attack on the public school system. The Catholics have now a just grievance which would vanish if the Bible were absolutely excluded from the schools.

A MARBLE BUST of Rev. Samuel J. May, executed by Miss Isabella G. Gifford, was presented on September 18 to the city of Syracuse, N. Y., by the Unitarian Society of that place, on condition that it remain in the Central Library and under the care of the Board of Education forever. In the presence of an immense assembly Mr. C. D. B. Mills, one of the few fitted by character to be the eulogist of such a man as Samuel J. May, made an address which was full of the spirit of him who was now so tenderly commemorated; Rev. S. R. Calthrop presented the bust to the city, reciting an original poem; President Duncan, of the Board of Education, and President White, of Cornell University, formally accepted the gift. For a quarter of a century Mr. May was conspicuous in Syracuse for all that was good in public and private life; and it is eminently fitting that one of the purest of the once proscribed "abolitionists" should now be thus publicly honored.

REV. JOHN M. L. BABCOCK, a Radical Unitarian clergyman, proposes to issue in Boston the first number of the *New Age*, an eight-page weekly journal, on October 25, 1875. His paper will be "devoted to the discussion of Free Religion, Labor Reform, Political Economy, Temperance, Secular Education, Woman Suffrage, Spiritualism, Politics, and the Mutual Relation of Church and State"; it "will be absolutely free in its utterances, bound to the interests of no denomination, party, corporation, institution, or any organized or private system or theory"; and "its purpose to look around the whole horizon of humanity's aspirations and efforts, and to utter the freest and most advanced thought upon all subjects pertaining to human welfare, will constitute its strongest right to exist." It is plain that criticism of a journal which is to be shaped by no "organized or private system or theory" must await its actual appearance, and cannot be made in advance; but we can fittingly express here our deep respect for Mr. Babcock as a man, and our hope that, if he has any true and important word to say, his paper may thrive and prosper. The terms are \$3.00 a year: address "The New Age, No. 235 Washington Street, Boston, Mass."

ONE OF the ablest and most remarkable thinkers of America, Chauncey Wright, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, died recently in that city. His life was a very quiet and retired one, but his intellectual influence was wonderfully strong over all who came within its reach. A few articles in the *North American Review* and several critical notices in the *New York Nation* (easily recognizable by all who knew Mr. Wright's style and speculative opinions), together with some papers in the *Transactions of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, comprise all his literary legacy to his fellow-men; and it is greatly to be hoped that they will be gathered up in some permanent form. It was our privilege to be acquainted with this man of real genius and kindly heart, whose loss to the world is great, and greater still to his personal friends. His name is mentioned with marked respect in the works of Charles Darwin, who reprinted one of his chief articles in England in pamphlet form. But his powers were most extraordinary in conversation, which was keen, subtle, and instructive in the highest degree. Some correspondence on philosophical subjects with which he favored us ten years ago is replete with powerful and original thought, and attests the vast mental power which only a certain constitutional indolence prevented from exercising a world wide influence. America has few such men to lose, and we sorrowfully record here our grateful appreciation of his genius and our deep regret at its premature eclipse.

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 MILWAUKEE (Second League).—R. C. Spencer, President; R. Boyd, Secretary.

[For THE INDEX.]

Why is Jesus now called "Christ"?

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

Among the theological questions now coming up for examination and solution, the above seems needful to be entertained; especially by those who respect the apostolic injunction, "Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you."

WHAT WAS HIS NAME?

A great many people seem to think "Jesus Christ" the name properly belonging to a particular person; just as they call another individual Pontius Pilate, and another Mark Antony. They also use the names "Jesus" and "Christ" indifferently to designate the great Hebrew teacher, the son of Joseph and Mary, as if both these names rightfully belonged to him.

HIS NAME WAS "JESUS."

The name Jesus does rightfully belong to him; since the records agree in the statement that his parents gave him that name at his birth, and since there is not the slightest reason to doubt this point.

THE EVANGELISTS, HOWEVER, USED THE TITLE INTERCHANGEABLY WITH THE NAME.

It is equally true, however, that the writers of those records used both the double name and either of the single ones indifferently, seeming to think "the carpenter's son" as correctly described by one as by the other. And if a reason for using those names interchangeably were now asked of the people who so use them, ninety-nine in a hundred would mention the use of them in that manner by the evangelists as the sufficient reason.

WHAT WAS THEIR REASON?

We shall be helped to determine whether or not this be a sufficient reason, by inquiring how the evangelists and the other New Testament writers came to apply to Jesus the titles "Messiah" and "Christ."

THEIR JEWISH EDUCATION SHOWS US WHY.

These men, or a great majority of them, were born and bred Jews; taught from their childhood to regard their nation as the chosen people of God, their Hebrew Scripture as the voice of God, and the several writers of the books composing that Scripture as infallibly inspired by God in their speech and writing. They also, like the rest of the Jewish people, expected with perfect confidence the coming of a great Deliverer, in fulfilment of predictions by sundry of their prophets.

MEANING OF THE TERMS.

This Deliverer was to be called "Christ," or "Messiah," both of which names signify "anointed." The reason why these titles were assigned to the expected Deliverer was that he was to be (according to the predictions) a lineal descendant of King David, an occupant and perpetuator of his throne, and a ruler of Israel as the "Lord's Anointed" in the same sense that David was.

WE HAVE THE ORIGINAL PREDICTIONS, AND CAN UNDERSTAND AND JUDGE OF THEM.

We have on record, in the Hebrew Scriptures, the predictions on which these expectations were founded. We are as able to judge correctly of their scope

and meaning as the Hebrews to whom they were originally spoken, or as any subsequent generation of the people who have been quoting them as infallibly inspired, and declaring them fulfilled in the life and death of Jesus. Let us look at some of these predictions, and see precisely what the Messiah was to be, and what he was to do, according to them.

A PERMANENT TEMPLE-WORSHIP PREDICTED, NOT LESS THAN A MESSIAH.

It will throw valuable incidental light on the subject, if we notice that predictions of the permanence of the temple-worship, and of the burnt-offerings and meat-offerings, and of the perpetuation of priests and Levites to offer them, are associated with predictions of the expected Deliverer or Messiah. Here are some of the Messianic prophecies:—

"Is. ix., 6, 7.—For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and justice from henceforth, even forever. The zeal of the Lord of Hosts will perform this."

According to the above, the Messiah was to sit on the throne of David, ruling the Hebrews as David did, and moreover securing to them peace and a just government forever. What wonder that the Jews of the time of Jesus did not accept him as fulfilling this prediction? What wonder that the Jews of the present time see that no such Deliverer has arisen?

"Jerem. xxiii., 5, 6.—Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth. In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely."

And again:—

"Jerem. xxxiii., 14-18.—Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will perform that good thing which I have promised unto the house of Israel and to the house of Judah. In those days, and at that time, will I cause the branch of righteousness to grow up unto David; and he shall execute judgment and righteousness in the land. In those days shall Judah be saved, and Jerusalem shall dwell safely. And this is the name wherewith she shall be called, The Lord our righteousness. For thus saith the Lord, David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel; neither shall the priests, the Levites, want a man before me to offer burnt-offerings, and to kindle meat-offerings, and to do sacrifice continually."

And again, verses 20, 21.—"Thus saith the Lord, if ye can break my covenant of the day, and my covenant of the night, and that there should not be day and night in their season, then may also my covenant be broken with David my servant, that he should not have a son to reign upon his throne, and with the Levites the priests my ministers."

WHAT WAS REALLY PREDICTED IN REGARD TO THE MESSIAH.

According to these predictions, the Messiah, a lineal son of David, was to reign forever on the throne of David; and was so to execute justice and judgment in the land of Palestine that, under his rule, "Judah should be saved, and Israel and Jerusalem should dwell safely." Moreover, under his reign the priests and Levites were to continue their functions, and the burnt-offerings were to go on continuously and permanently. It is manifest that these prophecies were not fulfilled in Jesus. It is also manifest to us, in the nineteenth century after Jesus, that they have never been fulfilled at all. And another thing is equally manifest; namely, that Isaiah and Jeremiah had not the least idea of such a Messiah as "Orthodox" Christians now claim, one whose death by crucifixion was to supersede and abolish the sacrificial observances conducted by priests and Levites in the temple.

Please observe, reader, that just as surely as Isaiah and Jeremiah predicted a Deliverer, just so surely they predicted that he should be a lineal descendant of David, and should sit on David's throne, executing judgment and justice in such manner that the people of Israel and Judah should dwell safely and permanently in their own land, the land of Palestine. Just so surely, also, they predicted that the burnt-offerings and other sacrifices of the temple should permanently continue to be offered by the Jewish priests and Levites.

THE JEWS, BELIEVING THEIR PROPHETS INFALLIBLY INSPIRED, REALLY EXPECTED SUCH A DELIVERER AS THEY PREDICTED.

Although centuries had passed by since these prophecies were uttered and recorded, leaving the Jews still governed by a foreign power, with no indication of the predicted Deliverer, the Jews still assumed so confidently that he would come that, whenever any one among them showed signs of eminent greatness or goodness, the question immediately arose, Was not he the Messiah? The powerful preaching of John the Baptist caused this question to be raised about him. But when it was asked of him, he promptly disclaimed that character. Andrew, one of John's disciples, seems to have been the first who conjectured that Jesus might be the expected Deliverer. Philip shortly came to the same conclusion, and said to his friend Nathanael, "We have found him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph." Nathanael doubted of this at first, on account of his prejudice against Nazareth. But, going to see Jesus, the interview impressed him so much that he exclaimed, "Rabbi, thou art the son of God; thou art the King of Israel!"

A KING WHO SHOULD BE ALSO A DELIVERER, BEING THE THING PREDICTED, WAS THE THING EXPECTED.

In the minds of these Jews, the right to be acknowledged and received as King was a necessary consequence, and the very first consequence, of acknowledged Messiahship. That the apostles themselves were all the time expecting a manifestation of temporal power, and wondering why Jesus did not assume the throne and drive out the Roman Governor, is shown by the questions which they from time to time addressed to him during his life, and by the disappointment which they manifested at and after his crucifixion.

NEW TESTAMENT EVIDENCE IN REGARD TO THIS EXPECTATION.

It is so important to be assured of precisely what this Jewish expectation was, in relation to the question whether Jesus was the true fulfilment of it, that I will here present some of the New Testament evidence upon that matter. I begin with the account (written thirty years or more after the death of Jesus) of what expectations were said to have been entertained in regard to him before his birth.

MESSIAH, SITTING ON THE THRONE OF DAVID, WAS TO REIGN FOREVER OVER THE HOUSE OF JACOB.

Luke (i., 31-33) gives the following as the current report of an announcement to Mary by the angel Gabriel before the birth of Jesus: "Thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus. He shall be great, and shall be called the son of the Highest; and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David. And he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end."

Luke also reports (i., 68-72) a thanksgiving said to have been offered by Zecharias, the father of John the Baptist, in view of an expected birth of the Messiah from Mary, as follows: "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel; for he hath visited and redeemed his people, and hath raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David, as he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, which have been since the world began; that we should be saved from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us, to perform the mercy promised to our fathers."

MESSIAH MUST BE (1) IN THE LINE OF DAVID, AND (2) MUST RULE ISRAEL, (3) SITTING ON THE THRONE OF DAVID.

Let it be noted here that the carpenter Joseph (whose son Philip assumed Jesus to be, John i., 45) is expressly declared by Luke (i., 27), and also in the genealogies reported in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, to have been "of the house of David." So that, if Jesus was really the son of Joseph, he fulfilled the first of the conditions of Messiahship; and those who supposed him to be truly the Messiah predicted would naturally look next for his assumption of the kingdom, preparatory to expulsion of the Roman oppressors. That they did look for this as the test of Messiahship, there is abundant evidence, as follows:—

PROOF OF THE EXPECTATION THAT MESSIAH WOULD RULE AS KING.

John says (i., 49) that the salutation of Nathanael to Jesus, as soon as he was convinced of his Messiahship, was, "Rabbi, thou art the son of God; thou art the king of Israel."

John also tells us (vi., 15) that certain of the people, very early in the ministry of Jesus, were disposed "to take him by force, to make him a king."

The mother of James and John, in their presence, assuming it as certain that Jesus was to be King of the Jews, made this request of him (Matt. xx., 21): "Grant that these my two sons may sit, the one on thy right hand and the other on the left, in thy kingdom."

Still more decisive is the testimony of two of the evangelists, that Jesus expressly promised political distinction and advancement to the apostles. Matthew tells us (xix., 27, 28) that Peter, speaking for the twelve, said to Jesus, "Behold, we have forsaken all and followed thee; what shall we have therefore?" And Jesus said unto them, "Verily, I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." And Luke (xxii., 28-30) reports Jesus as declaring, without any question on their part, "Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations; and I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."

The Hebrew confidence in the predictions of their prophets concerning the permanence of Messiah's earthly kingdom is shown in the reply made to the intimation of Jesus that he was to be "lifted up" (John xii., 34). The people answered him, "We have heard out of the law that Christ abideth forever; and how sayest thou, The Son of Man must be lifted up?"

This expectation of the earthly kingdom showed itself in Judas also (not Iscariot), when, in reply to the promise of Jesus that he "would manifest himself" to those of them who "kept his commandments," Judas asked (John xiv., 22), "Lord, how is it that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us, and not unto the world?" No private manifestation could be received as realizing the Messianic idea.

THE CLAIM OF KINGSHIP NECESSARILY INCLUDED IN THE CLAIM OF MESSIAHSHIP.

In the accounts given by every one of the evangelists respecting the seizure, trial, and execution of Jesus, it plainly appears that the claim of Kingship

necessarily included in the claim of Messiahship was the crime alleged against him, and the effective cause of his condemnation. The elders, chief priests, and scribes accused him saying, "We found this fellow perverting the nation and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ, a king. And Pilate asked him, saying, Art thou the King of the Jews?" Afterwards, while he was hanging on the cross, the soldiers mocked him, saying, "If thou be the King of the Jews, save thyself." Moreover, Pilate having placed on the cross the inscription, "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews," the chief priests said to Pilate, "Write not, the King of the Jews; but that he said, I am King of the Jews."

THE JEWS HATED JESUS PRECISELY BECAUSE HE WAS NOT A KING.

The *animus* of the two parties to this transaction is perfectly clear from the foregoing. Pilate wished to release Jesus because he had neither raised, nor was inclined to raise, any rebellion against Cæsar. However he might use the words "king" and "kingdom," he was evidently only a teacher, not an insurgent chief; and so not dangerous, from the Roman point of view. The Jews, whose ideas of the Messiah had been formed by the predictions of their prophets, had a right to expect that whoever called himself the Christ *would be* an insurgent chief, and would lead them to successful battle, first with the Romans, and then with any other power which should contest their supremacy. Their rage against Jesus was because he called himself Christ *without* being either a king or a temporal deliverer. He certainly was not what the prophets had led them to expect in the Messiah; and the reception of him as Christ by the nation would have been the abandonment of all expectation of a real Deliverer, a victorious King, in the line of David.

THE DISCIPLES HELD THIS VIEW OF THE MESSIAHSHIP, EVEN AFTER THE DEATH OF JESUS.

That these ideas—an understanding that temporal kingship and rescue of the Jews from the Roman power were essential parts of the Messiah's function—remained with the disciples also, even after the death of Jesus as well as through his whole life, there are two sufficient testimonies.

Walking from Jerusalem to Emmaus, on the third day after the crucifixion, two of the disciples said, speaking of Jesus to a stranger whom they met, "We trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel." (Luke xxiv., 21.) Luke, also, thirty years at least after the death of Jesus, writing in Greece about the first doings of the apostles, and relating a report of an appearance of Jesus to them after his burial, tells us that the first thing they asked of him was, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?"

JESUS, THEN, DID NOT ACCOMPLISH, NOR EVEN UNDERTAKE, THE WORK ASSIGNED BY PROPHECY TO MESSIAH.

We have, then, the fact indisputably settled by New Testament evidence, that Jesus did not accomplish, nor even undertake, the chief works specified by the prophets as to be wrought by the Messiah, and the very things for which the Jews, including the apostles and early disciples, desired the coming of a Messiah. Not only was Jesus *not* the deliverer of the Jews from Gentile oppression, *not* the King sitting on the throne of David, and so ruling as to secure to the Jews a permanent, peaceful residence in Palestine, *not* the perpetuator of the temple worship, the sacrificial offerings, and the perpetual ministration of Jewish priests and Levites, as Jeremiah and other prophets distinctly declared that the Messiah should be,—but he was not even in the line of David (a point on which prophecy was decided and unanimous), unless he was the son of Joseph.

JESUS NOT IN THE LINE OF DAVID, UNLESS HE WAS THE SON OF JOSEPH.

Joseph was a son of David, plainly so declared by two genealogical tables, and by several express assertions of the evangelists. A son of Joseph, therefore, would of course possess this first of the qualifications for Messiahship. But the very people who are now so strenuous to have Jesus called "Christ" (or the Lord's Anointed) are equally strenuous in denying that Joseph was his father. They quote Scripture in evidence of a different paternity; but Scripture here, as in many other cases, is divided against itself.

SCRIPTURE TESTIMONY THAT JESUS WAS THE SON OF JOSEPH.

Luke says (ii., 41), after speaking of the growth and promise of the child Jesus, "his parents went to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the Passover."

Luke further tells us (ii., 48), when, after vainly searching elsewhere, they returned to Jerusalem and found Jesus in the temple, that Mary said to him in the presence of Joseph, "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing."

Mary certainly knew who the father of Jesus was; and she here tells us that it was Joseph.

Note also the following piece of highly significant negative evidence: When to the question and reproof of his mother above mentioned, Jesus answered, "How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be about my father's business?" Luke tells us, "They understood not the saying which he spake unto them." This saying would necessarily have been perfectly clear to both Mary and Joseph had they known that this precocious child was begotten without a human father. It could be obscure only on the supposition (no doubt the correct supposition) that Joseph was the father of Jesus.

JESUS, THOUGH IN THE LINE OF DAVID, DID NOT FULFIL THE OTHER CONDITIONS OF MESSIAHSHIP.

If Jesus, being descended from David through

Joseph, had fulfilled the remaining conditions of Messiahship, if he had assumed the throne and driven out Pilate and Herod and the Roman force, and protected the Israelites in a peaceful and prosperous residence in Palestine to the present day, continuing also the sacrificial services of priests and Levites in the temple to the present day, he would have done just what the Hebrew prophets predicted that Messiah would do. As Jesus has not done these things, nor any one of them, why is he now called "Christ"?

We have seen why the apostles began to apply the title "Christ" to Jesus, and why they continued it during his career as a public teacher. It was because as long as he lived they had never been able to relinquish the expectation that he would be such a Messiah as their prophets had foretold. But why did they continue to apply that title to him after he had left the earth without taking any such position?

DID JESUS HIMSELF ASSUME THAT TITLE?

If we may trust the accuracy of narratives written so long after the facts as those given us by the four Evangelists, Jesus did, sooner or later in his ministry, accept the designation of "Messiah" or "Christ" which was thrust upon him by so many of his hearers; did acquiesce in its correctness; did allow them to suppose that he really held that office. Portions of these same narratives seem inconsistent with this theory; for instance, the many places where Matthew, Mark, and Luke represent Jesus as saying, in reference to the ascription of Messiahship to him, "Tell no man;" "See that no man know it;" and the obscure language which he used on this subject, causing his hearers to exclaim, "How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly;" and the frank declaration of Jesus himself, when asked by Pilate if he was a king, "My kingdom is not of this world." This last was a direct disclaimer of the office in question, for the Messiah's kingdom, according to the prophets, *was* to be of this world. Nevertheless, the testimony in other places is, that Jesus did allow this title to be given him; and, if he did so, of course his disciples would continue to claim it for him.

But, even were the testimony of the Gospels consistent with itself throughout upon this point, the very long interval between the preaching of Jesus and the record of it must throw much doubt upon the accuracy of the words and things recorded. Nobody pretends that these things were written down sooner than thirty years after their occurrence; and later critical researches make it probable that the interval in question was nearer a hundred years than thirty. But in either case, whether or not the recollection of eye-witnesses be combined in these narratives with current rumor and tradition, we can hardly feel assured on such evidence, that Jesus claimed the title "Messiah" without fulfilling the function belonging to it. Is it probable that he even accepted it, while intending to pursue, as he actually did pursue, a career utterly at variance with the chief requisitions of Messianic prophecy, utterly at variance both with what the prophets wrote, and what the Hebrew people understood them to mean? As Jesus has never been, in any sense, King of the Jews, so he has never been in any sense the Messiah of Hebrew prophecy. Since he did not sit on the throne of David, nor deliver the Jews from their oppressors, nor rule them in the land of Palestine either temporally or spiritually; since his life, in the Messianic aspect, ended in defeat; and since the promises and hopes in regard to a second coming have not been fulfilled,—the name "Messiah," or "Christ," applied to Jesus is both inaccurate and delusive. We have yet to inquire, however, why the apostles and disciples continued, after his crucifixion, to give him this name.

WHY DID THEY CONTINUE TO CALL HIM "CHRIST"?

We find in sundry of the epistles, and in the Acts of the Apostles and the Book of Revelation, abundant evidence respecting the eleven and the other disciples, to the following effect: that, in spite of the failure of their long-cherished expectations, they accepted the reports of the resurrection and ascension of Jesus as sufficient warrant for continuing to recognize him as God's special messenger, and for continuing to follow and to propagate his doctrine. Moreover, they themselves, as well as the Jewish people to whom they were primarily to preach the new doctrine, had always thought and spoken of him who was to be the last and greatest of God's messengers to their nation as "the Messiah" or "the Christ." It was perfectly natural, therefore, as well as indispensable for the gaining of proselytes from Judaism, that they should continue to call Jesus "the Christ," even while they were preaching a kingdom of heaven as free to Gentiles as to Jews, instead of that special exaltation of Judaism which the Messiah of prophecy was to have accomplished by the sword. In reality, the doctrine of Jesus (a substitution of two great commandments for the many injunctions and prohibitions of "the law," and a substitution of "worship in spirit and in truth" for the whole system of holy places and ritual observances) was very far better than a fulfilment of the Messianic prophecies would have been. The apostles, then, were right in accepting and preaching that doctrine, though they were wrong in calling its author the Messiah.

RESULTS OF OUR INQUIRY.

I have given above, I think, full proof from Scripture that the three chief items of prophetic announcement concerning a Messiah were not fulfilled in Jesus.

He did not occupy the throne of David, as King of the Jews.

He did not deliver the children of Israel from oppression by other nations.

He did not enable them to dwell peacefully and permanently in their own land.

Of course, as long as the Jews continued to believe their prophets inspired by the God of Israel to utter the promises hereinbefore quoted, they would expect a Messiah yet to come, and they would not accept in his stead one who, like Jesus, failed to occupy Messiah's true position.

Since it is plain that Jesus did *not* fulfil the chief elements of the Messianic function as described in Hebrew prophecy, why should we continue to apply to him an erroneous epithet, propagating thereby an erroneous idea? Should even our veneration for the apostles lead us to follow them in what are now proved to have been mistakes and delusions? We see that they expected a visible second coming of Jesus in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory, while they were yet in bodily life. We admit that in that point they were in error. Why should we follow them in this other error?

Why should we apply to Jesus the epithet "Christ"? FRAMINGHAM, Mass.

THE TWO ROMAN CATHOLICISMS IN FRANCE.

[BY THE ABBE MICHAUD.]

Although the Old Catholics of France, in the year 1872, announced that they no longer formed part of the Roman Catholic, but only of the Christian Catholic Church, nevertheless there are in France now, as elsewhere, two Roman Catholicisms: one which spurns Liberalism in every shape, and another which wishes for a reconciliation with Liberalism. The latter, Liberal Romanism, if we may so name it (though the terms seem to be in conflict), has ever been condemned by the Roman Curia and by the Popes. It was against this faction that Gregory XVI., in 1832, fulminated his Encyclical *Mirari vos*, and Pius IX. his Syllabus, in 1864. And ever since Pius IX. has never ceased, whether in his public speeches or in his briefs, from condemning not only that Liberalism which calls itself anti-Catholic, but even that which styles itself Roman Catholic.

This antagonism of pure Romanism and Liberal Romanism has in France attained the last degree of violence. We have judged it advisable to relate briefly the doings of these two factions which call each other brethren, and rend one another like the most rancorous enemies. In no other way can one get so clear an idea of the decay of Roman Catholicism of France.

This recent outbreak of hostilities is connected with the names of de Montalembert and Augustin Cochin. On October 13, 1862, in the chapel of M. de Montalembert's chateau, at Roche-en-Brenil, M. de Falloux preached a sermon whose keynote was the celebrated formula, "A free Church in a free State." On this occasion, Montalembert, de Falloux, Foisset, and Cochin renewed the covenant they had made to fight for God and for liberty. M. de Broglie, though absent, was in spirit present with his friends. As a memorial of this covenant, a commemorative inscription was graven on the interior wall of the chapel.

M. Veuillot, the lay head of pure Romanism in France, having been informed of this inscription, assailed it as smacking of heresy, and in particular attacked Bishop Dupanloup. One of the Bishop's vicars-general, the Abbé Lagrange, defended his master in an article which he published in *Le Correspondant*, entitled "A Page from the Life of Montalembert." A fanatical ultramontane, the Abbé Morel, made a reply, and showed that, according to the accepted principles of Roman Catholicism, the doctrines of Dupanloup and his so-called liberal school were heretical. Dupanloup, wounded to the quick, pronounced Veuillot and the *Univers* infamous liars.

De Falloux also entered the lists, and published a *Life of Augustin Cochin*, in which he set forth Liberal Romanism as being worthy of all honor, and even as being the genuine Roman Catholicism. He displayed a considerable degree of ingenuity in his endeavor to harmonize his doctrines with the condemnations of the Syllabus and the new dogmas of the Council of the year 1870. The Abbé Morel refuted him, as he had refuted the Abbé Lagrange and Bishop Dupanloup. His work, entitled *Sequel of the Inscription of Roche-en-Brenil; or, Proofs of the Existence and Organization of the Liberal Catholic Faction in France*, resulted in an interchange of very passionate letters between him and M. de Falloux. Then for some time there was a calm.

But now there has lately appeared in the *Osservatore Romano* a very flattering notice of M. de Falloux's book on Augustin Cochin. Inasmuch as that journal is in a certain way connected with the Roman Curia, the Liberal Romanists of France recognize herein a sort of triumph for their side. The *Français*, which is the organ of Bishop Dupanloup and the Prince de Broglie, is loud in its praise of the article in the *Osservatore*, which conveniently overlooks the Pope's briefs condemnatory of Liberal Catholicism. The *Univers* and the other organs of pure Romanism hold that Domenico Venturini, who wrote the article in the *Osservatore Romano*, is a nobody. The Abbé Morel, whom the Pope has recently made a Consultor of the Congregation of the Index, has called the attention of that tribunal to M. de Falloux's book. Mgr. Treppel, Bishop of Angers (to which diocese both de Falloux and Morel belong), has used his best endeavors to bring the book under the notice of the Congregation of the Index. Veuillot calls Liberal Romanism a *culex* (flea); and it is plain that he is master of the situation. The condemnation of de Falloux's book is highly probable.

Another condemnation that is to be expected is

that of the Abbé Lenoir, author of sundry dictionaries in the *Theological Encyclopedia*, published by the Abbé Migne. This venerable and learned ecclesiastic is at present engaged in republishing Bergier's *Theological Dictionary*; adding, however, new articles, which extend the work to twelve volumes, while the original edition consisted only of six. The new articles lean rather to Liberal than to Romanist views. The Abbé Lenoir has practised a sort of jugglery on the new dogmas, interpreting them as Dupanloup did the Syllabus. This jugglery has been noticed by a Camerlingo of the Pope, and he has denounced the work to the Congregation of the Index. Before that court Lenoir has no chances of success.

It is worthy of mention that on the 15th of February last, Pius IX. addressed to the faithful of the Diocese of Angers (to which de Falloux belongs) a brief, in which the Liberal Romanists are represented as deceivers, "whose crafty and honeyed speeches are to be shunned." In our opinion, when Venturini praised de Falloux's book, he did but pour oil upon the fire, to increase the blaze, and to necessitate the intervention of the Congregation of the Index. The condemnation of M. de Falloux by Rome would not force that gentleman into rebellion. By his outward submission to the dogmas of 1870, he showed that he is just the man to acquiesce in a condemnation by the Index. And M. de Falloux once put down by a condemnation pronounced by the Index, the feeble faction of Liberal Catholics would be utterly routed, and could never again reassemble. Dupanloup would accept his own condemnation without a word of complaint; the *Correspondent* and the *Français* would vegetate in well-deserved humiliation; and the Romanists proper would be masters of the situation everywhere.

But perhaps Rome would not care to strike down five or six men who are no longer of much account in public life, and who must soon die, together with their doctrines. When de Falloux, de Broglie, and Dupanloup are gone, who is left then to lead the remnant of their party? Men like Armand de l'Ariège, Frédéric Passy, and Garcin de Tassy have long been voiceless, and have allowed Rome to do as she pleased. Where, then, would be the use of giving notoriety to a couple of newspapers and a dozen writers, who are harmless by their silence, or ridiculous for their lack of logic or of character? In fact, no one can read the works of Dupanloup and de Falloux without noticing the straits they are in to reconcile their Liberalism with their Romanism. They themselves, no less than the public, see that they reason falsely, and that they violate the first principles of Romanist logic and theology. If they defend their theses, they do so only because they lack courage, and because they fear the thunders of the Vatican. Such weakness and want of logical consistency earn for them only contempt on all sides. They are despised by strict Romanists, who treat them as heretics on account of their liberalism; and they are despised by the Liberals on account of their Romanism. Montalembert in 1870 broke away from them, protesting against "the inconceivable weakness of the moderate and rational Catholics of our day, in presence of the shameless excesses of the dominant party." What would Montalembert say now, were he to see how these men betray both the Church and the cause of liberalism?

Whatever may be the attitude of the Index toward M. de Falloux, and consequently toward the little faction of Liberal Romanists, it is certain that the latter are steadily losing ground. There exists in France an association of "Catholic Committees," so called. Every year these Romanist Committees hold a convention. In the convention which met in April, 1875, the ultra-Romanist faction had everything in their own way. A Jesuit, Father Marguigny, presented and read to the meeting an essay on "The Syllabus and the Press," which was much applauded. In 1873 these Catholic committees had lauded "the great and outspoken Syllabus," as being "the rule of all social duty and of all individual duty." Now they are more explicit. Not only do they complain that the Syllabus has been misunderstood, mistranslated, and falsely expounded—thus condemning the liberal interpretation of the document by Dupanloup,—they go so far as to insist upon the necessity of inculcating such doctrines of pure Romanism as that "liberty of conscience and of worship is not a right pertaining to every man, to be recognized by the law, and guaranteed in every well-constituted society." According to them, "it is absolutely false that the liberty of speech and of the press is a natural and indefeasible right." Such declarations as these are a formal condemnation of the most essential principles of all modern society. It is easy to see what these Romanists are aiming at. They wish to impose the Syllabus upon France, as the charter of Christian liberty; to do away with freedom of worship; to have a new press-law enacted, which shall favor only the interests of Romanism. Whatever is not Romanism is, in their eyes, "civilized barbarism." Accordingly, says Father Marguigny, "sympathy and pecuniary aid are to be extended only to those publications which keep ever in view the teachings of the Holy See, and which always defend the Syllabus." The Archbishop of Paris attended this convention, and entertains exactly the same views. It is interesting to compare these declarations, which Rome secretly inspires, with recent declarations of Archbishop Manning. That new Cardinal has said that were the Catholics in power in England they would not pass any laws against the enemies of Romanism. This declaration was prompted by the man's kindly disposition; but it is flatly contradicted by the actions of all the highest Romanist authorities. Both in England and in the United States, Liberal Romanism will before long be nothing but a meaningless expression.—*N. Y. Independent*.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

When it was announced, some months ago, that Pius IX., breaking at length the sullen silence of "the captivity," had determined to create five new princes of the Church, the names of the future cardinals were scanned with much interest; for they showed to what quarters the papacy in its hour of trial was stretching out its hands for help. The Italian "Eminences," indeed, were chosen to sustain a tradition of papal policy; but Cardinal Manning, Cardinal Ledochowski, and Cardinal McCloskey represented in different forms the determination of Rome to recruit and to rally her forces in the very camp of her deadliest foes. Dr. Manning had earned his promotion by his conflict with the Protestantism of his native land; Archbishop Ledochowski by his opposition to the assertion of the supreme authority of the State in Prussia. But the devotion which was rewarded in these prelates was a virtue barren, save to the eye of faith, of appreciable results. Archbishop McCloskey, of New York, was chosen for honor because he stood at the head of a vast organization of the Roman Catholic Church, the resources of which, undervalued and hardly understood hitherto by the powers that rule at Rome, have come to be known, and prized, and made the foundation of towering hopes. Half the Old World has been lost to the Church; and of the remaining part that still holds formally to its allegiance many sections are mined by scepticism, or shaken by discontent. But if the Old World be lost, may not the New be gained? It is at least possible that this is the inner thought of Rome in these dark days. The destinies of the human race seem to move westward; and in a relative sense, if not absolutely, the star of America waxes as that of Europe wanes. But if a century hence the Western Continent will outweigh in wealth and power the divided societies of Europe, will not the dominion of the younger civilization compensate for the loss of authority over the original empire of the Church? The beginnings of the conquest have been made, and the campaign is carried on with energy, subtlety, and perseverance. If Rome is to profit by these enterprises, she must encourage her champions with approving notice, and dignify them, alike in the sight of followers and foes, with appropriate rewards.

Thus it comes to pass that at length the spiritual adolescence of Catholic America is recognized by the papacy. The bestowal of a cardinal's hat on the Archbishop of New York is not simply a token of the papal gratitude for individual services; it rewards a powerful reinforcement, now, for the first time, formally arrayed among the champions of the Holy See. In this sense it is understood in America, and, though Rome is reticent by habit, her actions make confession of her objects. The growth of the Roman Catholic faith on the American Continent, not only in the countries where it was planted by Spanish colonists and by others of the Latin races, but in the very heart of the society which boasts of its Anglo-Saxon individualism, is a remarkable fact, but it is not a novel one. The novelty is that Rome has recognized it with every sign of delight and hope. Twenty years ago, when the Roman Catholic Church was fighting its way vigorously against formidable enemies in the United States; when the continuous influx of Irish immigrants alarmed the States of the Atlantic seaboard as much as the Chinese immigration has surprised and embarrassed the Pacific States; when "Know-nothingism," a mere outburst of sullen and jealous bigotry, was raised to the rank of a political creed,—the Court of Rome would have scouted the notion of looking for aid, save in that humble pecuniary form in which aid is always acceptable to it, from its spiritual subjects in America. The followers of the Church in that distant world were to hear and obey when Rome spoke; but that they should influence Roman policy, should be represented in the Sacred College, should be directly governed by a prince of the Church,—these were pretensions utterly inadmissible. The Holy Father, if he no longer set his foot on the neck of secular sovereigns, still leaned on emperors, and was courted by kings. The Great Powers of the European Continent competed for the honor of protecting him, and though the yoke of their protection sometimes pressed heavy in the form of influence, the pressure was not manifest. Implicated in these monarchical relations, enthroned on a vast and compact system of Ecclesiastical Establishments, the Holy See was disdainful of mere republicans, who could promise no intervention of diplomatists or armies, and whose religious endowments consisted solely in voluntary gifts. But the whole scheme of policy constructed by the sacerdotal statesmen of the Vatican after the events of 1849 has in our days crumbled to atoms. The Pope has ceased to be a temporal ruler; the empires upon which he leaned have withdrawn their supporting hands,—the one fatally weakened, the other no longer loyal. But the strength of the Church in the West has gone on increasing, and its possibilities of growth now fill the minds of the devoted Romanists with splendid imaginations of victory. To bring the official chief of a hierarchy from whom so much is expected within the innermost circle of the papal polity is, as the Roman *Curia* now perceives, not only advisable, but inevitable. So Archbishop McCloskey, an American of Irish descent, has been, to the delight of all the Roman Catholics of North America, raised to the Cardinalate. He is now on his way to Rome to be admitted to his new dignity by the Pope himself, and he brings with him an "offering of gratitude and sympathy" from the faithful in New York; which, besides a solid contribution of some twenty thousand pounds sterling, includes an address describing the enormous progress of

Catholic doctrine among the people of the United States.

We do not doubt that a greater part of these boasts is true, or that the hopes based upon them may be, to some extent, well founded. The papacy is resolved, as it appears, to establish closer relations than those of mere homage and condescension with its multitudinous and wealthy subjects beyond the Atlantic. This fact is demonstrated not only by the elevation of Archbishop McCloskey to the highest rank in the Church below the Chair of St. Peter itself, but by the report current at Rome that Monsignore Roncetti, who was lately sent to New York to present the Archbishop with the *berretta*, "will be appointed to a high ecclesiastical dignity in America." In truth, the course of events on the other side of the Atlantic is well worth observing; and if Rome had been accustomed to study popular movements as she has been used to watch the policies of the courts, she would long ago have done what she is doing now. In all the countries of the American Continent there is already a numerous and powerful Roman Catholic population; and nowhere, except, perhaps, in Brazil, has the supremacy of Popedom been threatened as it has been in every part of Europe. The Spanish-American Republics will never be of much account in the world; but, such as they are, they are true to Rome. The descendants of the French settlers in Canada and in Louisiana are equally loyal and equally useless as allies. But the great English speaking communities of the Continent, and especially the United States, inherit the destinies of America. Is it, then, certain that, as Rome now believes, the Catholic Church will extend its dominion, and flourish under new conditions among the people of the United States? The problem is a difficult one, for there are opposing forces at work; and the triumph of Catholicism, were it as complete as the papacy anticipates, would involve the defeat and destruction of that spirit of individualism which is characteristic of the English race in every land, and which has nowhere asserted itself more vigorously than in the Federal Union. On the other hand, the forces working for the Roman Church are both strong and ingeniously directed. The Irish immigration has poured some four millions of Catholic Celts into the Union, and the descendants of the earlier exiles who have preserved their faith possibly number as many more. This vast mass, it is melancholy to confess, is for the most part at the lowest level of intelligence. The Irish, unlike the English, the Scotch, and the German immigrants, herd together in the large cities, and are there subject to sacerdotal discipline. They move at command, and in a body, and their influence in politics is out of proportion even to their large numbers. In many of the towns they are dominant in local affairs, and wherever this happens there are attempts, sometimes in part successful, to secure an indirect endowment for the Church of Rome. But it is not alone on the ponderous body of superstitious zeal which the Irish immigration has placed at the command of the Church that Cardinal McCloskey and his fellow-workers rely. At all the centres of American society they carry on an untiring and not fruitless propaganda. In a democratic community the baldness of life becomes very apparent to the rich and idle; and as social distinctions are few and uncertain, the attractions of a creed which carefully cultivates the æsthetic side of religion, and which claims the inheritance of a grand historical tradition, are almost irresistible to a large class of minds. In every society there are those "faint hearts and feeble wings that every sophister can lime"; and in America, where, in spite of the diffusion of elementary education, a high and thoughtful culture is rare, the same influences which here tempt many to the distractions of ritualistic vanities, or even across the border-land, are very potent with a certain superfine class who would gladly ape the externals of an aristocracy. Rome, then, may hope to command the masses in the United States by her power over Irish superstition, and to win the allegiance of a section of the wealthier class by the splendor of her ritual, and the immensity of her pretensions. Will this be enough to make her in the course of years the dominant influence in America? We believe it will not; for, strong as the forces on her side may be, the strength of manly and intelligent individuality, nowhere wanting among men of English blood, is, we are convinced, greater, healthier, and more enduring.—*London Times*, Sept. 7.

THE CATHOLIC DANGER.

ENON VALLEY, Pa., Aug. 19, 1875.

ED. ARGUS AND RADICAL:—

I have read with much interest your article in the last *Argus and Radical*, entitled "Danger from Catholicism." But are you right in the position you have taken? The remarkable movement organized by the Catholic Church in the United States is not so much against Protestantism as against the free principles of the National Constitution. Taking advantage of the peculiarity of our republican government, that law is only the expression of the will of the majority of the people, the priesthood hope, by encouraging Catholic immigration, and by stimulating the fecundity of Catholic mothers already in this country, ultimately and before long to obtain a majority of votes; and thus modify the Constitution and laws, and make both subservient to the Pope of Rome as a temporal prince. This scheme is so high-handed that many persons do not believe it is sincerely advocated. But the Vatican Decrees demand of every Catholic allegiance to the Church first, and his country afterwards. Some few English Catholics have expressed dissent to this claim, much to the disgust of Cardinal Manning, who is said to be heir-apparent to the Popedom when the next vacancy shall occur. We might as well, however, take the

Catholics at their word. They claim that the Pope as the Vicegerent of Almighty God on the earth has a right to subject all human governments to his authority, and to put down all other religions. Hence the trouble in the German Empire where Bismarck resists this claim. And hence also the alarm among our own people.

But it is a peculiarity which few of our countrymen know, and which all ought to know, that America still lying "in partibus infidelium"—in the regions of the infidels,—the bishops of the Church have vastly more power over the priests and private members than they have in Italy or any other country where the Catholic religion is established and supported by law. European governments whose breasts suckle the Church claim and exercise the right, in consideration of the milk they give, to have a say in the Church's affairs. But in this country the Catholic bishops are amenable to no laws, and, being missionary bishops, exercise a right over Catholic persons and consciences that would not be tolerated in Europe. Their policy seems to be to combine and isolate their people politically and socially, as if they had in view an enterprise that would require their force to act as an unit. Hence Catholic temperance societies, musical associations, and schools are designed to prevent their people from mingling with their fellow-citizens, lest they suffer from the contact, and become Americanized instead of Romanized.

I think you greatly err in arraying the Protestant feeling against the Catholic. This would make the coming war a religious one; and the bloodiest and most revengeful of all wars, as history shows, are those prompted by religion,—not the Christian religion as taught and illustrated in its beautiful simplicity by Christ himself, and as consisting solely in love to God and love to man, but the religion of some church or other, which, in order to hold exclusively the keys of the kingdom of heaven, would extirpate all the rest. For God's sake, Mr. Editor, do not wake up the spirit of religious persecution! Other wars end, and the wounds they make heal over; but religious wars never end and never heal. The Orangeman of to-day flaunts his yellow flag as ferociously as he did at first; and the Catholic of to-day hates the tune of "Boone Water" as bitterly as ever. We are on the eve of a mighty struggle with the Church of Rome. Let it be a bloodless one—a war of opinions and votes, in which types will figure instead of colonels and major-generals. In drawing up our line of battle against this foreign enemy who has lorded it over all Europe for ages, and who now comes here to put Americans under like subjection, let us choose our ground circumspectly. If we fight as Protestants, we fight to lose, and the Catholics fight to win; for the Catholics are an unit in every sense of the word, while the Protestants, numbering some hundreds of sects, are as separate and apart from each other as so many grains of wheat in a bushel. Do not imagine that a sense of common danger would unite the Protestant churches. If a recollection of the dying prayer of Jesus, "That they all may be one," would not unite the score and more of the members of the Presbyterian family which all bottom on the Westminster Confession of Faith, how vain to look for a union of sects that have been and are still theologically at daggers' points, in a war against the Catholics! They would quarrel for pre-eminence on the very battle field, and the enemy would chase their broken columns like sheep.

Mr. Editor, we shall be invincible in the coming struggle with the Church of Rome only when we fight in our citizen capacity for the Constitution, laws, and educational policy of the United States against the foreign and domestic enemy. On this ground all Protestant sects can unite, as we did against the slave-holder's rebellion, not as Protestants but as citizens—Americans who love their country, and are bound to redeem the pledge their fathers made in 1776, that it should be to the end of time the home of human freedom. And this ground can be taken by that large number of people who are outside of all churches, but who have no interest in the struggle if you make it only a war for pre-eminence among the religious sects. This class composes the majority of American voters, whose only interest is to make the decree of the Constitution irrevocable that the government of the United States is a secular institution, and has nothing to do with the Church except to let it alone. These people feel, and you feel with them, that, so far as the belief in religious dogmas goes, the Catholics have equal rights under the government with the Methodist, the Mohammedan, the Presbyterian, and the Chinese Buddhist. While they reject all these religions for themselves, they would defend to the death the right of each human being to believe or not to believe as he pleases. Our Constitution, while it ignores all religions whatsoever, protects all religionists in the enjoyment of their rights, and completely secularizes the government. And it is because the Church of Rome wishes to seize the government, and make it a mere tool to accomplish her purposes, that you can calculate on the cooperation of these men to prevent so great a calamity to the rights of human nature.

While it must be admitted that the Democratic party has been and still is the ally of the Catholic Church, when the time comes for every man to show his colors, there are thousands in that party whose patriotism will lead them to leave it instantly, and range themselves in line with the defenders of their country. They did this in 1861, when the people in their majesty rose to put down the slave-holder's rebellion. In this new Popish attack upon the government and Constitution there will be another august rising of the people to beat down the Jesuitical hordes of a foreign power, and send them howling back to Rome.

I rejoice, Mr. Editor, that the Catholic controversy

is coming on, and that it is inevitable. I wish to know before I die whether our children are to enjoy the inheritance of civil and religious liberty bequeathed to them by their fathers at such untold expense, or are to become ignoble hewers of wood and drawers of water to that political organization called the Church of Rome. I would rather see all in whose veins my blood flows stark and cold in their coffins than live in a country cursed, as all others except our own have been, by a priestly government of bloodhounds, whose chief office would be to preserve uniformity of faith by chasing "heretics" to prison and to death. But there is no danger if we do two things: first, to wage the war against the Vatican claims upon citizen ground, instead of appealing to religious sectarian hatred in which the majority of American people cannot join because they have no sectarian opinions or beliefs to promote; secondly, to send out the schoolmaster, by which I mean, to enlighten the people on the merits of the question by discussing it *pro* and *con*. Popular intelligence is death to the Church of Rome; and so is popular freedom. In Austria, France, the Swiss Cantons, Mexico, Central America, and wherever the Catholic Church has had supreme power, the people are ignorant, poor, degraded, and in bondage. She is afraid of science because science cuts up her pretensions by the roots, and makes of them a laughing-stock. Diffuse, then, knowledge among the people as God diffuses his atmosphere and blessed sunlight; for knowledge is the sure and safe remedy for superstition, and all the other diseases of the human soul.

In finishing this letter the thought just occurs to me that, in clearing the decks for action with the really dangerous power of Rome, we must not put a weapon in her hand, as some of our people have done, by undertaking to amend the Constitution by inserting a Protestant confession of faith in the preamble, "to be carried out by appropriate legislation." The Scotch Covenanters in this country and their dupes, who are engaged in this work, hold the same damnable heresy in regard to the powers of the civil magistrate *circa sacra* that the Church of Rome does. They got the doctrine from the Catholics, and, when they had the power in Scotland, enforced it as ruthlessly as ever the Catholics did. After a careful reading of Scotch history, I would just as soon live under the Spanish inquisition as under the *regime* that was established in Scotland during the reign of the Solemn League, and would be established in this country by the Religious Amendment men, if they were in power.

If, then, sauce for the goose should be also sauce for the gander, we cannot consistently declare defensive war against the politico-ecclesiastical power of Rome, unless we wash our hands of all participation in the insane scheme of the Solemn League and Covenant men who would convert the Constitution into a Protestant creed. A. B. BRADFORD.

THE GOLDEN RULE, AND THE RULE OF GOLD.

A few days ago a gentleman of this city received by mail a check for five hundred dollars. He deposited it in his bank, and went down into the street, there to be met by a rumor that sent him back in haste. Just twenty-five minutes had elapsed. The teller's little door was shut. The money was gone. Had it been stolen? Was the banker a swindler? No; he had failed.

About the same time, a merchant received a large quantity of goods one day near the close of business hours. He made some common-place excuse for not making immediate payment, and promised to send a check the next morning. The first announcement of the morning was, that he had failed. He had the goods, but the real owner was without his check. Was the merchant a thief? Ought he to have gone to jail? Not at all; he had merely suspended. He was unable to meet his obligations.

Two young men were recently brought into one of our police courts on a charge of stealing shoes from a Third Avenue store. They were decent in appearance, and it was believed by some that they had been driven to crime by want. Had they failed, or had they suspended? Or was it because they were unable to meet their obligations? Not at all. They were thieves, common thieves, very common thieves. They were sent to the penitentiary for two months. —N. Y. Tribune, Sept. 16.

THE OTHER day a Detroit mother poured some ink on the pantry shelf near the sugar box, and went up stairs, leaving her small son playing with the cat. When she came down the boy sat by the window, wearing a placid, innocent look, but there were ink-stains on his fingers. "There! you've been at the sugar!" she exclaimed as she seized him by the collar. "Mother, do you think I'd steal sugar?" "What made 'em?" "Those stains, mother?" "Yes, those stains." "Well, I cannot tell a bold lie, mother. I think I've commenced to mortify." She wasn't quite sure, and he was allowed to go out and play circus.

A WONDERFUL invention has been patented by the Victoria Printing Machine Company, in a machine which can turn out, ready for the reader, 4,000 copies of a work, containing twenty-four pages bound together, without any manipulative aid. The machine has cost about £4,000, and requires no "feeding," as it regulates its own supply, taking in a sheet at one end, and, in less than a second, ejecting it at the other, printed, and with the pages stitched together, and ready for the book-sellers.

A KING of Dahomey once attended a grand feast, wearing a quantity of druggist's labels as his only clothing.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

MONA MOORE.

Mona Moore is gone—is dead,
And our village weeps to-day;
See the sad procession come,
Child, and youth, and matron gray,
Slowly, silent, weeping still,
From the graveyard on the hill.

Lily-like, her life was sweet;
Like a bird's, her work was done;
Without creed, or plan, or rule,
What she did was good alone.
This is how it did ensue:
Mona to herself was true.

Every home feels something lost;
And the children on the green
Their habitual play forsake,
And in groups, with mournful mien,
Tell the many good deeds o'er
Of the lost one, Mona Moore.

Deeds of love bear fruit for aye;
In the future harvests grand
Earth shall whitened from the seed
Planted by her gentle hand.
Mona, Mona, gone before,
Lost, yet living evermore.

F. H. G.

AVOCA, N. Y.

TEMPORA MUTANTUR.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

The world turns mild; democracy, they say,
Rounds the sharp knobs of character away;
And no great harm, unless at grave expense
Of what needs edge of proof, the moral sense;
For man or race is on the downward path
Whose fibre grows too soft for honest wrath,
And there's a subtle influence that springs
From words to modify our sense of things.
A plain distinction is observed of late:
Men, if they will, may pardon; but the State
Forgets its function if not fixed as Fate.
So thought our sires: a hundred years ago,
If men were knaves, why, people called them so,
And crime could see the prison-portal bend
Its brow severe at no long vista's end.
In those days for plain things plain words would serve;
Men had not learned to admire the graceful swerve
Wherewith the æsthetic Nature's genial mood
Makes public duty slope to private good;
No muddled conscience raised the saving doubt;
A soldier proved unworthy was drummed out;
An officer cashiered; a civil servant
(No matter though his piety were fervent)
Disgracefully dismissed; and through the land
Each bore for life a stigma from the brand,
Whose far-heard hiss made others more averse
To take the facile step from bad to worse.
The Ten Commandments had a meaning then
Felt in their bones by least considerate men,
Because behind them Public Conscience stood,
And without winning made their mandates good.
But now that "Statesmanship" is just a way
To dodge the primal curse and make it pay;
Since Office means a kind of patent drill
To force an entrance to the Nation's till,
And peculation something rather less
Risky than if you spelt it with an s;
Now that to steal by law is grown an art,
Whom rogues the sires, their milder sons call smart,
And "slightly irregular" dilutes the shame
Of what had once a somewhat blunter name,—
With generous curve we draw the moral line;
Our swindlers are permitted to resign;
Their guilt is wrapped in deferential names,
And twenty sympathize for one that blames.
Add national disgrace to private crime,
Confront mankind with brazen front sublime,
Steal but enough, the world is unsevered—
Tweed is a statesman, Fisk a financier;
Invent a mine and be—the Lord knows what,
Secure, at any rate, with what you've got.
The public servant who has stolen or lied,
If called on, may resign with honest pride:
As unjust favor put him in, why doubt
Disfavor as unjust has turned him out?
Even if indicted, what is that but fudge?
To him who counted in the elective judge?
Whitewashed, he quits the politician's strife
At ease in mind, with pockets filled for life:
His lady glares with gems whose vulgar blaze
The poor man through his heightened taxes pays,
Himself content if one huge Kohinoor
Bulge from a shirt-front ampler than before,—
But not too candid, lest it haply tend
To rouse suspicion of the People's Friend:
A public meeting, treated at his cost,
Resolves him back more virtue than he lost;
With character reguilt, he counts his gains;
What's gone was air, the solid good remains;
For what is good except what friend and foe
Seem both unanimous in thinking so,
The stocks and bonds which in our age of loans
Replace the stupid pagan's stocks and stones?
With choker white, wherein no cynic eye
Dares see idealized a hempen tie,
At parish-meetings he conducts in prayer,
And pays for missions—to be sent elsewhere;
On 'Change respected, to his friends endeared,
Add but a Sunday-school class, he's revered,
And his too early tomb will not be dumb
To point a moral for our youth to come.

—Nation.

CASH RECEIPTS.]

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 25.

J. A. J. Wilcox, \$3.20; Frank J. Mead, \$3; W. A. Croffat, \$3; J. B. Barrett, \$3; F. E. Bird, \$2.20; B. Cobb, Jr., \$3.20; E. M. Moore, \$3.20; B. P. Beeson, \$3.50; J. C. Allen, \$1.20; H. C. Heberling, \$5; A. W. Kelsey, \$4.50; C. A. Greenleaf, \$3; J. F. Ford, \$10; W. J. Blinkhorn, \$3.25; E. C. Alphonse, \$3.20; R. Hassell, \$3.20; J. Consalus, \$3.20; G. E. Letcher, \$3; Judson Culver, \$1.50; E. S. Elders, \$3.20; W. Ferguson, 20 cents; G. M. Lee, 25 cents; J. M. Day, \$2; George Allen, \$1.30; Mrs. Woodward, 50 cents; J. W. Griffin, \$11.65; New England News Co., \$23.64; R. S. McCormick, \$5.25;

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

The Index.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 30, 1875.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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ABRAM WALTER STEVENS, Associate Editor.
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WITH PROFOUND regret we call attention to Mr. Stevens' valedictory article as associate editor of THE INDEX. For three years he has been our true-hearted companion and co-worker in editorial and office duties; for nearly fifteen years he has been a most highly respected and greatly valued personal friend; and it is with sadness and sorrow that we now look forward to toilsome days uncheered by his kindly presence, his cordial coöperation, and his ever-ready sympathy. It is utterly needless, yet it is his due, to say explicitly that his retirement is the result of necessity alone, and of nothing whatever that would, if stated, reflect in the least degree upon him as a man of unsullied probity, of rare purity of purpose, or of singularly conscientious performance. It is for no fault of his that we now lose his companionship in the service of the Index Association. The many able and admirable papers of greater or less length which he has contributed to these columns sufficiently testify to his qualifications for the editorial position he has filled, and have made him many a friend who will share our own regret in his retirement. On various religious, political, and social questions he and we have more or less differed in opinion; but he will bear us witness that on all such questions his freedom of utterance in THE INDEX has been as absolute and perfect as our own, and that no expression of this difference on either side has ever clouded the pleasantness or cordiality of our mutual relation. By his retirement, our responsibilities and labors will be painfully increased, while the social enjoyments that lightened them will be as painfully diminished. On behalf of the Index Association, of the wide circle of his admirers and friends among the readers of THE INDEX, and of him who now sadly bids a brave and true fellow-soldier good-by, let it be said with deep sincerity and honest grief to Abram Walter Stevens: "Farewell, and may our loss prove to be your own great gain!"

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE CONVENTION.

The Convention of Liberal Leagues met according to announcement at Philadelphia, on Friday afternoon, September 17, in Lincoln Hall. Four sessions were held, two being private and two public. There was no local advertisement whatever of the two business sessions on Friday and Saturday afternoons, and the attendance was naturally small, not exceeding fifty on either occasion; the presence of a miscellaneous public audience, attracted merely by curiosity or similar motives, would have obstructed the transaction of the important business for which the Convention was called together, and no provision could have been made for public addresses of a general character without serious interference with its practical objects. Two public advertised sessions, however, were held on Sunday forenoon and evening, at which the audiences numbered about two hundred and three hundred respectively, and manifested their interest and approval by hearty and repeated applause. It would have been a cause for satisfaction, if a larger number of Liberal Leagues had taken the trouble to be directly represented in the Convention; but most of those whose organization has been reported are located at a great distance from Philadelphia, and the dry and comparatively humble work of merely making preparations for a public convention next year could not be expected to induce many persons to incur the expense and fatigue of so long a journey. As it was, the Leagues at Philadelphia, Pa., Sauk City, Wis., Vineland, N. J.,

Minneapolis, Minn., Clearfield, Pa., Olathe, Kan., Boston, Mass., as well as the Freie Gemeinde of Philadelphia, were represented either by personal representatives or by letter. Soliciting special attention to the resolutions adopted, we submit the following as the official report of the

Proceedings of the Liberal League Convention at Philadelphia.

Agreeably to the Call published in THE INDEX, the Convention of Delegates from Liberal Leagues, and of Liberals who sympathize with the movement they represent, met in Lincoln Hall, Philadelphia, on Friday, September 17, 1875, at 2 o'clock, P.M.

The Convention was called to order by John S. Dye, who called Carrie S. Burnham, President of the Philadelphia League, temporarily to the chair.

On motion of Damon Y. Kilgore, Mr. Dye was chosen temporary Secretary.

The credentials of delegates having been presented, Damon Y. Kilgore, Alexander Loos, and Parker Pillsbury were appointed a Committee on Permanent Organization, who reported Francis E. Abbot, of Boston, for permanent President, and Damon Y. Kilgore, of Philadelphia, for permanent Secretary; and these officers were unanimously elected.

On taking the chair, Mr. Abbot briefly stated the objects for which the Convention was called. He said that these objects were, first, to secure the extension and more thorough popular comprehension of the already verbally recognized national principle of purely secular government, or absolute separation of Church and State; secondly, to give definite and organized expression to the growing public sentiment in favor of the reform of the existing violations of this principle in the practical administration of the government, and to seek thereby to carry into a grander and higher fulfilment the national ideal of a republic founded exclusively on the rights of man; and, lastly, as a means to these great ends, to make the best possible arrangements for convening, at the National Centennial Exhibition of 1876, a general congress of all the Liberals of the country. He said that this movement was not a negative or destructive one, but positive and constructive in the truest sense of the words; that it was not aggressive against any class or classes of the people, but aimed to subserve the highest welfare of the people as a whole; that, although personally he was a non-Christian and anti-Christian, it was not a crusade against Christianity or any other form of religious faith, but rather an attempt to establish the equal rights of all religions by securing the absolute emancipation of them all from governmental control, persecution, or favoritism; that it was a movement of such vast inclusiveness as to deserve the support of all patriotic citizens who soberly and intelligently favor the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory; that this little gathering might yet prove the humble beginning of a great historic movement which should gain in strength and volume till it swept away all opposition to its just cause; and that this could scarcely fail to be the result, if the Liberals should now for a while resolutely ignore all side-issues and work persistently for the ABSOLUTE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

On motion, Prof. Alexander Loos, Carrie S. Burnham, and John S. Dye were appointed a Committee on Resolutions.

Damon Y. Kilgore, Robert Wallin, and Christian F. Langefeld were chosen a Committee of Arrangements.

Extracts from sympathetic letters written by Samuel Widemire, President of the Clearfield (Pa.) Liberal League, Frank J. Mead, Secretary of the Minneapolis (Minn.) Liberal League, S. B. S. Wilson and Harriet C. Griffin, President and Secretary of the Olathe (Kan.) Liberal League, and others, were read to the Convention by the Secretary. A. Bronson Alcott, of Concord, Mass., one of the delegates of the Boston League, wrote as follows in explanation of his non-attendance: "Accept my thanks for the ticket to the Convention, which I very much regret I cannot attend. Family duties must detain me at home. I sympathize deeply in the labors of yourself and friends to enlighten the minds of your contemporaries and prepare them for confronting the enemies of free thought and free institutions—meeting the great issues that are fast pressing to their consummation. The Convention must do timely service for the more efficient prosecution of these issues by concerted measures. I shall look with hope and deep interest for your deliberations, and trust you will have secured full and faithful reports." Dr. S. M. Whistler, of New Kingston, Pa., wrote: "Unable to attend as an individual, I take

this mode of making known my hearty approval of and deep interest in this movement. While not organized in the Cumberland Valley at this time, we are persistently working with this end in view, and hope to be in league with you through our authorized representatives at the Congress of 1876." Frank J. Mead wrote: "You will readily comprehend that Philadelphia is a long way from Minneapolis towards the rising sun. The distance, and hence the time and expense required to make the trip, will prevent our organization from being represented by delegates. But we are with you in spirit and sentiment. . . . In the Centennial Year we hope to have representatives with you. I am almost tempted to say that I will go myself rather than fail." Dr. S. B. S. Wilson wrote: "We have duly received your invitation to attend the National Convention of Liberal Leagues, and regret very much our inability to send delegates. . . . We believe that a sleepless vigilance and untiring watchfulness are peculiarly the needs of the hour, and that the lovers of truth and freedom should maintain an uncompromising and unyielding attitude in the contest which the plotters against our liberties are now invoking." Samuel Widemire wrote: "I hope the call will not be in vain. I hope your deliberations will result in much good. You wish our League to be represented. I should have been most happy to have had it so, but we labor under much difficulty, being few in number and widely scattered over the country. Our regular meetings are held on Monday evenings of the Courts of Quarter Sessions. The time is too limited to call a special meeting to appoint delegates to attend at that time."

The Committee on Resolutions made a report as follows, which was laid over for the next meeting:—

"Resolved, That the principle of the absolute separation of Church and State is the corner-stone of all civil and religious liberty, and the universally recognized foundation of the Constitution and Government of the United States.

"Resolved, That the exemption of church property from taxation; the support of chaplains by public funds; the direct or indirect appropriation of public money for sectarian purposes of any sort; the maintenance of religious services in public institutions, and especially the use of the Bible in the public schools; the appointment of fasts or thanksgivings by public authority; the use of the judicial oath instead of simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury; the existence and enforcement of laws for the public observance of Sunday as the Sabbath; the requirement of religious tests for office, suffrage, or naturalization,—all these and similar practices are in self-evident violation of the great national principle of the absolute separation of Church and State, and ought, therefore, to be totally discontinued.

"Resolved, That the evils here enumerated tend practically to the promotion of sectarian ambitions, jealousies, and plots; that they sow the seeds of disorder and disturbance of the public peace; that they cause great public injustice towards individuals; that they are a perpetual infringement of the rights of private conscience; and that they constitute collectively a great public grievance to all who believe in the separation of Church and State, and threaten serious danger to the future harmony and welfare of the whole republic.

"Resolved, That in particular the non-taxation of church property promotes the rapid accumulation of wealth and power in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church, and therefore directly fosters the development of an alien and formidable political power which openly claims to be supreme over all civil authorities throughout the world, and which only waits time and opportunity to press this claim vigorously in the United States; and that the enforced or permitted use of the Bible in the public schools gives to the organized power of this Church a fatal weapon in its already avowed and dangerous assaults on the whole public school system.

"Resolved, That these great and growing evils render it a paramount patriotic duty, on the part of all American citizens who comprehend the priceless value of purely secular government, to take active measures for the IMMEDIATE AND ABSOLUTE SECULARIZATION OF THE STATE; and we earnestly urge them to organize without delay for this purpose.

"Resolved, That we hereby issue a call for a General Congress of all those who sympathize with this object, to be convened at Philadelphia on or before the Fourth of July, 1876: for the purpose of organizing a NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, and of promoting the organization of local auxiliary Liberal Leagues throughout the country.

"Resolved, That we heartily coöperate with the Freie Gemeinden of North America, who propose to meet there in general convention at the same time and for a similar purpose."

The Committee of Arrangements reported that Francis E. Abbot, Damon Y. Kilgore, Alexander Loos, Isaac Rhen, B. F. Underwood, and H. S. Williams be a General Centennial Committee, with power to increase their number to fifteen; that the duty of said Committee be to make all necessary arrangements for the General Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia in 1876, and also to draft a Consti-

tution and By-Laws for a NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE; and that said Constitution and By-Laws provide for the formation of local auxiliary Liberal Leagues throughout the country, and be submitted for approval to said General Congress of Liberals.

On motion, this report was unanimously adopted.

The Committee of Arrangements also reported that Edward M. Davis, William B. Thomas, Elias H. Corson, John Wetherbee, and John S. Dye be a Centennial Committee on Finance, with power to increase their number to nine; and that it be the duty of said Committee to provide for defraying the expenses of the General Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia in 1876, according to the plan adopted by the General Centennial Committee.

On motion, this report was also unanimously adopted.

An address was then delivered by Parker Pillsbury, of New Hampshire, on the danger to free institutions from ecclesiasticism in this country, and on the necessity of taking immediate measures to arouse the masses to a comprehension of the situation. He was followed in short speeches by J. F. Byrnes, J. M. Speare, R. Wallin, and D. Y. Kilgore; after which the Convention was adjourned till tomorrow, at 2 o'clock, P. M.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON, SEPT. 18.

The Convention met agreeably to adjournment, the President in the chair.

The minutes of yesterday's session were read and approved.

The resolutions reported yesterday by the Committee on Resolutions were taken up *seriatim*, and after discussion by Charles C. Burleigh, Carrie S. Burnham, John S. Dye, Damon Y. Kilgore, Robert Wallin, Daniel Riddell, Ella E. Gibson, and others, were adopted.

Rev. T. P. Stevenson, editor of the *Christian Statesman*, the organ of the movement to amend the Constitution of the United States so as to acknowledge "Almighty God as the Author of National Existence and the source of all power and authority in civil government, Jesus Christ as the Ruler of Nations, and the Bible as the fountain of law and the supreme rule for the conduct of nations," being observed to be present, was invited by the President to participate in the discussion on the resolutions and to express his own views on the subject with absolute freedom. Mr. Stevenson was then introduced to the Convention, and made some earnest but temperate and courteous remarks explanatory of the movement he represented, which were listened to with close and respectful attention.

Messrs. Burleigh, Dye, and Kilgore replied to Mr. Stevenson.

The attention of the President being publicly called to the presence of the venerable Lucretia Mott, and a desire being expressed on behalf of the audience to hear from her, the President replied that deference for the known wishes of Mrs. Mott herself, who was physically too feeble to speak, obliged him, though with profound reluctance, to disregard the suggestion.

The Convention was then adjourned until Sunday morning, at ten and a half o'clock.

SUNDAY, SEPT. 19.

In the forenoon, the President delivered a written address on "The Coming Religion." Mrs. Isabella Leet furnished admirable music on the piano, and was enthusiastically applauded.

In the evening, the President gave an extempore address on the objects and aims of the Liberal League movement. Charles C. Burleigh followed with a powerful and unanswerable speech against the proposed amendment of the United States Constitution by the formal recognition of Almighty God, Jesus Christ, and the Bible in the Preamble. Mrs. Leet again executed some difficult and striking pieces on the piano, and was again greeted with spontaneous, long-continued, and enthusiastic applause.

After which the Convention was adjourned *sine die*.

DAMON Y. KILGORE, *Secretary*.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, *President*.

This report of the Convention's doings and results tells its own story so plainly that little comment is needed. The plans here blocked out must depend for their successful execution on the free, generous, and patriotic devotion of American liberals. A better start could scarcely have been desired for a movement like this, though a larger representation of Liberal Leagues might have given it a greater immediate effect with the unthinking. But the movement is one which must grow in strength every

day: it is foreordained to be great. Those who are easily daunted by difficulties, or who wait till a movement becomes popular before joining it, or who lack the iron purpose which will neither bend nor break nor rust nor wear away in a just cause, will let this movement alone; but we believe there are many who will hail this sober, practical, sensible initiation of it with real satisfaction, and in due course of time lend it their aid and support. If a sufficient number of the earnest and high-minded liberals will now coöperate with each other, a magnificent convention can be held next year in Philadelphia, which shall bring to the focus of one definite, comprehensive, and noble purpose all the now scattered energies and aspirations of American Liberalism. This is our summons and our opportunity, O ye who are not ashamed to be in earnest for the enlargement of religious liberty among men! Surely, the summons will be heard, and the opportunity bravely seized.

GOOD-BY.

With this issue of THE INDEX, my connection with it in every capacity ceases.

It is a little more than three years—something more than one half of the present life of THE INDEX—that I have been associated with it in editorial and business relations. During that time (excepting only three months covering the principal history of "THE INDEX Troubles," when I was the sole editor of the paper), my nominal editorial connection with THE INDEX has been as "Associate Editor." In order, however, that justice may be done and injustice prevented in the making and pronouncing of any opinion, by any person, at this or at any other time, upon the merits or demerits of THE INDEX, I will here state that, aside from the paragraphs and articles which have appeared under or over my own signature, I ordinarily have been no more responsible for what THE INDEX has printed or omitted to print, or for the general character, tone, and aims of the paper, than has any one of the eminent writers who have occupied places on its staff of Editorial Contributors. Undivided credit should be accorded to him who is and has been the real and sole editor of this paper, for whatever success has waited upon its general editorial management and career from the beginning. It would be insincere and immodest in me to appear now to be willing to divide this credit with him, or to accept the least meed of praise more than what may belong to such contributions as my own initials from time to time have specifically characterized.

This statement respecting the nature of my editorial connection with THE INDEX may serve, also, to alleviate the regret which any one might otherwise feel at my retirement. In consequence, nothing whatever will be lost to the columns of this paper but such articles as I have hitherto contributed to them. It is true that, for the most part, the peculiarity of my temperament has led me to be interested in, and to write upon, somewhat other themes than those which the pen of the editor has ordinarily chosen. I have freely used my unquestioned right to differ from him as to some of his cherished opinions and methods, although, owing to my natural indisposition to discussion, never caring to give special prominence to such difference. My retirement, therefore, at this time, will only withdraw from the paper whatever peculiarity of thought and expression may belong to me individually, and enhance the opportunity of THE INDEX to concentrate its utterance of those special aims and purposes with which I may have had least sympathy. Of course, I recognize the eminent desirableness of having unity of aim and purpose when action is proposed in the direction of organization and institution; and, being myself naturally disinclined to organized aggression, and in favor of more quiet and individual methods of promulgating truth, I cheerfully acknowledge the beauty of that dispensation which withdraws me from THE INDEX, and dispatches me to other fields of labor.

In this connection, however, I hasten to say that my present retirement from THE INDEX is not occasioned by any disagreement of views between myself and the editor. Our common devotion to the principle of equality in freedom alone would be sufficient to maintain our former relations, did every other circumstance conspire to the same end. In addition to that, an intimate personal friendship which has existed unbroken between us for nearly fifteen years might well enough suggest a continuance of these relations, even in the face of a difference of opinions and convictions. The adequate explanation of my retirement is that it is rendered necessary

by circumstances the nature of which it is inexpedient here to explain; and I willingly submit to the inevitable. That the Association, however, is able still to continue Mr. Abbot as editor and business manager of THE INDEX will be more than sufficient, doubtless, to reconcile all its patrons to my departure.

It is not necessary, I trust, for me to say that I leave behind me my good will and wishes to all concerned. With feelings of most cordial friendliness, I say good-by to every one with whom I have here been related. To subscribers and readers, to fellow directors and contributors, and above all to my long-tried friend and comrade the editor, I say an honest and hearty good by. May every measure of deserved success and prosperity attend you all!

A. W. STEVENS.

The phrase "organized aggression," used in the above article as if it were a just description of the Liberal League movement, should be compared with that passage of my opening speech at the Philadelphia Convention in which I stated distinctly that the movement in question is *not* "aggressive."

F. E. A.

CHAUNCEY WRIGHT.

The death which we briefly noticed last week reminds us most sadly of the law, that to be an effective great man one needs to have many qualities great. If power of analytic intellect pure and simple could suffice, the name of Chauncey Wright would assuredly be as famous as it is now obscure; for he was not merely the great mind of a village—if Cambridge will pardon the expression,—but either in London or Berlin he would, with equal ease, have taken the place of master which he held with us. The reason why he is now gone without leaving any work which his friends can consider as a fair expression of his genius is that his shyness, his want of ambition, and to a certain degree his indolence, were almost as exceptional as his power of thought. Had he, in early life, resolved to concentrate these, and make himself a physicist, for example, there is no question but that his would have ranked to-day among the few first living names. As it was, he preferred general criticism and contemplation, and became something resembling more a philosopher of the antique or Socratic type than a modern *Gelehrter*. His best work has been done in conversation; and in the acts and writings of the many friends he influenced his spirit will, in one way or another, as the years roll on, be more operative than it ever was in direct production.

Born at Northampton in 1830, graduating at Harvard in 1852, he left us in the plenitude of his powers. His outward work is limited to various articles in the *North American Review* (one of which Mr. Darwin thought important enough to reprint as a pamphlet in England), a paper or two in the *Transactions of the Academy of Arts and Sciences*, and a number of critical notices in our own pages—the latest of these being the article entitled "German Darwinism," which we published only two weeks ago. As a writer, he was defective in the shaping faculty. He failed to emphasize the articulations of his argument, to throw a high light, so to speak, on the important points; so that many a casual peruser has probably read on, and never noticed the world of searching consequences which lurked involved in some inconspicuously-placed word. He spent many years in computing for the *Nautical Almanac*, and from time to time accepted some pedagogic work. He gave a course of university lectures on psychology in Harvard College, in 1871, and last year he conducted there a course in mathematical physics. As little of a reader as an educated man well can be, he yet astonished every one by his omniscience; for no specialist could talk with Chauncey Wright without receiving some sort of instruction in his specialty. This was due to his irrepressible spontaneous habit of subtle thinking. Every new fact he learned set his whole mental organism in motion, and reflection did not cease till the novel thought was firmly woven with the entire system of his knowledge. Of course in this process new conclusions were constantly evolved, and many a man of science who hoped to surprise him with news of a discovery has been himself surprised by finding it already constructed by Wright from data separately acquired in this or that conversation with one or other of the many scholars of Cambridge or Boston, most of whom he personally knew so well.

In philosophy, he was a worker on the path opened by Hume; and a treatise on psychology written by him (could he have been spared and induced to undertake the drudgery) would probably have been the last and most accomplished utterance of what he liked to call the British school. He would have brought the work of Mill and Bain for the present to a conclusion. Of the two motives to which philosophic systems owe their being, the craving for consistency or unity in thought, and the desire for a solid outward warrant for our emotional ends, his mind was dominated only by the former. Never in a human head was contemplation more separated from desire. Schopenhauer, who defined genius as a cognitive faculty manumitted from the service of the will, would have found in him an even stronger example of his definition than he cared to meet. For to Wright's mode of looking at the universe such ideas as pessimism or optimism were alike simply irrelevant. Whereas most men's interest in a thought is proportioned to its possible relation to

human destiny, with him it was almost the reverse. When the mere actuality of phenomena will suffice to describe them, he held it pure excess and superstition to speak of a metaphysical whence or whither, of a substance, a meaning, or an end. Just as in cosmogony he preferred Mayer's theory to the nebular hypothesis, and in one of his earliest *North American Review* articles used the happy phrase, "cosmical weather," to describe the irregular dissipation and aggregation of worlds,—so, in contemplating the totality of being, he preferred to think of phenomena as the result of a sort of ontologic weather, without inward rationality, an aimless drifting to and fro, from the midst of which relatively stable and so (for us) rational combinations may emerge. The order we observe in things needs explanation only on the supposition of a preliminary or potential disorder; and this he pointed out is, as things actually are orderly, a gratuitous notion. He particularly condemned the idea of substance as a metaphysical idol. When it was objected to him that there must be some principle of oneness in the diversity of phenomena—some *glue* to hold them together, and make a universe out of their mutual independence,—he would reply that there is no need of a glue to join things unless we apprehend some reason why they should fall asunder. Phenomena are grouped,—more we cannot say of them. This notion that the actuality of a thing is the absolute totality of its being was perhaps never grasped by any one with such thoroughness as by him.

However different a philosophy one may hold from his, however one may deem that the lack of emotional bias which left him contented with the mere principle of parsimony as a criterion of universal truth was really due to a defect in the active or impulsive part of his mental nature, one must value none the less his formulæ. For as yet philosophy has celebrated hardly any stable achievements. The labors of philosophers have, however, been confined to deepening enormously the philosophic consciousness, and revealing more and more minutely and fully the import of metaphysical problems. In this preliminary task, ontologists and phenomenologists, mechanists and teleologists, must join friendly hands; for each has been indispensable to the work of the other, and the only foe of either is the common foe of both; namely, the practical, conventionally thinking man, to whom, as has been said, nothing has true seriousness but personal interests, and whose dry earnestness in those is only excelled by that of the brute, which takes every thing for granted, and never laughs. Mr. Wright belonged to the precious band of genuine philosophers, and among them few can have been as completely disinterested as he. Add to his eminence his tireless amiability, his beautiful modesty, his affectionate nature and freedom from egotism, his childlike simplicity in worldly affairs, and we have the picture of a character of which his friends feel, more than ever now, the elevation and the rarity.—*Nation*, Sept. 23.

[Translated for THE INDEX.]

NO RETURN POSSIBLE.

FROM "ETUDES SUR L'HISTOIRE DE L'HUMANITE," BY PROFESSOR LAURENT, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GENEVE.

The vain efforts of paganism and philosophy to bring the old beliefs back to life teach an important lesson to the nineteenth century. There is also in our day a religion which is passing away, or which must be modified if it is to regain its empire over the soul. Yet there are men of faith and intelligence, who say that the salvation of mankind depends on a return to historical Christianity. We would ask them why the altars of the Christ have been and are constantly deserted? Is it not because the Christian beliefs, as they have been regulated and settled by the Church, no longer satisfy the soul? And if such is the case, is it not an evidently futile attempt to offer people, as nutriment for their faith, the very beliefs which they have just rejected? After all, what has brought society into the state of scepticism which is deplored? During eighteen centuries Christianity has had the guidance of the people; and, after this empire has lasted for ages, society has become incredulous, as it was under the Roman Empire. Can the way of restoring the lost faith be to revert to the same teaching which has led men into scepticism? It is as impossible now to restore traditional Christianity as it once was to restore paganism. When ideas and feelings change, religion must also be modified. If it remains immovable while society progresses, the divorce of faith and reason becomes inevitable. To bring men back to the faith of the past it would be necessary to revive all the feelings, all the ideas, that gave rise to that faith, and brought it into favor. Who does not see that to be the most impossible of impossibilities?

AN OLD SCOTCH PARSON, who was not only a preacher but a parson, and who on week-days returned the visits which his people made to him at the kirk on Sundays, once came to the house of a parishioner where his gentle knocking could not be heard for the noise within. Upon this he lifted the latch and walked in, saying, in a majestic way, "I should like to know who is the head of this house?" "Weell, sir," said Sandy, "if ye bide a wee we'll maybe be able to tell ye; for Janet and I are just trying to settle that point."

"AS TO OPENING OYSTERS," said old Hurricane, "why, nothing's easier, if you only know how." "And how's how?" inquired Straight. "Scotch snuff!" answered old Hurricane, very sententiously; "Scotch snuff; bring a little of it ever so near their noses, they'll sneeze their lids off."

Communications.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN RELIGION AND SCIENCE.

Under the title of "The Struggles of Science," Rev. Dr. Hill, in the *Unitarian Review* for April, 1875, has written a criticism of Dr. Draper's *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*. I propose to say something of the subject generally, and of Dr. Hill's article.

Whether the conflict between Christianity and science be necessary or unnecessary, let us at least acknowledge that there is such a conflict, and that it rages incessantly. Whether there need be a conflict between some *ideal Christianity* and science, there certainly has been all along, and is now, a conflict between the *actual Christianity of Christendom* and science. This conflict is not sought for by science. The vast majority of its votaries serenely pursue their course, seeking to follow the truth wherever it may lead them. Suddenly Christianity, through its professors, awakens to the fact that some new hypothesis, theory, or fact of science is at variance with its teachings. Straightway there is a conflict; and, whatever may result from such conflicts now going on, it is certainly worthy of notice, that, in every great conflict of the kind that has been settled, science has been the victor. Indeed, how could it be otherwise? The man of science is ready to shift his ground when he finds that truth requires it; the man of religion has dogmas which he must support, right or wrong. Or, rather, he will not ascertain whether they are right or wrong; he will simply follow his feelings. Whatever conflicts with them, he is sure, must be wrong.

Why do we never hear of a conflict between science and mathematics, or science and chemistry, or science and any other branch of science? For the very reason that these are themselves departments of science, and there can be no conflict between them. Similarly, if religion were a department of science, we should not hear of a conflict between religion and science. And it is, or should be, a department of science; for science includes all that is knowable, and there is no department of knowledge outside of it.

But I apprehend we should not speak of the conflict between religion and science, but of the conflict between theology (meaning always now Christian theology) and science. For religion is an indefinite word which includes theology and morality. Now there is no conflict between morality and science, but there is between theology and science; as there is between astrology and science, or Spiritualism and science.

There is no conflict between morality and science, because morality, like mathematics, chemistry, or political economy, is a branch of science. For morality can be treated from a scientific point of view, and as a science; and the inculcation of the truth and observance of the highest morals will result therefrom. But turn we now to theology, and what a difference. Separated thus from morals, whether the theology under examination be Buddhist, Brahminical, Confucian, Mohammedan, Christian, or what not, what collections of myths, legends, and ignorant superstitions fancies do we find! What wonder that these conflict with the clear, calm results of science! Such theologies bear about the same relation to a true scientific theology that alchemy does to chemistry, or that astrology does to astronomy. Do you ask me, Where shall I find such a science of theology? I answer, It does not exist yet; the rudiments have not even been brought together, although they exist; but we may hope that some future Copernicus, Kepler, and Newton of theology may transmute our petty theologies into a live science of theology, as these men helped to transform astrology into astronomy, and as Lavoisier, Dalton, and others, have helped to transform alchemy into chemistry. Then we shall hear no more of the conflict of science with religion.

But now there is such a conflict, and the title of Dr. Draper's book is not a misnomer. To be sure, he does not enlarge upon the contest still going on between Protestant Christianity and science; but we all know there was no sudden cessation of conflict when Luther left the Roman Catholic Church.

Both branches of Christianity have carried on the conflict ever since, and are carrying it on now. The conflict may be fiercer between Roman Catholicism and science, but every Protestant denomination that has lived long enough has also helped to carry on the same conflict. They have all been beaten, and probably always will be.

For example, take the conflict between geology and theology as to the age of the world. Protestant Christianity, as well as Roman Catholicism, fought against the results of geology; and both were beaten. Still, Bourbon-like, they learned nothing from this and similar lessons, and are just as ready as ever to fight against any new result of science that happens to conflict with their superstitions and fancies.

Dr. Draper does not maintain that religion alone hinders scientific progress, as Dr. Hill would have us think he does. He wrote on the conflict between religion and science—not on the conflict of religion or science with everything else. Being restricted by his subject, it does not follow that he thought there was no other conflict. This being the case, many of Dr. Hill's elaborate arguments, some of them not at all to the point, fall to the ground, and need no further answer.

I would by no means be understood to sanction everything in Dr. Draper's book. Dr. Hill's criticism of the book itself, of the author's style, merits, and defects, is in the main just. It may be, as he says, "full of learning, full also of acute observa-

tions and judgments; it is likewise full of unjust aspersions, exaggerated compliments, anachronisms, and things irrelevant to his purpose." Harsh as the criticism may be, Dr. Draper may have, "with a lively imagination, a ready use of words, a facility of skipping over centuries in a sentence, omitting what he does not want, and selecting the most trifling circumstance if it will suit his purpose." But that "every hindrance to the growth of science, every obstacle to the advancement of society, seems to him to come from religion; every advance in theological thought, every improvement in manners and morals, to come from science," as Dr. Hill says of him, is said by the Christian theologian and Christian apologist rather than by the philosophical critic.

The same defect is shown again by Dr. Hill, when he says, speaking of the opening chapters of Genesis: "In our belief they are unjustly treated when they are looked upon either as history or as legends, that is, as professing to narrate events; one might as well treat Luke xv. as a history; they express religious and ethical doctrines with a power and clearness such as, in our opinion, could be attained in no other form of words intelligible to early and uncultivated eyes."

Such criticism is crude and mystical. Would he criticise books of other religions in the same spirit?

When Dr. Hill says that Dr. Draper attempts to cow and to bully his opponents; that he caricatures and misrepresents the doctrine of creation; that these lords *savants* undertake to excommunicate from the scientific body every man who is unable to close his eyes against the clear manifestations of the presence of an intellectual plan in the organic worlds; that the President of the British Association must refrain from insulting Protestant Christians by proposing an arithmetical test of the reality of the communion of the soul with God; that it is an offensive and imperious domineering for him to tell us in this volume that modern science forbids the humble believer to take any comfort in the Christian faith on these points (where does Dr. Draper say so?),—he uses language which may be acceptable to his hearers and the community at large, but which certainly is not the language of philosophical criticism. Were a Confucian to reply in this vein to a book thought to detract from the merits of Confucianism, would not even Dr. Hill see, in such a critic, the Confucian theologian and Confucian apologist rather than the philosophical critic?

What a confession there is in the very term of Christian apologist! We never hear of a science-apologist. We hear, too, of the defence of Christianity; but who ever hears of the defence of science? Who hears of a defence or apology for the law of gravitation? It would fall of itself, were it shown to be false, and no defence or apology would save it. There is another difference of the same kind between religion and science. Any one who chooses may attack any part of science. Let him but show he has some new truth to teach; that is enough, no matter what in science it conflicts with and overthrows. But as to religion, it is thought proper to write in defence of it only. A man may leave a fund for publishing defences of Christianity; but what would be his reputation were he to leave a fund for publishing attacks on Christianity, or even for publishing researches as to its truth or falsity?

I plead for perfect liberty of examination, of attack, and of defence in matters of religion as well as of science.

Protestants may think they allow the fullest liberty of thought; but let any one in the exercise of this liberty do his own thinking, and, even though his life is perfectly moral, if the result is that he thinks differently from those about him, he is looked upon as odd and peculiar, if not as an atheist and infidel,—words which are used as terms of reprobation and abuse, without reference to their real meaning.

In the case of one of the most liberal denominations, consider, for instance, how Parker was treated by his fellow-Unitarians, when he thought for himself, and his thoughts did not agree with theirs. This kind of liberty of thought merely means liberty to think as those about you think. Roman Catholics and the most Orthodox of Protestants are alike willing you should use your reason, so long as you agree with them. But if your reason takes you beyond them, then, they tell you, you must have faith, and you must not use your reason.

When will the good time come when the criterion will be, not what a person *thinks* of abstruse points of theological theology, but what he *does* in the course of every-day life?

In writing this criticism, I am obliged to use many words in their usual sense rather than in their real sense, as I have tried to explain them. I must do this to make myself understood, or I should need a glossary of new words. I have tried to take a common-sense view of the relations between science and Christianity. By Christianity, I mean the actual, practical form of it we come across every day in Christian books, and among Christian people. Were I to criticise Buddhism, Mohammedanism, or any other religion, I should try to include the same in my idea of it, and not some ideal Buddhism, etc., which its votaries might claim it to mean; as Dr. Hill and other Christian critics try to make Christianity mean. In reality, such ideal Christianity, Buddhism, Confucianism, etc., are nowhere to be found, and they exist in the imagination only.

Dr. Hill dogmatically asserts that no possible extension of physical science can give it jurisdiction over purely spiritual, metaphysical, and religious questions. How does he know this, and what right has he to define the limits of physical science?

In the case of psychology (perhaps Dr. Hill does not consider this a department of physical science), it is only since it has been treated as a part of physiology, or as allied to it, and since it has been studied

in the same material, scientific way, that discoveries worthy of the name begin to loom up.

And by what right does Dr. Hill fix the limits of science, when he says, speaking of the two theories of the government of the world, that of special providence or that of general law, "neither of them is capable of scientific verification"?

Comte prophesied that science never could tell us anything of the composition of the sun, and within a few years the spectroscope falsified his prediction.

I read to the tenth page of Dr. Hill's article with an ever-increasing sense of his intellectual power, if not of his scientific knowledge. Here is a scholar, I thought, of discernment; capable of logical analysis; quick to detect flaws, however minute, in an attack on his faith; fair, as critics go; and free at least from gross superstition. But then, to my surprise and sorrow, I find he thinks the Apocalypse prophesied the events of the first century. And, worse still, he admits "that it was a very significant circumstance that, on the day when France declared war against Prussia, and the Pope, in the midst of an awful thunderstorm, officially announced his own infallibility, he wore displayed upon his head his peculiar title, VICARIVS FILII DEI. The significance will be found by adding together the numeral value of the letters in the title thus: 5, 1, 100, 0, 0, 1, 5, 0, 0, 1, 50, 1, 1, 500, 0, and 1, added together, make 666; so that, if this 'number of a man' was not prophesied by St. John, it at least curiously fulfilled his prophecy"!!! And this from the critic who, on the opposite page, has spoken of a difficulty to one whose intellect is not sufficiently trained to enable him to detect the fallacy of Sir William Hamilton's solution of Zeno's paradox of motion,—of the geometrical imagination which has given immortality to his namesake of Dublin, although he of Edinburgh possessed acute analytical power, etc. In the name of common sense, when are such interpretations to cease? Are these the sad results of the highest culture of the land? Why not attach importance to the fortuitous fulfilment of the wild, meaningless prophecies, so called, of the mystics of other religions? And what of the greater number of superstitious prophecies that were not fulfilled?

It would be as rational to attach importance to "Napoleon Empereur," which, written in a certain style of handwriting, and read backward through the paper when held up to the light, shows, to the astonished looker-on, the number of ayes and noes cast for that arch-rascal!

AMASA M. EATON.
PROVIDENCE, R. I., Sept. 9, 1875.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

GRASSHOPPERDOM, NORTH-WEST, }
Sept. 14, 1875. }

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I have been watching your struggles for "Liberty and Light" for the last five years; and have been frequently struck by the unreasonableness of your ratiocination on religious, political, and social matters, which you so often mix up together like philters in a witch's cauldron. If you will kindly give me "Liberty," I will give you a little "Light" on some false issues in your leader in THE INDEX of the 9th instant.

For thirty years I have interestedly watched the progress of Catholicism, Protestantism, Unitarianism, Materialism, and every other "ism," with a clear, rational vision; and I confess I don't see the terrible prognostications of Mr. Lum and yourself in reference to Catholicism ever likely to be realized.

I believe the Catholic Church is making no effort to "mask its designs in this country," or anywhere else,—its design being to "preach the baptism of penance unto the remission of sins"; to preach Christ crucified; to teach men to forgive their enemies, if they hope to be forgiven; and this design needs no mask to conceal it.

In regard to the priests of the Catholic Church controlling votes, I don't believe they can control one. That Church is made up of Democrats and Republicans; and both parties are generally led by narrow-minded ex-Know-nothings. I defy any of your readers to say if he or she ever heard a political harangue in a Catholic church. The priests take so little interest in politics, that I doubt if one in a thousand ever votes.

Of the money given in New York in 1870 and other years; as you say, not a dime of it was given to support the Catholic Church; it was given to enlighten the ignorant, and for the care of sick, diseased, maniacs, blind, maimed, paupers, and other objects of public charity. If the Catholic Church is not able to support itself, it ought to go down.

Again, I deny that the wealth of the Catholic Church is a corruption fund; for the Catholic Church has no wealth, comparatively speaking, and, so far as I can see, it is opposed to corruption. Perhaps you or your progressive readers would cite a few authentic cases in support of this bare-faced assertion. The Catholic Church is the church of the poor. Where else can the poor man or woman in shabby clothing go and worship? Certainly not to such aristocratic churches as the Beecherian conventicle in Brooklyn.

While expatiating on the ignorance of Catholics, remember that creed has produced more able scholars and reasonable thinkers than advanced Protestantism, or even more advanced Liberalism; and I have met as much gross ignorance in all the other isms as I have in Catholicism.

One more point: I have conversed with people of all denominations through the length and breadth of this land, and with their clergymen, too; and I have met fewer Catholic priests and members desiring a union of Church and State than in any other religious system. In fact, to judge by our Congress and

Legislatures, it would seem to be a union of Wesleyanism and State.

In fact, I see yourself working for a union of Infidelity and State. For I see no reason why the "Demands of Liberalism" should be adhered to any more than the demands of Swedenborgianism, or Mormonism. Besides, Liberalism in Germany and Italy has become synonymous with robbing the churches, because they are churches. If Liberalism mean wholesale robbery, it is better to live honestly under the narrowest dogmas than in such insecurity. We do not want to see the day in free America when we can say with Madame Roland: "Oh Liberty, what outrages are perpetrated in thy name!"

I admire Liberalism so far as it is liberal; but, I regret to see that Liberalism is getting most decidedly illiberal, unreasonable, untruthful.

I do not put myself forward as an advocate for any church or "ism"; but I hate to see falsehood hashed up week after week, and year after year, and set before half-intelligent thinkers as the evolution of modern thought, progress, and liberalism. Give us the square-toed Truth, or give us—nothing.

Yours, etc.,

F. M. MACDONAGH.

[As Mr. MacDonagh evidently considers the above to be "the square-toed Truth," we cheerfully publish it for the benefit of those who may share his opinion.—ED.]

DOUBT AND PERDITION.

ONTARIO, Sept. 20, 1875.

Sir,—In looking over the files of THE INDEX, I came across a short communication of mine inserted in the number of June 3, and headed "The Inner Void." In alluding to those persons who, having renounced the current theology, were looking for some substitute for the discarded faith, I inadvertently made use of these words: "Men in this position may be counted by thousands in the present day, and are to be found in every place, as well as in every denomination of Christians." What I should have said was this; namely, that not only in every denomination, but in every congregation, of Christians, were to be found men who doubted the truth of much of what they heard every Sunday from the lips of the Orthodox clergy, and that such men might be counted by thousands.

I would not deem it worth the while to correct this misstatement at so late a period, if I did not wish to make a few remarks on the subject of doubt and unbelief in matters of religion, which affect great masses of the Christian community. I speak from some personal knowledge, having spent upwards of thirty years of my life in close contact (I may say, intimacy) with mechanics, and such persons as earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. These men are neither scientists nor scholars. They are simply possessed of that amount of knowledge that is attainable in our common schools, and improved by their subsequent experience in life.

If truth in religion be as necessary to a man's well-being as it is in secular matters, we should have a literature suited to the capacities of these people—a literature written impartially and in the spirit of science; and we have none such in this extensive Province. The booksellers do not sell any works but such as are in literal accord with the popular faith. These men, therefore, have no means of enlightenment, and they never get rid of their doubts.

If any one of them should apply to a clergyman (and few, if any, ever do), what will he tell them? Whatever answers he may make to special questions, we may be sure that he will dwell upon the great sinfulness of doubt, and the risk of eternal perdition incurred! He will finally urge them to betake themselves to their knees, to attend church, prayer-meetings, etc.! The man who had the moral courage of consulting the official oracle, and thereby exposing himself to the charge of heresy or unbelief, is not likely to derive much benefit from this prescription. Genuflection and psalm-singing will suit the case of those only who never think, and consequently never doubt. These last seem to be the "little children" of Holy Writ, who believe everything and object to nothing, and are popularly considered the "salt" of the earth.

Those among us who wish to become conversant with modern thought, and more particularly with the results of modern Biblical criticism—and these results must be known before we can get rid of ignorance and superstition—must be indebted to our more liberal friends across the St. Lawrence.

J. FINLAYSON.

"SELFISHNESS" AGAIN.

MY DEAR INDEX:—

In yours of the 9th inst., "J. R. S." says that to hear anything tending to establish an exalted opinion of our race gratifies his feelings, and is therefore of personal benefit to him; and therefore that his writing an article intended to provoke proof of the correctness of that exalted opinion was selfish. This statement exhibits a confusion of ideas—and this I say with entire respect. It involves the assumption that whatever gratifies his feelings is of personal benefit to him, an assumption which is contradicted by half the experience of half the world every half-hour. Thus it involves another assumption, that seeking to establish something which would gratify and benefit him is necessarily selfish. Now, selfishness being an *undue* regard to self, the question whether a course is selfish does not depend on its tendency to gratify or benefit the actor, but upon its being adopted from an undue regard to that gratification or benefit. One has no right to draw a con-

clusion that, because mercy gratifies and benefits the possessor, therefore the acts of mercy are selfish. If the act is done from more regard to self-gratification and self-benefit than the rights of others justify, it is selfish; otherwise not. Salt water bathing, when the weather was warmer than it is now, gratified "A.'s" feelings, and benefited him in every way. Was it selfish? It may have been, or it may not; the mere fact of its being grateful and beneficial affords us no means of judging. If, merely to enjoy the pleasure, he spent money which was necessary to the comfort of his family, he was selfish. If no claims of others conflicted, no question of selfishness arose. If, while bathing, he risked his own safety in saving a fellow-being, only because it would afterwards gratify himself and flatter his approbation the rest of his life, and not from regard to the sufferer, he was selfish. If he refused to risk his life, whether he was selfish in so doing depended entirely on his motives. If "J. R. S." had no object in view in seeking to establish the truth of his opinion but his own gratification, he was selfish as he claims he was. Only by seeking to establish that opinion from regard to others rather than to himself could he become unselfish.

Another word, and that the only important one: nobody thought of accusing "J. R. S." of doing wrong. I said the tendency of his views was immoral; but certainly I should be the last one to doubt his right, if he had carefully studied them and believed them, to give them to the world wherever he could find an editor wrongly (?) magnanimous enough to publish them.

Yours, with perfect respect, W. C. R.

THE LOVE OF SELF.

TIPPECANOE CITY, Ohio, Sept. 7, 1875.

Formerly I knew two men very well,—one a compact, robust, hard-fisted, bullet-headed sort of man, possessing a good deal of talent; the other very mild, amiable, conscientious, sympathetic, and impulsive.

On one occasion I saw a man accidentally drop a purse containing fifty or sixty dollars into a deep river, which had a swift current and snaggy bottom. The man who dropped the purse said to the bystanders (our two men were among them): "He who will dive to the bottom and secure the purse shall have its contents." The bullet-head, with scarce a moment's hesitation, made the attempt; failed, came up a few moments for breath, went down again, and came up with the prize. Says our sympathetic man to the winner: "I would not have done the feat for all your wealth" (and he was called rich). The reply was: "Why, this will pay my hired hand for two months' work!"

At another time the same two men were at a steam-boat landing on the Ohio. The water was high, rapid, and deep; many boats were crowded around. A young lady was endeavoring to get from a boat to the wharf, accidentally slipped, and went into the water between the boat and the wharf. The crowd was all excitement; no one dared to venture, not even our brave bullet-head. But our mild, sympathetic man, at one glance, saw the situation; passed rapidly and unnoticed down stream, plunged into the foaming current, stemmed it as well as he could, striking out right and left to feel obstructions, caught the garments of the drowning lady when under a boat, drifted to the stern, came to the surface, and was discovered making for the shore by means of small boats. Both were saved. When asked how he could dare to do as he did, he replied: "I could not help it; I was in agony; and my only relief was to make the effort."

Which of the two was the more selfish man? Did not each act from internal feelings? And were not each one's feelings a part of *himself*? One acted to gratify his sympathetic nature, the other his pecuniary nature. This case should show us how Nature works for the improvement of mankind. On the actions of one she throws a coldness, disapprobation, almost contempt, that a man of wealth should risk his life to pay his hired hand two months' wages! Who can calculate the beneficial, harmonizing, ameliorating effects upon humanity from the spontaneous sympathetic actions of the other? Thus Nature always gives most life and vitality to the "fittest." It will survive.

E. L. CRANE.

THE PROCESSION IN 1876.

DAVENPORT, Iowa, Sept. 10, 1875.

DEAR INDEX:—

The best thing in you is the zeal for liberty and education as against the union of Church and State, and especially against the claims of the Roman Catholic Church. In THE INDEX of August 12, Mr. Higginson says: "When at Philadelphia, in 1788, in the great festival which celebrated the adoption of our Constitution, the Jewish and Christian clergy walked conspicuously together in the procession, there was a distinct recognition of the principle of universal toleration."

What is to be done to make the procession of 1876 such a demonstration of the fact of universal toleration that all the world will see and believe in it? The contest between *Ecclesiasticism* and the *State* is coming again. Let us be awake to the great issue of the day. Let us gain a vocal victory at Philadelphia in 1876 on the Fourth of July.

Yours truly,

S. S. HUNTING.

HE WHO BEGINS by loving Christianity better than truth, will proceed by loving his own sect or church better than Christianity, and end by loving himself better than all.—Coleridge.

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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PUBLICATIONS

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India;" also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

Proceedings of Fifth Annual Meeting, 1872. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by J. W. Chadwick on "Liberty and the Church in America," by C. D. B. Mills on "Religion as the Expression of a Permanent Sentiment of the Human Mind," and by O. B. Frothingham on "The Religion of Humanity," with addresses by Rowland Connor, Celia Burleigh, Lucretia Mott, A. B. Alcott, C. A. Bartol, Horace Seaver, Alexander Loos, and others.

Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1873. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. S. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains verbatim reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Sonnenschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Calthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity,—as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"—together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Keshub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. Wasson.

Religions of China, by Wm. H. Channing. 25 cents.

Reason and Revelation, by William J. Potter. 10 cents.

Taxation of Church Property, by Jas. Parton. 10 cents, singly; package of ten, 60 cents; of one hundred, \$3.

These publications are for sale at the office of the Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston. The Annual Reports for 1868 and 1871 cannot be supplied, and the supply of others previous to that of 1872 is quite limited. Orders by mail may be addressed either "Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston," or to the Secretary, New Bedford, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER Sec. F. R. A.

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership."

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1875.

WHOLE No. 302.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

"If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. On this Centennial year the work of strengthening the foundation of the structure commenced by our forefathers a hundred years ago at Lexington should be begun. Let us all labor for the security of free thought, free speech, free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and equal rights and privileges for all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated to them shall be applied to the support of any sectarian school; resolve that neither State nor nation shall support institutions save those where every child in the land may get a common school education, unmingled with atheistic, pagan, or sectarian teachings. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar; keep the Church forever separate."—PRESIDENT GRANT, at Des Moines, Sept. 29, 1875.

GLIMPSES.

CARDINAL McCLOSKEY has been received with special favor at Rome, which looks upon America as most fruitful tillage-ground just now.

HERBERT SPENCER is severely criticised in a very able review of Dr. Cazelles' *Outline of the Evolution Philosophy*, published in the *New York Nation* of September 9.

THE SPEECH of Carl Schurz at Cincinnati, September 27, on the fallacies of inflation, was a masterly affair. Several extracts from it to which attention is specially invited will be found in our present issue.

THE BAPTIST preachers of this vicinity protest against the opening of the Centennial Exposition on Sundays. The attempts of organized Christianity to get itself officially recognized on that occasion are one of the most important signs of the times. Let every liberal study them well.

THE NEW ministry in Spain is highly eulogized by the *London Times*, as belonging to the party "formed by O'Donnell from the best elements of the then conservative party and the liberal party. They come into the cabinet with clean hands and a reputation for talent and integrity." They will need all their qualifications, if an issue with the Papal Nuncio is to be made.

CARDINAL CULLEN, of Ireland, has just held a synod of Bishops and Archbishops "to counteract the increasing infidelity and lukewarmness in religion and revolution in politics." The synod "gave particular attention to the subject of education of the young"—which is one of the worst omens of the new activity of the Vatican. Give to priests the exclusive control of education, and in fifty years the whole world would be Catholic. Secular schools are the citadel of freedom.

THE SPEECH of President Grant at the reunion of the Army of the Tennessee, in Des Moines, Iowa, on September 29, was a most remarkable one. The passage we place at the head of this column deserves to be written in letters of gold. It has been ungraciously (and we think maliciously) insinuated that the speech is a bid for a "third term." President Grant's motives are, of course, known only to himself; but we say unhesitatingly that there is nothing truer, finer, or weightier in the world-famous "Farewell Address" of George Washington.

THERE is to be a "Boston Sermon Course" of lectures in Music Hall on successive Wednesday evenings, beginning Oct. 6 with Dr. Talmage, and continuing with Dr. Deems, Dr. Douglass, Bishop Cummins, Bishop Simpson, and Dr. Duncan—all ecclesiastical dignitaries of more or less note. Dr. Deems is of "little church around the corner" fame, while Bishop Cummins has got up some sort of a Reformed Episcopal Church of his own. These and the other

luminaries will furnish the requisite star-light this autumn for this benighted "hub of the universe."

A WRITER in the *Catholic Record* for October declares unblushingly: "There can be no doubt whatever but that the Catholic Church preaches, and always has preached, charity and forbearance to all men—Turk, Jew, unbeliever, heretic, and schismatic. . . . Certain it is, that real religious liberty is the hereditament of the Catholic." With this artful statement compare the present demands of the Papal Nuncio in Spain for the prohibition of all non-Catholic creeds, the superintendence of all education by the clergy, and the coöperation of the secular power in suppressing non-Catholic literature and doctrine of all sorts.

THE MAYNOOTH pastoral of the Irish Bishops announces the purpose of establishing a training school for the education of Catholic schoolmasters, confesses their distrust of the present school system, and declares that "the control of the State over the education of the country has been enlarged to an extent perilous to liberty" [i.e., the liberty of the Church to govern absolutely all mankind]. The Bishops claim that in a few years they will compel the State to recognize these new Catholic teachers as "the educators of the nation." The plot is the same in America, and will succeed, unless wisdom and courage defeat it.

It is proposed by the *Christian Statesman* that a special building be erected on the Centennial Exposition grounds at Philadelphia, for the purpose of holding daily prayer-meetings which should give to the multitudes next year an "opportunity for the utterance of patriotic sentiment sanctified by the power of religion, and for earnest and importunate prayer for the welfare of the nation." On this the *Christian Union* pertinently remarks: "Meetings conducted in this spirit, and supported by the voluntary contributions of those interested, would do good; but if they should be merely a cover for promoting the designs of the Religious [Christian] Amendment party, they would be a shame and a nuisance."

THEODORE TILTON lectured in Music Hall, Boston, last Friday evening, to a densely crowded house. He entered the hall, unattended and was not introduced; but the audience received him with long-continued clapping, which soon changed to loud and general cheers. It could scarcely have been considered a fashionable audience, but it was equally removed from rowdiness, and seemed to be composed of very intelligent people at neither of the social extremes. Mr. Tilton lectured very well, in his usual somewhat rhetorical vein, and said some exceedingly good things. He seemed to be making an honest and manly effort to leave behind him the follies and faults of his past career, and to grapple courageously with the "problem of life," which was his subject. In these endeavors he should have the sympathy of every right-minded person, as he certainly has ours.

DR. CHARLES CULLIS, of this city, who professes to the public that his "Consumptives' Home" is sustained by responses to prayer, has undertaken another enterprise of the same sort in his new "Faith Training College," of which he is "President and Professor of Christian Work." Other professorships are those of "Christian Life," "Systematic Theology," "Spiritual Philosophy," "Revival Work" (Rev. A. B. Earle holding this chair), and so forth. The college is declared to have "no other endowment than the 'many and exceedingly great and precious promises' of Him who stands pledged to supply all our need." The revenues of Dr. Cullis' institutions are derived from shrewd and adroit advertising, by which the sympathies of credulous but benevolent people are readily enlisted; and it is a pity that the beauty of really philanthropic endeavors should be marred by unblushing quackery and imposture.

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Ancient Sacrifice.

BY PROFESSOR F. W. NEWMAN.

To our modern intellects, all killing of brute or man, for the pleasure of the most High, seems so absurd, that perhaps we wonder how such a notion arose. Nor is the topic very simple. To compose the idea of Sacrifice, or Sacred Act, or Act of Faith (*Auto da Fe*), streams have flowed together from many sources.

A first primitive notion is this: that if for human food we take the life of some tame animal, which is in our power and under our protection, it befits to ask permission from the Author of life. He gave that precious gift alike to sheep and oxen, as to man; therefore we must not slay lightly and causelessly, but only when we can ask his blessing on the deed. In the case of wild animals, the hurry and tumult of hunting did not permit formalities of slaughter. All that could then be done beforehand, was to offer some preliminary prayer that should sanctify the hunting.

But from the primary recognition of God as Lord and centre of life, other things followed. In some nations, the blood, as seat of life, was accounted sacred. It then might not be used for food, but was poured out religiously. Mystery being thus added to the blood, a wild and base fancy was liable to arise, that God, or some God, had pleasure in the blood. Again, the man who had skill in slaughtering, easily added the religious character to his art, and nothing was more natural than to remunerate his services of butchery and prayer by a portion of the slain beast. Hereby the original Pops (or cook?) became identified with the Sacerdos, and expected to feed his household by perquisites from the altar. Thus slaughter became a sacred act, performed by a priest when possible. It next became the interest of priesthood to urge sacrifice as a religious duty; that is, the sacrifice of such animals as were approved for human food. Moreover, vulgar fantasy conspired to give currency to the belief, that the god himself partook in the sacrifice, especially by its smell. On this the Greek poets are often explicit, and in Genesis we read, "Jehovah smelled a sweet savor," as denoting his acceptance of Noah's sacrifice (viii., 21).

Human sacrifice undoubtedly had one of its sources in the fantastic picture of a future world, where the departed soul would need various human aids. In the grave of a chieftain were buried not only his armor and his weapons of war, but perhaps his war-horse too, slain to accompany him in the other world. This we know to have been a modern practice among North American Indians. But a great Scythian or Tartar emperor required nobler victims. In the world of spirits he must have, not a single war-horse, but a body-guard of mounted youths; these must be slain for his service; nay, according to Herodotus, to accompany a king of the Scythians (the *Scolotai* in Southern Russia) they ordinarily strangled one of his concubines, his cup-bearer, his cook, his groom, his page, his errand-bearer (or adjutant?), and a stud of horses. We cannot doubt that the same fundamental ideas suggested the slaughters in Dahomey, on the death of a king. Cruel as we must deem these acts, they were not malignant, and did not imply peculiar atrocity in the agents. No life was regarded as of any value, if the convenience of the king required its sacrifice. As, at his command, a dutiful subject rushed into certain death against a formidable enemy, so to accompany a king in the

other world was an ordinary duty of loyalty; nor had any one a conscience against killing innocent brethren for this purpose. Perhaps, if we could know it, the slain were considered blessed, and even thought themselves so. Those killed religiously in Thibet by the arrows of the boy called *Buth*, were accounted holy and peculiarly fortunate, according to the testimony of the Jesuit missionaries of 1661. Not very unlike is the moral complexion of a practice among the ancient Getæ, or Goths of the Danube. A belief in immortality did but make human life cheaper to them. Every fifth year they sent a messenger to their deity, Zalmoxis, to inform him of their needs, and the mode of dispatch was as follows: he was tossed into the air, and received on the points of three spears. If he died forthwith, the god was accounted propitious; but if the victim or messenger continued alive, he was reviled as wicked, and another was sent in his place. These accounts show how easily, among men accustomed to slaughter in battle, poetical fantasy may lead straight to human sacrifice.

The phenomena known to us concerning the Greeks are rather peculiar. In their historical era they utterly repudiated human sacrifice; yet they unanimously supposed it to have been practiced by their ancestral heroes on various occasions; and their poets abound in moralizings about Agamemnon slaying his daughter—the most signal case, but not at all solitary. Yet the earliest poets show total unacquaintance with such tales, which (with abundance of other sensational horrors) are mere after-invention, suggested probably by the practices of other nations. Some of their neighbors had wild fantasies of their own, as in the drowning of horses to a river god. One may conjecture that, as in the passage of an army both horses and men were apt to be drowned, it was imagined that by a voluntary sacrifice of a few horses to the honor of the god, his jealousy would be satisfied, and a favorable passage secured.

This opens a new topic. Greeks and Hebrews alike attributed to superior powers a certain jealousy of anything preëminent in man or in terrestrial things. Thus Polycrates, according to Herodotus, being too prosperous, attempted (but in vain) to propitiate divine jealousy by voluntary sacrifices. But among the Greeks this never reached to the point of human victims.

The solemn religious sacrifice of select prisoners of war was apparently normal to the Mexican races, and may have been practiced by some nations of the Old World. It is imputed to the Carthaginians; but many circumstances lessen the credit of the charge. Nevertheless, it is easy to see how, in the interests of humanity, any priest or general might devise the scheme of a formal sacrifice, in order to stop indiscriminate massacre of prisoners. Perhaps not enough is known of the facts to justify any definite theory. That human sacrifice occasionally arose out of vows, is more certain. The vow of a sacred spring (*ver sacrum*), as recorded in Livy (xxii., 10), was limited to the births among pigs, sheep, goats, and oxen, all of which were ceded to the god under certain conditions; but it is too evident in Leviticus xxvii., 28, 29, that the Hebrew vow might legitimately include human children or slaves; in which case the law (as we now read it) expressly forbids the redemption of a human being, but commands that he be put to death, if he have been devoted to Jehovah. The only practical illustration of this, which we find in the history, is the case of Jephthah's daughter, which suffices to show that this was really the currently received law of early Israel, however rare in practice so extreme and rash a vow. But (what is here to be observed) not the remotest idea appears, in any of the cases of sacrifices hitherto adduced, of its being an expiation or atonement for sin. No doubt, whatever happened, was readily interpreted as entailing some "gift to the altar," which was generally a gift to the priest's table. Thus the birth of a child in a Hebrew family required the offering of a lamb, or at least two young pigeons; not as atoning for any moral sin, but (according to the notion of the early Hebrews) as removing ceremonial uncleanness. The offering is in itself analogous to a baptismal fee paid by a Christian parent to the clergyman. So among the Greeks there was sacrifice preliminary to marriage—*proteleia*.

The same remark applies to the other Hebrew sacrifices, which are spoken of as expiatory. They never are supposed to remove moral sin, crime, or its punishment. A thief was ordered to restore the double; but his offence having nothing of ceremonial pollution, no ceremonial expiation was imagined. Nor was it dissimilar among the Romans. If any thing *ill-omened* occurred—such as a monstrous birth, or a shower of stones, or a cow walking upstairs, or a Vestal virgin being unchaste,—the consul might be ordered to "allay the omens" by a propitiatory sacrifice; but only external mischief or ceremonial indecorum was contemplated as thus removable. The great day of Atonement among the Hebrews was expiatory of accidental ceremonial neglects alone (*agnomata*, Heb. ix., 7). I believe that there is no standing ground at all for an argument which should impute to Hebrews, Greeks, or Romans—the ancient nations best known to us,—that any slaying of victims could atone for conscious wilful sin or crime. Whenever misfortune came they were liable to be tormented by the fear that they had unawares neglected some honor to a god or goddess, some ceremonial duty; as Meleager after the Calydonian boar-hunt did homage to other gods, but forgot Artemis; and wherever there was a complex ceremonial law, such forgetfulness might always be suspected. Hence there was no end of such propitiations; but in Greece and Rome they died out with superstitious fears. Temples received endowments, and priests became too respectable to propagate any self-invented follies

for the sake of increasing the sacrifices. Besides, contributions to the *treasury* of temples had also become an established form of piety.

One other ground of sacrifice has to be named—that which accompanied the making of a COVENANT. The sacrifice was supposed to add force and security to the promise or oath. How this should be, is perhaps most clearly explained by the ancient Roman practice recorded by Polybius (iii., 35), of swearing "*per Jovem Lapidem*," as the vulgar called it. He who was to swear, took a stone in his hand, and said: "If I intend or practice anything against this engagement, I pray that while all other men remain safe in their own countries, under their own laws, with their own modes of life, their temples, and their sepulchres, I alone may be tossed out, as this stone is now." With these words, he flings the stone out of his hand. In the third book of the *Iliad*, when a treaty is to be made, a sacrifice and libation of wine is essential. Agamemnon slays the lambs, and the chieftains pour wine on the earth. The people around pray, "Whoever shall first transgress the treaty, as this wine is spilt on the ground, so may his brains be spilt!" We can hardly doubt that the same was the meaning of the sacrifice: "As these murdered lambs fall helpless, so may he who breaks the treaty be murdered." In the Hebrew Pentateuch, Moses is represented (Exod. xxiv., 8,) as sprinkling the people with "the blood of the covenant." But it can hardly be too often repeated, that neither here or in the sprinkling of the door-posts with blood of the Paschal Lamb, does the remotest idea show itself of atonement for sin.

The modern Jews, I believe, unanimously uphold that interpretation of their law, which alone is suggested by intelligent criticism; moreover, the learned and eloquent writer of the Christian "Epistle to the Hebrews" appears fully to admit all that is said above. He is indeed guilty of one great confusion, occasioned by the ambiguous sense of the Greek word *diathēkē*, which, primarily meaning a *disposition* of affairs, is used either for any special arrangement, i.e., covenant, or for a man's Last Will and Testament, which is to take effect after his death. It is undeniable that in Heb. ix., 16, 17, 20, the writer has argued illogically by confounding Covenant and Testament, and has bequeathed to Christendom the absurd phrases, Old and New Testament. But he is consistent in his declaration that the legal ceremonies, whether gifts or sacrifices, did not touch "the conscience" (ix., 9) of the worshipper, and could only "purify the flesh" (ix., 13); and that it is not possible for the blood of bulls and goats to take away sins (x. 4-11); nor does it anywhere appear that he mistook the slaughter of the Paschal Lamb for a sin-atonement, as perhaps we must admit that Paul does, on comparing I. Cor. x., 16-18, with I. Cor. v., 7. It is therefore the more astonishing that the writer to the Hebrews or any of his Christian contemporaries learned in the Hebrew law could have dreamed of finding there a weight of analogy for the wild idea, that the violent death of a righteous being by the hands of wicked men, can be construed as a sacrifice pleasing to God, which purifies the conscience of believers. Had he argued as follows: "If the blood of bulls, offered by a priest in the performance of his duty, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh, HOW MUCH MORE shall the blood of a holy prophet, wickedly shed, purify your consciences from a sense of sin," his words would not have been plausible. The argument is visibly monstrous. But by throwing into the background the fact that the murder of Jesus was an odious crime, and of course, in every Christian estimate, horrible to God, and converting it into a *voluntary* offering of himself, he seeks to glorify the event. "Christ (says he) through the Eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God" (ix., 14); and again, 25, 26, "Nor yet that he should offer himself often, . . . but once, . . . to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." It is notable how such a writer becomes a victim to other men's blunders, error attracting error. Thus he quotes from the Greek Septuagint: "A body hast thou prepared me," as the translation of Psalm xl., 6, of our version, which, on the contrary, agrees with the Hebrew, "mine ears hast thou pierced." Out of this spurious word "body" (x., 5-10), he actually makes an argument which reverses the obvious sense of the Psalm. The Psalmist insists, "God does not want sacrifice, but scorns it; he wants obedience;" but this writer makes out that the Psalmist means, "God does not want the sacrifice of bulls and goats, but the sacrifice of a spotless prophet." The Psalm says nothing about bulls and goats, but about sacrifice and sin-offering absolutely. Now let us concede that we have a right to forget the part which wicked men took in the death of Jesus, and to treat it as his own voluntary act; imagine for a moment that it had been strictly so (which ought to make this argument better, as well as clearer), and what will be the position of things? Jesus will be made out to have slain himself "for the sins of many," in order to "sanctify" his disciples, and "purify them from an evil conscience" by his "one sacrifice for sins" (Heb. x., 12, 14, 22). Would not every Christian shudder at having such a historical fact put before him, as a mode of salvation? One is apt to seem slanderous and blasphemous, in naming the possibility as a hypothesis; yet I repeat, it ought to make the argument of the writer to the Hebrews *a fortiori* valid, if there be any validity in what he has written. It does appear most marvellous, that in protesting against the Hebrew ceremonies as carnal and weak, because they dealt only with impurities of the flesh, the Christian teachers should have (for the first time perhaps in the world's history) propounded so very carnal and revolting an idea, that the blood of a holy prophet (whether shed violently or voluntarily) can justly remove from our consciences a sense of sin and sanctify us to God. We need not press the extreme

weakness of mind which could dwell upon his "suffering without the gate" (Heb. xiii., 12). Nothing but artificial inculcation of this doctrine ("the blood of Jesus") can sustain it among us. Every intelligent English child is shocked when he first hears of "hoping pardon through his blood," and wonders how "blood" is concerned in the matter. The doctrine in fact, is lower by far in carnality than any thing in the Jewish ceremonial; lower, perhaps, than anything that we have a right to impute to Greeks or Romans. Animal sacrifice is discarded, to establish a human sacrifice as cardinal to divine religion! It is a sufficiently mean idea, that the gods love the steam and smell of animal slaughter; but it is still more shocking to imagine that the bloodshed of a holy person is in any sense "a sacrifice for sin," "a propitiation" (or mercy seat? Rom. iii., 25); "an offering and sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savor" (Eph. v., 1); and that by a belief in it, or by a trust and reliance upon it, we become delivered from an evil conscience; that is, from a sense of God's displeasure for our sins. Are we really to believe that the most High was pleased by the crucifixion of Jesus? If it be said, "No, he reprobated the deed, but he was pleased that Jesus so meekly submitted to an inevitable fate," this is mere evasion; for, all comparison of it to a legitimate sacrifice then vanishes. If not death, but mere torture had been inflicted, the "meek submission" remains as praiseworthy as before; but, except as an example of conduct, nothing here (be it death, or be it torture), has any relation to our consciences, or has the least tendency to deliver us from a sense of guilt, if the remembrance of past sins troubles us.

Unitarian Christians are, in general, unwilling to admit that the "atoning blood of Christ" is taught in the New Testament. It is not taught exactly as Archbishop Anselm is said first to have defined it, as "compensation" paid to God for remitting the punishment of man; but that Paul, John the apostle in the Revelations, the writer to the Hebrews, and the First Epistle of Peter, inculcate purification by the sacrifice of Christ, it seems useless to deny. That the Epistle of James is wholly silent on this and other matters, is true; and, I think, it instructively shows how rapidly James was isolated in holding fast to the original doctrine of the Jerusalem Church. When that Church perished corporately with Jerusalem in the war of Titus, no authoritative protest remained among Jewish Christians against the notions which prevailed with the Gentile churches.

It is a remarkable fact, that in the modern evangelical creed this most untenable and most unspiritual doctrine of Human Sacrifice is made paramount. The Divinity of Christ is chiefly valued, because without it "the Atonement" cannot be sustained. But nothing can sustain "the Atonement." It must be thrown over, equally with Eternal Punishment and Vicarious Sin, to make Christian doctrines even plausible to deliberate and impartial thought.

VATICANISM.

THE UNITED STATES A SPLENDID FIELD FOR ITS PROPAGATION.

Col. Fred. Hecker is writing a series of articles for the St. Louis *Westliche Post*, in which he discusses a very interesting topic. Col. Hecker is of opinion that the United States furnish a very favorable field for the development and the powerful influence of "Vaticanism" (ultramontanism), and he seeks to prove his conviction in those articles. There will be found annexed a translation of the second of these articles, which was published in the *Westliche Post* on the 26th of August last:—

If we consider the number of organizations of the order of Jesuits, with all its affiliated associations and fraternities already existing in the Union, we can say that this order is already more powerful here than in any other part of the world; that it develops an activity and stirring resoluteness which have their only parallel in the time when that order initiated its counteraction against the Reformation (see Macaulay and Ranke). And everything here is prepared to give the Jesuits the victory. They will triumph over our own political fabric; for they have unity of organization; lead the entire hierarchy; have an army of shrewd, wiry, intelligent, and persevering men; know how to take advantage of every incident, and to win the masses through an accommodating code of morals, calculated for, and conveniently adapted to, every class of community; and know how to educate in their schools a host of trustworthy adherents.

Wherever in Europe it was undertaken to crush Protestantism, either by slow process or violence, and wherever this succeeded, it was wrought by that order. In this effort they proceeded with a wonderful perseverance and almost sublime cunning. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the Protestant Reformation was vastly preponderating in Germany, and even in the Austrian provinces thereof. Near three-fifths of the whole, even in the latter, were Protestants. In one generation nearly the whole of Austria was subjected again to Rome. The new doctrine was first extirpated in the Italian and Spanish peninsulars; then the same process of destruction was simultaneously carried into France, the Low Countries, Poland, and Austria. This reaction was attempted to be carried even into Sweden, in the reign of John, the son of Gustave Wasa. It is known what efforts were made to destroy Protestantism in England at the time of Elizabeth and Mary, her predecessor.

With the Roman and Celtic races, the success was surprisingly rapid, and who can deny that here in our Union also, the pure or mixed Celtic element, with its influences and ramifications, is the main support of ultramontanism, for which element, only recently, Ben. Butler claimed the future empire of

the Union. To explain this ethnological and psychological phenomenon, we find no room in a newspaper article. But the fact is well established.

In the endeavor to counteract the Reformation, whether by force or otherwise, organization of instruction, public and private, was resorted to as the most indispensable and essential of all means. When the reaction had strengthened itself so far as to be able to use force, it was used unhesitatingly, ruthlessly.

In the war against the Protestants in France, Pope Pius V. sent auxiliary troops, and issued a command to Count Santafore which reads literally as follows: "Not to make any Huguenot prisoner; every one taken to be cut down." Heretics had to be exterminated. There was an order exactly like it given the other day by the priests at San Salvador, Central America.

Even Princes of the Church met with no indulgence, if even the shadow of suspicion fell upon them, and the Reverend Bishop Kendrick, of St. Louis, is on the black list in Rome because of his work which opposes Infallibility. Under the Pontificate of Pius V., the Archbishop of Toledo was condemned by the Pope on account of sixteen theses in his works, which were suspected of having a tendency towards the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith, although the Archbishop had alleged in his defence, "that he had never intended anything else than war to heresy; that he had converted the erring from faith; that he had ordered the bodies of prominent heretics to be exhumed and burned; and that Catholics and Protestants had called him the best champion of the faith."

We may conclude from this condemnation of the Primate of the Spanish Church, how the rest of the people were dealt with in order to extirpate Protestantism. But the other day, Alfonso (the young King of Spain), who can well exclaim, as Telemachus does in old Homer, "No one knows his father," banished from the Madrid University all Professors whose Vaticanism was suspected.

Of what kind this instruction, order, discipline of the masses were at the time of the counter-Reformation is manifest from the fact that no one was sure of his life or property. The City of Rome overflowed with bandits; one of them, a celebrated chief by the name of Morianazzo, having been offered an amnesty by the Pope if he would quit his trade, literally sent him a reply; which means, in short, that he thought his present profession was the safest. The now so much vaunted education of the people by the priests, has resulted up to this day (in Italy and Spain) in the almost every-day depredations of robbers and bandits; who are nevertheless very regular in hearing mass; who bear on their persons consecrated amulets, relics, and medals of the Virgin; say their "Ave Maria," and are not brought up in free schools.

The Jesuits of affiliated orders took every means of introducing themselves into even the most Protestant countries, and, as one of them stated himself, "they sneaked in like lambs, and then behaved like wolves." At first they only demanded permission to establish schools, seminaries, etc., etc. Then they preached, confessed people, introduced processions of clerical pomp, and finally succeeded in getting the members of their Church into the offices (which will be the case here after a while), and finally to exclude other religionists from even becoming citizens. Every true critical history, which treats of the counter-Reformation, will prove this.

Here in our Union, they do not need any permission to establish schools and universities. By reading Sadler's *Catholic Directory* for 1875, one can convince himself what vast school-power the Vatican already dominates over in this country, and what a mass of persons it educates to its purposes, an immense propaganda! Upon females its influence is particularly exercised in conformity with a letter of instruction of Gregory XIII., of the year 1574. But even this privilege of establishing all sorts of educational institutions of their own, which they only obtained in the Old World (very recently in France) after tremendous struggles, is by the ultramontanians not considered enough here; but their object is to crush every other school system, and, above all, our free-school system.

If we look at the present emigration we find not only a large importation of exiled or dissatisfied members of monastic orders, school-brothers, and secular clergymen, but of a large mass of their faithful flocks. It is only a few days ago that an immigration of eight thousand Italians was announced as coming over. The Protestant immigration is constantly diminishing. In this wise, even without repeating and ballot-stuffing, by mere force of numbers, Protestantism must go to the wall. Unfortunately, the Anglo-Americans, not well posted up in matters and things beyond the United States, see no danger, do not believe in any danger, and will deserve the rod, which they suffer to be bound up and in which binding up they even assist.

The European governments look on with pleasure. In former times they got rid of their criminals by emigration; now they rejoice to see themselves delivered of their troublesome clergy and their adherents. Father Müller, not long ago, stated the Catholic population in the United States at thirteen million, which in twenty years might almost double itself. And how can this vote, closely welded together and operating like an iron wedge, be successfully met by an anti-Vatican opposition, broken as it is into innumerable sects, fighting one another, and torn to rags by prayer-witches, Sabbath and temperance fanatics, Good Templars, and other irrational one-idea organizations?

There are, as we will endeavor to show in our articles, in our social organization, as well as in our form of government, elements which without doubt nec-

essarily drive towards the Vatican. It is folly to believe, as many do, that the Roman (religious) system was more favorable to one form of government, to wit, the monarchical, and that it would flourish best in a monarchy. Romanism puts up with any political system, provided it allows to it the expansion and settlement of its powers. On this condition it likes the republic as much as a monarchy; nay, it likes the first perhaps better, on account of its larger liberty, and the absence of control. Romanism has fought both monarchies and republics, when and as often as they crossed its path. Of what a Pope can do in republics, Venice and Switzerland can tell a mournful tale. Profound scholars and serious investigators have of late called upon Rome to speak out on the question of recognition or non-recognition of constitutional monarchy. This is a vain demand; besides that, the question is already decided in the late syllabus. Rome will tolerate even a constitutional monarchy, which, like that of Belgium, gives it ample elbow-room, as upon the same condition it has allied itself with absolute monarchies, with aristocracies and republics. They are all subject to Rome, according to the canon law. [This may explain why in a recent important law-suit the Italian legal tribunals took special pains to declare in their decision that the canon law was no longer in force in the Kingdom of Italy.—NOTE OF THE TRANSLATOR.]

The Vatican at the present moment has far greater sympathies with our North American Republic than with the German Empire, because our Union furnishes fatter and less restricted pasture grounds. No restrictive laws are to be feared here, and that is a great attraction.

Under the reign of Kings William III. and IV. of Prussia, Rome was for absolute monarchy. Under the Emperor William it has nothing but freedom on its lips, disports itself in democratic demonstrations, and is coquetting with socialism.

No books have ever struck severer blows on monarchy than the works of the Jesuit Fathers Mariana, Bellarmine, Suarez, Boucher; and when Clements, the Jesuit pupil, had struck down with the assassin's steel Henry III. of France, Pope Sixtus VII. was jubilant, and exclaimed, that in the death of the King God's expressed will was clearly to be seen. A god of bandits this Signor Dio. Is this the history to be taught in the confessional schools of the Vatican, in opposition to history taught in the "godless free schools"?

We confess for ourselves that when, in our younger days, we read the works of the above-named fathers, the arguments which we there found in favor of popular sovereignty and against monarchy, laid down as they were with great acumen, great intellect, and subtlety, destroyed in our mind every vestige of monarchical feeling, and grounded us as firmly as a rock on Republican principles. Those Jesuit authors, however, have only brought into a perfect system of syllogisms what already, before the foundation of the order, had been taught in many places in the canon law. See, for instance: Decreti, Pars I., Distinctio 96; Ib. II., Causa 11, Quest. 1; Sexti Decreti, Lib. II., Tit. 14, Cap. 2; Extravagantes Comm., 1 Lib., Tit. 8.

It is, therefore, a very obvious mistake on the part of the majority of our people here to believe that the name of a Republic, that the republican form of our government, is a sufficient bulwark against the domination of the Vatican over our social and political institutions.

The Jesuits look upon Republics as a far better harvest-field for their lust for power. They know full well that it is far more difficult to carry on war against a government with a hereditary chief, which is as centralized and as firmly knit together, and as fond of power, and as quick to act and to move, as the concentrated power of the hierarchy, than to combat States where the strength of government rests not in the centre, but in the masses, as it were peripherically. And those masses (of the people) have no system, no tenacious holding on to maxims, which have an application in the far future; those masses are agitated by the fluctuations of the day, often misled by selfish leaders living from day to day, quickly oblivious of what happened only a short time before; those masses are without knowledge of past history, and of the laws of logical evolution in the life of peoples. Hence the republican system of government of itself gives us no guarantee against Vatican domination. The contrary is the case.

Indeed Pius IX. is right when he says that the United States are ripe for his harvest. Perhaps some one, after a generation has passed, may remember what we for the last few years have predicted in the way of warning, asking our people to be vigilant and on their guard, not from a presumption to play the prophet, but from a knowledge of the laws which rule the development of national life. And when weak-minded persons object to us, that we discuss this "dark" question so often and so earnestly, we answer them simply: This question in the course of time will create more violent commotions than the slavery question did. It will convulse alike the North and the South.

GARIBALDI, in acknowledging a portrait of Bismarck which had been sent him, wrote, "You have sent me a likeness of Bismarck, stamped with a grandeur and truthfulness unparalleled. You have thoroughly understood this great and illustrious man, to whom the world is indebted for those noble moral battles which, more than the material ones, will hurl to the dust the sacerdotal hydra of falsehood."

CALVINISM, could it have had the world under its feet, would have been as merciless as the inquisition itself.—J. A. Froude.

THE BIBLE AND WOMAN.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT, OF LONDON.

It is a peculiarity of the Bible that it always manages to be on the popular side, and that it always adapts its words into accordance with popular views. Whenever a truth is born into the world, and the ignorant majority look askance at the new comer, then the Bible steps forward, and solemnly condemns it as anti-Christian, and proclaims that it is lying under the wrath of God. As the truth grows stronger, and wins its way, becoming gradually received into good society, the Bible stretches its limits, and finds that a little explanation will make everything comfortable; so it "receives this person into the congregation of Christ's Church," and gives it a Christian name, and ever afterwards boasts that it was here, as always, on the side of progress. When astronomical science raised its head, the Church struck at it with the Bible, and declared that its truths were falsehoods, because the Bible taught that the world was stationary, and the firmament fixed above it; but now that every one knows that the teachings of astronomy are true, the Bible has been twisted to accord with them, and Moses' firmament has dissolved into boundless ether, in which numberless worlds revolve, and immeasurable distances stretch on every side. When geology was born, the cry was just the same: the Bible taught differently, and therefore geology must be wrong; but geology went on its way quietly, and now every one knows that that the world has existed for ages, and the Bible no longer denies the fact, but struggles to separate its verses so widely that there may be room made between them for geological periods. Finally, as science shivers the Bible in every direction, the Bible finds out that it was never intended to teach science, and that scientific accuracy is not ensured by "inspiration."

While slavery was popular, the Bible approved of it; it was supported by the clergy, and proved God-willed from God's own book. Only the pulpit from which the fallibility of the Bible was taught was open to the denouncer of slavery, until popular feeling turned against the accursed institution, and then the Bible suddenly found out that the spirit of Christianity was against slavery, and Christian England followed in the steps of "infidel France," whose proclamation of fraternity was not a sham, like the "dearly-beloved brethren" of the believers. While kings were strong and peoples weak, the Bible taught the doctrine of the divine right of kings; but "infidels" sounded the trumpet-note of defiance, and proclaimed the rights of man; and peoples, learning their power, laughed to scorn the prerogatives of crowns, and the Bible is no longer the buckler of tyrannical monarchies, because priests no longer dare to preach its doctrines of passive obedience.

And surely the same path shall be trodden to-day as regards the attitude of the Bible on the "woman question." The Bible teaches the subordinate position of women. It curses her in its third chapter, and proclaims that the pains of travail are her punishment; but doctors laugh at the curse, and ward it off with the use of chloroform. It sanctions polygamy and prostitution; but civilization is destroying the one, and is grappling with the evils of the other. It bids wives submit to their husbands as to God himself; but law steps in, and rescues the wife from brutality. It tells them to be in subjection; but women are struggling for freedom. It suffers them not to teach, but bids them keep silence; but woman's tongue and woman's pen are sharing with man the labor of the education of the world. But still the Bible strikes at woman's elevation, and the Bible is quoted against her equality with man, and the tone of society regarding her has for centuries been moulded by Bible teachings, and the degradation in which the Bible keeps her is considered as her God-given position. Soon, when this subjection is a thing of the past, the Bible will change sides, and will proclaim that it teaches the liberty of women, just as it has discovered that it taught the liberty of slaves. Already there are signs of the coming change; "Eastern ideas" are whispered about, and such texts even are quoted as "there is neither male nor female"; and some pretend that it is the Bible that has raised women to the position they now hold! Christians forget to teach that while among them the women were told to "keep silence," among the noble Teuton pagans women were honored and revered as teachers; that while the Christians only admitted men to their priesthood, and regarded women as an evil necessity rather than as a blessing, the Western nations had their priestesses sacred to the roughest and the wildest; that while the Christians were loose in their lives, divided between asceticism and rioting, the Goth lived with one wife, reverencing her, as well as honoring the mother in her age. Before the Christians spread their Eastern teachings among the Western nations by sword and by fire, women were revered by our rough forefathers, and shared with men their labors and their honors,—true wives and real helpmates of the harsher sex. But Christianity degraded them, and thrust them down, holding them up as daughters of Eve, the first temptress, who brought sin and death into the world, bidding men despise them, and teaching that evil asceticism which puts celibacy above marriage (according to the Essene teaching of Jesus), and which regards women as the necessary safety-valves for man's passions, rather than as the ennobling objects of his love. But, in spite of all this degradation wrought by Christianity, it never quite succeeded in stamping out, in the West, the old Gothic feeling, which broke out in the theory of chivalry, and still exists to-day, and which is now regathering strength, and promises well for the speedy emancipation of women. When the

poison instilled by Christianity into the relations of the sexes shall quite have worked itself out, then men and women will be able to pay each to each due honor and respect; then wife and mother will not imply the subjection of woman and the mastery of man, but will denote the most sacred relationship in Nature, in which is found the most perfect and most equal friendship, in which mutual tenderness, mutual passion, mutual reverence, bind men and women with a bond whose holiness and strength can never be realized by those who regard women as the Bible teaches, instead of as the friend and partner of man, co-equal sharer with him in the grandeur of humanity.—*National Secular Society's Tract No. 4.*

THE ISSUE IN OHIO.

Proclamation has been made by the Democratic leaders of Ohio, that this State campaign is to be of decisive effect as to the issues of the presidential election of 1876, and in the very front of these issues they have placed one which involves not only the national interests, but the character, the good, and whole moral being of the American people. An attempt is being made to secure the indorsement by the people of the greatest State of the West, and one of the greatest in the Union, of a financial policy which, if followed by the national government, would discredit Republican institutions the world over; expose the American people to the ridicule and contempt of civilized mankind; make our political, as well as business, life more than ever the hot-bed of gambling and corruption, and plunge the country into all those depths of moral and national bankruptcy and ruin which, as all history demonstrates, never fail to follow a course so utterly demented in its wickedness. The advocates of inflation in this State, as they themselves give us to understand, expect the people of Ohio, by the election of the Democratic candidates, to declare their approbation of that financial policy, that inflation fever, which will, under the stimulus of such success, sweep like wild-fire over the Western and Southern States, overwhelm and subjugate the Democratic national convention next year, dictate its policy and its candidates, and in 1876 put an inflation party into the field strong enough to defy opposition. I candidly confess I see good reason to apprehend such consequences. I do, indeed, not undervalue the importance of the manly, honorable, and patriotic condemnation pronounced by the Democratic convention of New York, on the doctrines preached by their Democratic brethren here. It was an act deserving the grateful applause of every good citizen; but I doubt very seriously, whether that act will stem the flood, if the inflationists in Ohio are successful. Pennsylvania has already followed them, and it is but too probable that the sectional feeling which the inflation movement strives to excite in the West and South will be inflamed to more intense bitterness, and that the financial question will be used as a new agency to revive the course of sectional warfare in our politics. Let us indulge in no delusion. The success of the inflation party in Ohio will be the signal for the general charge along the whole line to submerge the best principles, and leave helpless in the rear the best leaders of the Democratic party, and, spurred on by a reckless demagogism, to capture the national power by a tumultuous rush. This is no matter of mere local concern, as some weakly pretend to believe. It is a national danger which all good citizens should unite to avert, and which surely can be averted only by the defeat of inflation here.

I repeat, therefore, I have not come here to whitewash the faults of the Republican party, to apologize for its shortcomings, or to serve its ambitions; but here is an incalculable mischief threatened by the other side to be prevented, and I simply try to do my duty as I understand it. I beg leave to address my remarks directly to the Democrats of Ohio. In view of my former relations, I trust they will not, for this direct appeal, accuse me of impropriety. When I, as an independent man, in the Senate and before the people, advanced a policy of conciliation and justice with regard to the South; when I attacked official corruption and the transgression of those in power; when I denounced violations of the principles of the constitution perpetrated by Republican officers of the State,—you, my fellow-citizens, lavished upon me expressions of applause and confidence, for which I was duly grateful; but the Democratic inflationists seek to discredit my good faith by the accusation that I have changed sides.

Let us see. In 1872, I stood before you as an advocate of the liberal ticket, which had also been adopted and was supported by the Democrats. That ticket was nominated upon a platform containing as an essential part of its political faith the following resolutions:—

"The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation, in every form and guise; a speedy return to specie payment is demanded, alike by the highest consideration of commercial morality and honest government."

That platform was solemnly indorsed and adopted as the political faith of the Democratic party by their national convention at Baltimore. Upon that platform they stood then, and upon it I faithfully stand to-day. Democrats, where are you in making that declaration of principles? I was in earnest. If your leaders betrayed their declared faith, what right have they to accuse me of deserting my course, when I resist its betrayal by them?—*Carl Schurz, at Cincinnati.*

THE EFFECTS OF INFLATION.

From an authentic statement before me, it appears that in 1873, when the business crash occurred, there were in the aggregate more legal-tenders and bank-

notes out than ever before. Including the fractional currency there were \$9,000,000 more than in 1872; over \$29,000,000 more than in 1871; over \$52,000,000 more than in 1870; over \$58,000,000 more than in 1869; over \$56,000,000 more than in 1868; over \$46,000,000 more than in 1867. And even if we count the compound interest notes into the volume of circulating currency, we find that we had in 1873, the year of the crash, a general aggregate of \$9,000,000 more than in 1872; over \$29,000,000 more than in 1871; over \$51,000,000 more than in 1870; over \$56,000,000 more than in 1868. And yet the last year mentioned has generally been called the year of unexampled prosperity, and when, during all these years, the currency has reached its greatest volume, that collapse came, which the inflationists would have us believe was caused by contraction. There is the record. There was expansion and no contraction; and if there was no contraction, the contraction cannot have caused the collapse in business.—*Carl Schurz, at Cincinnati.*

NO RELIEF THROUGH INFLATION.

The question recurs, whether an inflation of currency will furnish the relief we need. You say that, though the banks in business centres are full of money lying idle for want of employment, we want more currency. I tell you business can have as much as it likes without any further act of the government. According to law every one of you, or any association you may form having the necessary capital, can start a bank of issue. A general license to that effect through the free-banking act was given by Congress last winter. We heard so much of the West and South wanting none but local circulation, and starving for greater banking facilities. Now you can make yourselves comfortable. All legal impediments are removed. You can issue any amount of currency; but, behold, the currency will not inflate one cent's worth; and you, worthy patriots, who clamor for more currency, do not lift a finger to create more. Everybody knows that millions and millions of money are lying unemployed in the business centres of the country, East and West, looking for investments sufficiently safe. Everybody knows that in every large city in the land there are dozens of capitalists with abundant means which they might devote to the creation of bank paper issues, if it were profitable. Everybody knows that there is scarcely a town of respectable size without men of means fully able to form a combination for that purpose. On the first of July of this year new currency had been issued to new and old banks amounting to \$7,780,000; but according to a letter addressed to me by the comptroller of the currency, \$23,579,134 of legal tender notes have been deposited with the treasurer for the purpose of retiring national bank-notes under the act of June 20, 1874, while, under the redemption system created by the same act, over \$4,000,000 of national bank-notes have been retired, by far the largest part of this reduction taking place in the West and South, which, we are told, were starving for more circulation. By the 15th of September the figures had risen to nearly \$29,000,000. How is this? The business of the country is, they tell us, suffering most terribly for want of currency; and that same business of the country not only is not accommodating itself by issuing more when it has an opportunity, but voluntarily surrendering many millions of what it has otherwise.—*Carl Schurz, at Cincinnati.*

ROBBING THE POOR BY INFLATION.

We are told that there is an expansion of currency, and its consequent depreciation will benefit the poor, inasmuch as it will benefit the debtor as against the creditor by enabling the former to pay off his debts in less value than that in which they were contracted. The morality of that argument I will not discuss; but let us look at the pretended facts upon which it is based. Statistics of the private indebtedness in the United States before us would unquestionably show that more than seventy-five per cent. of it is owing, too, by men commanding comparatively large means, and that the laborers for wages are the least indebted class of society, even in proportion to their earnings and savings, and next to them the farmers and the small business men. But laboring men are, to a very large amount, creditors of the country. I venture to say that there is neither a manufacturer, nor a merchant, nor a professional man of means in this assembly who is not a debtor; and among his creditors are, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, his fellow-workmen, or his servants, to whom he owes wages for a part of a week or a month. It has been calculated by good authority that the wages thus constantly owing for an average of half a month's service or work amount in the whole country to \$120,000,000. And who is it that owns the deposits in the savings banks amounting to about \$760,000,000? Not the rich, but the laboring people and persons of small means, who put their surplus earnings there for safe keeping. It is estimated that the same class has in national and private banks and in trust companies another \$200,000,000, and that nearly \$130,000,000 is owing them in other kinds of debts. There is then the sum of about \$1,200,000,000 owing to the laboring people and men of small means, constituting their savings to that amount. That class are creditors, and you pretend that for their benefit you will expand the currency, gold being fifteen per cent. premium. Those savings have a value of \$1,020,000,000 in gold. Expand the currency until gold is thirty per cent. premium, and you have robbed those people of \$180,000,000. Expand until the gold premium is fifty per cent., and you have stripped them of \$420,000,000 of their hard-earned money.—*Carl Schurz, at Cincinnati.*

THE ONLY SAFETY IN RESUMPTION.

But, if you inflate the currency under the present circumstances, what will be the condition of things? Then the additional greenbacks will not appear as creatures of an imperative public necessity, to save the life of the republic in the extremity of its peril. They will appear as a product of a scheme, the purposes of which are dark. The world will begin to suspect that when a government, in the face of disastrous experiences of mankind, resorts to so extraordinary and dangerous a measure, without necessity, its integrity cannot longer be depended upon. Doubts will arise, and very serious doubts, not as to ability, but as to the honest intentions of the government to redeem its promises, and these doubts will fall upon our business life a deadening blight. The last remnant of confidence will be paralyzed. The world will see the spectre of a republic looming behind so reckless a financial policy. The faith of mankind in the integrity of our government, giving away our credit, will be shaken to its very foundations. And as you sometimes see depositors of a bank excited by a rumor that the cashier is making away with the cash, and instinctively unite in a feverish run upon the counter, so you must not be surprised if, in a general alarm about threatening dishonesty, you see the securities, not only of the government, but of our private corporations also, flung by hundreds of millions into the market, producing a crash more fearful and destructive, and a paralysis more deadly to all of our economic interests than any people on earth can remember for generations past.

But I ask you, with all candor and soberness, business men, farmers, laborers, honest and patriotic citizens of all classes, is it not time to stop such wanton schemes of mischief? There being an abundance of money in the banks that lies unemployed, it is evidently not more money that we need. What do we need? Confidence! Confidence which will induce timid capital to venture into enterprise. And what is the first requirement to restore confidence? It is stability above all things. Stability of current values, which renders possible business calculations of reasonable certainty. When the capitalist is assured that the dollar of to-morrow will have the same value as the dollar of to-day, and this stability of value finds full security in a rational and fixed monetary system, then, and no sooner, will he liberally trust his money to those who want actively to employ it, and promise a fair return. But who of you can tell me what that money will be worth twenty days after the opening of the new session of Congress? Who of you can tell me what wild antics that money may play with the fortunes of all of us, if those who clamor for inflation now shall control the national government a year hence?

My fellow-citizens, all sane men agree that of the great problem which oppresses us, there is but one ultimate solution; it is the return to a specie basis. Whatever other schemes may be devised, they do not even pretend to have a permanent final settlement of the question in view. The resumption of specie payments is the only rational one, for no other system will remove current values from the reach of the arbitrary power of the government. No other can give to current values that stability without which no safe business calculation can be made. No other can restore that confidence which is the first prerequisite of a new period of prosperity. But the resumption of specie payments is also the only possible solution. It must at last come; even the inflationists, while wildly seeking to throw difficulties in its way, still admit that it must finally come. It is as inevitable as fate. Is it not the part of prudent men, then, to move resolutely and with unflinching firmness in the direction of an end so desirable, and also so inevitable?—*Carl Schurz, at Cincinnati.*

A SOLEMN APPEAL.

I solemnly appeal to every good citizen of this State to be mindful of his responsibility. Upon your action on the 12th of October hangs a great decision. If the people of Ohio strike down the inflation movement in their midst, that will be its final overthrow. It may linger along, but the power of its onset will be broken. If this fails, and the advocacy of barbarism and ruin rush victoriously into the field of next year's great contest, then who knows but that future generations may have to look back upon the one hundredth anniversary of American independence—the time which before all others should fill the national heart with the noblest aspirations—as one of the blackest years in the history of the republic? To meet the danger here is, therefore, the first thing needful from the honest men of all parties. I call upon them to unite in a common effort. Let no one fear that the defeat of an opposition party which uses the advantages of its position to promote such nefarious schemes will be interpreted as an approval of wrong on the other side; for I assure you when this great danger which threatens to engulf all in the whirlpool of corruption, ruin, and dishonor is successfully averted, you will find the men who combated the wrongs of either side as true as ever to their principles. Citizens of Ohio, you are charged with a great office. You have to give the world the assurance that the people of the great American republic are honest and enlightened people; that their integrity and intelligence may be trusted alike, and that mankind may count upon them in the forward march of civilization. I entreat you not to fail in so glorious a duty!—*Carl Schurz, at Cincinnati.*

IN THE COURSE of an address lately delivered by Cardinal Manning, in Ireland, he stated his belief that nothing but the intervention of the "Blessed and Immaculate Mother" saved France from destruction at the hands of the Germans.

THE NEW ASPECT OF THE CATHOLIC PROBLEM.

In an article on the O'Connell Centennial, the *Saturday Review* makes the following striking remarks:—

"The principal objection to a celebration of O'Connell's memory is that he has no surviving adherents. Since his time political issues have assumed another form, and the Roman Catholic hierarchy has adopted or proclaimed a system which he could never have foreseen. It is impossible to know what he would have thought of the Immaculate Conception or of the infallibility of the Pope; but it is not improbable that he would have passively acquiesced in both doctrines as mysteries with which laymen had no concern. He would certainly not have approved the secular policy of the Jesuits, which has brought the Holy See into relations of hostility with nearly every State in Europe. With O'Connell's connivance and approval, and probably in accordance with his sincere opinion, the Irish Catholic prelates of his day disclaimed for the satisfaction of Parliament all the most obnoxious theories which have since been propounded in the Syllabus and in the Vatican Decrees. Much of his success was due to his close alliance with the priests; but, although they might be indispensable to him as agents and auxiliaries, they were the subordinates, and he was the undisputed chief. His Orthodoxy, according to the good old type of hereditary Catholicism, was undisputed; but there is no reason to suppose that he ever troubled himself with the study of theology. He can scarcely have believed in the subordination of the State to the Church, which had not been seriously claimed for three centuries."

The change in the relations of the Catholic Church to the world since the Ecumenical Council have been felt throughout the world. The great struggle in Germany has been one of the results. The great argument in England, between Mr. Gladstone and Cardinal Manning and others, has been a sign of the times. France, Spain, and Austria have illustrated the aggressive pretensions of the Church. The vaunted alliance between the Church and the Democratic party in Ohio is an incident of the general history. The apprehension of what may be loosely termed a Know-Nothing revival in this country has not on the part of the Catholic Church been as serious as it might have been. The sagacity of the Catholic hierarchy has been somewhat at fault here. The Know-Nothing party left behind it an unsavory memory; but it does not follow that Ultramontane assumptions of a preposterous character may not be resisted without Know-Nothingism. The Know-Nothings of twenty-one years ago had no such ammunition as the Encyclical and the Syllabus and a file of the *Catholic Telegraph* would furnish; and a party now proposing to resist any encroachments of the Church upon the State, or to assume that there were such encroachments for the sake of agitation, would not be such idiots as to begin by making war upon all foreign-born citizens and their descendants to the third generations; but they would rally at once to their support the liberal Germans, who would take part with the same zeal with which in Fatherland the imperial policy of Germany against Rome is sustained. It will not do, therefore, to measure the antagonism that may be awakened against the Catholic Church as a politician, as Judge Taft would say, by the Know-Nothing incapacity of a former generation; and the Archbishop of Cincinnati can claim, if troubles come, that he predicted them when he opposed the proclamation of the dogma of infallibility in the Ecumenical Council. Judge Taft was careful to mark the distinction between the clergy and laity of the Catholic Church. There is another distinction to be noted—that between the Ultramontanes and the Liberal Catholics. —*Cincinnati Commercial.*

A SCOTCH CLERGYMAN, visiting in the parish of St. Ninians, came to a house where he wished to get a Bible for reference. The guide told her daughter to "look for the book on the tap o' the aumry." The girl searched, but could not find it; when the mother said, "Preserve me, I'm sure it maun be thereabouts some way; for we had it at the time o' the flitting." "And when did you flit?" said the minister. To which the wife replied, "Ay, let me see—it will be nineteen years come Beltane."

THOSE persons who began to eat large quantities of fish a few years ago, and have kept up the practice ever since without having experienced the desired increase of intellectual capacity, may thank the *New Orleans Republican* for this explanation: "Unless a man has brains, it is useless for him to eat brain food. It has never been claimed for fish that it creates, it only strengthens, the brain."

"MAISTER," said an old Scotch servant, "whether it's gude manners, when a gentleman gies ye a glass o' whuskey, to tak' a drap, or drink aff the haill o' it?" The master having, in homely Scotch phrase, judiciously replied to this poser that the courtesy consisted in imbibing the whole, the man exclaimed, with a sigh of relief, "Then, Gude be thankit, I was mannerly!"

A LONDON correspondent of a Liverpool paper tells of another infliction from which the people of London are suffering. All the barrel organs under the care of the Italian immigrants have been supplied with Moody and Sankey's hymn-tunes, which they are now grinding out at every street-corner.

"WE READ in de good book," says a colored Baptist brother down South, "ob John de Baptist; neber of John de Methodist."

Poetry.

THE YELLOW-HAMMER'S NEST.

BY JOHN W. CHADWICK.

The yellow-hammer came to build his nest
High in the elm tree's ever-nodding crest;
All the long day, upon his task intent,
Backward and forward busily he went;

Gathering from far and near the tiny shreds
That birdies weave for little birdies' beds;
Now bits of grass, now bits of vagrant string,
And now some queerer, dearer sort of thing.

For on the lawn, where he was wont to come
In search of stuff to build his pretty home,
We dropped one day a lock of golden hair
Which our wee darling easily could spare;

And close beside it tenderly we placed
A lock that had the stooping shoulders graced
Of her old grandsire; it was white as snow,
Or cherry-trees when they are all ablow.

Then thrave the yellow-hammer's work apace;
Hundreds of times he sought the lucky place
Where sure, he thought, in his bird-fashion dim,
Wondrous provision had been made for him.

Both locks, the white and golden, disappeared;
The nest was finished, and the brood was reared;
And then there came a pleasant summer's day
When the last yellow-hammer flew away.

Ere long, in triumph, from its leafy height,
We bore the nest so wonderfully light,
And saw how prettily the white and gold
Made warp and woof of many a gleaming fold.

But when again the yellow-hammers came,
Cleaving the orchards with their pallid flame,
Grandsire's white locks and baby's golden head
Were lying low, both in one grassy bed.

And so more dear than ever is the nest
Ta'en from the elm tree's ever-nodding crest.
Little the yellow-hammer thought how rare
A thing he wrought of white and golden hair!

—*Harper's for September.*

BABY vs. THEOLOGY.

A smiling face, a dimpled chin,
Some tender eyes of blue;
Wherefore is she condemned for sin,
My little maid of two?

She runs to meet me up the path;
Her graces mine renew.
'Tis false! she is no child of wrath,
This little maid of two.

Her little hand is on my cheek,
It thrills me through and through;
My lips refuse awhile to speak,
But kiss my maid of two.

You talk of primal wickedness;
Pray what has that to do
With all this laughing blessedness,
This little maid of two?

"Depraved and totally undone,"
I think'st about your view;
But when your argument is spun,
Here's still my maid of two.

Her innocence, her artless ways,
Her faith and love so true,
Refute your dogma to God's praise;
This little maid of two.

Ah me! were all the world as she,
What should the angels do
But yield their palms, bestow their crowns
On little maids of two?

NEW CASTLE, Aug. 7.

—*B. S. Parker, in the Indianapolis Herald.*

EPITAPH

FOUND ON THE TOMBSTONE OF ABNER KILLEY, IN ASHFIELD, MASS., DATED 1723.

An apoplectic seized my powers
When I was not expecting death;
The conflict lasted twenty hours,
And then I yielded up my breath.

Now when you this inscription read,
Remember you are born to die;
You know not when or with what speed
The shaft of death from God may fly.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 2.

Andrew Dickson, \$1.37; Cash, \$3.13; S. M. Whistler, \$1; S. H. Jones, \$1.50; M. C. Huling, \$3.20; G. H. A. Morse, \$3.20; American News Co., \$2.55; F. A. Hunkley, \$3; Isaac Liebmam, 75 cents; A. C. Folsom, \$10; J. D. Stranahan, 45 cents; Chas. Greaves, \$1; E. M. Berry, \$3.20; Fred. Hyde, \$1.80; Elisha H. Bearse, \$1.60; O. L. Ashenfelter, 75 cents; E. A. Ford, \$4.90; R. H. Ranney, \$10; H. Miller, \$6; R. W. Howes, \$10; E. W. Meddough, \$65; N. K. Chatterjee, \$5.83; M. M. Gardner, 75 cents; L. G. Janes, 25 cents; Sam'l. Ritchie, \$5; J. Heistand, \$1; David Ballantine, \$3.20; Chas. B. Michener, \$1.60; David Branson, \$43; Clara E. Nourse, \$48; Fanny Brewer, \$3; Henry Mueller, 25 cents; Chas. A. Miller, 25 cents; Louis Belrose, \$20.10; A. M. Eaton, 15 cents; Julius Ferrette, \$2; W. W. Justice, \$1.20; W. Barbour, \$2.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

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N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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F. R. A. ANNUAL REPORT.

The Report, in pamphlet form, of the Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association for 1875 is now ready.

It contains an Essay by Wm. C. Gannett, on "Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and an Essay by F. E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. B. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

It can be obtained, in Boston, at A. Williams & Co.'s, and by mail by addressing "Office of Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston, Mass."

Price of single copy, 35 cents; package of four copies or more, 25 cents each.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

WE TAKE great pleasure in announcing that Mr. David H. Clark, formerly of Northumberland, Pa., more recently of New Milford, Pa., and now of Florence, Mass., has kindly consented to become an editorial contributor to THE INDEX, and will furnish articles from time to time as convenience shall permit. Summarily dismissed by the Northumberland Unitarian Society on account of a frank avowal of his changed convictions, we trust he will find that honest thought honestly uttered is valued at its true worth by all who set freedom and truth above the claims of sect or creed. The articles he has already contributed to these columns have been of marked excellence, and are the best possible guarantee of the excellence of those to come.

THE LONDON Times makes merry over the little game of "reuniting Christendom," played recently at Bonn (so far as the English Church was concerned) by men who quarrel with all dissenting denominations at home, and won't even let a Methodist minister call himself "Reverend" on his daughter's tombstone. "In the meantime," adds the Nation with regard to Dr. Döllinger, "the learned and philosophical world, as well as simple people in Germany and elsewhere, begin to laugh at the Doctor and his efforts, and say that, as he has been a good Catholic all his life, and has swallowed everything but Papal Infallibility, he ought not to make such a fuss in his old age about swallowing this, and that he deserves no pity or sympathy—in which there is a painful amount of truth."

LAST SUNDAY we lectured at Florence, Massachusetts, in the fine new Cosmian Hall, on "The Great Public Duty of Radicalism in America." In the evening a meeting of those interested in the Liberal League movement was held, and Messrs. A. T. Lilly, David H. Clark, and Austin Ross, of Florence, and Messrs. Joseph Marsh, Seth Hunt, and Dyer D. Lum, of Northampton, were appointed a joint committee to call a special meeting for the organization of a Liberal League either at Florence or Northampton, as they should judge best. The meeting, which was quite a full one, voted to form a Liberal League in one of these places, with only one dissenting vote. A very earnest spirit prevailed, and we felt greatly encouraged by this solid result of our day's work. The Free Congregational Society are flourishing finely, and have warmly welcomed Mr. D. H. Clark, their new resident minister. Nowhere have we met a more intelligent or earnest audience than this; and the new League will certainly be heard from when organized.

MRS. BESANT, WOMAN SUFFRAGE, AND CHRISTIANITY.

In THE INDEX of May 27, 1875, the following paragraph, founded on a letter which some one of our exchanges (we forget which) attributed to "M. D. C., in the Cincinnati Commercial," was published among our editorial "Glimpses":—

"Mrs. Besant has given a most noble rebuke to the temporizing and timid policy of the Woman Suffrage Society of Great Britain. Her brilliant success as a lecturer and the great popular influence she is winning by her character and ability led the Society to offer her a handsome income, 'on the condition that she should not give public expression to her radical, freethinking views on religious matters.' Mrs. Besant spurned the bribe, declaring that superstition is the tap-root of all oppressions, those of woman included. Woman suffragists who defend Christianity in this country might well learn a lesson of insight, courage, and moral dignity from brave Mrs. Besant."

In the Woman's Journal of June 5, 1875, the following criticisms on the preceding paragraph appeared under the caption "Illiberal Liberalism," and over the signature "T. W. H.":—

"About the facts here stated I know nothing. If any 'Woman Suffrage Society' proposed to engage a lecturer on the precise conditions here stated, it was certainly an insult to the lecturer and an outrage on free speech. But the experience of every one must teach him how easy it is so to state a transaction as to pervert it from its original character; and it is sometimes safer to withhold a severe judgment until one has heard both sides. Waiving that matter, I wish simply to speak of the last sentence of this paragraph. 'Woman Suffragists who defend Christianity in this country might well learn a lesson of insight, courage, and moral dignity from brave Mrs. Besant.' What does this mean?"

"It must either mean, I should suppose, that the editor of THE INDEX is aware of some action in this country like that attributed to the English 'Woman Suffrage Society'—in which case he ought openly to state the facts alleged,—or that he has in mind some prominent individual who consents to disguise his or her opinion on other questions, in order better to promote the Woman Suffrage cause. In this case also the individual should be pointed out and condemned. If it is not best to do this, it certainly is still less desirable to throw on the whole class of 'Woman Suffragists who defend Christianity in this country' the charge of hypocrisy."

"For I am not willing to impute to the editor of THE INDEX—faithful as he is, in his own path, to the Suffrage cause—the wish to found a reproach so serious on any offence less than hypocrisy. I am not yet ready to believe that he has drawn lines so narrow as to assume that for any individual to defend Christianity is in itself a proof of wanting 'courage and moral dignity.' The test of these qualities lies in the readiness to defend the faith one holds; and whether that faith be Christianity or atheism does not affect the matter. If it is base and unworthy to condemn the moral character of any one, merely because he is an atheist, is it any better to condemn him because he is a Christian? It cannot really be the attitude now taken by THE INDEX that it is the moral duty of any one to assume a position that he does not hold, or to make profession of anti-Christianity, when he is in very truth and sincerity a Christian."

"I trust, at any rate, that no Woman Suffrage organization in America will ever commit itself to any such narrowness as this; any more than to the other narrowness here attributed to the English Suffragists. There is room in the movement for those who, like Mrs. Besant, think that superstition is the tap-root of all oppression, and for those who think with equal sincerity that irreligion causes all oppression, while Christianity is the cure for all."

"And, apart from either of these classes, there are many of us, I trust, who have the charity or the common sense to see that, with such staunch Christians in our movement as Bishop Haven, and Mr. Fitzgerald, and Rev. J. H. Jones, we have little right to attribute want of courage or moral dignity to those 'Woman Suffragists who defend Christianity.' Mr. Abbot has hitherto served the movement as faithfully as any of these; and it is a pity that the first suggestion of the need of any theological plank in our platform should proceed from THE INDEX."

The sentence here construed so strangely meant simply that Mrs. Besant perceived (what we consider strictly true) that the cause of Woman-Suffrage encounters no hindrance so formidable as the religious teachings of the Christian Church and the Bible as to woman's proper position, "mission," and "sphere"; and that Mrs. Besant, penetrating to the deeper causes of conservative opposition to the enlargement of woman's activities and freedom of development, set a most worthy example of combined insight, courage, and moral dignity to the honest but decidedly obtuse people who on the one hand build up woman's cause in the name of human rights, yet on the other hand pull it down again in the name of Christianity. No charge of "hypocrisy" was either made or intended, of course; what we had in mind was an article by Rev. David Plumb which we had copied from the Woman's Journal into THE INDEX of Nov. 26, 1874, with the heading—"Gospel and Bible Not Against Woman's Rights," and which we had immediately followed with an extract from Mrs.

Besant herself, under the heading—"The Bible Against Woman's Rights." Seeing no special need of replying to the article above quoted, we let it pass unnoticed, as we do nine-tenths of the criticisms made on what we publish; but in the Woman's Journal of Aug. 7, 1875, our critic returned to the subject as follows:—

"It may be remembered that a statement was quoted in the Woman's Journal, some weeks since, charging some English Woman Suffrage Association with having insulted Mrs. Besant by inviting her to become their agent on condition that she would withhold her atheistical opinions. In answer to inquiry, one of the English correspondents of this paper states that, so far as she can ascertain, no proposition whatever has been made by any English organization to Mrs. Besant, whatever any private individual may have said. She, however, expresses the opinion that Mrs. Besant would not be a popular or successful lecturer on Woman Suffrage, on account of the prominence given by her to her atheistical opinions in her speeches on the other theme. But this is clearly a very different thing from an official demand for a pledge of silence on any subject."

"T. W. H."

It appeared, therefore, to be incumbent upon us, since the essential facts we had stated on the supposed authority of "M. D. C." were now denied, to institute some inquiries. Accordingly we addressed the following letter to the lady concerned:—

BOSTON, Aug. 17, 1875.

MRS. ANNIE L. BESANT, London:

Dear Madam,—May one of your American unknown friends take the liberty of addressing you? I enclose a paragraph I wrote in THE INDEX of May 27 respecting you, based on some statement of the sort in some paper whose name I have forgotten. This statement has been called in question by Col. Higginson in the Woman's Journal twice, and especially in this note in that paper of Aug. 7:—

[The paragraph was here copied.]

Will you kindly favor me with a statement of the real truth on this matter for publication in THE INDEX? . . .

Very respectfully yours,

F. E. ABBOT.

In response to this letter, Mrs. Besant has very kindly sent us the following communication, which will be a sufficient answer to the foregoing criticisms:—

Mrs. Besant's Letter.

19 WESTBOURNE PARK TERRACE, }
BAYSWATER, London, W., Sept. 1, 1875. }

Dear Sir,—The original paragraph was half true and half untrue. No official offer of the kind was ever made to me; it was only strongly intimated to me unofficially that my atheistic lecturing prevented an offer of employment being made me. I answered more than once that the movement for Woman Suffrage was not big enough to devote a life to; it was only a branch of the tree of oppression at the root [of which] I was striking by my work. During the spring I was asked several times to speak at the "drawing-room meetings," which were then fashionable; when I accepted one invitation from the Secretary of the Society in London to "speak for us," I said, laughing, to a friend: "They are ready enough to make use of my tongue where work wants doing, and no credit is to be gained by the doing; but you'll see they will never ask me to speak on their platform in public."

When my attention was called to the paragraph you send me, I was puzzled what to do. I make a practice of never contradicting newspaper paragraphs, because the work of doing so would be endless, if once begun. But as praise was given me which was only half deserved, I wrote to the Woman Suffrage Journal in England, saying the paragraph was inaccurate, and that the Society would doubtless as much object to the broadness of my views as I should object to their limitations. I received an answer from Miss Becker refusing insertion to my note, and saying: "If the Woman Suffrage Journal were to begin the task of setting our American cousins straight on their many errors respecting the movement in England, it would have more than enough to do; and, as the American papers do not reach the general public in this country, the contradiction of any of their statements in the W. S. Journal would simply give wider circulation to the original error."

It is a little odd that, while it was not worth while to insert my note, it was worth while to write to America about me, adding a statement which was either ignorantly or maliciously untrue. Perhaps the most complete answer to the statement that my views would prevent me from being a popular or successful lecturer on this subject is the dry fact that, while the Suffrage Society needs to ask for subscriptions in order to enable them to give lectures, I find, on the contrary, that a fair income may be made by lecturing on this and other subjects. The real truth is that the Woman Suffrage movement, as conducted by the National Society, is in no sense a popular movement in England; it is a movement of the upper classes, of the propertied women to whom alone a vote would be given, if Mr. Forsyth's bill became law. It is timid, apologetic, irresolute, favored much by the clergy, and smiled on by conservatives. I have never spoken of it thus before, because it is a movement in the right direction, and may be used by stronger and keener-sighted women as a stepping-stone to something better and nobler. Their hostility to myself has been to me a matter of indifference: when one is fighting a big battle, a regiment

more or less of the enemy makes very little difference.

I send you a tract on the Bible part of the question; pardon its coarseness of printing, as it is the roughest of rough proofs. If you can shoot it at Christianity, pray employ it. I enclose also a paragraph about myself, which is going the rounds here; we may have a very interesting fight.

Mr. Bradlaugh asked me to say, when I wrote to you, that he hopes soon to shake hands with you on the other side.

Truly yours,

ANNIE BESANT.

F. E. ABBOT, Esq.

The paragraph referred to as enclosed in the above very interesting letter is as follows:—

MARITAL RIGHTS OF "FREETHINKERS."—Mrs. Annie Besant, "freethinker," and public lecturer on woman's rights, may shortly acquire a celebrity which the most ardent propagation of her peculiar views would never give her. She is, says a London correspondent, the wife of the Rev. Frank Besant, Vicar of Silsey, near Boston. After the lady became known for her advocacy of atheistic ideas, a formal deed of separation was obtained by her husband, and under this deed Mrs. Besant was entitled to the sole custody of her infant daughter Mabel until the child became of age, with the proviso that the father was to be visited by the girl for one month in each year. This deed was executed in 1873. Mr. Besant obtained possession of the child recently under covert of the annual visit, and he is said to insist on retaining her on the ground that from Mrs. Besant's atheistic preaching she has no right to the custody of her daughter. Under pressure Mr. Besant has meantime surrendered the child; but the question is expected to be brought before the law courts. In the case of Shelley it may be remarked that it was decided an atheist father should not be the guardian of his children. Messrs. Lewis and Lewis, the well-known solicitors, have been engaged to watch proceedings on behalf of Mrs. Besant, who will be supported by all the force of the freethinking party throughout the country.

CAPITAL AND LABOR.

Capitalists pool their money in order to increase its power. One hundred men contribute \$5,000 each to the stock of a manufacturing company and to strengthen this combination of capital they unite with it the efficiency of complete and thorough organization. The money, the brains, and experience of these men are utilized by combination. They enter the labor market to purchase labor, and the cotton-goods market to sell their fabrics, and immediately they find themselves in competition with other corporations. In the projection of the enterprise combination was resorted to, and once more it is employed. Corporation A unites with corporations B, C, D, and E, in an effort to regulate, and as far as possible, to control, wages and to limit production. The power thus secured is immense, and it is needless to say is used to just such an extent and in such direction as self-interest may suggest. No one questions the right of these mill-owners to secure this power and to use it. Any attempt to alienate the right to combine would be resisted to the death by capitalists, and they would confidently appeal to the community to sustain them. Combination is entirely legitimate when loss is to be averted, or profits doubled and dividends declared.

Now, if combination is a legitimate resort of the manufacturer, why not of the operative? Labor is the capital of the workingman; unfortunately for him it is not tangible property as well. The product of the mill can be marketed at once, or carried indefinitely by its owner. The workingman's labor of to-day must be sold to-day or it disappears forever. Labor, from its inherent character, every one will probably admit, is at a tremendous disadvantage when compared with other forms of capital, and for this reason, if for no other, the laborer is justly entitled to all the protection that the civil law and the moral sense of the community in which he lives can give him.

To the capitalist the right of combination is conceded. For the laborer it should be demanded and secured, for it is one of the few tools or weapons that become potent in his hands.

It is popular to decry trades unions. No one can be more ready than I am to deplore and to condemn some features of the management of these societies, though it is far superior to what ignorant denunciation and designing misrepresentation would have us believe. They mean simply combination for the purpose of giving strength and efficiency to labor. They are to the workingman what single corporations and combined corporations are to the capitalist.

They are instituted to protect, to regulate, and as far as possible, to control, wages. Deprive the laborer of this right of combination while you reserve it to the capitalist, and the laborer is no longer a freeman.

This is precisely what the Fall River manufact-

urers have accomplished. "The form of the contract" they have forced upon the operatives is given by the *Boston Daily Advertiser* as follows:—

AGREEMENT.

We, the undersigned, each for himself, and not jointly, in consideration of our respective employment by the _____ MILLS, and as a part of our respective agreement with the same, do hereby severally agree with said company:—

1. That we will not, while in the employ of said corporation, belong to, or be influenced by the action of, any association or combination whose members are subject to the will of the majority in the matter of wages, or any other subject connected with the free right of any person to work for whom and at such rates as they may see fit.

2. That should we wish to leave the employ of said corporation, we will give notice in writing to our overseers, and will continue to work ten days after said notice; it being understood that notices of not more than one-eighth of any one class of operatives will be accepted within one week, or if less than eight persons in any one class, not more than one notice from such class; and should we leave the mill without giving and working the term of said notice, we will forfeit all money that may be due us from said corporation for labor previously performed.

3. Any breach of the provisions of this agreement, or the printed regulations posted in the mills, shall be considered 'misconduct' on the part of the respective subscribers hereto, and shall be sufficient cause for summary discharge from the employment of said corporation, without notice or payment of wages in lieu of notice.

It is an insult to our intelligence to characterize as a contract these conditions imposed upon starving men, women, and children. A contract implies mutual and reciprocal obligation, but the above "agreement" does not contain a suspicion of such obligation. With millions of dollars and compact organizations, these mill-owners combine to divide and to isolate the operatives, and to prevent on their part a resort to the very method of protection which is used so effectively against them. The only coöperation permitted is a negative combination by which the operatives, in event of a desire to seek other employment, are pledged to limit the number of notices to be served simultaneously, to a very small number. Combination for their own protection is "misconduct," while coöperation for the annihilation of their own power is a necessary condition to employment.

Such refined tyranny merits the execration of mankind. It must be rebuked and overthrown if the liberties of working men and women of this country are to be preserved. If an indifferent public suffer it to be continued, organized capital will, if possible, become more daring and reckless. The next move may be to coerce by "agreements" and "contracts" the votes of the operatives. How easy to say, "Vote for our candidate, vote against labor-reform candidates; they seek to regulate labor and wages."

I know full well the provocation that preceded the action of the Fall River corporations; and I know something of the wrongs of the working-class; but the question now is not "which is the more guilty party?" or "who struck the first blow?" For the moment but one question presses for a reply; and that is, "Shall liberty, life and property be protected or sacrificed?" All honor to the Governor of the Commonwealth for his prompt action; he has done wisely and well in protecting property and life. Will the free citizens of the Commonwealth see to it that liberty is as thoroughly vindicated?

For the present, workingmen are on their knees, and Capital treads them under her feet.

The hour may come when Labor will take her revenge; and when it does let the French Revolution bear witness how terrible her revenge will be. Too late the people will recognize responsibilities neglected and duties unperformed. But such catastrophes can be averted. Let the moral sense of the community find expression. Instruct these rash capitalists that there is a limit to their power. Force them to withdraw their selfish, short-sighted, cowardly conditions. Demand that all "conditions" shall be abolished, and replaced by contracts implying mutual and reciprocal obligation. Teach capital and labor alike that their rights are equally inviolate.

B. P. H.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—At the close of the National Synod of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland last week, Bishop Moriarty, of Kerry, favored the religious world with some choice specimens of Vatican declamation. It is as well that we Rationalists or Freethinkers should know in what light we are regarded by those who are most interested in our suppression. Not that we can care for Bishop Moriarty's wrath

any more than for the Pope's; but the occasion was an august one, and the utterance recognized by the whole Roman Church as significant, if not supremely authoritative.

"Man's greedy passions," said the preacher, "seek for free indulgence; but the Church is ever in his way, warning, forbidding, threatening, and embittering his enjoyment with an everlasting *non licet*." Hence he traced the hatred of the world towards the Church, which had ever been manifested by persecution; "and at present their glorious brethren were confessing their faith in the dungeons of the German Empire."

"Throughout the greater part of the Continent the spirit of evil foams with demoniac rage against pastors and priests of the Christian Church."

The moving spirit of the persecution is said to be "unmixed hatred of God." "Wicked Atheism seeks to upset all belief in God, in morality, and in virtue; while legislators and civil rulers seek to restore the Pagan supremacy of the State, and to tear up the charter of Christian liberty."

Of this language the *Times* pithily remarks: "It is not dignified, and it is certainly not accurate."

It is for this reason especially that I have quoted Dr. Moriarty's discourse for the benefit of your readers. Such a man can hardly be so ignorant and blind as to think he is making a just charge against the Protestant and sceptical worlds.

No stretch of charity will enable one to say that this gross misrepresentation is not wilful. And if wilful, it is resorted to because of the poverty of the case for which the Bishop held a brief. If anything could justify our rejoicing in iniquity "instead of rejoicing in the truth," it would be the evidence which such "iniquity" bears to the hopelessness of the Roman Catholic cause, and to the panic which has overtaken its champions.

The *Times* so well deserves our thanks for its comments on this sermon of the Bishop's that I am tempted to quote one passage which sceptics at all events will welcome:—

"At all events, if there be one distinctive peculiarity of the present time, it is that attacks against specific religious creeds are not simultaneously directed against morality and virtue. On the contrary, the most formidable antagonists of the Christian religion, whether in its Roman Catholic or Protestant form, are persons who are at least as enthusiastic on behalf of morality and virtue as Bishop Moriarty and the National Synod of the Irish Roman Catholic Church. Instead of 'demoniac rage,' the temper most strenuously exerted in controversy against Roman doctrine is that of calm confidence in the increasing predominance of moral and virtuous influences."

I wish every Freethinker in Europe and America would take that little extract home and think it over with the seriousness it deserves, and remember that the whole credit of our free thinking stands or falls in the estimation of mankind according as we do or do not maintain intact the supremacy of virtuous living.

With far more tact than Bishop Moriarty exhibits, Cardinal Manning has begun the "coaxing dodge," and certainly displays wondrous cunning, if not wisdom, in his arguments with the poor, illogical Protestant Evangelicals. Preaching lately at Manchester, His Eminence selected for his subject "Jesus Christ and Him Crucified," declaring this to be "the central doctrine of the Catholic faith."

He thus disarms Evangelical opposition which has only lived at all on the idea that Rome had thrust "Jesus Christ and him crucified" into the background for the sake of Mary and the saints. He speaks gently and respectfully of the Lutheran Reformation, only pitying its deluded disciples for having lost the priceless privilege of the guidance and protection of Rome. He praises the earnestness of the Puritans, and fairly (or with subtle wiles) makes love to the Evangelical Christians, pointing out the danger they are in from having cast loose from the ancient moorings, and gone adrift among currents which must lead to rationalism and unbelief,—things they dread quite as much as Romanism, if not more.

In the course of his sermon the Cardinal admitted to our heart's content the wide-spread rationalism in the Church of England, and gave us his authority for it, that Oxford was wholly given over to it.

This, too, is encouraging, and is the same admission made by Bishop Moriarty, only more guarded and refined.

And so you have a cardinal, likewise, in New York. What will you do with him? Shall you let him quietly go on sowing tares among the wheat? or

shall you dog his footsteps, watch every movement, catch every word?

You Americans must not go to sleep. Many a prophet has foretold your being handed over *en masse* to the papal power, and that the Roman Catholic faith has another millennium before her in the New World.

Such an abyss can only be reached through an apathy and carelessness never yet manifested by your shrewd nation, nor possible to you unless you suffer your morality and self-respect to be broken down. Virtue and social purification are the best antidotes to intellectual palsy.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S.E., Sept. 11, 1875.

Communications.

A REMARKABLE STORY.

MR. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—I long since determined never to write again for publication; but after reading the article from Mr. Toyama with its concluding question, "Shall we, or shall we not, believe in miracles?" I desire not to answer that article, but state a fact, and ask, What am I to believe? I have no hobby in this; and I want the truth, even at the risk of losing everything beside.

I truly believe that, if all papers were perfectly free to all communications, and men were fearless in stating unpopular truths, we should find that one-half of the American people believe in spirit return. An experience of my own convinces me that what we call death is not the termination of man's mental existence, or else there is a power pertaining to certain people more wonderful even than spirit return. Is it not safe to say we are still children in the domain of science and actual knowledge; and Nature holds in her grasp millions of secrets that the puny power of man has never discovered? I value my mind or mental power far more than my body; I do not believe that any portion of matter is ever lost, but exists in some other form. Then how am I to reconcile myself to the annihilation of what is far more valuable, the faculties that lift man above the animal world? Still, I do not think the occurrence that I shall presently relate was "a miracle." I think it was in obedience to some law of Nature, old as intelligence in man, but comparatively new to us, because it has been by religious superstition forced into retirement wherever it has made its feeble effort for recognition. There is no nation, tribe, or people that does not have in some form or other the belief in a return of the dead. In every error there is a kernel of truth; it is the part of wise men to seek to detach it from its husk.

The experiments of Crooks and Wallace in this matter are not a thing to be sneered down; and I can but smile, when I see Bible Christians uniting with unbelieving scientists to denounce all such experiments. The solution they give to the matter places Bible miracles in the domain of natural law; and on the manifestations that are occurring to-day that book will have to stand.

I come of a race of sceptics; for that reason, if no other, my statement merits a little consideration.

My father died during the recent war, a prisoner. I was his sole attendant. The day before his death, I sat on the bed beside him, holding his hands in my own. We had been separated for a long time, and had met surrounded by strangers. He lay looking earnestly in my face; suddenly he asked me a pointed question pertaining to myself, of a nature rarely broached by one person to another. I answered him, as I ever did, truthfully. He then in the most solemn and impressive manner counselled me regarding the matter, and then exacted from me a solemn promise, which I gave in a manner equally solemn in return. During the evening he was removed to another room, and died before daylight the next morning.

Last winter I was invited by a gentleman of excellent standing to attend a private *séance*, given by a well-known lady of another State,—Mrs. Mary Hollis, of Louisville. It was held, as usual, in darkness. She was among entire strangers, and alone, in a room she had never entered until then; in fact, she had never met the hostess before. I heard eight voices speak there, claiming to be spirit voices. I spoke to her many times, carrying on conversation purposely to see if this interfered with the speaking of those voices; it did not in the least. If this was ventriloquism, it is of a kind more wonderful than ever before known.

The night before going there, I had mentally addressed myself to my father, requesting him, if there was any truth in this thing, to give me some positive test, proving to me the continued existence of individual spirits after death. A voice spoke to me in a clear, loud whisper at my ear, calling me by my old pet name used by him alone in life.

This voice began by stating that he was going to answer my "prayer" of the night before. It then recalled the interview I have alluded to, stated the position in which I sat, referred to his being removed from that room, and to his death in another; asked my pardon for introducing the subject, but said it was the only thing that was a *sacred secret* between himself and me, and the only thing that he could make use of as a positive test; adding at the same time that I was a sceptic by nature, and he doubted if I would believe this. My attention was then called

to two living members of my family, and the statement made that my unusual, and far from conventional, course pursued toward one of them had been caused by his constant efforts to impress me so to act, and thus assist him in repairing what after death he had found was a grievous crime on his part—the shirking during life of an individual responsibility toward another. Then, in the most urgent manner, he petitioned me to continue the course I was pursuing toward her, for it was aiding him, and would save me many a pang, when I came where he then was. The medium was a stranger to me and mine, and all the matter under discussion was such as we never broach to friends, much less to strangers.

Now we will grant there was no spirit entity to speak,—grant that the medium saw clairvoyantly what was once enacted, and read what had once been in my mind, though forgotten; but is there not some difficulty in explaining the facts I have narrated? I value my mental powers more than my physical, and I do not think the latter are to be entirely lost. I cannot so misuse my reasoning faculties as to say this is all nonsense; though, when Dr. Hare petitioned the Academy of Sciences to investigate the wonderful things he had seen, they scouted the proposition with scorn, and spent the same evening in discussing the sage question, "What causes roosters to crow at midnight?"

Respectfully yours,

MRS. E. L. SAXON.

NEW ORLEANS, Sept. 9.

"TWO FUNDAMENTAL ERRORS."

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

As you granted space for my note of August 29th, and as on the same page of THE INDEX, over the initial "Z.," appear two fundamental errors, I venture in a few words to point them out. Prof. Amasa Walker, in one paragraph in his *Science of Wealth*, has laid down two propositions as true, in which he has been followed by many writers and political leaders.

On pages 146 and 147 Mr. Walker says: "Such a currency [referring to credit currency] may transfer debts, but it cannot pay them;" and "gold, if compared with them [such notes] will bear a premium, the amount of which will indicate the excess and depreciation of the currency." Now neither of these propositions has ever been supported by proof, and they are neither of them true.

(1) Without going into a further analysis of the first proposition, it is enough to ask if we are to understand that all the thousands of millions of debts that have been created and cancelled by the use of greenbacks in the last ten years have only been transferred to be hereafter finally paid in gold, when greenbacks are retired?

(2) Volume alone, in the case of inconvertible legal tender currency, does not determine the premium on gold, or the depreciation of the notes as compared with gold. It is only one of many elements. The demand for gold may be, and at the present time is, more controlling than volume.

Suppose we had no interest on bonds to pay, and no duties to collect in gold; or that the interest on the public debt, and on all railroad and municipal bonds, was payable in currency; and suppose at the same time we paid for all our imports with commodities, then, with these uses for gold cut off, would the depreciation of greenbacks be the same as now? Most plainly not.

Suppose next year we have large crops, and in Europe crops are a failure, so that not only our interest would be paid with commodities, but gold sent here to settle balances, how would gold then rate as compared with legal tender currency?

But, more than this, the rise and fall in the premium on gold witnessed daily in Wall Street is plainly not caused by a corresponding rise and fall in the volume of paper currency. Volume is one of the many elements that enter into the question, but by no means the only one, and may not be the most important one.

Again, "Z." takes it for granted that a convertible currency can never be inflated, and he might, perhaps, claim Bonamy Price as authority in support of this position; but experience in this country is certainly against him. When, however, gold and silver and paper all circulate as money and are convertible, an increase in the currency, commodities and activity of exchanges remaining the same, lowers the purchasing power of money, in which case the metallic money gradually leaves the country for markets where its purchasing power is not lessened; then contraction sets in, usually followed by panic and a commercial crisis.

Facts and figures covering the periods of panics in this country prior to 1873 clearly prove that there may be inflation with convertible paper currency as well as with inconvertible currency. A. J. W.

MARIETTA, O., Sept. 21, 1875.

THE "SUPERNATURAL SPHERE."

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

It seems to be a prominent aim of your journal to scrutinize, closely as to what is the truth. If we hold fast to this aim, without any special wish to bolster up mere personal convictions because such convictions have become our own, nothing can be more worthy,—at least until the rule of positive science is attained, when personal opinions necessarily give place to actual knowledge. Allow me, therefore, to interpose a brief question concerning a proposition of yours made in answer to a former question of mine. The proposition was this: "We emancipationists" propose NATURE as 'the regulative law of liberty,' and SCIENCE as the 'knowledge of Nature.' The important questions which naturally arise

here are these: What is Nature? Is there aught intelligible beside Nature? If so, what? Can Nature suffice to define and explain itself? If not, to what are we to resort for a sure explication of Nature? Surely there must be a definite verity practically available as such, else the naming of a knowledge or science of Nature, as an actual attainment for the human mind, is only mockery.

There are those who conceive that creation involves a realm of pure being and a realm of seeming, both distinctly cognizable to the human mind; that the realm of imagery, or seeming, constitutes the natural sphere, and the realm of being, or reality, constitutes the supernatural sphere. If this be a valid conception, it follows that the shadow cannot sufficiently explicate itself; that ample knowledge of the project can alone be found in an ample knowledge of that which projects it; which, if true, makes knowledge, as a science of being, indispensable to knowledge as a valid science of Nature.

There is to my mind a question pending here of momentous importance to practical regards, an intelligent solution of which would not be out of place in the columns of THE INDEX. What say you? What are the essential laws of being as a rule of science? And how are they practically related to "the things of time and sense," to give the mind of man its proper mastery there?

Truly yours,

THERON GRAY.

CONCORD, N.H., Sept. 23.

[Our "proposition" referred those who ask what "Nature" is to Science as its only legitimate interpreter; and it is impossible for us to state the "essential laws of Nature," except by again referring to what Science has discovered and is discovering. Further than Science instructs him concerning those laws, man has no knowledge of Nature at all. For one, we leave for others all the vague speculations which deal with "the supernatural sphere," and respectfully decline to be drawn into any bubble-blowing of that sort. Outside of Nature, which includes all real existence with its laws and causes, no "sphere" is cognizable; and outside of Science, which includes all knowledge of Nature, nothing is possible but nescience. Our correspondent will please excuse us from giving any different answer to his questions.—ED.]

COL. HECKER ON VATICANISM.

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 7, 1875.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I am nearer to *Viator* than to yourself in his expressed opinions on the subject of Catholicism in America; but after all you may be nearer right than he or myself. At any rate, many of the clearest intellects in America believe as you do, and for your comfort and consolation I inclose a slip taken from the *Chicago Tribune* of yesterday.

The writer, Col. Frederick Hecker, previous to 1848, was a professor in one of the universities in Southern Germany. During the revolution of 1848 he became the President of the Provisional Germanic Republic, and was closely associated with General Franz Siegel, and more remotely with Carl Schurz. After the revolution was crushed, he came to America, and settled in Illinois. I think he took a subordinate part in our great civil war, commanding (if my memory serves me) an Illinois regiment in the South-west, for a time. He is quite an old man now, being above sixty; but is justly regarded by his countrymen as an able, courageous, scholarly, and patriotic specimen of the Germanic race. His articles (this being only one of a series) are being quite widely read in the West.

Your friend, FRANK J. MEAD.

[Col. Hecker's article will be found on a previous page of this issue.—ED.]

WAS THERE a religion in the Stone Age? Till the other day nothing was known that would indicate the existence of a religion among the people of the Stone Age. But a little over a year ago there were discovered traces of a *cultus*, the most ancient of which we have any idea. I propose here to narrate how we gained our knowledge of the gross and oftentimes savage superstitions of our early ancestors. This important discovery was made by Dr. Prunieries, of Marvejols. As he was cleaning some skulls from the dolmens of Lozere, he found in the interior of one of them a bone disk carefully polished on the edges, and evidently made of a fragment of cranium, perhaps of the parietal bone. The skull in which this disk was found presented a great hole, through which it might have passed; still, evidently, it had not come from the part destroyed, being considerably thicker than the other bones of the skull; and, furthermore, differing from them in color. On examining this cranium at the point where it was mutilated, the edges of the opening were found to be carefully polished and beveled on the external surface, and it was plain that the hole itself, like the disk of bone, had been wrought by the hand of man. Was it also man who put the bone disk inside of the skull? One might think at first that it was the effect of an accident similar to that by which the beads of a necklace often drop into the skull; but, when other pieces were discovered similar to that described, it could not be doubted that it was the hand of man which placed the disk of bone in the skull. What was the intention? It is impossible to say with certainty, but it is difficult not to believe that the practice was coupled with a religious idea.—Exchange.

STOCK LIST OF THE INDEX ASSOCIATION.

In July last a copy of the following circular was mailed to the address of every stockholder of the Index Association:—

TREASURER'S NOTICE.

OFFICE OF THE INDEX ASSOCIATION,
BOSTON, July 15, 1875.

Dear Sir,—At the last monthly meeting of the Directors of this Association, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—
“Resolved, That the Treasurer be instructed to issue, as soon as may be convenient, a circular to all the stockholders of the Index Association, notifying them that a complete list of said stockholders, with the total amount of the assessments hitherto voted by the Board, the total amount of the payments thereon, and the balance (if any) now due in each case, set opposite their respective names, will be published next October in THE INDEX; and also requesting all of them who may still be indebted to the Association for unpaid assessments to remit the amount of such indebtedness before the first of September next, that they may be credited in said list with payment in full to date,—or to render such reasons for not so doing as shall seem to the Directors sufficient for omitting their names from the published list.”

In obedience to the above order of the Board of Directors, I have mailed this circular to your address, and respectfully invite your attention to its contents. The enclosed notice will inform you of the amount of the stock assessments (if any) which stand charged to your name on the books of the Association; and it is hoped that you will be so kind as to remit accordingly. If all the stockholders shall do so, the continued publication of THE INDEX will be assured beyond a doubt; and it is greatly to be desired that those who have subscribed for this purpose to the stock shall all appear on the forthcoming list as having honorably discharged the obligation thus voluntarily and generously assumed.

Yours truly,
R. H. RANNEY,
Treasurer of the Index Association.

On September 22, the following resolution was passed by the Board of Directors:—

“Resolved, That the list as submitted be printed once at length in THE INDEX, with the appended note that so much of the list as relates to unpaid assessments will be hereafter published once each month in THE INDEX until the assessments are paid; and that the list be hereafter published in accordance with that note, except as to names for which a satisfactory reason for non-payment has been offered to the Board.”

The list here published in accordance with these votes of the Directors is brought down to the date of October 5, 1875:—

Residence.	Name.	Assessments Voted.	Assessments Paid.	Assessments Unpaid.	Assessments Paid in Adv.
Sacramento, Cal.	Henry Miller	200	100	100	
San Buenaventura, Cal.	Wm. Shepard	40	40		
San José, Cal.	Mrs. J. G. Kinley	40	40		
Middlefield, Ct.	W. H. Downes	560	560		
Birmingham, Ct.	L. O. Bass	40	40		
Colebrook, Ct.	Wm. Jabine	60	60		
Danbury, Ct.	M. H. Doolittle	40	40		
Washington, D.C.	Darius Lyman	30	10	20	
London, England.	F. A. Maxse	10	10		90
Chicago, Ill.	Ernst Prussing	200	200		
Terre Haute, Ind.	H. L. Hall	40	40		
La Grange, Ind.	W. H. Orvington	400	200	200	
Kendallville, Ind.	Jos. Singer	40	40		
New Harmony, Ind.	W. B. Billings	200	200		
Evansville, Ind.	A. Van Der Nailer	30	30		
Indianapolis, Ind.	R. M. Whipple	60	20	40	
Richmond, Ind.	Mrs. Sarah F. Mills	30	30		
Vincennes, Ind.	G. N. Jennings	40	10	30	
Keokuk, Iowa.	C. W. Newton	40	40		
Davenport, Iowa.	H. A. Mills	40	40		
Burlington, Iowa.	C. S. Burt	40	40		
Dubuque, Iowa.	C. R. Woodward	40	10	30	
Quincy, Mass.	R. S. Brigham	40	40		
Boston, Mass.	Chas. A. Scofield	40	40		
Worcester, Mass.	D. E. Sparks	40	30	10	
Fall River, Mass.	Wesley Best	40	30	10	
Amesbury, Mass.	A. L. Munroe	30	10	20	
Newton, Mass.	J. D. Fisk	120	120		
Newton, Mass.	E. W. Weir	80	80		
Princeton, Mass.	G. C. Glatte	120	90	30	
Fairhaven, Mass.	Thos. Mumford	40	40		
Newbury, Mass.	Mrs. L. E. Blount	40	40		
Lawrence, Mass.	G. M. Daussman	40	40		
Lynn, Mass.	F. W. Cook	80	20	60	
Lexington, Mass.	Mrs. J. J. Pillsbury	40	40		
Chicopee, Mass.	J. O. Martin	40	20	20	
Ipewich, Mass.	Ferd. Christmann	40	20	20	
Springfield, Mass.	Thos. Davis	40	40		
Monroe, Mich.	Henry Schnull	40	20	20	
Detroit, Mich.	Alex. Metzger	40	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Gust. Zschech	40	20	20	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Herman Lieber	40	10	30	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Clemens Vonnegut	40	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	J. R. Weist	40	10	30	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Jas. Smelser	40	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	John H. Popp	40	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Chas. Live	40	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Chas. Graet	40	20	20	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	E. S. Barrows	40	30	10	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	W. W. Grant	40	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Wm. H. Ellery	40	20	20	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	J. H. Lull	40	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	S. S. Wemott	40	20	20	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	D. B. Henderson	40	10	30	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Asa Horr	80	80		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Asa Horr	80	80		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Chas. M. Wetherbee	120	40	80	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Chas. M. Wetherbee	120	40	80	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Mrs. M. N. Adams	40	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Mrs. Mary Westphal	40	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Sam'l T. Durkee	40	10	30	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	J. M. Hadley	40	30	10	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Frank Prather	40	10	30	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Lewis Kurtz	40	10	30	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	J. T. Brady	40	30	10	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	M. S. Beach	40	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	L. S. Bacon	40	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	C. Robinson	40	30	10	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	J. L. Hill	1600	1600		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Francis E. Ely	80	80		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	John Wilson	80	80		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	A. W. Stevens	40	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Mrs. A. F. Curtis	30	30		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	John McDuffie	30	30		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Miss Arethusa Hall	120	120		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Seth Hunt	40	20	20	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	J. L. Whiting	40	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	J. F. Barrett	80	80		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	A. M. Howland	200	200		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	W. C. Gannett	200	200		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Miss M. C. Perkins	200	200		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	A. Folsom	200	200		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	A. Folsom (Trustee)	120	60	60	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	S. E. Sewall	200	200		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Phizur Wright	400	400		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Henry K. Oliver, Jr.	160	160		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	E. P. Halliwell	400	400		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	W. Emerson	40	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	S. H. Roper	80	80		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	G. K. Withington	80	80		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	R. H. Ranney	40	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Hannah E. Stevenson	110	110		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Jas. A. Dupee	200	100	100	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	John F. Mills	40	20	20	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	J. C. Haynes	120	120		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Geo. W. Park	40	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Frederic Beck	40	40		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Miss Rebecca B. Wicker	40	20	20	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	C. A. W. Crosby	80	80		
Ann Arbor, Mich.	M. Luce	80	40	40	
Ann Arbor, Mich.	Henry N. Stone	80	60	20	

Residence.	Name.	Assessments Voted.	Assessments Paid.	Assessments Unpaid.	Assessments Paid in Adv.
Boston, Mass.	S. H. Pearce	40	20	20	
"	A. A. Knight	40	30	10	
"	Chas. T. How	120	120		
"	F. A. Greene	40	30	10	
"	Nath'l Cummings	40	40		
"	F. H. Henshaw	40	20	20	
"	Mrs. K. G. Wells	40	40		10
"	E. B. Loring	40	20	20	
"	Justin Kidcut	200	200		
"	John Wetherbee	40	40		
"	Gardner Murphy	40	40		
"	Geo. Henshaw	40	40		
"	Isaac Ames	120	60	60	
"	Francis Alger	120	90	30	
"	D. F. Child	120	120		
"	Chas. Richardson	40	40		
"	Mrs. M. M. Ballou	40	10	20	
"	R. W. Howes	30	30		
"	Chas. W. Story	30	20	10	
"	B. F. Dyer	30	30		
"	Chas. E. Pratt	10	10		
Florence, Mass.	S. L. Hill	400	400		600
Haverhill, Mass.	W. H. Spencer	80	80		20
New Bedford, Mass.	W. J. Potter	280	280		
"	H. B. Clarke	120	120		
"	Mrs. Cla. a M. Rotch	200	200		
"	S. Griffiths Morgan	120	120		60
"	John W. Sullings	80	40	40	
"	Jas. C. Delano	40	20	20	
"	Geo. A. Bourne	40	40		
"	W. C. Macy	40	10	30	
"	Mrs. Benj. Cummings	40	40		20
"	Miss Mary Gifford	40	40		60
"	Benj. Rodman	120	120		180
"	G. F. Matthes	40	40		
"	Mrs. Andrew Robeson	40	40		10
"	C. H. Peirce	40	40		
"	Mrs. C. A. Tucker	40	40		
"	Frederic Coffin	40	10	30	
"	Chas. H. Coffin	40	20	20	
"	Thos. H. Knowles	30	30		
"	Mrs. C. B. Richmond	120	120		
Lowell, Mass.	E. G. Burnet	80	20	60	
Webster, Mass.	A. S. Brown	40	40		10
Worcester, Mass.	Edwin Brown	40	40		
"	F. M. Lamb	40	40		
"	Chas. Nash	80	80		120
"	Theo. Brown	40	30	10	
"	C. W. Easterbrook	40	30	10	
Fall River, Mass.	Clark Jilson	40	10	30	
"	Wm. Rotch	80	80		
Amesbury, Mass.	Jas. M. Aldrich	40	40		10
"	G. H. Briggs	80	20	60	
"	Edward A. Brown	30	30		
Newton, Mass.	Mary Shannon	160	160		240
W. Newton, Mass.	Mary C. Shannon	40	40		40
"	M. A. Thurston	30	30		
Princeton, Mass.	Benj. R. Tucker	40	40		
Fairhaven, Mass.	John A. Hawes	80	20	60	
Newbury, Mass.	Mrs. L. M. Plummer	30	30		10
"	N. Little	30	30		
"	N. Little, Jr.	30	30		
Lawrence, Mass.	Pardon Armington	30	30		10
Lynn, Mass.	Chas. Buffum	30	30		
"	Mrs. Benj. Ireson	20	20		
Lexington, Mass.	Jas. Purinton	30	10	20	
"	W. J. Currier	30	30		
"	Geo. W. Robinson	30	10	20	
Chicopee, Mass.	W. H. Gilmore	30	30		
"	C. A. Greenleaf	30	30		
Ipswich, Mass.	James Damon	20	10	10	
Springfield, Mass.	Jefferson Church	30	30		10
Monroe, Mich.	Chas. Post	120	120		
Detroit, Mich.	E. F. Ward	800	400	400	
"	M. H. Isbell	40	20	20	
"	John J. Bagley	1200	1200		
"	B. F. Stamm	40	10	30	
"	L. T. Ives	80	80		
"	Fred. Stearns	40	10	30	
"	E. W. Meddough	350	350		
"	Geo. Jerome	40	10	30	
"	D. J. Davison	40	40		
"	Wm. Wiley	40	40		50
"	Geo. N. Fletcher	40	40		
"	A. W. Leggett	30	30		
Battle Creek, Mich.	Wm. Newman	40	20	20	
"	John Harper	40	10	30	
"	C. M. Stiles	40	10	30	
Ionia, Mich.		40	10	30	
Union City, Mich.	J. D. Zimmerman	40	30	10	
"	Phebe A. Zimmerman	40	30	10	
"	Geo. Hubbard	40	10	30	
"	S. H. Nye	40	40		
"	Chas. H. Spring	40	40		
"	D. D. W. Rodgers	40	40		
Houlton, Me.	Cary Bros	40	40		
Castine, Me.	R. L. Baker	40	20	20	
Ft. Fairfield, Me.	J. S. Palmer	20	20		
Portland, Me.	J. E. Follett	40	40		20
Winona, Minn.	W. W. Spalding	40	40		
Duluth, Minn.	Oscar Roos	80	80		
Taylor's Falls, Minn.	S. C. Gale	400	100	300	
Minneapolis, Minn.	R. E. Grimeshaw	40	20	20	
"	Marshall Bros	40	10	30	
Long Lake, Minn.	S. Lydiard	40	30	10	
Lake City, Minn.	J. G. Richardson	40	40		
"	D. K. Boutelle	40	20	20	
Sandy Spring, Md.	Benj. Halliwell	40	40		10
Tupelo, Miss.	R. B. Stone	40	40		
Palmyra, Mo.	S. C. Eastman	40	30	10	
St. Louis, Mo.	Henry Stage	80	20	60	
"	J. C. Rooney	80	20	60	
"	Robert Moore	40	20	20	
"	E. G. Windegger	40	20	20	
St. Joseph, Mo.	Jacob Sprinkel	40	30	10	
"	P. V. Wise	40	40		
"	C. Murat Masterson	40	40		
New York, N.Y.	Asa K. Butts	1280	340	940	
"	E. F. Dinsmore	80	40	40	
"	Mrs. F. W. Christern	110	110		190
"	M. L. Holbrook	80	20	60	
"	Geo. W. Whitty	80	80		
"	S. Sexton	40	20	20	
"	Henry H. Richardson	80	20	60	
"	Mrs. M. R. Van Rensselaer	40	20	20	
"	W. P. Chambers	40	40		
"	O. B. Frothingham	200	200		300
"	A. Werner	40	40		
"	W. E. Booraem	40	30	10	
"	J. Lienau	70	50	20	
"	J. P. Dinsmore	80	40	40	
"	B. W. Pierce	400	100	300	
"	D. Thorne	200	100	100	
"	M. B. Bryant	80	80		
"	Lewis G. Jones	40	40		
"	J. J. Nichols	120	30	90	
"	J. W. Bigelow	80	20	60	
"	E. Naumberg	40	20	20	
"	Miss E. Bock	30	30		10
"	Morris Altman	30	30		50
"	Arnold Tanzer	300	300		300
"	A. M. Lee	30	30		
"	Mrs. M. E. Bird	30	30		10
"	W. L. Taylor	30	30		10
"	John Cowan	30	20	10	
"	John Mills	30	30		30
"	R. B. Westbrook	30	30		
"	W. C. Russel	80	60	20	
"	J. E. Oliver	20	20		
thaca, N.Y.		40	30	10	
Peekskill, N.Y.	J. Whittaker	40	30	10	
Kerhonkson, N.Y.	D. Ayres, Jr.	40	40		
Brooklyn, N.Y.		40	40		

Advertisements.

THE PATRONAGE

of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support. To this end, all improper or "blind" advertisements, all quack advertisements, and all advertisements believed to be fraudulent or unjust to any one, will be excluded from these columns. No cuts will be admitted.

THE INDEX must not be held responsible for any statement made by advertisers, who will in all cases accept the responsibility for their own statements.

ADVERTISING RATES.

For 1 to 12 Insertions, 10c per line.
 " 13 " 25 " 8 " "
 " 26 " 51 " 6 " "
 " 52 " " 5 " "

On half-column advertisements, a discount of 10 per cent. will be made; on full-column advertisements, a discount of 25 per cent.

On all advertisements for which cash is paid in advance, a further discount of 25 per cent. on the total, as above calculated, will be made. FRANCIS E. ABBOT, Editor.

TO ADVERTISERS.

The following states the experience of a successful Bookseller who has advertised in THE INDEX:—

TOLEDO, Ohio, Sept. 20, 1872.
 To THE INDEX ASSO., Toledo, O.:

Gentlemen,—Having had occasion to advertise in your paper during the past two years quite largely, I take pleasure in stating that I have always obtained very satisfactory results—better in fact than from book advertisements in any other paper I have advertised in. Not only have I obtained immediate results, but orders have frequently been received months after the insertion of the advertisement, showing that your paper is kept on file and referred to by your readers.

Yours truly,
 HENRY S. STEBBINS.

Special arrangements will be made at reduced terms for long-time or extended advertisements. Address

THE INDEX,
 No. 1 TREMONT PLACE,
 Boston.

CULTURED FREE THOUGHT.

The Index Association,

OFFICE, NO. 1 TREMONT PL., BOSTON,

has been organized with a capital stock fixed at ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND dollars, for the purpose of publishing Tracts, Books, and

THE INDEX.

A Weekly Paper devoted to Free and Rational Religion.

It is the object of THE INDEX to give public utterance to the boldest, most cultivated, and best matured thought of the age on all religious questions, and to apply it directly to the social and political amelioration of society.

It is edited by FRANCIS E. ABBOT, with the following list of Editorial Contributors:—

O. B. FROTHINGHAM, New York City.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, New Bedford, Mass.

WILLIAM H. SPENCER, Sparta, Wis.

RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, Boston, Mass.

MRS. E. D. CHENEY, Jamaica Plain, Mass.

Rev. CHARLES VOYSEY, London, England.

Prof. FRANCIS W. NEWMAN, London, Eng.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, London, Eng.

DAVID H. CLARK, Florence, Mass.

Every liberal should subscribe for THE INDEX, as the best popular exponent of Religious Liberalism. Every Christian minister, and every thinking church-member, should subscribe for it, as the clearest, most candid, and most scholarly exposition of the differences between Free Thought and Evangelical Christianity, and as the best means of becoming well informed of the arguments and the movements which the Church will have to meet in the future.

Almost every number contains a discourse or leading article, which alone is worth the price of one year's subscription.

Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

"If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. On this Centennial year the work of strengthening the foundation of the structure commenced by our forefathers a hundred years ago at Lexington should be begun. Let us all labor for the security of free thought, free speech, free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and equal rights and privileges for all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated to them shall be applied to the support of any sectarian school; resolve that neither State nor nation shall support institutions save those where every child in the land may get a common school education, unmixed with atheistic, pagan, or sectarian teachings. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar; keep the Church forever separate."—PRESIDENT GRANT, at Des Moines, Sept. 29, 1875.

GLIMPSES.

THE RECOVERY of Robert Dale Owen is so well assured that he leaves the asylum very shortly. His many friends are rejoicing with good reason.

THE LATE Census Report of Southern India gives 490,299 as the number of native Christians in the Madras Presidency, of whom 397,071 are Catholics and 93,228 Protestants.

BROWNSON'S *Quarterly Review*, so long known as an able propagandist of the Catholic faith, is discontinued with the present number. Dr. Brownson says he takes this step, not from lack of support or sympathy, but from failing health alone.

TO PREVENT the disinterment of Guibord's remains by the Catholics, a stone coffin twelve feet long and four feet wide has been prepared, to be covered by a great stone slab riveted down by six iron bars! It will require some muscle to knock off this "chip on the shoulder."

CHARLES BRADLAUGH began his lecture-season at Music Hall, Boston, a week ago Wednesday evening. His subject was "Five Dead Men I have Known"; namely, Robert Owen, Joseph Mazzini, John Stuart Mill, Charles Sumner, and Ledru Rollin. As usual, his lecture was well received.

A MINNESOTA DEACON, J. C. Cook by name, lately prosecuted Charles Canfield at Austin, in that State, for violation of the "Sabbath"; and the accused was only discharged on the ground that the work he performed (cutting grain with a reaper) was one of "necessity." Our authority for this statement is the *Faribault Republican*, of September 15.

MOODY AND SANKEY begin their American campaign on October 31, in Brooklyn. Mr. Moody shook off the dust of Philadelphia from his shoes, because, he says, he found the Young Christians of that city, officers and members, all absorbed in a big fair they are projecting for the first of November. He does not believe in Young Christianity; he wants the real article.

CAPTAIN WEBB'S exploit in swimming the English Channel, a distance of twenty miles, furnishes a good argument against the assumed physical degeneracy of the moderns as compared with the ancients. Is there not some muscular Yankee who will swim from New York to Liverpool? If not, we fear this is no longer the "best government the sun ever shone upon."

THIS NEWSPAPER waif is floating about, and seems intrinsically credible, though we do not vouch for it: "An English yachtman who has been to the South Sea Islands says that, in spite of their Christianity, the Samoans are the most arrant thieves, and their morality is at the lowest ebb. The foreign missionaries have abolished all innocent enjoyments, such as dancing, wrestling, and many games, and their so-called Christian congregations grow up to be a set of hypocritical humbugs."

HERE is a joke which better deserves to go the rounds of the papers than most of those thus honored: "They tell a wicked story about a jovial soul that came up to the gates of heaven and asked admission. 'No,' said St. Peter, severely; 'you can't get in; you're not fit.' The traveller stepped back, looked the old saint steadily in the eye, and crowed three times. St. Peter colored, shuddered, and fumbled for his key. 'You can go in,' said he, in a rather shaky voice, 'but don't do that to me again.'"

MRS. SWISSELM, having said that she "does not want companionship in heaven with the last man who went there from an Allegheny County gallows," defends herself from criticism on this score in the *Pittsburgh Commercial*, closing her letter thus: "Our Protestantism has unduly depreciated morality, and unduly exalted what we call religion, and we are reaping the bitter fruit of our mistake in corruption everywhere hiding itself under the cloak of piety, or openly scornful of a religion which levels the distinction between virtue and vice, or rather gives vice the best of it, by adjudging a Theodore Parker to eternal woe, and an Ortwine to everlasting bliss."

ADAM SMITH, the author of the famous *Wealth of Nations*, was a man who intensely disliked moral apathy—that obtuseness of moral perception or feebleness of moral feeling which renders impossible a generous glow of admiration for virtue and an equally generous detestation of vice or meanness, and which sometimes, under pretence of liberality, views even the blackest crimes with a sort of complacency. "At a party at Dalkeith Palace, where Mr. ———, in his mawkish way, was finding palliations for some villainous transaction, the Doctor waited in patient silence till he was gone, and then exclaimed: 'Now I can breathe freely! I cannot bear that man; he has no indignation in him!'"

ON THE eighth of October, as fair and lovely an autumn day as ever lighted up the gaily-tinted woods with golden sunshine and arched them over with a dome of cloudless azure sky, a statue was publicly and solemnly dedicated, in the old cemetery of Hingham, to the memory of John Albion Andrew, the great War Governor of Massachusetts. It was an offering of gratitude, reverence and love from those who fought by land and sea the battles of the old Bay State in the cause of human freedom. No man had ever a better title than he to such a tribute at the hands of his fellow-citizens. Pure, brave, patriotic, tender-hearted, illustrious alike for public and private virtues of the noblest order, he sealed the record of Massachusetts in those dark days with the starry signet of a great fame and a greater character. His light still shines, and will continue to shine while goodness is loved and greatness honored among men.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *New York Tribune* thus mentions the late Professor Cairnes, a paper by whom on Herbert Spencer we recently republished from the *Fortnightly Review*: "Prof. Cairnes's rank as an economist was very high, probably the highest in England. Mr. Mill was one of those who set the greatest value on his powers and on his contributions to economical literature. His last book was his most important and most vigorous. He dictated the whole of it while victim to a malady which fastened him to his bed, stiffened his whole body, denied him the use of his limbs, and racked him with acute pains—rheumatic arthritis. Seldom has a more wonderful intellectual power been displayed than his in such circumstances. Friends gathered about him; one friend, the most faithful of all, his wife, never quitted him, and never wearied in her long task of ministering to his mental wants, reading to him and writing from his dictation. His courage, good spirits, and unusual conversational powers remained to near the last."

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A Heretic.

BY MRS. DAVID H. CLARK.

The real life is the romance after all. "Truth is stranger than fiction," we say; yet what fiction would be thoroughly readable were it not true—true to what occurs daily in human hearts and lives?

We laugh and weep over the glorified pages of the great romancer. We sob, with a heart-breaking sorrow, over the death of little Paul; we see the group of mourners; and "the golden water dancing on the wall." Our souls rise in indignation against such characters as Florence Dombey's father, and poor little Davy's step-father. *Murdstone!* What a touch of genius in the fitting application of that name! The first syllable almost equivalent to the word which stands for the taking of a human life; the second conveying the idea of the hardness, the coldness of that unsympathetic nature, whose ingrained rule of action was—tyranny!

And yet, would these things so compel us if we did not feel that they were the very renderings of actual experience? We know that the writer went up and down the highways and byways, garnering whatever appealed to his exquisite sensibilities, his keen perceptions, his subtle discrimination, whether encountered in the crowded purlieus of the city or the spacious residences of Belgravia.

Life—the vast, throbbing, teeming mystery—is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever; and he who can best portray its myriad destinies is the master artist—and no other!

If, therefore, any merit lie in these poor pages, it will be by reason of the truth they contain. It will be because the narrative is "born of experience," and is not simply a coinage of the imagination. It is no highly-wrought story, with graceful harmonies of circumstance and plot, but an incomplete sketching of a few events, bound by a single winter's span.

The village of Drowseford was astir by a new sensation. It was on everybody's lips. The sewing-society of the Church of the Apostolic Succession met that week at Mrs. Mackenzie's, and the topic of conversation was the same in all the buzzing *côteries*—over the long red and yellow flannel petticoats for the unregenerated babies of Madagascar (though why flannel should be needed in such a climate, even for new-born infants, is a question which, it is safe to conjecture, no Apostolic Successioner had ever ventured to raise); over the finishing off of the three embroidered sofa pillows to be "chanced off" at the next church festival; and over the set of new fine linen shirts which the zealous Apostolics were making for their well beloved pastor.

"Well," said Mrs. Rankin, "I, for one, cannot find it in my conscience to censure him *if he thinks he is right*; and he may be as nearly right as any of us for all we positively know to the contrary."

A pious thrill rustled through the Successioners at this imputation, faintly shadowed forth—this little rift of doubt in respect to the infallibility of Mother Church; but as Mrs. Rankin paid a heavy pew rent, and enjoyed thereby certain tacitly conceded immunities of speech and action, her little heresy was suffered to pass.

Miss Sharples, the lady past the bloom of youth, who "gushed" over children, and professed an acquaintance with art, though, in reality, knowing very little about it, exclaimed:—

"A man with a wife and child ought to think of

their prospects! That charming little boy of his looks like a Manila cherub just stepped down from the frame!"

Susie Harkness and Ada Bowman exchanged lightning glances (very naughty and disrespectful of them, to be sure), and Susie whispered to her mother, who sat near:—

"A Manila cherub ought certainly to be in a *straw* frame!"

The Reverend Sempronius Lahmeswull was announced. He entered smiling benignly, as a good shepherd should; his eyes mildly blue; his hair (the color of which verged on the auriferous sandy); brushed guilelessly back exposed his white and shining brow.

Susie Harkness, who was alarmingly deficient in veneration, once told him that she wished he would always part his hair in the middle, as he reminded her so much of her sister, a dear little girl four years old!

Miss Sharples blushed and simpered, as the pastor took a seat by her side, and brought the effulgence of his cerulean eyes to bear on her bony lineaments. With a deferential bend in her lank person, she said:—

"Dear Mr. Lahmeswull, pray give us your opinion of the *skizzum* in the Church of the Inner Voice."

"Ah, Miss Sharples, Miss Sharples! Do not ask me to sit in judgment upon any laboreh in the Lohd's vineyard, even though he laboh not in accordance with the doctrines of the Established Church. Chahwity, mah deah friend, chahwity covehs a muhlitude of sins."

With this strikingly original remark, delivered in an impressive manner, with much waving of hands, the Rev. Lahmeswull subsided into the profound melancholy habitual with him when asked to pass an opinion. (We read that the owl was the attendant bird of Minerva; it may be that owliness of demeanor passes current for wisdom at the present day.)

To this safe and guarded style of conversation may be attributed much of the influence which the Rev. Sempronius possessed over the hearts of the Apostolics. No cloudlet troubled the serene and vacuous heaven of his faith; his placid slumbers were never disturbed by the theological doubts and questionings to which members of his craft are sometimes subject.

"Blessed are those who do not inquire into the holy things which they set forth, for great shall be the number of their dressing-gowns, and many the sewers thereon," might be formulated as a new beatitude whenever those, uttered so long ago, become ready (through too much practical application in the lives of the children of men) to be cast aside like an outworn garment.

"Tea is ready, ladies. Ah! Mr. Lahmeswull, I feared you were going to disappoint us this afternoon," said Mrs. Mackenzie, coming in from the dining-room, whence floated an aristocratic odor of barbecued chicken and of the greenest of tea; while a glimpse of snowy Mackenzie linen, sparkling glasses, and polished silver made glad the hearts of the Apostolic Successioners.

We read that the Twelve fasted oftener than they feasted—but that was more than eighteen hundred years ago; and now—"nous avons change tout cela!"

The pastor offered his arm to Miss Sharples, who took it mincingly and with many roseate signals, and the hive of industrious bees were soon regaling themselves on the sweets of Mrs. Mackenzie's table. Leaving them at their pleasant occupation, I shall introduce some other characters, and explain what may have seemed enigmatical in the foregoing pages.

The Reverend Searcher Newlight, of the Church of the Inner Voice, had stirred up an ecclesiastical hornet's nest—unwittingly, it is true, but none the less surely.

It is a truism that the minds of men and women progress or retrograde according to their manner of study and habits of thought as bodily powers become developed or atrophied through use or disuse. In the course of his reading and meditating the Reverend Searcher had gradually grown convinced of the broadest, freest principles that can underlie religious belief, at the same time losing his hold on some of the tenets regarded as indispensable by a number of his fellow-ministers; belonging, as he did, to a sect which protests against a formulated creed, this seems in no wise strange.

The "eternal verities" had appeared to his soul divested of the accompaniments of dogma, and he had allowed a few heretical expressions to flow forth, in blackest ink, upon the virgin whiteness of his sermon page, so sullying it forevermore in the estimation of some of his congregation.

Was he to blame? Should the butterfly be chided for escaping from the shell of the chrysalis when the time has come for the grub-life to cease?

The minister having had greater facilities of research, had simply grown beyond his people, and swiftly was he to reap the penalty.

"Outrageous! He ought to be *muzzled*!" exclaimed Mrs. Colonel Bossemall, as she came out of church on that memorable Sunday.

This lady was the female autocrat of the Inner Voicists—the Lady Superior—the Chief Priestess—the *sine qua non* of the institution. In small matters as in great her fiat was the epitome of a Papal Bull—her opinion embodied the essential wisdom of the conventicle.

[N. B.—Churches have their great guns as well as their canons, and a small village hierarchy may be as much a petticoat government as was "La belle France" in the days of Louis the Gallant.]

The Reverend Searcher was disquieted. What the issue of the agitation might be he could dimly surmise but not fully determine. Suppose the ominous

murmurs of discontent (for Mrs. Colonel Bossemall's voice was not the only one raised to sound the alarm) should swell into the unalterable decree! Well, he was sure of one human being—his wife! He knew that she would stand out, brave and heart-warm, to the end of the chapter, though every man's hand should be against him. But what was he fit for beyond his profession, having, unlike the Apostles of old, no trade or handicraft to stand him in good stead? How fervently he wished for brawny arms and muscles of iron, for the deftness, the power, of an artisan or a coal-heaver!

Meanwhile, there was Chris and the baby—with winter coming on.

He neared his home with slow steps. Chris was smiling in the door, with the chubby, two-year-old baby at her side. She was a black-eyed, resolute little woman, who would die rather than flinch in any cause that she espoused. Having been born on the 25th of December, she was baptized Sarah Christmas Carver; but when she arrived at years of discretion she repudiated the first part of her title (having an abomination for the name of Sarah), and was thenceforth known as "Chris" to her intimate friends and companions.

The minister told her of his apprehensions, and her eyes flashed as she said, "Do your duty wherever it may lead you, and put your trust in an overruling Beneficence, as far as consequences are concerned." A very bold and fearless creed, no doubt, but one which frequently calls for martyrs and heroes to uphold it.

During the week a prominent member of the congregation called on the Rev. Searcher, and, in a thoroughly well meaning, kindly spirit, mildly expostulated—predicted the result of any further pulpit airing of certain opinions held by the minister, and, finally, counselled—*policy*!

This last was the camel's ounce. On the following Sunday the minister ascended the pulpit steps determined to "tell the truth and shame the Father of lies"! Without faltering, without cravenness, from beginning to end he delivered the simple exposition of his views, and left his fate in the hands of his hearers.

Would they tolerate him (knowing him to hold such views, which differed not so widely from their own, and were, in fact, the logical outcome of the latter)? Would they stand by and assist him in building up their little church on a broader, firmer basis, or would they pass sentence of dissolution?

The incipient spirit of Torquemada (never, it seems, to be wholly eradicated from the heart of man) triumphed. The congregation oozed out of the church in gloomy, foreboding silence. The minister delivered the benediction (never again to be uttered by him over that assemblage), and as he came down from the desk and stood by the altar, not one of all his spiritual children turned to give him customary greeting—not one, save a mild-faced woman, who loved to dwell at peace with all the world.

Above him shone the mural tablet commemorating the virtues and heroism of the martyr founder of that church—martyred for heresy in his day and generation; below him, shaking the dust of the profaned temple from their pious feet, were not a few of that martyr-founder's lineal descendants.

Chris was there and saw it all. Among the judges were some of her own kinsfolk.

The Rev. Searcher Newlight was now adrift on the wide ocean of fate. For the first few days after his avowal of freedom from sectarian trammels he was, purposeless, swayed by vague plans, not knowing where to cast anchor. A faint hope lingered in his breast that the Church of the Inner Voice might reconsider his case, and revoke its tacit implication of his unworthiness to dispense its spiritual *pabulum*. But as days went on, his expectation died within him, and he was forced to look about for a means of gaining a livelihood.

It is with no small pang that a clergyman, after years of faithful, unremitting service, is called upon to lay down, in one short hour, the burden of his duties, in the consciousness that he can never again take it up under the old condition of things.

By early education, predilection, and habits of thought, Mr. Newlight was better adapted to the pastoral calling than to any other. If a new and independent society could have been formed at once, with him for its minister, he would have felt the change less keenly; but his adherents were few and the disaffected ones many. At the time no place of meeting was available, even had the number of the faithful been greater. The little band of New Protestants were, therefore, obliged to bide their time; and meanwhile, the Rev. Searcher must earn bread for his wife and child.

After seeking many days for employment, Mr. Newlight embraced, as a last resource, the vocation of a book agent, uncongenial as it was to his disposition. Poor little Chris trudged out bravely, one bleak day, to solicit subscribers for an illustrated monthly. But, finding that the undertaking exhausted her limbs and patience in a far greater ratio than it replenished her purse, she abandoned it.

She drummed up a French class of four; and, after preliminaries had been arranged, terms settled, and the day fixed for the first meeting of the class, the petticoated wire-puller told her husband.

She tried story-writing, that frequent experiment of ardent, unchilled fledglings, when first overtaken by adversity. Of course, like others before her, she soared on eagles' wings in the beginning, and sent her crudities to *Fluter's Monthly*, and, as a natural corollary, they were returned with the usual polite dismissal—the amiable editorial subterfuge of "thanks for the privilege of examining," etc.

It is needless to say that she wrote too hastily. One sentence a day, if it be golden, is worth forty as dull as lead; but it is difficult to make young writers

understand the solid twenty-four carat value of slow work.

Chris clipped her pinions after several rebuffs, and wrote without compensation for two or three magazines, grateful for the mere privilege of "getting into print." "Something may come of it some day," she said, and drove her pen (or pencil) at every available moment.

With house-work, sewing, French class, and running about after mischievous Dicky, her opportunities for literary pursuits were limited. She has told me since that she often accomplished her self-imposed modicum of solid reading while watching the bread in the oven, or waiting for the potatoes to boil—stocking-darning, mending, and the renovating of garments that had "waxed old," going on at the same time.

During the early days of autumn she was left much alone with Dicky, her husband pursuing his business in the neighboring towns. He frequently walked to and from the next village (several miles), in order to save railroad fare, in weather that was scarcely fit for a strong man to combat, and would come home tired, chilled, and "hungry enough to eat the door-hinges off," he would say to his wife.

"Well," said Mrs. McGonegal (who did heavy washing and scrubbing for Chris), as she came into the kitchen with a heaped-up basket of wind-blown clothes, "it's my opinion that them that washes to-day gits the day, and them that waits till to-morrow don't"—intimating that a storm was in progress.

Chris and Mrs. McGonegal had the house to themselves that day, as the Rev. Searcher had gone to Millville, ten or twelve miles distant, and Dicky was playing with a neighbor's child.

Chris felt lonely and heavy hearted, and longed for this simple, homely soul to bear her company, and cheer her with her steadfast outlook, and her straightforward trust in the shadowing good that bounds the universe. We need, at times, this communion with the rugged workers of the world, to teach us that our boasted superiority is not always what we deem it; to show us that the magnetic links of sympathy may serve to bind two intellects on widely differing planes; to remind us of the indissoluble humanity that appeals in all the race. Plants grow by *reaching down*, and may not men and women?

"Do stay with me this afternoon, Mrs. McGonegal," pleaded Chris; "it is so lonely, and I know you have nothing to call you home."

"I had a quilt that I was a thinkin' of settin' up yit; but I dunno but I might stay a spell with you and let the bed spread go," answered the washer-woman, a little dubiously. "S'pose I chirk up the fire, and both of us git at it 'n'in'!"

The stove soon glowed ruddy from its open doors, and as Mrs. McGonegal worked she talked—a harmless flow of village gossip. "There goes poor Becky Carden," she exclaimed, looking out of the window. "I reckon you hain't never heard the rights of her story now, did ye, Mis' Newlight?"

Chris replying in the negative, the loquacious little woman continued:—

"Well, it's a *born fact* that she wasn't just treated as she'd order a ben; but lawful sakes! there ain't many that knows all the ups and downs of poor Becky's disgrace. 'Twould be a warnin' to 'em if they did, most likely. It's my opinion thur's a heap o' charity needed, one way or another!" (The Rev. Lahmeswull's idea clothed in plain language, and uttered in an unsanctimonious spirit.)

"You see, Becky was engaged to Gilbert Corson, but her mother (and thur's whur Mis' Carden done wrong) wanted her to give Gilbert the slip and try and git Hen Paisley, who she thought was better off, and a little more fine in his ways. Hen didn't care nothin' 't all about Becky; but still he thought if she was fool enough to flirt and keery on with him, he wouldn't stan' back. So things went on and on, and Gilbert would come one night to see Becky and Hen Paisley would come the next, all unbeknownst to each other. The weddin' day was sot for her to marry Gilbert (much agin Mis' Carden's will, though she know'd she darsen't lay a straw in the road), and Gilbert's folks had made big preparin's for the house warmin'. Becky's Uncle John had give her ten dollars to buy a suit, and Mis' Carden promised her the cookin' stove. The suit was bought, and her and her mother sewed night and day to git it done. The very evenin' she was to marry Gilbert Becky went off buggy-ridin' with Hen Paisley, and never come back for two or three days! She had went to an aunt of her's in the country, and was stayin' there jist a purpose to plague Gilbert, and see how much he would stand. Then Gilbert swore he'd have *revengeance*!"

"Gilbert swore he'd have *revengeance*," resumed Mrs. McGonegal; "and for 'most a year him and Becky was bad friends. Then all of a sudden he took to goin' with her agin—and well, everybuddy knows the rest. (Lawful sakes! these pettcutts o' Dicky's is scorched that redickilus thur's no gettin' it out!)"

"Did her baby live?" asked Chris—the natural question of a mother.

"No—lucky for it, it didn't, poor innocent! It lays up in the *simmetry*, with a little gray headstone, and 'Gilberta' (it was a girl) cut on the stone—that's all."

Chris, sighing, shook out one of Dicky's little gingham aprons, and as she thought of her own rosy, beaming boy, then of the tiny, unhonored grave in the "simmetry," a flood of grateful emotion came over her at the remembrance of her blessings, meagre though her purse and larder were that day.

As Chris was not in a talkative mood, Mrs. McGonegal had the field of conversation to herself, and exerted her powers to entertain Mrs. Newlight, for

whom she had a great respect, mingled with a warm, motherly feeling of a protective nature.

"These shirts hain't so overly white this week. May be it's the soap. I always give my clothes two suds and a bile. Two suds and a bile—and then, if they don't git white, I don't take the blame. Thur's some that washes 'cordin' to time, like Mis' Maguire that washes for Simpson's, and don't care whether the clothes gits white or not; but I hain't one o' them kind."

A pause—broken only by the trotting of Mrs. McGonegal's feet over the uncarpeted floor, and the sound of the irons striking the table.

"You hain't ben to hear the preachin' up on the hill, hev you, Mis' Newlight?"

"No," said Chris; "who is the minister?"

"Well, it's a seck they call the *Anvangelical Methodists*, and Mr. Sober is the minister,—a proper nice man, I've heerd say. I always liked the Anvangelical Methodists. Law, if 'tain't snowin', so airly in the season, too! and here comes Mr. Newlight with his beard all kivered with it! You go and meet him, honey, and I'll jest finish up these here kitchen towels an' things, so's you won't hev no i'nin' layin' 'round to-morrow."

Chris ran to open the door for her husband, and he came in with such a cheerful expression, such a jubilant ring in his greeting, that she felt instinctively something of a prosperous nature had occurred.

"What is it, dear?" she softly asked, as she helped him to shed his time-worn overcoat.

"Oh, glorious news, little woman! As I came up from the train I met John Langhaz, who told me that he and four or five others are to hold a meeting this evening, to discuss the practicability of a new society, with me for its minister. The chief difficulty is the want of a hall, but they may be able to rent the old Wesleyan Church on Conover Street—the one that is used now for concerts and lectures."

"S-p-l-e-n-d-i-d!!!" said the little woman, and danced for joy.

"You see," continued Mr. Newlight, "if these people who profess to be in sympathy with me can raise even five hundred dollars a year for me, it will be better than this uncertain book business, and far more to my liking. I don't wish to drop altogether out of the lists of the militant."

"And then, dear, the *donation book*—don't forget that!"

"To be sure, little woman, the *donation book*," rejoined her husband.

In explanation of the above, let it be understood that Chris, in her love of method, had, from the first day of their housekeeping, instituted what she termed "the ministerial donation book"—a dozen sheets of letter paper stitched together at the back,—in which she transcribed the date of receiving, the character of the offering, and the name of the donor of every voluntary contribution made to their household resources. In her leisure moments, which, as I have intimated, were not many, she sometimes reviewed the contents of this book with much amusement. It served to indicate, in some measure, the kindly interest taken in them by their neighbors and parishioners; and, even after the sad rupture of relations with the church, the members of Mr. Newlight's old congregation (to their honor be it said) did not wholly abandon their generous giving. The little list tended to soften, in a measure, the reproachful frame of mind which occasionally overcame the minister and his wife. New friends, also—those whose purses were neither broad nor deep,—contributed heart-warm gifts out of their little store. Let me advise every clergyman's wife to do as Chris did, and keep a donation book. Systematic marshaling of facts is a powerful agent in the science of sociology. We have Herbert Spencer's warrant for it.

When Mrs. McGonegal donned her bonnet and shawl to go home, Chris took from her purse the price of a full day's labor and would have forced it on the good soul.

"No, no, Mis' Newlight; don't you go fur to do that now. Sixty cents for the washin', and not a penny over—not a penny. I ain't one o' them kind that won't do nothin' for nothin' for nobody, and what I done I done cheerful. 'Tain't often I kin git a chance to give ye a heft with the i'nin', and it's glad I am when the chance does come. Monday mornin', then, agin, if it's advantageous; if not, then not till Wednesday. Monday's your day, and Tuesday's Postlethwaite's, and I can't break my days to my customers when the days is sot. 'Twouldn't be fair. Good-night."

The back-kitchen door closed after the depressed-looking bonnet and the startlingly-gay plaid shawl; but a royal heart beat beneath, and Chris felt a warm glow of genuine admiration for the generous woman, as she went with her husband to look at their darling Dicky.

He lay, pink-flushed, in the warm, moist slumber of healthful childhood, his round arms thrown above his head, and one soft cushiony foot thrust unconsciously through a hole in his little shabby crib blanket.

"We have much to be thankful for, Chrissie," earnestly said the minister.

"Truly," answered his wife, as she covered up the little venturesome toes.

Was this honest avowal of gratitude the less a prayer because unaccompanied by meaningless genuflections and the utterance of formal words? Their worship lay in their work, and faithfully it was performed from day to day.

The experiment of a new society was tried. Alas for human charity! alas for human justice! It failed signally and completely. Hopes were held out to the sanguine minister, subscription papers were put in circulation, and the vacant church was promised. Mr. Newlight prepared a discourse, and on a certain

Sunday took his way to the appointed place. He was surprised at finding the door locked, and the sexton not to be seen in the vicinity. He went to the sexton's house, and that functionary informed him that, in consequence of his (the minister's) destructive opinions, he (the sexton) had received orders from the Chairman of the Church Committee to make no preparations for services, such as lighting a fire, etc., and to withhold the key on penalty of dismissal!

"Very well," said the Rev. Searcher; "I shall preach outside!"

By this time a congregation of about thirty had assembled, among the number Mrs. McGonegal. The minister, after a few words of explanation, took his stand at the head of the long flight of steps leading to the church door. Suddenly one drop—two—a dozen drops of drizzling rain, and then a shower. Extending his arms, as to a group of little children, the minister said: "Come with me, my friends; under my own roof we shall find shelter."

Chris saw them coming and divined the cause, which made her heart burn within her. "To think of the narrowness that is in this wide, wide world!" she said to herself, and threw open the doors. To one and all she gave the entering company a welcoming word and a hand-pressure; and burly farmers said, one to another, "Well, if that little gal ain't got *pluck*, I don't know where the article kin be found!"

Two or three such meetings were held and then the attendance languished. It may be that the few who came feared that Mrs. Newlight's carpets might be injured; it may be that they did not possess sufficient firmness of purpose to stand by their first impulses. Certain it is, from whatever cause, a fatal influence checked the budding enterprise.

How few in small country towns are firmly and continually sincere! Even when thoroughly convinced of the truth or justice of a course of conduct pursued by some one, they are afraid of "the long-necked geese of the world, who are ever hissing dispraise."

I once read a charming allegory of two knights who went forth (with pen and pencil respectively) to do battle with the giant Sham. The name of the one knight was Sir William Makepeace Thackeray; that of the other, Sir John Leech.

Oh, for a girded knight, in these degenerate days (and it would take one towering in strength and intellect, full panoplied in iron mail), to enter the lists against the giant They Say!

Said Miss Sharples to her friend Mrs. Mackenzie, with whom she was drinking "a sociable cup of tea," "They say that Mr. Newlight can't get any place but his own house to preach his infidel doctrines in. I should think he'd have found out by this time that the Lord is against him. I don't see how you get your quince butter so smooth. Now, the last quince butter that ma and I made in the fall just blubbered and blubbered, and went to lumps."

"Perhaps you did not stew the quinces soft before you put in the sugar," suggested her companion.

"That might have been it," rejoined Miss Sharples, with a pensive sigh.

It was Saturday morning, and Chris was making a diminutive beefsteak pie. Mr. Newlight had gone to the neighboring village of Merton, and she knew he would come home sadly in need of substantial food; hence the extravagance—unwonted, indeed—of a pie.

She had put the finishing touches to the crust. (Chris was very tender-hearted about pie-crust, and said she never liked to press the edges down hard; it seemed to her as if she might hurt it. Some persons have that feeling about the keys of a piano; there would be more genuine music in the world if all had it.) As she was about to set the pie in the oven, a knock at the front door startled her with the presentment, "a sensing," of some "uncanny" visitor.

She opened it, and stood face to face with a jaunty-looking man about thirty, gloveless, and without an overcoat, though it was an intensely cold day in December. He declined her invitation to enter the house, inquired for her husband, and, on learning he was from home, said in a deep, Chadband voice:—

"Ah, I will call again."

"What name did you say, sir?" asked Chris.

"Mr. Browne—the Rev. Mr. Browne, of St. Ludwig," replied the stranger in the same unctuous tones.

Chris was startled beyond measure. She was not a *clairvoyante*; she was not what the Spiritualists call a "test medium"; but she had been actually frightened, sometimes, at the *unerringness* of her subsequently proved convictions and suspicions! She possessed a peculiar power of fathoming the natures, aye, the very *thoughts*, of the people around her. About this man who stood before her, with his half-open, light-gray eyes turned obliquely upon her, in the cringing bend of his head, and the false depth of his voice, there was an emanating something, a magnetism of deceit—call it what you will, you who are learned in psychology; the one terse, vigorous word expressing it is simply *humbug*.

He went away, and Chris returned to her work; but the impression which the stranger, whoever he was (she felt morally sure he was not the person he assumed to be), had made upon her, was not to be shaken off.

I think that persons of highly nervous organization, and consequent activity of brain and body, are more susceptible to these inexplicable influences, these currents surcharged with magnetism—which flow (whether for good or evil) from one individual soul to another, when brought into communication.

Take your ordinary thick-skulled pachyderm, and seat him in a railway-car beside a gentlemanly forger, or a soft-voiced, *petite* Borgia, and ten chances to one

he will ride the length of his journey without experiencing a single quiver of sensibility; but there is in the natures of another class a witch-hazel divining rod that rarely fails of its mark.

Some hours later the Rev. Mr. Browne came again. He had mistaken the time. The train on which Chris expected her husband was not due until five P.M.; it was then only half-past two.

"It's somebody who is certainly very anxious to see Searcher," cogitated the little woman. "I do hope he doesn't want to borrow any money; for Searcher will be sure to lend it to him if he has it by him."

The hands of the town clock pointed to exactly ten minutes of five when the stranger knocked for the third time. To the Reverend Searcher, who soon returned, he represented himself as a brother minister, who had lost all by a disastrous fire, and who was making engagements to lecture on various subjects in different towns of the Eastern and Middle States. He had been at Merton, the next village, but had met with no success, and had come to Drowseford in the hope of getting an audience, as he understood the Drowsefordians to be a rather intellectual class, as compared with the Mertonians.

Mr. Newlight candidly acknowledged that he could not give him much encouragement. There were a few cultivated families in the village; but the majority of the inhabitants were more inclined to patronize circuses and minstrel bands than any species of intellectual entertainments. "But can you not stay and spend Sunday with us, Mr. Browne, instead of remaining at the hotel?"

The Rev. Browne gave a sudden electric bound. His jaw fell, his eyes dilated, his whole manner betrayed a nervous eagerness to accept the proffered invitation.

"That would be too great an inconvenience, I fear," he exclaimed.

"Not at all," rejoined Mr. Newlight, while Chris murmured some inarticulate phrase of forced politeness. Blame her not, fastidiously honorable reader. It is sometimes harder to speak and act the naked truth in small matters than to face a loaded howitzer.

"Well—ah—since you are so kind, I will go to the hotel and inform Mrs. Browne of your politeness! I will answer for her that she will greatly prefer stopping at a private house."

He donned his hat with alacrity, and Chris, whom the mention of a Mrs. Browne had stunned into momentary paralysis, recovered her wits sufficiently to ask:—

"Will you be back to tea, Mr.—Browne?"

"Oh—ah—yes, since you are so kind. I can answer for Mrs. Browne that she will greatly prefer coming to tea."

He vanished into the outer darkness like a familiar demon, and Chris turned blankly to her husband.

"Oh, Searcher, I know he is an impostor; and did you see with what frantic haste he jumped at your invitation? I feel sure he was manoeuvring for it all the time. Oh, that beefsteak pie! it is perfectly Liliputian! and to think of there being a Mrs. Browne! I feel as if I had been buried alive, with a heavy stone on my breast!"

"Well, well," answered her husband, a little quickly, "it can't be helped now, I suppose. They may be all right; and, as a brother minister, it would have been very shabby in me not to invite him."

"That's just it," said Chris; "I don't mind the trouble, but I do hate to be humbugged, as I know we are going to be," and she got out two more cups, plates, and saucers with a little unnecessary clatter—the result of increased nerve-force acting on the muscles.

If the personality of Mr. Browne acted as a disturbing element to Chris's mental poise, that of his wife exerted a similar influence, differing, not in kind but in degree. She possessed the figure of a professional gymnast—an incontrovertible specimen of the "development theory,"—with the face and costume of a third-rate actress. Her dress was a black velvet, profusely decorated with bugles. Her massive throat was encircled by a necklace of jet medallions, which looked as if it almost throttled the wearer. She wore her dark hair in a short, thick, wavy mass, and in front, among the clustering locks, was one tress of mysterious gray.

In certain confidences forced on Chris the next day, Mrs. Browne accounted for the gray tress by the fact of its being a race-mark of all the Montcours's—a Canadian French family from which she professed to have sprung.

"To think," said Chris, indignantly to her husband, "of her pretending to be French; when she can scarcely speak ten words without betraying her Hibernian origin!"

"I am going to lock the sideboard, and take the key to bed with me," she continued; "who knows but they may abscond in the night with all my wedding presents?"

Her husband laughed; but Chris was as good as her word, and snapped the key in the lock with a most resolute air.

The Brownes, whatever their characters or history, certainly endeavored to make themselves very agreeable during the Sunday of their stay, and, had the slightest hint of invitation been given, would evidently have been delighted to spend a week or two with Mr. and Mrs. Newlight. It is probable that they were impetuous "professionals" of some sort, who, having come to the end of their resources (like so many of their improvident class), had been obliged to resort to stratagem to tide them over.

Mr. Browne appeared tolerably conversant with the affairs of the denomination to which he assumed to belong, and produced various letters and credentials purporting to have come from prominent broth-

er ministers. An unsuspecting man like Newlight would accept these guarantees in good faith. His wife was intuitively convinced of their worthlessness.

It was amusing to see the gestures and changes of facial expression with which the Rev. Mr. Browne interlarded the narrative of his experience.

Plunging forward at an angle of forty-five degrees, and waving at intervals his fat, cushiony hands, he rolled out:—

"I have been co-o-l-d (plunge), I have been hung-g-gry (plunge), I have been without a place to lay my head-d-d (plunge and wave). I forfeited an estate of forty thousand pounds in England, because I refused to become a minister of the Established Church against my honest convictions. And what have I gained by it? What have I gained by it, I repeat? I have come to the conclusion that it is anything but glorious to be a martyr, and I would now settle down to the first thing that promised me a comfortable living—a com-fortable living."

He rubbed his pudgy hands together, and sank back luxuriously in his chair, with an air which plainly said:—

"I pity you, Newlight. I sincerely pity you for your mistaken idea that virtue is its own reward."

They left at noon on Monday, and Chris said she felt as if the weight of a mountain had been lifted off of her. "I could not breathe freely while they were in the house, Searcher, dear; but still I would not have you think that I regret having taken them in—impostors though they are, and I know they are, and they know that I know it."

After this breathless syntactical effort she sat down to rest, and the Rev. Searcher took the occasion to perpetrate a mild joke.

"Then, my dear, make your mind easy; you have obeyed Scripture, and so have they in doing as they would be done by. You are not sorry for having taken them in, and they (if impostors) are assuredly not sorry for having taken you in."

Chris rushed at him with a paper-cutter; but he parried with a lead pencil, and thus the bloodless battle came to an end.

To satisfy his wife, who desired him to be fully persuaded that she was right, Mr. Newlight wrote a letter of inquiry to certain parties with which the Rev. Browne claimed to be intimately acquainted. In due time the answer came:—

"St. Ludwig, Jan. —, 18—.

"REV. SEARCHER NEWLIGHT:

"Dear Sir,—I am under the impression that you have been the victim of a swindler. The Rev. Mr. Browne, of St. Ludwig, belonging to the denomination you mention, is an excellent man of about fifty-five, unmarried, and has not been absent from his pulpit duties for the past eight or ten months. As to the story of the fire, I regard it as only one in the tissue of falsehoods with which your late visitor has imposed on you and yours."

"Very respectfully, ———."

Chris was angelic! She never once said, "I told you so."

After the failure of his attempt to organize an independent church, Mr. Newlight was obliged to resume his previous occupation. The work was arduous, the returns slow. Times were dull, and business men, laborers, and mechanics were chary of disbursing money for the superfluous. It was almost impossible to make both ends meet, even by the practice of the most rigid self-denying economy. In addition to the grievous burden of providing for the daily necessities, Chris had put her shoulder to the wheel, in the endeavor to cancel certain debts unavoidably contracted during the summer. She bore up bravely as a general thing, but she was no saint, as the following will sufficiently prove.

One morning towards the close of the winter the Newlights were sitting at breakfast, which consisted of boiled potatoes, and salt wherewith to give them savor; not a half ounce of butter, not a morsel of bread (alas! the dreaded "last crust" had been reached the day before)!

Suddenly Chris rose from her chair, threw her arms widely above her head, with a look of the deepest anguish, whirled around in the centre of the room, then seizing a tin basin which hung on the wall, she flung it with all her force as far as it would go, and burst into a frenzy of tears.

Dicky made round eyes, and held a spoonful of potato suspended midway from his little battered tin plate to his mouth, as he lisped, "Wath a mattah wiv oo, mamma!"

"Why, little woman?"

Chris flew to her husband's breast, and sobbed out, "I—I—do-on't care! I don't mind it for ourselves, but to see that lit-lit-little, patient soul sitting up there like an angel, eating potatoes and s-a-a-alt (here she rose to a perfect howl), is enough to make a woman feel like a Bengal ti-iger! o-oh! And the worry and hurry of the work nearly drive me out of my senses sometimes. There, I've said it, what I thought four horses would never drag from me, and now I'll repent in sackcloth and a-a-shes—o-oh!"

The Rev. Newlight was a man of patient soul; and this outbreak seemed such a natural issue of the little wife's pent-up feelings, that he knew not how to comfort her. After the tempest of her wrath and grief had somewhat spent itself, she looked up with an April face, and said, "I know I'm an awful, old, vicious creature—and—I ought to be hung, I suppose."

Chris washed the breakfast dishes, tidied up the house, and sat down to a mountain (Pelion upon Ossa? Say, rather, Everest on Kunchingona!) It was a mountain of mending; and, as she sewed, Dicky played about the floor with some carpenter's blocks, and built "a train and an injin."

Chris was patiently filling up the fearful chasms in

a pair of her husband's stockings—longing to take a peep into the last number of *Science for the People* (the one luxury in which the Newlights had indulged during the past year), and thinking "oh, dear, I wish the shoemakers wouldn't leave nails in the boots; they must be in league with the stocking-makers all over the land," when her husband returned from his daily quest to the post-office.

"What will you give for a letter from the *Vindex*, my literary consort?" he asked, waving aloft a yellow object, not sufficiently bulky to indicate rejected MS., and just thick enough to hint at possible good fortune.

"Oh, what shall I give who have promised a crown? Why, first I will give thee a kiss," sang the jubilant creature, and suited the action to the word.

"Oh, Searcher, look here! Was there ever anything more positively delicious? Just listen!"—

"MRS. S. N.:

"Dear Madam,—Inclosed, please find our check for ten dollars, for your article entitled 'Busy Mothers,' published in the *Vindex* of last Saturday. We also mail to your address one dozen copies of the paper, 'complimentary.'

"Hoping to hear from you again, we remain,

"Yours truly,

"THE EDITORS."

"The blessed old darlings! whoever they are," said Chris, in silver tones; "I could almost kiss them! Why, just think, Searcher, that ten dollars will buy a small sack of flour, and a whole ham, and stockings for Dicky—and—oh, everything under the sun. I declare—I feel—just—like—an earthquake!"

"Well, don't act like one," said her more demure husband, as she whizzed around the room, utterly oblivious of poor Dicky's laboriously-constructed "injin," which literally became "a smash up!" "Wait till you hear the contents of my letter; then have the agony all over at once."

"Did you get a letter?" stopping short.

"I should rather think I did. Come here." She ran to peep over his shoulder, but he turned and clasped her to his side. "Do you remember those two gentlemen, lumber merchants, who came here in the winter, and insisted on paying me ten dollars for a couple of books that were only worth three, and said they would remember my case?"

Chris nodded.

He flourished before her eyes the following:—

"CLEARMOUNT, March —, 18—.

"REV. SEARCHER NEWLIGHT:

"Dear Sir,—We have borne your case in mind. A vacancy having occurred in our office, we can give you a clerkship at one hundred dollars per month, provided you are willing to come as far as Clearmount. Let us know your decision at once, and oblige,

Yours sincerely,

"GRAY & BILLINGS."

"Oh-oh-oh! Hold on to me—for I know I am going to drop," said Chris.

So the long and bitter experience of the winter was over for them, and their lot was once more cast in a pleasant haven. But a word as to the import of this little sketch. In certain of the world's dark ages heresy was adjudged the damnable sin. Is the opprobrium of it less keenly suffered in our day and civilization?

Latest intelligence from Drowseford informs me that Miss Sharples is heroically nursing the Rev. Sempronius Lahmeswull through an attack of varioloid. All honor to her for her brave devotion. May she be abundantly rewarded.—*Ladies' Own Magazine*.

DEMOCRACY AND CATHOLICISM IN OHIO.

As to the Catholic clergy, Judge Taft said:—

"The theory of the Catholic clergy is, that no schools can be satisfactory to them; which do not permit the full instruction of Catholic children in the Catholic faith, so that they may be well indoctrinated with their religious opinions at the same time they are acquiring secular knowledge and discipline, if not the same instructors. Their only way to secure this object out of the school fund is to have it divided; and they do not yet see why this cannot be done. They oppose the common schools, therefore, even when relieved of all sectarian teaching, in the hope of an arrangement by which they can have the teaching of Catholic children under the care of Catholic religious teachers, in schools supported by the school fund, which is raised by taxes levied upon all, or that the Catholics be relieved of the school tax. And they think they propose fairly when they propose that all other denominations shall have the same privilege. They think their position is logical and just, and adhere to it, through good report and through evil report, with a characteristic perseverance which belongs to the history of the Catholic hierarchy."

We doubt whether there is a Catholic priest in Ohio who will controvert that statement of their attitude to the common schools; at least he will not dispute its fairness as reflecting the sentiments and feelings of the clergy as a class. The address of Bishop McQuaid, at Pike's Opera House, more than sustains Judge Taft's statement. The history of the controversy in the State of New York over this very question affirms it, and citations from the columns of the *Freeman's Journal*, the Eastern organ, and from the *Catholic Telegraph*, the Western exponent of Catholic feeling and opinion, conclusively demonstrate the fact that opposition to our system of secular schools will not cease until it is supplanted by one in harmony with the ideas of the Church. "It

will be a glorious day for Catholics," says the *Telegraph*, "when our school system shall be shivered in pieces."

It is not likely that Judge Taft is in apprehension of such an immediate catastrophe. The school system is too strongly entrenched in the affections of the people to be torn out by the united effort of any body of ecclesiastics. Nor does he fear a division of the school fund. Judge Taft's chief purpose was to put before the people of the State, the causes of the continued opposition to the schools on the part of a body of clericals representing a powerful sectarian body.

All of this would have nothing to do with the present political canvass in Ohio, and Judge Taft would be the last man to inject it into the campaign, deprecating as he says he does, the introduction of sectarianism into politics, but for the apparent compact entered into between those sectarian enemies of the free schools and the Democratic party, and a disposition on the part of those who have the clerical policy in charge to make the party the instrumentality of their designs. And all this in connection with the bill introduced into the Legislature last winter by Mr. Geghan. As Judge Taft says, and in anything but the spirit of a bigot, there is nothing in the bill which seems to be dangerous or unreasonable. But there was hesitation about passing it, and it required the clerical lash, which was vigorously applied, to force it through. Mr. Geghan himself declared the Church had "a prior claim on the party" because the voters of its persuasion had pretty uniformly voted the Democratic ticket. The *Catholic Telegraph* threatened the Democratic legislators with the punishment of the withdrawal of the Catholic vote if they failed to pass the bill, and when at last it was passed, it pledged the "solid unbroken Catholic vote" to the Democratic ticket in October as a reward for obedience to the demands of the Church.

Now, it is obvious, that in any discussion of the school question, Judge Taft, however liberal in his religious views, could not pass over this alliance without remark; for combinations between political parties and religious bodies, for political or sectarian ends, are the most dangerous foes of free institutions. Knowing the avowed and open hostility of the Catholic clergy to the State school system, it is not unreasonable to suppose they would use the same political machinery which they had employed to open to them the doors of the penal and reformatory institutions of the State to attain their objects in respect to the schools; namely, either division of the school fund, or relief from taxation for their support. The introduction of the mass and confessional into the penitentiary, asylums, and reform schools, is a small object compared with the greater end which is steadily kept in view by the clergy. Hence, such an alliance as the *Catholic Telegraph* announced is to be regarded with suspicion, and Judge Taft's question, whether it is quite safe to trust the legislation and administration of State affairs to such hands, becomes one of importance and general interest.

We should be the last to say that the Democratic party is opposed to our free school system. It has as staunch defenders among Democrats as among Republicans; but, being allied so closely with a powerful body which is under the control of a clergy hostile to the schools, the temptation to conform legislation to the interests of this great auxiliary body of voters is strong, and the virtues of professed politicians are proverbially weak. The school fund cannot be directly divided—though the New York plan of parceling out school money might, with some modification, be hit upon, notwithstanding our Constitutional provision,—nor can taxes be laid unequally upon the citizens; but it might be possible, as was done by a Democratic Legislature in Texas recently, to so reduce the rate of the school tax as practically to sponge out the school system. This is a danger the people of Ohio would do well to guard against; and Judge Taft in his speech makes such citations of facts—facts that are incontrovertible—as will be likely to cultivate a lively interest in the matter.—*Cincinnati Commercial*, Aug. 26.

REPRODUCTION OF ORGANISMS.

The epidermis, or outward skin, grows with the greatest facility, just as the hair and the nails; it is indeed the same tissue. The crystalline lens of the eye, which somewhat resembles the substance of the epidermis, is also reproduced when it is taken away. Many experiments made on dogs and rabbits proved that this bi-convex lens, which is one of the principal organs of sight, is perfected afresh in a few months.

Besides the skin, there are the nerves, the restoration of which was unknown until the end of the last century, when Monro and some others drew up a complete theory. In the sciatic nerve, for instance, it is sometimes necessary to cut out about the third of an inch. The ends soon show an alteration; then in about six weeks or two months a gray lump appears on one extremity, which directs its course toward the opposite one, and reunites with it. This is composed of nervous tubes, more slender than the original ones; but by degrees they grow in size, become whiter, the fibres are more perfect, and after an interval of four to six months there is a cord of nerves newly formed. This process will go on even when two inches have been excised. As the matter is repaired, the progressive reestablishment of the sensitive functions can be seen, whether of motion or of feeling.

The cartilage, which is perhaps better known under the name of gristle, was considered for a long period as incapable of renovation; but in 1867 this was found to be a mistake. The cartilaginous tissue of dogs and rabbits was divided, and at the end of two

months there was a complete restoration. It is also found that the thinner muscular tissues which perform involuntary movements in the interior of the body possess the same power. One point only remained to be proved—whether muscular fibres could restore by means of similar fibres their loss of substance. This was tried on some Guinea pigs; the muscles were cut, and after a few months they were found to be complete again. Thus all the tissues of the animal frame can be restored in the adult, and by a precisely similar plan of development as in the young.

The knowledge of these facts has been in the practice of surgery the starting-point for many new operations, which are still advancing. Thus the reproduction of bone has especially interested the public. Bones consist of three parts: the marrow, the osseous substance, and the periosteum, a membrane which covers the outside, and which was discovered during the last century to be the principal agent in elaborating the whole structure. One skillful experimenter remarked that wherever he could introduce the periosteum there he could have bone, and could thus multiply the bones of an animal, and place them where there were none before. This, however, is not desirable; but as the bones are very liable to inflammation, tumors, and decay, surgery can here step in and take away all the unhealthy parts, excavate the bone, and at the end of a few months the limb, which has never lost its form, repairs its losses, a new bone tissue is formed, and restored to the former condition of healthy vitality. Formerly amputation was the only resource in such cases; now the limb is saved, bone gives birth to bone, just as the severed nerve reunites itself, the cartilaginous layer adhering to the periosteum being nothing else but bone in the course of formation.

The operation of grafting in the vegetable kingdom is well known; living fragments are attached to a perfect tree. But the grafted portion never becomes an integral part of that to which it has been transported; it rather develops as a parasite, like the mistletoe on the oak, and remains physiologically distinct. This, however, is not the case with animals; when a piece taken from another part of the same individual, or from a different subject, is grafted, it becomes a perfect portion, and gives the same life. The cells of the choroid coat of the eye may be transplanted, and preserve their vitality in their new home. The transfusion of blood is nothing but the introduction of red globules borrowed from one organism and transferred to another. This succeeds even if the blood passes into an individual of quite a different class; as, for instance, from a mammal into the vessels of a frog. The globules will be found after some time living, and easily recognizable as those of a superior animal. The spurs of one cock have been grafted into the comb of another, and teeth of mammals have also been transplanted.

From these facts surgeons took up the idea of grafting bones in the place of those that had decayed, and several attempts seem to favor the plan; but now it is acknowledged that a graft of either the periosteum or the marrow has an unconquerable tendency to be reabsorbed, or to disappear after a time, on account of the unfavorable conditions in which it finds itself, or for want of nutrition.

More success had attended the grafting of teeth; but this is not yet quite established. The teeth spring from a little bag or follicle, in which is the organ of ivory, and that for the production of enamel. When an entire follicle was taken from a puppy, and grafted into an adult dog, the germ was regularly developed to the production of a complete tooth. The enamel when grafted alone perished, while the organ of ivory produced an ivory tooth. These interesting researches lead to the hope that teeth may some day be thus restored, seeing that the entire organ with a complete structure is more likely to grow than when it is only a fragment, transplanted and isolated, like a piece of bone.

The grafting of the epidermis has been accomplished by many celebrated surgeons. After an operation, a burn, or a bruise, the destroyed skin is but slowly restored, and often with difficulty. Thus the idea arose of taking a piece of healthy skin from the same or another person, and laying it on the wound. It was found to require the utmost delicacy on the part of the surgeon; and instead of covering the whole with one piece, very small bits were applied each day, following the progress of healing, and replacing those morsels that did not adhere. In about twenty-four hours the grafting was accomplished, and the wound was not, as usual, a contracted scar. Such are some of the efforts of physiology; the working out is difficult and tedious, but, with skill and patience, the labors of the present time may bear future and valuable fruit.—*Chambers' Journal*.

CAPT. GEORGE PEARCE, who won the Queen's prize at Wimbledon, was kind enough afterwards to disclose his art of war. After he had been declared winner, the gold badge was pinned on his arm, and he was carried to a tent where, addressing his comrades, he said that it had been the custom for past Queen's prizemen to attribute their good fortune to some special cause. Angus Cameron, who had won the coveted prize twice, attributed his good fortune to the fact that he was a teetotaler. "For myself," said Captain P., "I believe I have been allowed to win the prize because I was recently bold enough to admit myself a convert to the truth of the Bible." The prizeman is a solicitor, and there is a startling implication in his language that boldness is needed in that region to admit the foundation of the Christian religion as by law established. We have come a long way from the days when, as in the case of Der Freischütz, marksmen had to pawn their souls to the devil for bullets that would not fail.—*Golden Age*.

Poetry.

JOHN A. ANDREW.

A HYMN SUNG AT THE DEDICATION OF THE HINGHAM STATUE, OCT. 8, 1875.

BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

Behold the shape our eyes have known!
It lives once more in changeless stone;
So looked in mortal face and form
Our guide through peril's deadly storm.

But hushed the beating heart we knew,
That heart so tender, brave, and true,
Firm as the rooted mountain rock,
Pure as the quarry's whitest block!

Not his beneath the blood-red star
To win the soldier's envied scar:
Unarmed he battled for the right,
In Duty's never-ending fight.

Unconquered will, unslumbering eye,
Faith such as bids the martyr die,
The prophet's glance, the master's hand
To mould the work his foresight planned—

These were his gifts; what Heaven had lent
For justice, mercy, truth, he spent,
First to avenge the traitorous blow,
And first to lift the vanquished foe.

Lo, thus he stood; in danger's strait
The pilot of the Pilgrim State!
Too large his fame for her alone,—
A nation claims him as her own!

RECEIVED.

Books.

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The Index.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 14, 1875.

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N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRANCIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

NORTHAMPTON has \$858,200 of untaxed property, over \$200,000 of which is church property.

IN A SPEECH of Theodore Parker's, delivered in 1850, the phrase—"a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people"—is used as a definition of true democracy. It is well known that Abraham Lincoln was a reader and admirer of Parker, and this striking phrase may have been unconsciously reproduced in his most noble Gettysburg address.

THE FREE and rational use of Sunday, now so markedly on the increase, is exciting uneasiness and alarm among Christians of all sorts. These resolutions were lately passed by the Baptist ministers of this neighborhood:—

"Resolved, That we regard pleasure excursions on the Lord's day as contrary to the law of the Christian Sabbath, as dangerous to the morals of those who participate in them, and as great annoyances to the communities upon which they are imposed.

"Resolved, That we regard with special repugnance such pleasure excursions on the Lord's day as are made in the name of religion, since they involve not only the sin of desecration but also that of hypocrisy."

Commenting on these resolutions, the Boston *Advertiser*, which seems now-a-days increasingly anxious to propitiate Evangelical favor, made admissions tempered by a certain subdued but dolorous whine: "There has been a marked change in the feeling of the larger American communities as to what constitutes a proper and respectful observance of the Lord's day. Many things are now not merely tolerated, but considered eminently desirable, which our sturdier fathers would have resented as sacrilege. But the old respect for the day remains, and it is kept as a day of rest and of worship to an extent probably unknown anywhere else in the world. It will be a great misfortune if, through innovations of the kind which are now attracting the notice of the religious public, that respect should take its departure."

THE *Deutsche Merkur*, the organ of the Old Catholics in Germany, quotes the following extracts from a catechism of church law published by the Ultramontane Bishop Martin:—

"1. Catholics cannot be bound to send their children to undenominational State schools, nor can they be compelled to pay taxes for such schools; the bishops have the right of setting up educational establishments of their own.

"2. Bishops may order processions, pilgrimages, and observance of Church festivals, and in this right they may not be interfered with by law or police regulations.

"3. The State may not suppress or limit Church societies, such as the Workmen's Unions, St. Borromeo's Union, and the like.

"4. The State has not the right to limit by a statute of mortmain the acquirement of property by the Church; it may not tax Church property, and must leave its administration and application solely to ecclesiastical officials.

"5. Members of Church boards must be nominated by the bishop, or, if chosen by the congregation, must be confirmed by the bishop.

"6. The State cannot levy any taxes or dues from the clergy, except by permission of the Papal See. Similarly, without permission of the Papal See, clergy cannot be summoned before a civil tribunal, even in ordinary civil and criminal causes.

"7. Under pain of excommunication, it is forbidden to imprison a bishop or to remove him from his See.

"8. The State may not order that the bodies of Catholics should be buried in communal graveyards, but it ought to set apart forever special portions of these cemeteries for Catholics, or should allow them to provide their own burying-grounds."

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE MOVEMENT.

The excellent results of the late convention at Philadelphia in placing the Liberal League movement on a sound basis, and the noble, hearty response of the liberals at Florence to a very imperfect advocacy of its claims upon public support, have strengthened our hope that the enlightened moral sense of the country will yet be enlisted on its behalf, in season to secure the triumph of the principle of purely secular government before an outbreak of sectarian fanaticism shall have involved the nation in manifold disaster. Would that we were gifted with the persuasive and silvery eloquence of a Bossuet, a Burke, a Patrick Henry, a Webster, a Wendell Phillips, that we might win the hearts of our countrymen to the adoption of measures on which depend their highest conceivable interests! Alas, we have only intense conviction and blunt speech to employ in their service; yet with these common gifts alone we must attempt to remove prejudice and invoke the public opinion which gives life and power to every great movement for human weal. Perhaps it is quite as well, after all, that the fascinations and magical arts of rhetoric are out of the question; for we rely on no momentary dazzling effects, but wholly on the solid justice and truth of the principle we plead for, and on the necessity, evident to dispassionate reflection, of a general united movement by the people to carry it out. Making no appeal whatever to excited feeling of any kind, we lay the case calmly before the deliberate and sober judgment of our fellow-citizens, and desire no response unsuggested by their own independent reason, enlightened conscience, and spontaneous patriotic impulses.

1. What, then, is the Liberal League movement?

It is simply and solely a movement to secure the more perfect realization of the object aimed at by the authors of our national existence and founders of our national government. Their purpose was to establish a republic which should rest on and be administered by the natural intelligence and virtue of the people, uninfluenced by ecclesiastical supernaturalism of any sort. In the Declaration of Independence, they took the unequivocal ground that, to secure the rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." This is the most absolute possible assertion that the origin of all just government, such as they proposed to establish on this continent, is the WILL OF THE PEOPLE, and not any supernatural will or Divine ordinance whatsoever. The foundations of this great republic were thus laid in the rights and prerogatives of NATURAL HUMANITY, in total disregard and oblivion of all ecclesiastical supernaturalism. In other words, without even so much as mentioning the Church, the Bible, or the Christ, our forefathers declared their independence of Great Britain "in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies"; and they solemnly ordained and established the National Constitution in their natural, human capacity as—"We, the People of the United States." By thus totally ignoring ecclesiasticism of every kind, they built the entire fabric of their government on the principle of the absolute separation of Church and State; and, to render their purpose, if possible, still more transparent and unmistakable, they forbade Congress, in the very first Constitutional Amendment ever adopted, to make any law "respecting an establishment of religion." It would have been impossible to make plainer the fact that this was originally designed to be a purely secular government.

Nevertheless, certain "survivals" of ecclesiasticism (enumerated in the "Demands of Liberalism") remain to be reformed in the practical administration of the National and State governments. The one sole object of the Liberal League movement is to secure the complete practical embodiment of the original national ideal of a purely SECULAR STATE by reforming these abuses, and thereby to remove obstructions which produce rapidly increasing disorder and friction in the conduct of affairs and endanger more and more the public welfare. That is, it aims to make the total separation of Church and State the *fact*, as well as the *theory*, of our national existence, thereby purifying our national politics from the poison of ecclesiastical interference, and putting an end forever to all possibility of political dissension on religious grounds.

2. Who are "Liberals," in the sense intended by the Liberal League movement?

All citizens who favor the complete practical separation of Church and State, and are willing to co-operate for that purpose. The term covers all who

comprehend and sympathize with the spirit of our republican institutions, who cherish at heart the national ideal of a purely secular State, and who approve the purpose and attempt to carry forward this ideal to a higher and nobler realization. So far as this movement is concerned, the term "Liberal" is simply equivalent to "patriot," and has no opposite but "traitor"; for seeking to unite Church and State in this country is seeking to undermine and destroy the very foundation of all our national institutions, which is treason, while seeking to make the separation of Church and State practically complete is the task and duty of the most enlightened patriotism. The object of the Liberal League concerns every citizen, and makes its appeal for support solely in the name of the high obligations of citizenship. All history and experience have proved that liberty is impossible where the Church holds political sway, and that liberty is curtailed in the exact ratio of the Church's influence in political affairs. Hence every citizen who would strengthen the secular defences of liberty, and remove its ecclesiastical limitations, is entitled to the honorable designation of "Liberal,"—that is, liberty-lover; and the Liberal League proposes nothing in which all such citizens, of whatever private creed or persuasion, should not heartily believe and earnestly join.

2. What is the nature of the practical work proposed by the Liberal League?

The practical work proposed is to secure the adoption of certain practical measures: namely, the equitable taxation of church-property and the consequent release of the people from enforced support of the Church,—the secularization of the public schools by discontinuing all religious exercises in them, and especially by redeeming the school system from its present sectarian Protestant character through the abolition of Bible-reading as a school exercise,—and so forth. These measures it is the object of the Liberal League to work for in all proper and legitimate ways, like those used for carrying any other measures of a public character. It is not the object of the Liberal League to hold regular local meetings for miscellaneous lectures or addresses, or to do the work of local societies of a religious, scientific, or social character; all this is necessary work, but not the work of the Liberal League, which is devoted to accomplishing certain specific political reforms, and uses the platform and the press simply as means to these political ends. The total separation of Church and State can only be accomplished through the action of the State, and the Liberal League ceases to be such when it turns aside to hold merely local meetings of a miscellaneous kind. There must be business energy and business concentration of purpose in carrying forward this movement, or it cannot possibly prove useful or successful.

3. What is the necessity for any such movement at all?

In the first place, *justice demands it*. The State taxes every free-thinker to support the Church, when it exempts the property of the latter from taxation; and it thereby commits a gross violation of the rights of conscience. The State commits a great wrong against the Catholics, the Jews, the non-Protestants of all sorts, when it taxes them to support Protestant public schools; and you and we become accomplices in this wrong by tamely acquiescing in its continued perpetration. Whoever sees the wickedness of these things is bound to do his part towards making them cease.

In the next place, *expediency demands it*. The Catholics are growing very restive, and we are forced to say with reason, under compulsory taxation for the support of Protestant public schools, and the danger to our present school system is enormous, because the protest against it is deserved. By suffering the Bible to remain in the schools, we are "laying up wrath against the day of wrath"—leaving a cause of just grievance to continue its irritating influence in alienating more and more the hearts of a large portion of the population from the wholeschool system. We are in the wrong, and the wrong is, as always, working against us. There is no safety for the school system so long as the Bible is in it, and, the longer we delay to remove this grievance, the harder it will be to maintain the system itself. It is folly of the most egregious kind, as well as injustice the most flagrant, not to take up with earnestness the movement to reform the school system by making it purely secular; and the reformation will be easiest accomplished in the name of that principle of non-union of Church and State of which the Liberal League is an organized affirmation.

Lastly, *the time demands it*. The attack of the

Catholics on our republican institutions is arousing the Protestants *as such* to activity, and by and by is certain to call forth a dangerously bigoted type of opposition. The Protestants, though divided, will by a large majority stand fast by the Bible as the symbol of Protestantism, which they confound with liberty, unless now, *before heated blood has blinded their judgment, and before they have taken a fixed position on the subject*, they can be led to take the broad secular ground. To-day the arguments of true Liberalism will be listened to as they will not be by and by; to-day the Liberal League has an opportunity which will be lost, if unimproved. In the hour when reason is still capable of making her voice heard, and before passion comes in to drown the calm expostulations of justice, lies the great opportunity of efficient work for those who already discern the signs of the times.

Are not these reasons, briefly outlined, enough to show the need of the Liberal League movement? If so, will you not forthwith consult with your friends touching the formation of a League in your own neighborhood?

DEFINITIONS.

Moody and Sankey will soon be upon us, and the winter is likely to be alive with discussion on Christianity. Now, then, is the time to make clear to ourselves and others that we know what we are talking about. Mr. Beecher opens the flood-gates of confusion in the sketch he gives of his aims and purposes, in his announcement of an intention to labor at the editorial conduct of the *Christian Union*. A most remarkable announcement that is. The paper in Mr. Beecher's hands is to be a *Christian* paper in the true sense,—by "Christian," Mr. Beecher meaning everything that is worth knowing, having, and doing, whatever adorns private character, beautifies domestic life, elevates or benefits society, purifies politics, advances science, favors art, encourages literature, promotes the interests of health and wealth, increases the privileges of human beings in their relations with each other. In a word, "Christianity" stands for whatever Mr. Beecher feels an intellectual, moral, or sentimental interest in. This is complimentary to Christianity; but is it complimentary to the agencies of civilization which have come into exercise since Christianity was born, and some of which have flourished and flourish still (as they suppose) in spite of it?

If leading men talk in this loose fashion, we may as well give up all attempts at being intelligible, say that words have no sense, that twice two make five, that mush is the only nutritious food for the mind. Christianity is the religion that has as its central figure "the Christ"; not Jesus of Nazareth, not any teacher or prophet, but "the Christ." It may be the Christ of Hebrew expectation, the Christ of the Arians, the Christ of the Trinitarians, the Christ of any of the multitudinous sects; but, in any event, *the Christ*.

The first Christians held simply the faith in Christ, the Jewish Messiah; the later Christians adopted Paul's Christ, the spirit; the Orthodox Christians believe in Christ, "Very God of Very God." All believe in the Christ as distinguished from Jesus. The history of Christianity had been written a great many times, by different men, of different opinions, writing in different interests, with different prepossessions. There are Romanist histories, and Protestant histories, and histories of so-called "Infidels." But one and all agree on this definition, and commend or criticise the religion for its fidelity or its infidelity to what that definition implies. They who praise the religion, praise it for achievements in the name of Christ; they who assail it, assail it on the ground that in the name of Christ nothing great or good has been accomplished; but neither one school nor the other has thought it fair to ascribe to the faith either good or evil that has manifestly been due to other causes than faith in the Christ. If Mr. Beecher or any other can prove from fresh documents, or from new readings and interpretations of old documents, that the religion of Christ is to be credited with the achievements that have been set down to the account of geology, astronomy, natural history, chemistry, physiology, political and social economy,—achievements that seem to the vulgar mind to have resulted from discoveries as to the powers and potencies of the natural world,—for the telegraph, for instance, or steam, or the post-office, or the printing-press, or the sewing-machine, or the thousands of beneficent instrumentalities that bless mankind,—let them bring forth their proofs, and confound our scepticism; but until this can be done, or,

at least, honorably attempted, such random declarations must be set down as an attempt to palm off religion on false pretences; in other words, as very bold and reckless imposture. They may be wrong who confine the term "Christianity" to any particular definition of the Christ, and hold all Christians responsible for the logical deductions from one out of many Christologies; but, letting the definitions be as wide as the most liberal desire, the limit must be drawn somewhere. The Christian holds Christ answerable only for results that can be directly traced to him. If Mr. Beecher believes that all things whatever are traceable to him, he is precisely the most stupendous believer alive. It appears that he is about to justify and explain this prodigious, this omnivorous, credence in the columns of the *Christian Union*. If he succeeds, he will stand chief among theologians, not of his generation alone, but of all generations. He will be a greater apostle than Paul, for he will inaugurate a new form of the religion which will throw Paul's work completely into the shade. Paul was content that Christ should be confessed Lord of the spiritual world. Mr. Beecher claims that he is Lord of the political and social world as well; more than this, that he is Lord of the undiscovered worlds of aesthetics, philosophy, mechanics, economics, dietetics. In no figurative sense does he anticipate the reign of the Christ on earth. The next issue of the *Christian Union* will probably set the world by the ears. From Mr. Beecher's established reputation as a nice scholar, a profound and exact thinker, an accomplished theologian, and a master of precise expression, we may expect the foundations of the new religion to be laid deep and strong.

O. B. F.

INFLATION.

"VOTERS, SEE WHAT INJUSTICE YOU ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR! You have sanctioned laws by which the National Banks, composed of a few of the people, borrow of the nation, the whole people, over \$370,000,000 *without interest*, and are paid interest—OUT OF THE TAXES PAID INTO THE PUBLIC TREASURY—on the securities deposited for the loan! WHAT IS THE REMEDY? Demand a return of the National Bank notes, and return to the banks their securities. Create sufficient greenbacks to buy an amount of bonds equal to those returned. Tax-payers will thus save millions of dollars in taxes yearly, and the country still have about the same volume of currency as now. Have only United States money: issue as much as productive industries may require on United States Bonds or real estate as security, charging 4 per cent. interest, and make the money interchangeable with 3.65 per cent. United States Bonds. Repeal all laws creating or sustaining banks; let banking be free and conducted under the law of partnerships. The people deposit with the National Banks an average of about \$670,000,000, for which they get no interest, and have only a precarious security! With the interchangeable bond system this money will flow into the United States Treasury, making it unnecessary to borrow in Europe, and saving a large amount of interest. If you are in favor of greenback money, join greenback clubs, and take the newspapers that are friendly. Have your local paper publish the above."

The above financial tract, of which the "seventh edition of 5000" has already been printed, embodies the views of the most advanced inflationists, or "the people's money" men; and, however honestly such views may be advocated, I firmly believe that their adoption by the community at large would involve us in commercial disaster and ultimate ruin.

It is my profound conviction that the commercial integrity of the people of this country has been undermined during the last decade by the financial policy of our government and the defence of inflation by influential and trusted men. The business of the country is based upon the broken pledges of the nation. The generation of young men just stepping into active life is taught that bad faith with creditors indicates smart financiering; that repudiation is liquidation, and the defence of it true statesmanship. We owe an enormous debt, and honesty demands that it shall be paid as soon as possible; but the inflation leaders are forever devising ways and means to evade payment. To use plain terms, we lie and steal and then proceed to justify the performance. We lie when we promise to pay one dollar, and when demand for it is made, wilfully break our promise. We steal when we pay a creditor seventy-five cents, and pretend we have paid him one hundred cents. The "one dollar" is worth seventy-five cents to-day; may be worth eighty-five cents to-morrow, and seventy cents next week; and, as a necessary result, business transactions once legitimate become gambling operations. Speculation, extravagance, fraud, and corruption supplant trade, economy, honest-dealing, and integrity. Holding these views, I believe that an ex-

posure of the folly and fallacy contained in the above tract will be of some service to the cause of national morals, and is, therefore, entirely consistent with the spirit, aim, and scope of THE INDEX.

At the outset I challenge the statement that the National Banks "borrow of the nation . . . over \$370,000,000 without interest." Whatever the crimes of the banks may be, this is not one of them. Their relation to the government is in no fair or mercantile sense that of a borrower. The mere fact that interest is not paid upon the alleged loan is in itself evidence that no such loan was ever made or contemplated by the government. What constitutes a loan? How do we define it? It involves the relinquishment of value by the lender. He transfers to the borrower the property loaned; he parts with it, and until it is returned to him he is just so much poorer himself. After the transfer has been made he has just so much less for his own use. If I borrow \$100 of Mr. E. M. Davis, the author of this tract, he has \$100 less than he had before. If the banks borrow \$370,000,000 of the government, the United States Treasury holds \$370,000,000 less than it held before. Will Mr. Davis tell us how much less there was in the treasury after the establishment of the National Banks than before! Was the government poorer by one dollar? It certainly was not; for in authorizing the banks to issue \$370,000,000 in currency, it parted with nothing.

The simple truth is, the banks purchase government bonds,—that is, the government's promises to pay hereafter; and are authorized to issue currency based upon them and redeemable in greenbacks,—that is, in the government's promises to pay on demand. These greenbacks are redeemable in coin, and until paid are evidence of an insolvent, or, if solvent, a defaulting, nation. The bonds upon which the bank currency is based are placed in the custody of the government, not as security for a loan to the banks, as the tract asserts, but as a measure of protection to the people. Their deposit in the United States Treasury is a guarantee of the redemption of the bank currency, as agreed.

United States bonds very properly bear interest, and the owners of them, whether banks or individuals, collect interest. This interest is in no sense a *bonus* paid to the banks, as Mr. Davis assumes. To expose this fallacy, it is only necessary to state that any bank association in the country may, by its own act, cease to be a bank, reclaim its bonds, and continue to collect interest on them. In such event, the government calls in the circulation of the retiring bank, exchanging for it the greenbacks deposited with it by the bank for this purpose—*not paid to it, but merely deposited with it in trust*; for in making this exchange the government acts simply as an agent for the bank and for the people. Having secured to itself control of millions of dollars alleged to have been loaned by it, what disposition does it make of this accession of wealth? It "shall be," the law reads, "burnt to ashes." Can infatuation exceed this! First, loan \$370,000,000; second, stipulate that the borrowers shall not pay interest; third, stipulate that they shall receive interest on the security pledged for the return of the money borrowed; fourth, stipulate that the money borrowed shall never be returned, and that the moment all evidence of indebtedness is destroyed, the security pledged for its payment shall be handed over to the debtors, and they shall stand discharged. And this we are assured is a fair and proper interpretation of the "National Bank Act" of Congress!

Let us refer briefly to the origin of this act. It was passed at a time when the nation was hard-pressed by the slaveholders' rebellion. Our credit with foreign powers was low; our treasury was nearly empty. This act was emphatically a measure designed to restore credit, and to fill, not to deplete, the treasury. To enable the government to find a market for its bonds, to enable it to borrow money, and to conduct the war to a successful issue, the National Banks were authorized.

The tract we have under review reverses the facts, and we are seriously asked to believe that with a civil war on its hands, with an empty treasury, and with expenses amounting to more than \$1,000,000 *per diem*, Congress deliberately authorized a loan of hundreds of millions of dollars to a "few of the people"; and as if to overload the proposition with absurdity, it is added that these privileged few are not only absolved from paying interest, but are actually to be paid for consenting to borrow. The government has much to answer for; but one's credulity must be severely taxed before he can believe that any Congress was ever guilty of such wild legislation.

In a future paper I propose to continue the examination of Mr. Davis' remarkable tract. R. P. R.

Communications.

THIS IS A CANON LAW COUNTRY.

THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—The expression "splashing the water in an aimless way," around a hostile and ugly-looking craft, for example, instead of lodging a good shell in its port-hole, or disabling its turret, accurately describes, in my estimation, the harmless gunnery practice of which Romanism, as a growing temporal power in this land, is at present made the target by many writers, not excepting, until lately, yourself. In reading my manuscript over, I had at first, however, the thought of passing the pencil over that expression, lest it should give offence to one who, on several questions—on the free-love question, and on this very Church question,—has done the duty of a sentinel "fast and true." I, however, let it stand, hoping that its effect might more probably be to elicit from you some excellent article: which was the case. That article is the one (on September 9, I believe, but all my numbers of THE INDEX which contain excellent articles get borrowed somehow, so that I never can lay my hand on them when wanted) in which you speak of the "Corruption Fund." As to the article on the "canon law," with which you accompany my letter in your issue of Sept. 23, I do not find it so masterly, and I submit to your readers that my letter is not refuted by it.

1. Your taking me to task for using the term "canon law" in a more generic sense than the one in which it may be restricted to the canon law of the Romish Church, is a mere question of words. When I say that "the canon law, not only of the Church of Rome but of every Protestant sect, is part and parcel of the law of the British Empire and of the United States," the sense in which I add that "this is a canon law country" is made sufficiently plain. By canon law I here understand the ecclesiastical law which any church, true or false, chooses to give to itself, or to submit to as a matter of compromise; whether that ecclesiastical law be limited to the canons of the seven (Ecumenic Councils, as in the Orthodox Church Universal; or extended, so as to comprise the canons of the apostles, those of a few local councils and of a few individual fathers, as in the Greek branch of the Orthodox Church; whether it be a farrago of apocryphal quotations from the ancient fathers and from the "extravagant" bulls of the new heretic popes, as in the Romish secession, or as much of that farrago as the British Parliament and Prince Bismarck could stand,—whether it calls itself "The Form of Presbyterian Form of Church Government," or "The Book of Discipline of the Methodist Church." It is on the canon law in that sense, an extended but very intelligible and legitimate one, that the discussion was; and, therefore, your long quotation from Blackstone—showing that, in the Henrico-Octavo Blackstonio-Bismarckian sense, canon law means a very queer thing which, of course, I know)—was in this connection as irrelevant as it was erudite. I might add, were it not also, in this place, an irrelevant point, that, in a restricted sense, the only real canon law is that of the Orthodox Universal, or of the Orthodox Eastern Church, and not that of the Popish Church, Anglicanized or not.

2. That, in this sense, the canon law of every sect is part and parcel of the law of this land, is what you not only implicitly admit,—you even proceed to explain how, and on what grounds, it is such. "If a civil court," you say, "inquires into the private regulations of any sect, it is only for the purpose of enforcing the fulfilment of a contract, a bequest, or a trust, according to common law or equity." Just so. What is the canon law of the Popish or of any Protestant Church in this country, if not "the private regulations of a sect," constituting, among its members, "a private contract"? The sectarian nature of this contract makes it so private, that the public secular courts, in a country not being "a canon law country," would absolutely refuse to hear anything about it, but would answer the contestants in the words which you quote after me:—

"If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, oh ye Jews [or Papists, or Protestants], reason would that I should bear with you; but if it be a question of words and names and of your [canon] law, look ye to it, for I will be no judge of such matters."

But as "this is a canon law country, sir," the civil court does no such thing. As I said, "Whenever a case between a minister and his congregation or synod [as to baptizing by three immersions or by one, for example] is brought before a civil court, the court calmly ascertains what the canon law of that church prescribes on this particular point, and orders the sheriff to execute it," by compelling the minister or people to baptize or be baptized in the proper way, or submit to the temporal penalties provided by the canon law.

What that penalty is, depends on the particular character of each century. When some Austrian order was for the first time bestowed upon a Rothschild, an Italian cartoon represented the Jew repelling with a gesture of horror the Christian emblem in the following words:—

*"In tempi men leggiadri e più feroci,
Si applicavano i ladri nelle croci."*

To which the kaiser answered with a smile, at the same time pinning the cross on the breast of the Jew:—

*"In tempi men feroci e più leggiadri,
Si applicano le croci sopra i ladri."*

To-day the sheriff does not commonly burn the minister or congregation, but gives to whichever of the two is wrong according to the canon law the

option between conforming to it and forfeiting all rights to the temporal property of the Church.

This is just what the court did in the Portsmouth case. As you correctly say, "When the court refused to interfere in the matter of entrance fees to the church building, or to meddle with the disciplinary treatment of his flock by the priest, it did so on the express ground that these were matters of internal administration over which it had no control." But the reason why it had no control over them was, not the general principle that a civil court is, as it should be, deprived of any power to enforce the canon law of any church; but that the canon law of the Catholic Church, which was the one concerned, forbids its members, under the strongest anathemas, to appeal from the decisions of the spiritual rulers to any temporal authority. Far from "thereby disowning all the obligations which the canon law might have imposed," the court acted "in due obedience to the canon law" of that particular Church. Had the decision been on general and *prima facie* grounds, there need not have been any trial at all; and the court might have refused to hear the case, and said to the parties, "If it were," etc. Instead of that the court virtually said to them: "As my first apprehension was that your Church was like any one of the Established Churches of this country, oh ye Catholics, reason would that I should bear with you. Having done it, I find to my surprise, that there is one church in this country which is not established, and which has so framed her canon law as to give to a civil court no handle to take hold of. Accept, therefore, my apology, as neither disinclination to meddle with such matters, nor want of habit of doing it, has prevented me from rendering a decree such as you pray for."

3. Your arguing the non-recognition of canon law by the civil authority in this country "from the total absence in this country of ecclesiastical or spiritual courts, which would be indispensable to the administration of canon law," is most extraordinary. Roman Catholics and Anglicans will, not without astonishment, learn from you that they have in this country no diocesan or provincial synods for the enforcement of canon law. Presbyterians will be equally astonished to learn that they have no presbyteries, no synods, and no general assemblies; Congregationalists that they are not in the practice of holding disciplinary meetings; and so on with the various sects. If, however, the civil courts refused to take any cognizance of the laws and decisions of these various ecclesiastical courts, but merely left them free to enforce their laws themselves through spiritual sanctions, by delivering unto Satan the rebellious offenders, your assumption might be true, at any rate, for the purposes of this discussion. But we have seen that this is far from being the case. When a spiritual court has exhausted all the resources of spiritual persuasion and spiritual threats, it delivers the offender, not unto Satan, but unto the civil court; and the civil court delivers him, not unto Satan, but unto the sheriff. The sheriff will, by the order of the civil court enforcing the ecclesiastical law, take by the collar with the right hand a Roman Catholic priest who teaches Anglicanism, and with the left hand an Anglican minister who teaches Romanism, and throw each of them out of his parsonage into the street. The reason why the civil courts thus enforce the laws of ecclesiastical legislatures is that the canon law of the respective religious bodies is, like the treaties with foreign nations, part and parcel, though indirectly so, of the law of the land.

4. When Tyler, in the passage which you quote, says that "we have no ecclesiastical establishment in the United States," he simply means that here no sect is established to the exclusion or disparagement of others, but that all sects are established on a parity, the canon law of the one being enforceable by the civil courts equally with that of the others. To have an idea of what an unestablished church is, we must leave the United States, where the nearest approximation is the Roman Catholic Church; and avoiding England, or crossing it by a very fast train, land on continental Europe,—in France, for example. In this latter country, by the side of the four established sects, the Episcopal Roman Catholic, the Calvinistic, the Lutheran, and the Israelite, we find quite a number of other religious bodies, small in numbers but full of life, such as the Dominicans, the Jesuits, the Baptists, the Methodists. These bodies are entirely unrecognized by the civil law as corporations capable of holding property, suing or being sued, the law seeing in them nothing but the individual citizens of which they are composed. Each one of these bodies is allowed the liberty of worship; and has its own canon law, which it can at pleasure enforce against its members by spiritual penalties, but not by temporal ones, as the civil courts will not enforce such. Now Americans, even American free-thinkers, who have not entirely got rid of puritanic State-church notions, will ask how those religious bodies can manage to exist in such conditions. Those religious bodies not only manage to exist, but are the very life of French Protestantism and of French Romanism respectively. Far from envying the position of their established brethren, they look upon the established bodies with feelings which embrace all the shades between contempt and pity, as the owner of a tidy home looks upon a great, shabby boarding-house. I have been a member of such unestablished bodies, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, and I know what I am speaking of.

Of the religious connections which I formed and broke, these are the only ones which I broke with regret, and remember with affection or respect. It is, therefore, in no spirit of persecution of religious bodies with which I have ceased to sympathize, that I advocate such measures as would make American churches cease to be established churches, and America itself cease to be a canon law country.

I have, I think, sufficiently defended myself of the returned charge of "splashing the water" so far as having confused notions of the nature of canon law, or of the British or American legislation on its subject. As to whether the measures that I recommend, to meet an acknowledged danger of supreme magnitude, would be mere "splashing the water" by firing round shot at the plates of an iron-clad, or hitting it below the water-line, is what I will leave your readers and yourself to decide. The strength of Romanism as a political power lies in its money-power, in what you so well term its "Corruption Fund." That fund it can only hold and retain in one of the two following ways: either in a corporate capacity, which I propose to withdraw from it and from all other sects; or through its bishops, or others of its members, appearing before the civil law to own the property in their private capacity as mere individuals, but holding it really for the benefit of the sect, and at their death transmitting by will to others, to hold and transmit in the same manner. This second method is in its turn made impracticable by my proposed legislation restricting the testamentary power, and securing the passing of the largest part of the property to the natural heirs, or in their defeat, by escheat to the State. Now, my dear sir, "splashing the water" is what Romish prelates would call a very mild expression in this case. The moment such a legislation goes into execution, unless a circle has more than three hundred and sixty degrees, I tell you, sir, they are, as a political power, undone; caught on all sides beyond the possibility of a move, as the French were at Sedan. That moment sees the end of the CATHOLIC CONSPIRACY and of the CANON LAW PERIOD in the United States.

I am, sir, truly yours,

JULIUS FERRETTE.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Oct. 4, 1875.

[1. Bishop Ferrette forgets that the term "canon law" had been used with entire accuracy in its *technical sense alone*, in the articles which he mildly ridiculed as "splashing," etc.; and that its technical sense alone was concerned in the question discussed in those articles. If he chooses to use the phrase in a loose, inaccurate, and merely metaphorical manner, we have nothing more to say on the subject, since all that he has written turns out to be totally irrelevant to the discussion he undertook to criticise, and for which he now desires to substitute a discussion on a wholly different matter.]

2. The Bishop's original and paradoxical assertion that "this is a canon law country" having now somewhat amusingly shrunk to the mere truism that Church and State are not yet practically and totally separated in this country, of course we agree with him in that view of the case.

3. It is singular that we must point out that "synods" and "presbyteries" are not "courts," and not recognized as such by the government of this country; and that there is nothing "canonical" in merely enforcing the observance of freely formed contracts. People have the right to form what contracts they please, if not criminal in their nature; and, if Bishop Ferrette would have the government prevent them, directly or indirectly, from forming sectarian contracts among themselves in their individual capacity, we think he recommends tyranny and persecution to which Americans would never submit.—ED.]

CATHOLICISM AND THE OHIO DEMOCRACY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Permit me a brief reply to your remarks upon my letter concerning the attitude of the Democratic party of Ohio upon the Catholic question.

You criticise me for holding THE INDEX responsible for the sentiment quoted from the *Christian Union*, that the Democratic party "has taken an attitude friendly to the views of the Catholics." Had the *Christian Union* paragraph stood by itself, properly credited (as it was) to that paper, your criticism would have been just; but, on the contrary, it was quoted in, and made a part of, a leading INDEX editorial,—used to "point the moral and adorn the tale" of "The Catholic Peril," which you so ably unfolded. I think none of the readers of that article doubted that you tacitly indorsed the sentiments of that paragraph; else what its *raison d'être* in the body of your editorial?

But why object to be held to this sentiment of the *Christian Union*, when you essentially re-affirm it in your present comments? Quoting from the *Catholic Telegraph* that "the unbroken, solid vote of the Catholic citizens of the State will be given to the Democratic party," you add: "And that this means that the Democratic policy on the school question will be pleasing to the Catholics, goes without saying. We want to do no injustice to the Democratic party; but facts are facts, and must be recognized."

Yes, "facts are facts"; but inferences from facts are not always justly drawn by any means. If you mean by this that the policy of the Democratic party of Ohio is at all likely to favor a division of the school fund, your inference seems to me most unjust.

The position of parties in Ohio on this school question seems to us to be very plain, and easily explainable. The Republican party in Ohio, as elsewhere, contains a large and powerful Orthodox element, which strongly favors the retention of the

Protestant Bible, and its daily reading as a religious exercise, in the public schools. Many of this class would undoubtedly favor the proposed Christian amendment to the National Constitution. It was this powerful element in the party which defeated the nomination of Judge Taft for Governor, using his well-known opinions on the school question against him. *It was a fear of losing Orthodox Republican votes, and not a fear of an increase of opposing Catholic votes, that induced the Republicans of Ohio to decline to take Judge Taft as their standard-bearer.*

The school question was sprung upon the people by this unscrupulous class of politicians, and the Catholics, angered by the assault, very naturally strike back. Nor is it strange or unnatural that they should prefer to support a party which proposes to give them fair play by a strict secularization of the public schools, to one of which a powerful section favors forcing Protestant Bible-reading and Evangelical doctrine down their throats, whether they will or not. The attitude of the Catholics toward the two parties is thus easily explainable, without supposing that there is the slightest danger of Democratic assault upon the integrity of the school fund.

The Democratic leaders and voters are not fools, however mistaken they may be on most questions. Before they could grant the demands of the Catholic leaders in this matter, they would have to secure a repeal of Article 6, Section 2, of the Ohio State Constitution, which provides that "No religious or other sect or sects shall ever have any exclusive rights to, or control of, any part of the school fund of this State."

Whenever the school question comes legitimately before the people, in this form, there is no question as to the result. And you will find a large majority of the Democrats, and an intelligent minority of the Catholics themselves, working and voting against a division of the school fund, as they did in the recent election in New Jersey.

Says the New York Herald, owned and edited by a Catholic, in an editorial comment on the New Jersey election: "The most exciting feature of the contest was the struggle over the education question. The Catholic priests made great efforts to have the amendment relating to the public schools voted down, but they were not heartily supported even by their congregations. . . . Many prominent Catholics resented the interferences of the priests by voting, and urging others to vote, against them." And in Democratic New Jersey the priests were defeated by over 40,000 majority.

I am glad to see that you do not join in the partisan cry against the Gheghan law; yet it seems to me that you do not quite understand it. There is nothing in it which would conflict with the entire abolition of the chaplaincy system, as advocated by THE INDEX. It simply secures to the inmates of a public institution the right to the private administration of "the rites of his denomination," and expressly prohibits the enforcement of any religious observances; providing, at the same time, that religious ministrations shall "entail no expense on the public treasury." Abolish the public chaplaincy system altogether, and the Gheghan law, which is copied essentially by laws of Republican Massachusetts and Minnesota, would still be just, and perhaps necessary.

It may be well to provide against possible misapprehension, by remarking, in conclusion, that the writer was born and bred a radical Republican, and sympathized heartily with that party in its good work before and during the war.

But success breeds corruption, and new issues demand new combinations; and in the struggle for secularizing our political system, he is firmly impressed that quite as much is to be expected from honest and intelligent Democrats as from Republicans. There is less of the spirit of religious bigotry to-day in the Democratic than in the Republican party.

Let us deal justly by our friends, and then we may successfully meet our opponents.

LEWIS G. JANES.

NEW YORK, Sept. 27, 1875.

[We can make at present no other comments on the substance of the above article than to invite attention to an article, quoted on another page from the Cincinnati Commercial, which treats the same subject. But it is not fair to insist that we must necessarily indorse every paragraph we quote in our editorials, and we are surprised to find Mr. Janes deliberately reiterating his injustice, which we had supposed a mere matter of carelessness on his part. As to the particular paragraph in question, we inclined to think it true, but, not knowing it to be so, we quoted it on purpose to avoid indorsing it. If we had been willing to indorse the statement of fact it contained, we should have made that statement, and referred to no authority. It is not a "sentiment," but a statement of fact, that we object to being dragged into indorsing. We still believe that the Democratic party in Ohio has been dangerously colluding with the Catholic clergy; but we do not know it, and protest against being held to affirm it unqualifiedly. Notwithstanding the Constitutional obstacles pointed out by Mr. Janes, the passage we have italicized at the close of the Commercial's article shows how easy it will be to overcome them; and we are not so credulous as to consider a party's platform proclamations more trustworthy than its actual deeds, as indications of its future policy.—ED.]

NOTHING BUT WONDER.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The communication of "A. S. H." in THE INDEX of Sept. 9, on Mr. Voysey's answer to his letter was, excepting only his "thirdly," very entertaining. "A. S. H." has, unquestionably, a keen eye for logical consistency.

But his thirdly is a dead fly in the ointment. It is harder for a man to be otherwise than dogmatic than for a camel to go through the eye of a needle. "A. S. H." says: "The painstaking scientist finds behind these truths not mind, or God, but law, . . . and demonstrates the adequate supremacy of law. Law is without heart or brain, void of sympathy or feeling, and respects nothing but its own rule of action." The italicizing is mine. When will free-thinkers set the example to theologians of avoiding disputes arising from mere difference of names? If "A. S. H." finds behind every truth a something supremely adequate to its office, why should he lose sleep because Mr. Voysey prefers to name it God? And by what right does "A. S. H." assume to give us so minute a view of his "law," while he denies Mr. Voysey the liberty of even hinting at the "properties" of the being he finds behind the facts of Nature? Or whence the charm of his nomenclature that so magically gets rid of the problem involved? The "properties" which "A. S. H." claims to find in law are mostly, to be sure, of a negative character, and with what there is of a positive character scarcely recommends it as better than the Christian's God. "Law," he says, "is without heart or brain, void of sympathy or feeling, and respects nothing but its own rule of action." But what is law? It is here that "A. S. H." unconsciously dogmatizes. In calling the thing he sees "behind every truth" "law," he assumes to have found something actual to which he is justified in ascribing "properties"; but—those other three letters! They are an abomination because they raise a "problem."

No problem suggested in the conception of law enacted and executed by itself!

But these remarks apply here only on the hypothesis, accepted both by Mr. Voysey and "A. S. H.," that something is visible "behind every truth." The fatal defect in the position of both disputants is the assumption that anything is seen beyond Nature. We see nothing but the facts of Nature, included in which are what we term cause and effect. We infer or imagine many things besides. "A. S. H." thinks he sees "supremely adequate law," and, moreover, notes its lack of heart and brain, complacent that his discovery suggests no "problem"; while Mr. Voysey, with others, infers a supremely adequate being which he calls God, deeming this the only reasonable way in which to account for the existence of the universe.

I conclude that we, with the mental vision vouchsafed us, see nothing beyond the facts of Nature; neither law nor lawgiver. Law certainly is impossible without a lawgiver, the existence of which being admitted, our curiosity is simply transferred to seek its origin. The truth is, there is but one faculty of our being—that of wonder—which finds full and entire gratification in the contemplation of this subject, shrouded as it is in impenetrable mystery. Let us marvel and be content. Z.

A SCENE FROM LIFE.

The incident I am about to relate occurred at one of Vandenhoff's evening readings.

It was some little time, two or three years, possibly, after the war, when with still unhealed wounds we were endeavoring to settle down to our old pursuits, bravely doing our best to go on with life as it was left to us,—covering up by an every-day calmness of exterior the pain that would assert itself in our hearts for dead forms lying on lonely battle-fields. As will be well remembered, we needed no mimic representations then. "Life was real"; truth was stranger than fiction. Every morning we had awoke to tales of carnage and of battle. Through rivers of blood we had buried our dead. Heroic deeds had filled the air; heroically we had endured, silently we had suffered. The stage was crowded with actors; the audience extended over the broad earth. The battle-cry was liberty—liberty or death. We staked our lives, our broad lands and fields, our children and homes, our country, for justice and liberty for the slave.

The carnage had ended, Justice was triumphant. The white dove of peace fluttered over North and South. Two or three years had passed, erasing the blood-stains. Mimicry and poetry began again to have charms for us. Our æsthetic natures craved entertainment. Vandenhoff appeared before us of old, casting his spell of necromancy about us with true artistic power.

Entering the hall that evening might have been noticed an elderly gentleman of distinguished appearance, accompanied by his daughter, clothed in widow's weeds. This was the first time they had appeared in any scene like this since death's shadow had darkened her life. Though not knowing her intimately, I had always been attracted by her grace of manner. In all gatherings, in the dance, every movement of hers had charmed me. Then I heard of her marriage during the war to a Col. Reed, whom I did not know; but after-events proved him a brave and chivalric soldier. It was said that, wrought up to desperate deeds, he had individually challenged a rebel colonel, and that the two had fought till death ended the conflict. I had heard of the sad news being brought to her, she lying sick at the time, with her baby beside her. I had grieved for her, and was pleased, when I saw her enter, to know that she was able to take her part in life again.

Vandenhoff's selections were varied, and we listened with interest. The war was of too recent date

to be passed over in silence, and presently he gave out the "Picket Guard," which he read with thrilling effect. Instinctively I looked toward father and daughter. At first they bore up bravely; then her head drooped. The father became absolutely convulsed, and shook like a leaf, burying his face in his hands. Every word of the reader, as I knew, pierced them through and through. Soon she composed herself, and, raising her head, laid her hand on her father's shoulder soothingly; but he sat with bowed head until the readings were ended. I looked on, absorbed in this scene; my heart was in my throat. The readings were also at an end for me. I have never met father or daughter since, but they have remained a living picture in my memory. Again and again this scene has come back to me. Again I see the slender figure, with new-born strength, gently lay her hand upon her father's arm in silent appeal. Could words be plainer? "Do you not see, father, that I can bear it?" All the time the voice of the reader was probing their wounds with words of fire. Ah, brave heart!

It was the story of a life in pantomime: the careless, happy child; the maiden wandering through paths of roses to a happy future, crowned by love; then the crushing blow which ended forever these dreams and hopes, and the brave assumption of life's responsibilities; the dignity of grief expressed in silent gesture; the strength to bear; the knowledge of the possibility of suffering which the sorrows of others cannot teach; the complete renunciation—and a transfigured world.

Such knowledge comes to us all, each generation following in the footsteps of its predecessor, varied only by circumstance and temperament.

Progress takes long strides in invention, in art, and science. The inventor reduces labor to a minimum; art adorns the world; science subdues the elements to its power. But who in all the ages has found a panacea for the great human cry of the children of earth? Philosophy cannot shield us; faith in the unseen is not enough; intellectual development but adds a subtle sting to pain; pleasure palls upon us. What then? Nature's forces come to our relief, and with invisible powers wrap us in calm submission.

Silent footsteps have preceded us; unseen hands beckon us. We have ascended to other plains. We are within hail of the great city of God. We hover on the outskirts, watching for knowledge that comes not. We question every passing breeze, the morning's breaking light, the noontide's splendor, the moon's refulgent rays, for knowledge that comes not.

With questioning glance we wait by the way-side. Death is no legend of a far-off future to us, but a shadow that walks by our side, and we wait with gaze turned expectantly toward the "Golden Gates."

MRS. M. C. WOODWARD.

TOLEDO, O., Oct. 1, 1875.

CONVERTED INFIDELS.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—If "infidelity" in Scotland means the same that it does in America—the "religion of reason,"—then the enclosed statement by Moody, cut from the Independent of Sept. 30, cannot be true:—

There is not a heart so hard that he cannot touch it. While we were gone, this time, an incident occurred that interested me very much. While in Edinburgh, a man was pointed out to me by a friend, who said: "Moody, that man is chairman of the Edinburgh Infidel Club." So I went and sat down beside him, and said: "Well, my friend, I am glad to see you at this meeting. Are you not concerned about your welfare?" He said he didn't believe in a hereafter. I said: "Will you just get down on your knees and let me pray for you?" "I don't believe in prayer," Well, I tried unsuccessfully to get the man down on his knees, and finally knelt down beside the infidel and prayed for him. Well, he made a good deal of sport over it; and I met him again many times in Edinburgh after that. Well, a year ago last month, while in the North of Scotland, I met the man again. Placing my hand on his shoulder, I asked: "Hasn't God answered the prayer?" He replied: "There is no God. I am just the same as I always have been. If you believe in a God and answers to prayer, do as I told you—try your hand on me." "Well," I said, "God's time will come. There are a great many praying for you, and I have faith to believe that you are going to be blessed." Six months ago I was in Liverpool, and there I got a letter from the leading barrister of Edinburgh, telling me that my friend, the infidel, had come to Christ, and that of his club of thirty men seventeen had followed his example. How it happened he could not say; but, whereas he was blind, now he could see. God had answered the prayer. I didn't know how it was to be answered; but I believed it would be, and it was done. Let us pray God to convert the sceptic. He can do it through his almighty power. His arm is not shortened that he cannot save. What we want to do is to come boldly to God.

The religion of reason has no Arminian doctrine of "falling from grace," and no Calvinistic doctrine of "backsliding" in it. I have yet to learn that a single one of its disciples ever departed from the faith—ever apostatized or grew weak-kneed in any circumstance whatever. I have yet to learn that an infidel (in the Orthodox Church sense of the word) ever showed the white feather, or ever exhibited any craven fear. The thing is utterly impossible in the very nature of the case; for the religion of reason has no such weak and vicious elements of turning and failure in it. I felt sure that Paine's death must have been serene and peaceful, when I had read only his *Age of Reason*; and if I knew that the chairman of the Edinburgh Infidel Club and his seventeen associates had Paine's religion, I should know that Moody's statement in regard to their embracing the Brazen Serpent religion he preaches is as false as the Orthodox Church lies that have been told about the noble Thomas Paine.

Yours truly,

REASON.

HARWICH, Mass.

NATURE is pitiless; she never withdraws her flowers, her music, her joyousness, and her sunlight from before human cruelty or suffering. She overwhelms man by the contrast between divine beauty and social hideousness.—Victor Hugo.

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THE PATRONAGE

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(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

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"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

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SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

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THE FIRST Radical *matinée* of the season was held last Monday at the hospitable residence of Mrs. Sargent, who announced that the (first) "Radical Club" would be henceforth known as the "Chestnut Street Club." It was originally organized as the "Free Religious Club," just after the formation of the Free Religious Association in 1867. Mr. Henry James read a notably fine and vigorous paper on "Nature and Person," which was followed by remarks from Professor C. C. Everett, Dr. James Freeman Clarke, Professor Oliver Wendell Holmes, and others.

THE INSIDIOUS means adopted by the Catholics to get practical control of the public schools is strikingly illustrated by a device to which attention is called by the New York *Observer*. A law was passed at the very end of the last session of the New York Legislature which "provides to incorporate 'The Sisterhood of Gray Nuns,' and to authorize them to grant diplomas to any persons who shall graduate at any of its schools, which diplomas, placed on file with the department of public instruction, shall be a warrant to the one holding it to be a teacher, at the discretion of the superintendent, in the public schools of the State."

MR. CONWAY lectured in Boston last Thursday on "London" to a very large audience. The lecture was replete with interesting description, and had that peculiar literary charm which characterizes all his productions. His appearance shows the effects of many years absence in a foreign land; but the American spirit and tone were as strong as ever, and made it evident that a large-minded man becomes a cosmopolite rather than a cockney by dwelling in the great city of the world. Mr. Bradlaugh was on the platform, as were also many citizens well known in Boston. We advise our readers to miss no opportunity that may be offered to hear Mr. Conway.

THE OHIO election, which took place as THE INDEX went to press last week, seems to show that there is a large minority in that State which favors a public financial policy sure, if adopted, to bring inconceivable disaster on the whole country. The victory of the hard-money platform was too nearly a defeat to carry as much moral weight as could be

wished. No doubt many honest and excellent people are on the side of inflation; but that fact does not prove that inflation itself means anything but national dishonesty and repudiation. The experience of the whole world cannot be refuted by any visionary theory. Gold and silver are the world's money, not in virtue of any arbitrary legislation, but of the laws of Nature; and the attempt to substitute paper is proof of melancholy ignorance or still more melancholy want of principle.

THOSE WHO suppose that Evangelical Protestants will generally acquiesce without difficulty in the secularization of the public schools should not overlook such facts as the emphatic protest of the Chicago Presbytery against the recent action of the Board of Education, which has forbidden Bible-reading and other religious exercises in the schools of that city. The chief danger to the school system is that the Protestants as a body will meet the Catholic attack by imitating this action of the Presbytery; and we see nothing that can avert it but the Liberal League movement in one shape or another. The resolutions of Dr. Arthur Mitchell, asserting the right of the government to recognize the Bible in the schools and deprecating its removal, were *unanimously adopted* by the Presbytery. Persistence in this policy would surely cause the destruction of the whole public school system.

REFERRING to the resolutions of the Chicago Presbytery in favor of keeping the Bible in the schools, the *Independent* excellently says: "In this action they 'deprecate all intention to interfere with the religious liberty of any fellow-citizens,' etc., etc. It is very kind in them to 'deprecate' interference with other people's equal religious rights; but we fear it will not be appreciated. Wheat flour makes excellent food; but there are people who prefer corn-dodgers, and to pry open their unwilling jaws and force down their throats the healthiest white loaf ever kneaded would be arrant oppression, however much deprecating the party might do. And yet bread is the staff of life. Let it be remembered that excellent citizens can grow up without reading the Bible in the public schools; also that it has been read in Chicago public schools purely as a religious exercise, against the protest of citizens who are compelled to support the schools, and who prefer dodger to bread. The oddest thing about the discussion, as reported, was the attitude of the Rev. C. L. Thompson, who was willing to respect the conscience of Catholics in this matter, but not of Atheists and Infidels. Perhaps he thinks they do not have any."

THE SUPREME COURT of the United States has decided that women are not entitled to suffrage under the Fourteenth Amendment. The chief points of the decision were thus summed up by Chief Justice Waite: "1. The word citizen is often used to convey the idea of membership in a nation. 2. In that sense, women, if born of citizen parents within the jurisdiction of the United States, have always been considered citizens of the United States, as much so before the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution as since. 3. The right of suffrage was not necessarily one of the privileges or immunities of citizenship before the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, and that Amendment does not add to these privileges and immunities. It simply furnishes additional guaranty for the protection of such as the citizen already had. 4. At the time of the adoption of that Amendment suffrage was not co-extensive with the citizenship of the States; nor was it at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. 5. Neither the Constitution nor the Fourteenth Amendment made all citizens voters. 6. A provision in a State Constitution which confines the right of voting to male citizens of the United States is no violation of the Federal Constitution. In such a State women have no right to vote."

LIST OF LIBERAL LEAGUES.

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 BOSTON, MASS.—F. B. Abbot, President; J. P. Titcomb, G. A. Bacon, Secretaries.
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[For THE INDEX.]

Construction and Destruction in Religion.

AN ESSAY READ AT THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING
 OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION, BEE-
 THOVEN HALL, BOSTON, MAY 28, 1875.

BY FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

To build is greater than to tear down, to construct greater than to destroy. Yet there can be no construction without destruction, unless it is possible to create something out of nothing. Whether in Nature or in Art, every new form involves the disappearance of old forms; in fact, the only creation which is possible is the recombination of elements ancient as the universe itself. The total amount of matter in existence is unchangeable, capable neither of diminution nor of increase; and the same is true of the total amount of force. From old materials alone can anything new arise; and it is certain that dissolution of the forms under which these old materials existed must precede or accompany the production of the new forms. For example, no building can be erected without the destruction of the trees which furnish the wood-work, the destruction of the ledges whence the stones are quarried, the destruction of the ore and the excavation of the mines whence the iron is obtained, and so forth. Nature and man must build everywhere and always under the same law; namely, that integration and disintegration, construction and destruction, are as inseparable as inside and outside.

This law is specially obvious in the case of organic life. All the carnivorous races live by destroying feeble organisms; all the herbivorous races live by destroying vegetable organisms. All plants draw their nutriment in great measure from the products of other organisms which have been decomposed, that is, destroyed. The cotyledons of the pea or bean are a wonderful construction providing for the development of the new plant, which grows only by destroying them. And so on. The more life Nature creates, the more she demolishes: the two processes are inseparable. Life and death succeed each other like day and night.

The same law is equally regnant in the world of human society. Nation succeeds nation, not by killing off all its members, but by absorbing them in new political combinations, as Poland has been partitioned between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, or England, Scotland, and Ireland merged into Great Britain. Systems after systems of thought have grown up only to be successively destroyed or transformed. Institutions appear and disappear, yielding their sociological elements back to the common treasury of human experience only to be recombined and reconstructed in fresh forms. It is needless to illustrate in detail; I merely wish to show that religion would be an exception to a universal law, if it did not manifest itself in the same manner, and create its new historic forms at the expense of the forms which had preceded. If there is one word which epitomizes the whole course of Nature, in all its aspects, it is the word Metamorphosis; and if any one should suggest Evolution in its stead, I should only need to say that Evolution tells but half the truth until Dissolution is also named. These two great facts of endless Evolution and endless Dissolution are summed up in the greater fact—Metamorphosis. Unless we are prepared to defend the thesis

that Evolution means absolute creation, we must be willing to admit that all which is evolved must previously have been dissolved. The grand sum of Being remains unaltered and unalterable: its history is nothing but ceaseless formal change in eternal substantial changelessness.

I claim, therefore, that the large and broad mind will recognize the duality of process which constitutes the history of religion, as of all things human; that he will never witness the destruction of an old system without looking for the construction of that which is even at the same moment succeeding it,—never witness the construction of a new system without studying the destruction of the one or many old ones whence it is deriving all its elements; and that he will perceive the indispensableness of laying equal emphasis on each term of the relation, if he would grasp and comprehend it. The key to all knowledge is comparison; and no one understands the new-born who takes no note of the dying or the dead. It is impossible to affirm without denying, or to deny without affirming; I think we have heard too much that affirmation is the only important thing—that negation is the part of barren and unproductive thought—that it is time to cease tearing down and begin to build. To such unreflective exhortation, the sagacious thinker must reply that he does not know what is affirmed till he knows also what is denied; that negation is just as essential as affirmation to the sphericity of thought; and that he who expects to build without tearing down should possess the attribute, denied to Omnipotence itself, of creating materials out of the non-existent. Let us not deceive ourselves with phrases. Affirmation and negation, construction and destruction, are impossible except in and through each other; and we should not yield to the empty and fatuous cry of the unthinking—"We have had enough of pulling to pieces: now let us begin to construct!" Yes, construct by all means; but do not imagine that you can escape the law which requires pulling to pieces in order to construct. All the elements of the new are in the old; if you are earnest to build the new, you must first get these elements out.

Essaying, then, to be genuine and enlightened constructionists in religion, how should we deal with the problem as it is presented to us by our own time?

Hitherto religion has been only local, historical, restricted, in its manifestations; it has been dependent on some man or class of men fulfilling the honest but self-assumed function of revealing truth supposed to be in their exclusive possession. Hence all its constructions have partaken of the same narrowness and limitation. But to-day religion is making a mighty effort to be universal, cosmopolitan, unlimited; like Enceladus under Ætna, the imprisoned giant is struggling for his liberty, and shakes with vast convulsions the mountain of institutional formalities that weighs him down. All historic religions have been special organisms; but universal religion must be an organic force pervading all human society, and creating, not special institutions of its own, but rather a higher and nobler condition of all institutions which are grounded on natural justice and truth. In this direction solely must the constructive thought and energy of the race henceforth work, in the field of religious evolution. The bonds of special creeds, and of the special institutions which incarnate them, are the obstacles which first of all must be overcome, before the spiritual forces of universal ethical advancement, of individual aspiration and development, can upbuild in society and in the soul the magnificent religious constructions of the future. It is not a secondary or subsidiary matter to abolish these iron restrictions which cramp and repress the vitality of the age: it is to-day the prime, the essential task of the constructive spirit to liberate the imprisoned genius of humanity, and leave it free to build under the blue skies of God the temple of a secularism freely religious in spirit and aim. Out of the old must be born the new; and he is the arch-foe of the future who would now endanger mother and child alike by seeking to suppress the inevitable throes of parturition. Huxley spoke like a true prophet of science, when he said: "History shows that the human mind, fed by constant accessions of knowledge, periodically grows too large for its theoretical coverings and bursts them asunder, to appear in new habiliments; as the feeding and growing grub at intervals casts its too narrow skin, and assumes another—itsself but temporary. Truly the imago-state of Man seems to be terribly distant; but every moult is a step gained, and of such there have been many."

The task of construction, therefore, proceeds *pari passu* with the destruction of the special characteristics of the various historical religions. But the new construction is so unlike the old that it is totally unrecognized, save by the few discerning minds given to our own, as to every, age. The story is somewhere told of a vast and splendid palace of ice, erected at great expense on the banks of the Neva by one of the sovereigns of Russia. It was illumined resplendently with chandeliers and candelabra, adorned with all the trappings of imperial luxury and magnificence, and made the scene of constant balls, fêtes, and festivities during the long northern winter. But the winter wore away; the returning sun shot down his rays on the crystal walls; the vast fabric melted slowly down in trickling rills; and the place that knew it for a brief season of revelry and splendor knew it no more forever. Surely it was the very wantonness of destruction that the warm sunbeams should come only to demolish such glorious architecture of human genius and power! Yet all the while, silently and unperceived, the "destroying" sunshine was busily at work, loosening the frozen soil, waking the earth from its sterile slumber, clothing the mighty plains of the North with tender flowers and grass, arraying the bare, brown trunks of

the forests with raiment of green leaves, ripening the fruits and maturing the harvests that should feed the nations of the earth,—destroying the puny work of human artifice and pride, but constructing the infinite glories of the new and living year! To complain of such destructiveness as this, to lament the disappearance of the ice-palace and take no heed of all the beauty that came with the iconoclastic summer's sun, would be no more irrational than to bewail the decay of icy theologies and take no heed of the tender humanities that come with the sunlight of knowledge, and silently clothe the world with the green promises of spring and summer. Because the artificial constructions of the historical faiths so little resemble the natural constructions of universal religion, the air is filled with lamentations, with reproaches, with protestations against the ruthlessness and iconoclasm of the reformers. "The ice-palace of Christianity is a house, with a roof, windows, and doors; it is a great and imposing construction; and we understand it. But your destroying science that is melting it down constructs nothing but—grass!" Nothing but grass? The life of the world is at stake in the coming of the grass and the grain; and they cannot come without bringing the destruction of your idolized ice-prisons. Let the "destroying" sunshine of knowledge and of truth thaw out the frozen world; I care not what it melts. It cannot destroy your wretched ice-blocks without building a new world of organized life and beauty in their stead.

Look with me at the constructions which Christianity (to take the religion best known to us as a type of all historical religions) has created in the world. I find them to be three: the Christian Theology, the Christian Church, the Christian Character.

1. It would be tedious to describe the well-known features of the Christian theology: you know them well. That the first man was created pure and holy, but was tempted to his fall by his wife and the Spirit of Evil; that all mankind were involved in his sin and have lain ever since under the wrath of God; that the only escape for him from eternal perdition was for God himself to become incarnate in Jesus Christ, whose life and death are accepted as atonement for all the sins of those who accept the terms of salvation,—all this has been built up by master-minds into a vast body of doctrine which, however irrational in its premises and immoral in its conclusions, can be despised by no one who is competent to appreciate the genius and intellectual force necessary to create such a stupendous system. Orthodoxy, unlike some forms of sentimental radicalism, has never been ashamed of the "intellect," although it has, to be sure, insisted on harnessing the intellect to its own chariot. While it has never relaxed its hold of the reins, it knows too well that it cannot dispense with the understanding—that it is suicide for religion to rely exclusively or even chiefly on a "sentiment," a "sense of mystery," or an "intuition." It has always denounced what it calls "carnal reason," by which it means reason that will not accept the fundamental claims of Revelation or the system of faith built laboriously upon them. But reason "sanctified" by "faith" has been the great architect of Orthodoxy; and such names as Augustine, Athanasius, Thomas Aquinas, Calvin, and their peers, prove how completely Orthodoxy has depended upon the logical intellect for its influence and power. The doctrinal or purely intellectual framework of Christianity is the greatest of all its constructions, since it is the condition of all the others; and to suppose that Christianity can long exist even as a barren and empty name, if its system of doctrines goes to pieces, is to be totally blind to all the teachings of the history of human thought. For one, I entertain profound admiration for this vast and venerable system, regarded solely as a creation of the human brain; it is a masterpiece of constructive genius in the intellectual world, worthy of comparison with the chief systems of philosophy in all that constitutes greatness of mental architecture. Its fatal defect is that it is not *true*—not conformed to the facts of the universe as known to-day to all well-instructed persons. It contains truth, no doubt, and a great deal of it; but the increase of knowledge brings to light many truths irreconcilable with it, and still more truths not included by it, and therefore it is a construction that cannot much longer endure.

2. The second great construction of Christianity is the Christian Church. Under this term I include all institutions based directly upon the Christian Theology, in whole or in part; and perhaps all the countless allied institutions of an eleemosynary, charitable, educational, or propagandist character should also be included under it. These various institutions have never really been so organically connected as to fulfil the ideal of Christian unity; schisms and separations have long since rent the "seamless robe of Christ," and there is no tailor, human or divine, skilful enough to unite the fragments. Yet, considered together, they form a clustered whole which shows the Christian theology in active operation as a vast social force, tending to create a definite type of human society. Of all the multifarious organizations thus grouped together under the common name of Christian, no large and philosophic mind will question, in view of all the facts, that the Roman Catholic Church comes the nearest to a complete historical embodiment of the Christian theology. It is an attempt to organize the entire race, socially and politically no less than morally and religiously, in accordance with a plan strictly deducible from the earliest Christian teachings, but adapted as far as possible to the varying conditions of different ages and climes. I believe that the world has never yet seen another organization so perfect, so marvellously suited to accomplish its objects. So long as the Christian theology can retain its hold on the human

mind unweakened, so long, I believe, will the Roman Catholic Church survive and flourish; and whoever wishes to read a most masterly account of the services which this Church has rendered to mankind in the past should read the ninth chapter of the sixth book of *Comte's Positive Philosophy*. That its usefulness diminishes in the direct ratio that mankind outgrow the Christian theology, and that the pertinacious continuance of the organization after the expiration of its usefulness is a great and formidable threat against the dearest liberties of the world, are certainly facts; but these facts should not blind us to the other fact that human genius applied to the organization of society has not yet been able to equal the Roman Catholic Church in the universality, the flexibility, the adaptation to all sorts and conditions of men, or the astonishing strength of influence, which have characterized from the beginning this great social construction of Christianity. Magnificent in artistic proportions as its own cathedrals, the Catholic Church must command the wonder and admiration even of those who see in it the pitiless foe of all modern progress and civilization; and the new faith of the world will be great indeed, if it shall excel this dying Christian religion in the architectural grandeur and beauty of its social creation.

3. The third great construction of Christianity is the Christian Character; that is, the type of individuality developed in the believer by the combined influences of the Christian Theology and the Christian Church. Here we see Christianity in active operation as an internal moral and religious force, not only moulding intellectual belief by its Creed and determining external relations in a great social environment by its Church, but also creating peculiar motives, affections, purposes, actions, in the individual heart and life. Through the mighty influence of education, which the Church has always monopolized until very recent times, and which it jealously guards as the chief fountain-head of its own power over the world, a peculiar quality is stamped ineffaceably upon the young character which marks it as Christian in a vast majority of cases. Of course this distinguishing peculiarity is greater or less in proportion to the native power, volume, and originality of individual mind; but it is rarely absent wholly in one reared under distinctively Christian influence.

In the eminent saints of Christian history, similarity of type is obtrusively evident; and in scourger saints, genuinely and nobly such, of every local church can boast one or more, the type is unmistakable. It consists essentially it may be termed the submissive virtues: faith, hope, humility, self-abasement, resignation, forgiveness, gentleness, meekness,—in short, love. It is the predominance of the emotional and devotional over the intellectual qualities; a fervor robustness of independent conscience, a perfection of individual will, or unbending integrity of personal intelligence appear, it is in spite of, consequence of, the influences which are characteristic of Christianity. This Christian Character, inly, in the view of one discerning enough to see both its excellences and defects, a moral creation of surpassing beauty in many aspects; the charm of feminine grace and loveliness, is its chief response in the heart of woman; strong men are to-day increasingly disinclined to their own characters by it, but admire it in rather than in themselves, that is simply that Christianity is not a religion that can co-exist with the spirit of full-grown and virile man. Its own ideal, held up by its founder, is "childlike"; and human nature in its maturity, in men or women, finds it impossible to live. Yet it can be admired as a beautiful construction of Christianity, when exemplified in those to whom it is natural and alluring; though I must confess the typical Christian appears to me always, young and morally considered, as a child that matures, but stops at half-growth.

Then, are the three great constructions of Christianity—its Theology, its Church, its Character, all admirable in their way; yet they are all to be destroyed, not chiefly by the efforts of iconoclasts, but by the natural development of man. The universal religion that is taking the place of the Christian and every other special religion, eating constructions appropriate to its own and maturer nature, and cannot without abuse be required to imitate what it is inevitably and actively destroying. The unlikeness between the old constructions is so profound, that the world of to-day, looking for a reason of the old, are stone-blind to the growth which is under their very eyes. Even some highly intelligent radicals, who very properly believe that they ought to be busy with construction and affirm that for this in the establishment of a new world a new demonstration of God or immortality is a special doctrine; and because for some unexplained reason nobody shows a consuming zeal for the churches in this way, they are disheartened or disaffected. I would fain briefly sketch the actual constructions, so much more admirable than any imaginable creed, which are taking this very time, under our very eyes, unperceived by most of us, yet very noticeable as substitutes for the perishing constructions of an old religion.

First and greatest of these constructions, the root of all others, is the vast body of knowledge, the marvellous accumulation of truths respecting the facts, nature, and laws of the universe, which is represented by the sciences. It is growing with inconceivable rapidity in all directions, climbing up the problems of astronomy, physics, chemistry, the still higher problems of sociology, psychology, religion in every sense of the word.

Nothing can long escape from examination by it, or from complete submission to its one, universal method. The creation of the modern sciences, at first emerging from the thick darkness of ignorance in such isolation that their close mutual connection and interdependence escaped observation, is the commencement of the erection of an immense edifice of real knowledge, which is to hold henceforth the proud position of the hitherto half-fabulous TEMPLE OF TRUTH. Nor this alone. I attribute the construction of this magnificent though unfinished fabric, which is the work neither of a supposed revelator nor of any self-appointed intellectual leader, to the birth and growth in the universal human mind of a new passion for knowledge, a new and mighty love of natural truth; and this love of truth as it is in Nature, not in Jesus, out of which springs all earnest search for it, is the fundamental principle, the central inspiration, of the universal religion which is fast swallowing up Christianity with all its congeners. Science, then, is the first great construction of universal religion; and it is so unlike the structure of Christian Theology in all respects that perhaps I ought not to compare it to a temple, or to anything else which can be at last finished or completed. On the contrary, it is a vast growing tree, to whose life no imaginable limit can be assigned,—a veritable TREE OF KNOWLEDGE with leaves for the healing of all nations, which was prophesied in the ancient dream of the Garden of Eden, and is found at last.

2. The second great construction of universal religion, although as yet its corner-stone is scarcely laid, is the Commonwealth of Man, the vast "federation of the world" of which England's Poet Laureate sang years ago, the glorious Republic of the Human Race which shall be founded on universal liberty, on equal rights, on justice, on a brotherhood which shall abolish forever the barriers of race and creed. This is the mighty social structure which the spirit of science, the spirit of free intelligence and earnest devotion to truth, must inevitably create in the coming years. Long and bitter struggles must first come between this free spirit and the fortified institutions of antiquity, bristling with cannon, stuffed with gold, swarming with men, which will never surrender without a desperate battle for the empire they still wield to-day. But the victory is not doubtful in the end; nay, its promise is already here. The great Republic which it thrills every true American heart to call *Our Country* is the beginning, the actual historical beginning, of this universal Commonwealth of Man. It is our CHURCH; let us scorn to have another! Its organic principles of universal individual liberty, of universal equal rights, of universal justice between man and man,—in a word, Liberty in Union and Union in Liberty,—are the identical principles on which shall be built up the Commonwealth of Man, the identical principles which this platform affirms and consecrates as Free Religion. Yes, this little Association holds up the standard of Liberty and Union—*Perfect Freedom and Perfect Fellowship*; and not only to America, but to the world, the voice of Destiny declares to-day: "By this sign shalt thou conquer!"

3. Lastly, the third great construction of universal religion, going on all the while that public spectators are clamoring, "Construct! Construct!" is a higher type of individual human character, the free development of Natural Manhood and Natural Womanhood. Here we see universal religion operating as an active force in the recesses of the human heart, and touching the secret springs of human conduct. When the child is educated in accordance with its fundamental principles, he will be trained to defend against all assaults or seductions the absolute supremacy in his own soul of natural Reason and natural Conscience. So long as this supremacy is preserved, there is no danger of vice, of wrongdoing, of superstition, of anything that debases self or injures another. This is the religion that alone shields private life or public welfare from terrible disasters. The intellectual and moral faculties must be supreme over all others—over wayward wills, impulsive desires, gushing affections. The virtues that grow out of this sustained supremacy are moral strength, integrity, pride of character, dignity of sentiment and act, self-respect, independence, incorruptibility, courage, justice, truthfulness; in short, the non-submissive virtues. The ideal held up by universal religion is manhood and womanhood, not childhood; and it forms a type of character unmistakable in all the differences of individuals, inasmuch as it illustrates everywhere and always the sacredness of natural individuality. It is a great and magnificent construction, which must become more and more admirable in the eyes of the world in proportion as the world escapes from the blinding influence of false ideals.

Thus I have briefly, and of course inadequately, sketched the actual constructions created by Christianity and by universal religion. But my task would be left undone, if I failed to point out explicitly that each kind of construction acts against the other as a destructive force. The Christian Theology and modern Science are struggling together in a conscious warfare that can terminate only by the death of one of the combatants. The Christian Church and the Republic are locked in a deadly contest, though neither of them as yet more than dimly apprehends the fact. The Christian Character and the Moral Ideal of free individuality are equally battling for existence against the other, though the battle is in the air, unperceived by the unreflective. I do not think the issue dubious. Yet this I say: that the final victory of the magnificent constructions of the future over the provisional and now obstructive constructions of the past is delayed by every one who perpetuates confusion as to the real issue,—who helps to disguise, however honestly, the vast warfare waging, not only in the world of ideas, but equally

in the world of institutions, between Christianity and Free Religion,—or who, discerning the real issue, forbears to bring his active aid, be it never so small in amount, to the side of the latter. Science cannot fulfil its destiny until it has buried the Christian Theology; the Republic cannot triumph over all its foes until the Christian Church shall be disabled by death from sapping its fundamental principles; the individual man and woman cannot achieve the fullness of natural development until they are educated in an atmosphere purified from the paralyzing influence of the artificial Christian character. The conflict is here, to be seen by all who have eyes to see it: he has not made it who simply points it out. Men might silence the disagreeable announcement, but they could not change the disagreeable fact. No man can labor for the spread of science, for the extension of republican ideas, or for the cultivation of free individuality, without adding his mite to the vast sum of those influences which are gradually destroying the Christian Theology, Church, and type of character. It is an immense mistake to suppose that one can labor for universal religion without thereby doing the work of the avowed anti-Christian, though in unconsciousness or concealment of the fact. This is the unpalatable truth which it has fallen to my lot to tell; and I cannot but believe that humanity will be the gainer when this truth is not only told, but heard, respected, and put into appropriate action. The task of construction itself has its destructive side, and cannot be successfully performed till mankind, coming to full consciousness of the fact, take up the duties of the age in a spirit worthy of them.

When the snows were melting on the mountains at the close of last winter, the ice that had piled up in some of our narrow river-valleys under the influence of the severe and protracted cold formed immense and dangerous gorges, which threatened terrible disasters by damming up the floods. Day by day the waters rose behind them; and at last, impelled by the exigencies of the hour, men began to blast away portions of these enormous gorges, that they might break up before the mass of water had become such as to ensure the destruction of their villages and towns. Their efforts were partially successful, though they would have been more so, if earlier commenced and if made on a larger scale. The case is not unlike that of Christianity. An immense institution, wealthy and powerful, stands in the way of forces which are accumulating in dangerous strength behind it. Sooner or later it must give way, break up, float down the stream, and leave the river of human progress untrammelled by its obstructive presence. Far-seeing men would fain avert the evils of the future by blasting away betimes, through the activities of Liberal Leagues, the political connections of this great ice-gorge of Christianity with the republican State. Their work is seemingly destructive and iconoclastic, yet really constructive, conservative, and benevolent. It would seem to be the especial duty of brave and intelligent radicals to aid in this purely protective work, and help, to the full extent of their power, the peaceful and timely removal of an obstruction which, if unremoved by these means, must inevitably bring catastrophe and disaster in the end. Is it too much to hope that radicalism will yet prove itself, by its own foresight and courage and public spirit, worthy of the occasion, and aid efficiently in the labor of carrying forward the construction of a Republic which is the true Church of universal religion?

THE MODERN CEMETERY.

AN ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE NEW CEMETERY AT BROOKLINE, MASS., OCT. 5.

BY PROFESSOR F. H. HEDGE.

We are met to consecrate in these retreats a new place of interment. The necessities of a rapidly increasing population have outgrown the sepulchral accommodations of this and the neighboring towns, and demand a new garner for the harvest of death. I congratulate you, citizens of Brookline, on the fitness and beauty of the site you have chosen for this purpose. These green slopes, these sylvan shades, these rural surroundings, offer that seclusion, that harmony of earth and sky, that peace of Nature, which most of us crave for our final resting-place and that of our friends.

And here the question arises: Why do we desire for the dead those local advantages of which they are insensible? Why bestow such care and cost on the resting-place of those to whom all places are alike? What matters it where this corruptible shall undergo the process of corruption? What to the mouldering bones are verdure, and flowers, and the beauties of landscape, and the song of birds? Why not dispose of them in the simplest fashion which private convenience or public economy may dictate? To this question, put by the understanding, the answer is given in the ineradicable instincts of the heart. It is true the dead know not of their resting-place. In vain for them the breath of the violet, or the murmur of the pine. Alike to them the ocean floor, the thick-ribbed ice of the pole, the Alpine crevasse, the blood-stained sods of the battle-field, or the turf of consecrated ground. None the less have civilized nations in all ages recognized a sacred obligation in the care of the dead, and accepted the duty of giving fit interment to the clay which was once the abode of a rational soul. Even in those nations and times in which the dead were committed to the flames instead of the ground, the cremation was attended with appropriate rites and demonstrations of respect; the ashes of the burned were carefully gathered and piously preserved, were incensed in portable coffins and deposited in tombs, and these were held as sacred as the graves of bodies subjected to a slower

consumption. The oldest civilization of which the record survives confronts us on the threshold of history with amazing tokens of the care devoted to the dead; it shows us sepulchral mountains of stone designed to preserve forever the bodies intrusted to their keeping. With different views, but with equal piety, the Hebrew patriarchs guarded and cherished the burial-places of their departed. "Bury me with my fathers," said the dying Jacob to his sons. "Bury me with my fathers in the cave that is in the field of Ephron the Hittite. There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife, and there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife, and there I buried Leah." One seems to hear in these words the universal wish of the human heart to be gathered to one's kindred. Who does not desire that his mortal remains may rest side by side with those of his beloved; that in death, as in life, he may not be divided from his own? "I desire," said the great Napoleon, when confronted with death in his prison-island, "that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of that French people whom I so loved." The dead know not of their resting-place; but will you therefore plead that it matters not where they are laid? I can understand that one shall reason in this way concerning the disposition of his own remains; but no one, I think, who possesses an ordinary share of natural sensibility or humane feeling can regard with indifference the treatment after death of the body of a dear friend. The earthly form which has once enshrined a living soul, especially if that soul be one that was knit to ours in bonds of love, can never be to us like common clay.

It is not, however, for the honoring of the perished form alone; it is not for the comfort of their bones that we give our kindred solemn interment, and lay them in fit and consecrated places. What we really mean by so doing, what the burial custom, so ancient and beautiful, expresses, is this: that the dead whom we call the "departed" are not all departed, but in a sense are with us still. The form vanishes; the dust returns to the dust whence it was; the spirit returns to God who gave it; the soul passes to its proper sphere; but something stays. Something is left to surviving friends, invisible, impalpable, but how real! A veritable presence and power in the world! This is the true *Manes* of which the ancients thought so much. I call it the *Idea*, the mental image bequeathed by the dying to those who survive. For that idea's sake it is, and not for sake of the *equiva*, the cast-off garments of flesh, and not for the soul's sake which has gone we know not whither, that we bury the dead in select and consecrated places.

And what kind of place shall we select for that purpose? What ground is fittest to receive the ruined form, which even in its ruins is sacred through the binding force of that idea with which it is associated in our affections? Shall it be a solitary place in a private freehold, remote from all others? There are cases, I suppose, in which such a disposition of the dead is expedient, and there are cases in which it is necessary. But in a populous community it is obviously impossible that each individual, or even each family, should have their own peculiar burying-ground within the precincts of their own estate. Not every family can have an estate of their own, and inevitably, in the course of time, estates change hands; and then the inhumed must either be disturbed in their repose, or their resting-place become the property of unsympathizing strangers. Necessity requires that we bury our dead, not in private grounds, but in a garden of graves which is common to many. And if necessity did not require it, there is still a fitness in such community independent of all economic or prudential considerations. We are members one of another. No man liveth to himself alone, and no man dieth to himself. We live in communities, bound together by various ties of fellowship and mutual dependence. We are not divided in life; it is meet that we should not be divided in death; that the common resting-place should repeat the community of the neighborhood and town.

But though, for the reasons I have named, we may not seek for our dead the insulation of a solitary grave, we would give them seclusion from the public thoroughfare, from the press and throngs of active life, from the noise and turmoil of the mart and the street. The place of graves should have rural surroundings. In the bosom of Nature, away from "the busy haunts of men," from traffic, and revelry, and strife, in a green silence relieved but not disturbed by the sigh of the wind, by the song of birds, or by murmuring waters, we would bury our dead.

Such are those recent cemeteries which a wise piety has provided in the environs of populous cities. There amid flowery banks, by shaded alleys, lie the dwellings of the dead, in beautiful keeping with the stillness of the scene; and life and death mingle so peacefully that there seems to be only a sigh between those who tread the sequestered walks, and those who sleep beneath the shining marbles or the verdant sods. There Nature blends her shadows with human grief, and sadness is wedded to beauty, and the nodding flowers and the solemn trees seem to invite you to lay down the burden of life at their feet; and the thoughtful wanderer already dies in imagination while contemplating so sweet a rest. While meditating there I have felt the nearness without the harms of death, and have praised the wisdom which could tempt the living to seek the society of the dead, and to invite the healthy and the happy to the retirements of the grave and the thoughts of mortality.

A graveyard in a city is a ghastly object,—an island of death in the midst of a rushing, roaring sea of life. Its unsympathizing silence rebukes, without checking, the impatient driving and striving of which that silence is the goal. Its lessons of mortality are lost on the passer-by, whom the constant spectacle of the rusty head-stones that border his daily walk has made heedless and callous. It mocks

the fever it cannot allay. But a few feet divide the living from the dead; yet into those city cemeteries goes no one to meditate. The poet Gray would never have composed there the immortal "elegy" which, known to all languages, finds universal response, and, more than any other poem of equal length, with the tenderest music of humanity has smote the heart of the world.

Outside of the city, beyond the reach of its roar, into the open country, we will carry our dead. We will give them quiet,

"The silence that is in the starry sky,
The sleep that is among the lonely hills."

We will give them beauty, the spontaneous beauty of Nature, or such as Nature yields to the solicitations of art, the punctual bloom of spring, the wealth of summer's verdure, the warning splendors of autumn. The sentiment which craves such beauty for the place of graves is of recent date. In former time the only question concerning the disposition of the dead—of the common dead—was one of convenience. They mouldered in crypts and catacombs, or were huddled together in rectangular enclosures by the wayside; fields which, except as the stone-cutter's art might elaborate single monuments, no pains were taken to render attractive.

Such beauty indeed as art can bestow on single monuments has never been wanting to the dead whose fame or virtues were thought to demand, or whose vanity coveted, or the grief of whose survivors accorded, such distinction. We have read how the Carian queen immortalized her grief in stone, and originated the name by which sepulchral glories such as builder and sculptor dispense have ever since been distinguished. We have read how the Pharisees of Jesus' day builded the tombs of the prophets, and garnished the sepulchres of the righteous. How Christian art has garnished the sepulchres of royalty may be seen in Westminster Abbey, in the Hotel des Invalides, in the crypt of the Capuchin chapel at Vienna, on the Hartschin of Prague, and in all the capitals of Europe. "Man," says Sir Thomas Browne, "is a noble animal, splendid in his ashes, and pompous in the grave, solemnizing natiivities and deaths with equal lustre, nor omitting the ceremonies of bravery in the infancy of his nature." I am not speaking of monuments and the splendors of plastic art, but of the beauties of Nature and of burial-places allotted to the common dead, when I say that the demand for beauty in this direction is a recent sentiment. Once indeed "there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre," the most memorable named in the annals of mankind. But that was a single private tomb. Plato recommended that the most barren and worthless ground should be set apart for sepulchral uses, and his advice appears to have been largely adopted in subsequent time. The garden which Louis XIV. gave to the Jesuit La Chaise was early in this century converted into a cemetery. In the management of that cemetery care has been taken that every trace of the garden should disappear. Green alleys have been replaced by paved walks, and wreaths of stiff *immortelles* must serve as a substitute for living flowers.

Our country, so far as I know, has taken the lead in the institution of burial-grounds like the one we here consecrate, establishing the principle, now generally accepted, that cemeteries are to serve for the living as well as the dead; that while they receive the sacred deposit of mortality, and hide the perished forms of our beloved, they shall also by their stillness and their beauty attract surviving friends to muse in their shades, and persuade communion with the unseen of our affections and our hopes. Forty years and more have elapsed since a tract of ground in the town of Cambridge, long prized for its wild, romantic beauty, its verdant heights, its piny dells and secret nooks, the "Sweet Auburn" of my childhood, where we held our May festivals, and gathered the earliest wild-flowers, was purchased by a corporate company, and turned into a burying-ground. The example was followed far and wide. New York had its "Greenwood," Philadelphia its "Laurel Hill," and now there is scarcely a town of any note but has its rural cemetery, conceived in the same spirit, and answering to the same want.

In this spirit, and to meet this want, you, citizens of Brookline, have selected and secured these pleasant grounds, and now formally present them as a place of interment, to be reserved and kept sacred as such, so far as the present may determine the future, through all generations. You have chosen well; and the rules your trustees have adopted for the management of this trust encourage the hope that wise judgment and good taste will distinguish this spot, and that "Walnut Hills," avoiding the errors of its neighbors and predecessors, will be a model in its kind. I especially rejoice in the first of the "rules concerning lots"; viz., that "no lot shall be enclosed by wall, fence, coping, hedge, or any boundary whatever, but the limits of each lot shall be marked at each corner by granite posts, and that these shall be sunk in the ground so that the tops shall be below the surface." This is as it should be. No visible, at least no conspicuous, bounds should proclaim private rights in a place of common rest, and mar the unity of the whole. It is painful to see in Mount Auburn, of late, those obtrusive granite copings which not only offend the eye with their importunate glare, but violate a fundamental idea of such institutions—the idea of community,—and instead thereof present ideas of property, of separation, of exclusion.

In this connection, with no right to advise, I cannot forbear expressing the hope that another offence, conspicuous elsewhere, may here be avoided. I mean the frequent obelisk, a species of monument appropriate only to the commemoration of exceptional greatness and wide renown; of those who in their

lifetime towered above their fellows, and whom it may therefore be well with such towering structures to distinguish in death. A granite shaft of Egyptian dimensions piercing the sky, such as I have seen surmounting the grave of some obscure individual whom neither his virtues nor his deeds entitled to such distinction, whose name perished with him when he dropped out of sight—a monument which illustrates nothing but the vanity buried beneath it, or the bad taste of friends,—is not only ridiculous, considered in relation to its object, but dishonors with its impudent pretensions the cemetery in which it stands. From such dishonors, from monuments of vanity and works of pride, from all that may shock a refined taste, or insult the feelings proper to the place, may this field remain forever free.

And so we devote these virgin acres to the solemn associations of death,—to sepulchral rites, to everlasting farewells, to sacred memories and immortal hopes. These sods we devote to the rest which follows "life's fitful fever," these walks to the converse of friends whom buried treasures or the charm of the spot may draw hither to wander and muse. Be this a sanctuary where the din of traffic and the greed and passion of the world may not reach; a hallowed section of that larger cemetery in which countless generations are inhumed, and out of whose dust in endless procession the new generations spring. Here Nature shall resume the being which she gave. Here the mother shall resign the darling of her hopes, and the husband and the wife the companion of their youth. Here the strong and the weak, the high and the low, the rich and the poor, shall lie down together. Those whom life had widely sundered shall meet and "blend in common dust." Summer shall deck them with one coverlet; winter shall wrap them in one winding sheet; sun and moon, with impartial lustre, shall smile on their sleep. Here friends shall part, and those who together had shared the burden and the joy of earthly years shall separate, the one to his task, the other to his rest. And here may mourners learn that though our friendships are the accidents of a day, the love which they educate has no term; that age after age shall unfold in it the power and likeness of that Divine love whose breath first kindled this spark in the breast.—*Advertiser*.

IS THERE TO BE A WAR?

BY THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

I can remember when it was the custom to deride Emerson as a man who habitually talked nonsense; and if any one defended him, the sentence most likely to be quoted as proof of his folly was the remark, "Let no one quit his belief that a pop-gun is a pop-gun, though the most ancient and honorable of the earth should affirm it to be the crack of doom." But this sentence always seemed to me a very sensible one, and I have now tested it for a good many years, and find it eminently reassuring and consoling.

The prediction is constantly made that we are on the verge of "a religious conflict, which threatens the very existence of the Republic"; that it is already doubtful whether we have any "defence against the establishment of a despotic empire in our very midst,—an empire under the control of a despotic and determined few, whose declared purpose is to supplant our free institutions with a tyranny more harsh and unsparing than any ever yet seen upon the planet." And those who do not share this conviction are denounced as indifferent, timid, or blind.

For one, I do not sympathize with this foreboding. No doubt, any organization that becomes very large and powerful brings with it dangers, and will bear watching, whether it be the Roman Catholic Church or the Methodist, the Pacific Railway or the Masonic order. But I do not see how any one who lived through the anti-Masonic or the Know-Nothing excitement can help admitting that the power of any such association in the United States is, after all, very limited, and is liable at any moment, through any excess, to rouse the overwhelming force of public sentiment against it. Certainly I can recall several periods when the danger of Roman Catholic usurpation, or of a collision between Roman Catholics and Protestants seemed far more imminent than now. I remember when the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was a Roman Catholic,—Judge Taney holding that high office more than a quarter of a century; yet no harm came. I remember when the wave of Irish immigration seemed likely to deluge the whole land; but it did no real harm, and now its progress is checked—as the inexorable census shows,—and nobody but Gen. Butler seriously supposes that it is going any further. I remember when, in Brownson's time, there was another great wave of conversions among educated New England Protestants. That also passed by. Some of the converts after a time came quietly back, as I can testify from my own knowledge; and we now hear of but few such conversions. I can remember when these things produced such a popular excitement, that organized processions of "Native Americans" used to parade through the Irish quarters of Boston and New York, with cries and banners so insulting that one wondered how the hot Celtic blood could restrain itself from outbreak. During those years it seemed reasonable to talk of the possibility of a religious war; but among the softened religious antagonisms of this time the alarm seems to me only one of Emerson's pop-guns.

It has been repeatedly shown by statistics, and recognized by the admission of Roman Catholic priests themselves, that this Church has actually lost, numerically, by the vast transplantation of its votaries to these shores; since their total number,

even as reckoned, by the Church, is not so large as the emigrant population, with its natural increase, would furnish. The few conversions made to that Church are carefully heralded; but the number of those who slip silently away from it and are lost in the mass of Protestant population no one proclaims. This nation is thoroughly and permanently non-Roman Catholic. Every intelligent priest knows this in his heart, and knows that, whatever boasts he or his newspaper organs may make, they must not go very far in their claims lest the ghost of "Native Americanism" or "Know-Nothingism" be raised again. New Jersey is not counted the most enlightened State in the American Union; yet the mere effort of two or three priests of that State to urge their parishioners to vote a certain way in the late election sent a sweeping majority over to the side these priests wished to defeat. There is not a Northern or Western State where the same result would not have followed. The Roman Catholic Church everywhere knows that it is watched; that the popular prejudice is against it; that the enormous Irish immigration has waned, and the predominant increase from that source is now Protestant. If it has the desire, it has not the folly to expect to be the ruling element in the nation; unless it be in that vague and remote way in which Jews still convince themselves that they expect a Messiah.

We must remember that much of what has heretofore been called aggression in the Roman Catholic Church has been simply an honorable struggle for the just rights which Protestantism refused to concede to it. So long as we have not secularized our government the Roman Catholics, like the Jews, have really found their cause to be that of religious liberty. While New Hampshire declares them ineligible to office, they have no choice but to resist by all honorable means such exclusion. When Vermont expels Irish children from school for a single day's absence on a church festival, the Roman Catholic clergy would do wrong to submit. When a Massachusetts school committee requires the reading of the Protestant Bible in schools, or a Rhode Island committee refuses to elect a teacher because she is a Roman Catholic, then Protestantism puts itself in the wrong and puts its opponent in the right. Up to this time, as it strikes me, most of the demands of the Roman Catholic Church have been reasonable; and if, as now appears, they are beginning to be unreasonable, there is no doubt of the result, and that church, like any other, will learn its place.

Of this I feel so sure that I confess to more solicitude as to the sins and extravagances of radicals, than as to those of Roman Catholics. Even within the doors of the Boston Radical Club I have heard the disfranchisement of Roman Catholics seriously urged; and one of the alarmists, whom I began by quoting, declares in the same article that the State has a right, under certain circumstances, to interfere with "the internal organization of a religious body" and to compel it to organize "by democratic methods." In other words, according to this theory, the State is to prescribe for each sect whether it shall be ruled by bishops, elders, or deacons, and how much power they shall have in the organization. In the same way, I suppose, the State must decide for the "Sons of Pythias," or the "Improved Order of Red Men," how they shall elect their "Grand Sachem" or "Most Worthy Patriarch." All such theories seem to me to show a want of faith in the principle of religious freedom. They involve the essence of persecution, and the moment you persecute any class of men you lose all right to complain if they persecute you. Once completely secularize the government, and you disarm every church as to its organized power for evil, and leave only its power for good.—*Independent*, Sept. 30.

WAS IT TIMELY?

That the President made a speech at Des Moines the other day, and a very good one, seems to trouble a certain class of people almost as much as his long course of refraining from speech-making did. Something new to quibble about is to them of the nature of a god-send, and they show their gratitude by their diligence in fault-finding. Possibly the speech was unnecessary; but if we have come to the time that we are to have only necessary speeches in this country, either from the President or less important folk, there is a crisis at hand for which not sufficient preparation has been made. The President's speech was quite as necessary as any other that was made there, and much more interesting than some of them. In the face of notorious facts of significant import, that have lately been forced upon public attention, it was proper enough for the President, or for any one else called upon, to make talk at the reunion of the Army of the Tennessee, to consider whether the republic was likely to be distracted by a great conflict concerning the fundamental principles of its Constitution, and to warn the citizens who heard him to take thought beforehand for its prevention. This is what the President did, and the disappointment because he talked sensibly and earnestly upon a matter of national concern, is provoking almost as much fine sarcastic writing as if he had actually seized the occasion to eulogize a litter of bull-pups.

Mr. Gladstone in England has thought it worth while again and again to raise a warning voice there against the encroachments of a power that threatens English liberty. We believe the liberal and independent journals of the kingdom have not thought it becoming to sneer at him for showing so much regard for the future of his country. The President, in few but well-chosen and weighty words, has spoken out what he thinks with regard to the future security of our institutions. If we are to have, he says—mark the *if*—if we are to have another contest in the near future, it will not be a sectional one, but

one in which the dividing line will be between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. There are two things about this declaration that ought to afford the Democratic and Independent press much satisfaction. The President makes it very clear that he at least doesn't lie awake nights through fear of the new war which some of our slow-moving statesmen suspect the South is determined upon. He shows also that he substantially agrees with Dr. Woolsey, Mr. Adams, and many other wise and sagacious citizens, as to what is the present most threatening peril of the republic. Why it should be proper for them to set forth their views in long orations and written articles, and improper for him to do it in a five-minutes' speech, is only less intelligible than why certain journals should think such opinions very praiseworthy in these gentlemen and very absurd in the President.

The President believes that this Centennial year of the establishment of the republic is a good time to set about the work of strengthening its foundations. Is he not right? And if he is right, is it not eminently proper that he should utter the sentiment? Nor does he leave us at a loss as to what he means by these words: "Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the greater security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and equal rights. Let us encourage free schools, and keep them free from pagan, atheistical or sectarian control. Let us guard against the union of Church and State. With these safeguards the battles which created the army of the Tennessee will not have been fought in vain." That is to say, the republic preserved by the Union armies will continue in integrity, honor and usefulness. It seems to us that this is a very proper appeal for the Chief Magistrate to make, and that it is likely to do a great deal of good.

There are those who affect to think the danger of such a conflict as he forebodes is not imminent. The truth is, it is now upon us, and it is high time we were made aware of it. In some States they are now in the thick of the fight. What is the contest in Ohio but one between intelligence and patriotism on one side, and ambition and ignorance on the other? The same contest is waging in other States, not always about the same expressed issue, but between the same classes of people. The lines are not closely and exclusively drawn, for they never are in such a conflict; but as between the controlling interests in the several camps the characterization will hold now, and it will be more conspicuous as the fight goes on. Here in New England, to be sure, the forces are more mingled than in the West or the South; but we cannot hope to escape being summoned to range ourselves with one or the other party, unless fortunately, the issues now becoming prominent get settled right in the localities where they have arisen before we become involved in them.

The President has thrown his great influence at a good time, but not at all too soon, into the right scale, and his speech should be hailed with satisfaction, not with carping; and so it will be by those whose prejudices do not make them blind to his virtues and to the signs of the times.—*Boston Advertiser*, Oct. 5.

NATURE in HER immensity has a double-meaning, which dazzles great minds and blinds savage souls. When man is ignorant, when his desert is peopled with visions, the obscurity of solitude adds itself to the obscurity of intelligence; hence come depths in the human soul black and profound as an abyss. Certain rocks, certain ravines, certain thickets, certain wild openings in the trees through which night looks down, push men on to mad and atrocious actions. One might almost say that there are places which are the home of the Spirit of Evil.—*Victor Hugo*.

PROF. X., in Rochester University, insists strongly on pronouncing final *us* in Latin like English *oose*. Student in recitation, not appreciating the point, comes upon the word "*profugus*." "Professor, would you, on your principles, pronounce the word *prof-you-goose* or *prof-you-goose*?" Prof., in rage: "Leave the room instantly, sir!"—*Independent*.

REASONING against a prejudice is like fighting against a shadow; it exhausts the reasoner without visibly affecting the prejudice. Argument cannot do the work of instruction any more than blows can take the place of sunlight.—*Charles Mildmay*.

"IN FAITH, CAPTAIN," said a son of Erin, as a ship was coming on the coast in inclement winter weather, "have ye a almenick on board?" "No, I haven't." "Thin, be jabers," replied Pat, "we shall have to take the weather as it comes."

A WHIMSICAL comparison being made between a clock and a woman, Charles Fox observed that he thought the simile bad; "for," said he, "a clock serves to point out the hours, and a woman to make us forget them."

A LADY asked a pupil at a public school, "What was the sin of the Pharisees?" "Eating camels, marm," quickly replied the child. She had read that the Pharisees "strained at gnats and swallowed camels."

THIS, on the whole, is a very good definition of what a violation of the ninth commandment consists in: "It is when nobody did anything, and somebody else went and told of it."—*Congregationalist*.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

SHADOWS.

"COME LIKE SHADOWS, SO DEPART."

The deep, deep, purple shadows lingering lie
Across the meadow cool;
They softly rest upon the bending rye,
And shut the picture of the changing sky
Out from the little pool.

Oh purple shadows, whither now lead ye,
In this still even-tide?
Swift to the glories of the western sea,
Or to the mountains far, so grand, so free?
Where ye do love to hide?

My mind, entranced by your outlines faint,
Knows of the present naught:
Dead loves, and flowers, and painted form of saint,
And by-gone days, and songs, and fashions quaint,
Commingle in my thought.

Dim figures wrought in tapestry of years
Clearly e'en now I see;
Their eyes seek mine, their voices greet my ears;
From memory's loom the priceless web appears,
Woven alone for me.

The past is wholly mine; I clasp it strong,
And know its blessings all;
The present shared with eager, restless throng;
The future's pain or pleasure, wail or song,
Like mystic shadows fall.

Shadows with shadows blend; in purple haze
Lie pool and western sea;
I sigh—Life's purples change so soon to grays!
But shadows are the swiftly passing days,
And naught but shadows we.

CARROLL GODFREY.

THE EVERY-DAY DARLING.

BY H. H.

She is neither a beauty nor genius,
And no one would call her wise;
In a crowd of other women
She would draw no stranger's eyes;
Even we who love her are puzzled
To say where her preciousness lies;
She is just an every-day darling,—
In that her preciousness lies.

She is sorry when others are sorry,
So sweetly, one likes to be sad;
And if people around her are merry,
She is almost gladder than glad.
Her sympathy is the swiftest,
The truest a heart ever had;
She is just an every-day darling,
The dearest that hearts ever had.

Her hands are so white and little,
It seems as if it were wrong
They should ever work for a moment,
And yet they are quick and strong.
If any dear one needs helping,
She will work the whole day long;
The precious every-day darling,
Every day and all day long.

She is loyal as knights were loyal,
In the days when no knight lied,
And for sake of love or of honor,
If it need be, a true knight died.
But she dreams not she is braver
Than the women by her side;
This precious every-day darling,
Who makes sunshine at our side.

Ah, envy her, Beauty and Genius,
And women the world calls wise;
The utmost of all your triumphs
Would be empty in her eyes.
To love and be loved is her kingdom;
In this her happiness lies.
God bless her, the every-day darling!
In this her preciousness lies.

—*Christian Union*.

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The Index.

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THE GLORY OF THE HUMAN.

Man is not very admirable in his average aspect. There is nothing sublime in the appetite with which he devours his mutton-chop, or the cunning with which he squeezes an illegitimate penny out of the unwary buyer, or the snore with which he sleeps the sleep of the well-fed and the well-bedded. There is nothing to challenge reverence in your fellow-passenger of the horse-car who keeps his seat and looks vacantly out of the window, while that poor old woman with the heavy bundle is shaken about with every jolt of the wheels—nothing to rouse suspicion of a latent divinity in that over-dressed lady who “shops” away a small fortune for finery, while her husband is fighting off bankruptcy with the energy of desperation—nothing startlingly poetic in that dandy of a clerk who struts along the street with half his earnings (and perhaps some of his employer’s, too) invested in the clothes on his back—nothing overpoweringly imposing in the reformer who inveighs against the iniquity of interest-taking, and then hastens to put out his money at fifteen per cent. There is a great deal of vulgarity, and pretence, and sottishness, and selfishness, and meanness, and duplicity, and cruelty, and other ugly things just as bad, in this queer world we live in. One who is in love with moral and spiritual beauty, who delights in opportunities to admire and diligently seeks them as one seeks wild-flowers in the woods, has need of much fortitude in the endurance of disappointment. Human life has its cheap, its sordid, and its ghastly sides, which one must be very young or very blind never to see.

Nevertheless, so rich and profound, so marvellous and many-sided is this human nature of ours that the seeker, seek what he may, will not seek in vain. It is fecund in surprises, nay, in contradictions. The very human being who distresses or disgusts you with some sudden betrayal of bad qualities does in other situations that which would kindle a glow of admiration, were you the fortunate spectator of it in his nobler moment. There is no one so base or so mean as not to do at times very unselfish things which some one is sure to discern and to love. Whoever keeps a quick eye for the beautiful in human action is continually charmed with some unexpected glimpse of it, even in most unpromising quarters. Grains of gold shine out in the midst of the dreariest sand or the hardest quartz of human character, easily to be detected by the practised observer. We see chiefly what we look for in life, and find abundant corroboration for almost any possible theory of it. It is worth while to cultivate the love of beauty in the world of man as well as in the outer world of visible Nature, for it can be gratified everywhere and always. The true artist is never at a loss for the picturesque in common things; the true student of humanity, even in the midst of degradation, coarseness, and wrong, finds little revelations of entrancing loveliness. Nothing is undivine to him who has learned that nothing is common or unclean. In a very high sense, dirt and slime are the treasures of scientific truth, the art-galleries of æsthetic delight, the granaries and fountains of spiritual hunger and thirst.

When the ship is burned at sea, or the railroad train is telescoped in a frightful collision, or the crowded building crashes in sudden ruin, some prodigy of self-devotion is sure to be performed. The latent but ever present electricity of heroism flashes out in the emergency. Commonplace people at a moment’s warning develop incredible capacity of the loftiest virtue. But there is no miracle about it. Human nature in such crises is intensified in action, but not changed. In the tame current of ordinary

affairs, precisely the same qualities manifest themselves in lower degrees to the observing. The diabolism which now and then flames out of the ground of common life with the subterranean fury of the volcano originates in habitual selfishness; the seemingly superhuman self-sacrifice which lights up some black tornado of calamity with the glory of the rainbow grows out of quiet, long-continued, and obscure victory over self. Character cannot reverse itself in the hour of ordeal. With all possible differences in temperament and constitution, the law of identity is preserved inviolable; and you will show yourself in the stress of sudden terrific trial exactly what you have made yourself in meeting the strains of small daily temptations. Before you can be great in the great, you must already have been great in the little. Evolution reigns even in morals.

In all the vast scope of this limitless universe, there is nothing so transcendently sublime as this capacity of the human soul to build itself slowly up into a moral colossus. The wonders of astronomy, of geology, of chemistry, of natural history, of all the sciences thus far constituted by human wit, pale before this infinite wonder of CHARACTER, which creates itself, as it were, by directing its habitual activities according to a deliberately espoused moral ideal,—which prescribes to itself its own law, and subdues all events to its own uses by putting upon them the yoke of its own iron and unconquerable purpose,—and which thus compels the very universe of which it is a product to become the “slave of the lamp” and humbly do its bidding. The moment that the soul is ready to surrender its very existence, if need be, rather than swerve from the fitting execution of its own moral aim, that moment it has become lord over the universe itself; for the universe cannot possibly do more than annihilate it. If the soul chooses annihilation rather than abandonment of its own ideal, then that which all the energies of the universe must obey triumphs over them all, and proves that the universe has begotten a something mightier and more magnificent than itself. This is no dream born of imaginative temerity, but has actually been exemplified, if such stories as that of Mohammed Effendi, the Turkish atheist, are true. Being brought to the stake for his atheism, and promised his life if he would recant it, he is said to have calmly replied, “The love of truth constrains me to die in its defence,” and to have met his fate unconquered and undismayed. What a martyrdom was that! In our judgment, it shows the high-water mark of moral sublimity. The atheist, expecting the immediate extinction of his whole being, chose this rather than to falter in allegiance to his own moral ideal of absolute fidelity to the truth. What is that but to evince a moral power superior to the sum of all cosmic forces, whose utmost exercise could annihilate, but not subdue? Weighed in the scales of a just valuation, the spirit which could thus triumph over the cosmos itself must be adjudged to be its moral superior, even if the moment of triumph was also the moment of final extinction.

Such, we say, would be the just conclusion, conceding that the moral power of the victim encountered only non-moral forces in the cosmos. On that supposition, the cosmos had actually produced a greater power than it had ever contained! Here lies, we think, the real paradox of all atheism,—nay, shall we not add, the real refutation of it? No answer to this argument can have the slightest relevancy which implies the least inappreciation of moral values, or which fails to discern the intrinsic and transcendent moral superiority of the spirit which calmly prefers annihilation itself to the slightest infidelity to truth. Whoever is competent to comprehend moral greatness at all must at once pronounce the power thus evinced to be infinitely higher in grade than all non-moral forces combined. If the cosmos is non-moral, then it has given birth to a greater than itself; and the more has been evolved out of the less! Can such absurdity be? Verily, we cannot admit or conceive it.

Mohammed Effendi indeed died in defence of his atheism, believing it to be the truth; but his act is so unutterably noble, so magnificently entitled to the reverence of mankind, that it seems the very refutation of atheism itself—the very demonstration of some Universal Moral Power of which his own moral power was only a concentrated spark. For nothing that has begun to be can have been the ultimate source of its own being; and Mohammed Effendi, dying for his atheism, seems to have most gloriously disproved it. Words must fail us in the effort to paint the matchless dignity, the ineffable beauty, the immeasurable spiritual sublimity of such a martyr-

dom as his, towering infinitely as it does above all Christian martyrdoms in all the elements of true moral greatness. The martyrs of the Church lost sight of death’s horrors in the effulgence of the Heaven which dazzled their transported souls, and waited to receive them, as they believed, on the very instant of their escape from the agonies of the arena, the stake, the torture-chamber. But the atheist saw no Heaven, no future, nothing but the eternal blank of dreamlessness and non-existence before him; the love of life with its pleasures and allurements, its ties and affections, was on one side,—on the other nothing but fierce and intolerable pain, the prospect of immediate extinction, and the passionless mandate of virtue as he heard it in the utter solitude of his own thought. No hope, no reward, no future—only the majesty of Truth and the law of his own Ideal: yet he so revered the naked obligation not to belie with his lips the integrity of his own intellect, that he calmly waved aside all the prizes for which common men are willing to pawn even their own souls, wrapped himself in the dignity of an unconquerable manliness, and perished in the flames. Others may see only folly in a choice so remote from the motives of ordinary men; but the mind that can comprehend such loftiness of spirit must pay to it the homage of an admiration that loses itself in awe, and trembles into involuntary worship. That character of such Himalayan altitude should be possible to humanity is proof indefeasible of an adequate origin for it, of a moral constitution of things, in the cosmos whence it sprung; and it compels us, in the face of all doubts and difficulties urged on an inferior plane of thought, to see in the moral nature of man an irrefragable argument for the existence of a moral nature in the universal All—compels us to recognize the “cosmical life,” of which Tyndall speaks, as being of necessity not lower, but higher, than the spiritual life of man. In a word, *the virtuous man is the living demonstration of God.*

It is vain to bring against such considerations objections based merely on data of the physical sciences. From physical data no sagacious mind will expect to draw any but physical conclusions; but physical data are utterly inapplicable in the treatment of moral problems, and have no force when opposed to moral conclusions. The questions of sociology cannot be answered by the principles of physics, however convenient it may be (and also misleading) to employ the terms of physics analogically and metaphorically in discussing them. Still less can questions of ethics and the higher philosophy in general be answered in that way. That the one method of all science must be as rigorously observed in the treatment of moral problems as in that of physical problems, we have for now many years strenuously insisted; but we must equally insist that moral science deals with factors, quantities, and qualities of which physics can know and does know nothing, and must be allowed to develop itself in respected independence, though bound in doing so to accept every proved result of every lower science. Hence we claim that the strength of scientific moral theism cannot be even feebly apprehended by those who are unable or unwilling to judge it by the principles of moral science, or to bring to its consideration a highly trained and cultivated faculty for estimating moral values by moral standards alone. When the problem is the existence or non-existence of a strictly moral element in Nature, the known existence of a strictly moral element in Man (who is but a part of Nature) becomes the supreme fact, and must be adequately accounted for, not evaded. It is a fact which challenges the most respectful attention of science, and will certainly receive it, when science has been developed out of its present preparatory and merely physical stage. The task of the profound religious thinker of this age is to study this fact in connection with all such other established facts as truly bear upon it, and meanwhile to prevent its immense significance to the world from being buried under the dazzling accumulations of the physical sciences. Despite all his littlenesses and deformities, Man is the highest of all studies; and the highest thing in him, the glory of his humanity and the redemptive root of his connection with the boundless universe which has evolved him, is the presence of a moral nature which shines out fitfully through all his feebleness or wickedness, and now and then bursts forth with a splendor incomparable and unapproachable by aught beside. Small as he is, there is that in him which is infinitely great; and whoever would comprehend either him or the cosmos itself must pay it most serious, earnest, and reverential heed.

INFLATION.

No. II.

In a previous paper I endeavored to expose the absurdity of the statement made by inflationists that the nation loans to the National Banks over \$370,000,000 without interest. I showed that it does not loan a single dollar to the banks with or without interest. On the other hand, I should have added that, in purchasing government bonds, the banks practically loan money to the government. To prove that this is well understood by everybody except inflationists, it is sufficient to refer to the universal use of the terms, "United States loan," and "United States securities," to designate United States bonds.

To indicate still more clearly the true relation of the banks to the government, it should be said that they are a source of large revenue to the treasury. Since the passage of the "National Bank Act" by Congress, in June, 1864, they have paid taxes to the government amounting to more than \$75,000,000. This amount includes assessments for the current year.

That no misapprehension may exist in the mind of the reader of this series of articles, it may be proper to remark that I do not approve the "National Bank Act" in its entirety. Certain amendments, in my judgment, might be made with advantage to the government and without injustice to the banks. I would, for example, advocate an increase of the present tax upon their circulation; but it is one thing to demand that the banks contribute their full share to the public revenue, and quite another to misconstrue their relations to the government, and thereby make them the object of popular hostility. And this misconception cannot be pointed out and corrected too soon, when it is used as the basis of a plea for a system of finance which, to a large part of the community, appears to be both faulty and vicious.

Another objection to the National Banks is thus expressed in the tract that appeared at the head of my first article on this subject: "The people deposit with the National Banks an average of about \$670,000,000, for which they get no interest."

This statement is misleading. The question naturally arises, "Why do the people voluntarily carry their money to the banks?" Is it possible that the great commercial class lends \$670,000,000 to these associations without receiving a corresponding equivalent? The tract says depositors do not draw interest, and by omitting even a hint of any other equivalent leaves the reader to infer that none other is received.

That there may be no mistake as to the inference implied, a "remedy" is proposed. The United States Treasury is to be substituted for the banks, and the government is to pay interest on deposits. To quote from the tract, "make money interchangeable with 3.65 per cent. United States bonds, and, 'this money'—the \$670,000,000 now deposited with the banks—'will flow into the United States Treasury.'" That the treasury department is not expected to perform the ordinary functions of a bank, is made evident by the demand, "repeal all laws creating or sustaining banks: let banking be free, and conducted under the law of partnerships." The free banks are to perform the functions of the present banks, but are not to have the advantage now derived from circulation and deposits, as these are simply a sinecure of the banks, and an injustice to the people.

Now the fact is, the banks provide the people with facilities for transfer and exchange, without which, the business of the community could not possibly be conducted. This important and essential service is, in part, an equivalent for the benefit they realize from both their circulation and deposits. I say, in part; for valuable as the service is, it by no means covers the entire advantage secured by the people. In addition to transfer and exchange facilities, the banks offer a credit to every depositor, basing the credit upon the average amount of his deposit and the character of the security he proposes to pledge. A good illustration of the advantage of this credit may be found in the experience of a firm with whose business I am entirely familiar. This firm deals in wool. It sells wool to manufacturers, taking their notes, payable in four months, in settlement for their purchases. The nature of the business makes it necessary for the firm to keep more or less money immediately available. It deposits this money in the banks. In one bank it keeps an average deposit of \$10,000, and in return for the use of that deposit, the bank lends it \$80,000, and often \$100,000, taking from it as security the notes customers have given it for wool. The

bank further pledges itself not to call for a return of this loan until these notes are due; and when they become due it assumes all labor and expense of collection. The firm pays this bank as low as four and five per cent. per annum interest when money is abundant, and never over seven per cent. per annum, even if the bank can get twelve or fourteen per cent. by lending to merchants who do not deposit with it. In business phraseology, for an average deposit of \$10,000, the firm is entitled to a "discount line;" that is, a loan of at least \$80,000. This firm does not own a single share of the stock; its transactions with the bank, and relations to it, are the same in extent and character as those of other depositors.

An impartial observer, it seems to me, must admit that those people who use the banks for purposes of discount receive a fair equivalent for their deposits; but there is another class of depositors whose relations are to be considered. Many individuals, firms, and corporations do not require discount facilities; they, however, are obliged to hold a large amount of money available at an hour's notice. They deposit their money with the banks, and not only secure for themselves, in common with other depositors, facilities for exchange and transfer, but are paid interest on their deposits. This is a fact beyond dispute or contradiction; but inflationists in their eagerness to decry the banks overlook or ignore it. The tract I am reviewing denies it outright.

In view of the facts presented, I submit that this tract, in its statement of the relation of the depositors to the banks, is unjust by implication, and incorrect in assertion. As a counter-statement I offer the following: the people deposit with the National Banks an average of about \$670,000,000, for which they receive a full and fair equivalent; this equivalent, as respects one class of depositors, consists of facilities for transfer and exchange, and discount accommodations; and, as respects another class, facilities for transfer and exchange, and interest on their average deposits. Which statement is more in accordance with the facts, it is for the reader to judge.

In a future paper I shall consider the "remedy" prescribed by inflationists for the alleged "injustice" to the people, involved in our present financial system.

R. P. H.

SENSATIONALISM.

There have been some severe strictures in the newspapers of late in regard to the desecration of Sunday, consequent upon the running of railroad trains to out-door religious gatherings.

The famous Brooklyn preacher, at whom these shafts have been levelled with more or less directness, and who is held largely responsible for the shock inflicted upon the feelings of pious people, finds he has but escaped one sea of troubles to flounder in another. Indeed, though not a special ally of the pulpit star whose light has been so suddenly and sadly obscured, we cannot but feel that justice has scarcely been done to him in this instance.

Of course if it is proper for Mr. Beecher to preach in Brooklyn, it is equally so to preach at the White Mountains; nor is he more to blame because he draws a large congregation in the one case than the other. He is not necessarily responsible for the character or motives of those who hear him; nor is it his fault if hotels or railroads turn the occasion to their advantage.

Indeed, if the preaching of the gospel is so potent to save the world as is represented, and if the fashionable, the pleasure-seekers, the thoughtless, idle, and vicious are those it is particularly desirable to reach, one would suppose any attraction that would draw them towards such an influence would be hailed with gladness.

The objections urged in regard to Mr. Beecher's preaching at the White Mountains hold with equal force to camp-meetings. I am at a loss to understand how any one can consistently disapprove of the former and approve of the latter. Yet such appears to be the case with respect to some of these critics. There is good reason to attribute this fresh assault upon Mr. Beecher, we suspect, to other motives than those at first apparent. It affords very clear evidence that he has lost greatly in the deference he has been wont to receive from his brethren, accompanied, it may be, with some symptoms of long pent-up but now liberated feelings of jealousy.

There is also to be noted, we think, the indication of a disposition to turn the circumstances to account in an effort to secure the restoration of the Puritan Sabbath. That this last has been the real source of no small share of the adverse comments, we have little doubt. The immense crowds which have

flocked to hear Mr. Beecher this summer, and which still flock, should not be wholly regarded as evidence of popular confidence and respect, nor altogether attributed to the attractive power of his oratory. There is a truer explanation found in the single word *sensationalism*.

It is quite probable that of the thousands who thronged to his speaking there was but an insignificant fraction who had any real interest in him personally, or regard for what he uttered. They contributed to swell the multitude because his preaching and presence had been assiduously heralded in the regions round about,—because it had created a great noise and caused much talking; and, when we say this, we have sounded the depth of a very large measure of the popular enthusiasm in respect to one thing or another which we witness in society. We have discovered the secret of much of the apparent success of life, one of the most potent influences that sway the average mind of man. It is a characteristic of the lower orders of the animal kingdom that when one leads the others follow. This is true, also, of the human species. We are naturally disposed to follow in the wake of others, to fall into their ways of action. Our social sympathies, distrust of ourselves, and tendency to confide in the judgment of our fellows, incline us to be borne along in the current of the throng. We are like the little child who trustingly lends his hand to an elder companion, and is led from sight to sight as he drinks in with innocent and unquestioning delight the stores of superior wisdom. Most men are particularly like children in being captivated and allured by what is startling or productive of clamor and show. This is especially true of the more uncultured and thoughtless, but of all in a larger degree than they are aware. Nothing thrives like humbug. The fondness for novelty and excitement, the disposition to be led by imagination and fancy rather than sober, common sense, that distinguishes a large portion of mankind, make the success of imposture and charlatanism, when practised with adroitness and skill, comparatively easy. The tendency to play upon this characteristic of human nature, in other words, the power of sensationalism, is witnessed in all departments of life. Even the pulpit and the church are no exception. A very large amount of the popular church-going, or what passes for *worship* on Sunday, is of this type. The simple fact that the service attracts a large concourse; that it is in a big place; that its ideas are startling, marvellous, and mysterious; that they are spun out of the imagination and founded for the most part on fiction; that they pertain to the supernatural and deal with things foreign to this life far more than with common daily duties and interests,—have much to do in kindling and sustaining the devotion exhibited.

The preacher who introduces the most dramatic effect into the pulpit, whose voice is most sonorous, whose declamation is the most impassioned, whose metaphors and language are the most extravagant, whose themes are most quaint or curious, who secures the fullest reports in the newspapers (sometimes by bribing the reporter), is not unfrequently the bright, particular star of his profession. Passing by numerous illustrations in point, we find a conspicuous one, though not strictly analogous to those just described, in the career of the distinguished revivalists who have of late so remarkably quickened the smouldering embers of the church.

Much has been said in regard to the labors of these apostles of the perishing creeds. They have been elaborately written up and decanted upon by eminent divines, and pronounced "the Lord's work." If we credit the newspapers, we might suppose that Messrs. Moody and Sankey were, in almost every particular, unlike those of their class who have preceded them.

I have taken some pains to inform myself in regard to this. That there are some features of attractive novelty in their methods; that they are partially relieved of the coarser and harsher distinctions of the old-time revivalists; that they appeal more directly to the sympathetic and affectional side of human nature, and lay a greater stress upon fine music and singing, is no doubt true; but that their preaching is other than the common stock-in-trade of ultra-orthodoxy, or their movement other than purely sensational, I have failed to discover.

The fallen nature of man, the atonement, man's need of regeneration, the perils of an unconverted life, and a future hell, appear among the most prominent doctrines of their discourses. The reporters who have interviewed them pronounce them men of moderate intelligence and culture. There has been

a theory in the Church that the less a person knows, the more competent he is to preach the gospel; and, as a general rule, revivalists seem to adopt this principle.

One thing must be confessed, to the praise of Messrs. Moody and Sankey: they appear to be in downright earnest, and this is good in itself. It would be well if radicals were more largely affected in the same way; although it must be admitted that, in the words of Paul, "zeal is not always according to knowledge."

In estimating the labors of these men, it is evident that the coöperation and assistance (pecuniary and other) they have received from zealous church-people have not been sufficiently taken into account; or the wholesale advertising and puffing, through pulpit and press, in their behalf (in many instances, all the churches and clergy of the places they visited becoming their allies), except when deterred by sectarian arrogance, jealousy, or selfishness. That "the work of God" was very largely one of man's, is evidenced by the announcement that its expenses, during the few months of the campaign in England, amounted to nearly \$150,000. Even radicalism, we have faith to believe, might boast of a revival, could it devote a similar sum to the purpose. That the work of Messrs. Moody and Sankey bids fair to be conducted under similar auspices in this country, we may infer when we see it stated that at Northfield the other day, where they were stopping, the hotels were crowded with persons they had drawn thither, and that there were several delegations in the town, including one of the merchant-princes of New York, with invitations to them from different cities.

It is not surprising that those identified with the theological conceptions in the interest of which these men are laboring, should extol their work, and pronounce it "the Lord's doings and marvellous in their eyes," since they are accustomed thus to view whatever serves the theories to which they are wedded, no matter how; but that a clergyman of the so-called "liberal" school should join in the same strain is somewhat unaccountable. The Rev. Mr. Mayo, of the Unitarian church of Springfield, nevertheless, presents such an example, according to the report of his sermon a few weeks ago. "God does seem, just now," he says, "to be raising up a set of lay-preachers, prophets, and singers, who arrest the attention of all classes of people." He recommends "all who claim to be churchmen and Christian believers to fall into line at once, ready at the call of God to go forward in a new crusade for the coming of his kingdom in the United States." When we recall the fact that Mr. Mayo, though a Unitarian preacher, endorses the movement for a theological amendment to the Constitution, we are better enabled to reconcile these words with the occurrences to which they refer. No, Mr. Mayo. The revival we need in these United States to-day is not the one to which you pay the tribute of commendation. It is not one of the type exemplified by Messrs. Moody and Sankey. We can afford to be indifferent to that without much loss. The one we need will be but poorly effected through sensational efforts, the tendency of which is to leave those they subject to their influence at last worse than at first. The revival we need is one that shall quicken national thought and intelligence, that shall tend to break the bonds of bigotry and superstition, rather than commit men anew to them. What is really needed is a revival of genuine, higher life and character, of social and political purification; a revival that shall put a check upon reckless speculation, loose and unprincipled modes of business, ostentatious and extravagant living in the Church, no less than outside of it; a revival that shall show there are nobler ends to strive for than mere material possessions, and impart a higher appreciation of personal integrity, simple worth, and virtue.

Sensationalism is not confined to religion. It is manifested in all departments of life—in politics, literature, art, trade, society. But we have already extended this article beyond its intended and proper limit, and must postpone the further consideration of the theme, at least for the present. D. H. C.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir, — The Christian Missionary Societies in Europe and in America are receiving a challenge from an unexpected source, and so formidable that it is very likely to lie on the ground forever.

It would seem as if the far East were ever to be the *fons et origo* of light. Japan is now rising above the horizon, and making day with wonderful rapidity.

I have before me a copy of the *Japan Mail*, dated June 10, 1875; and I cannot refrain from an expression of amazement and delight at the production of such a paper in a country not so long ago regarded as barbarian. The paper is now in its sixth volume, and would be a credit to any English or American editor.

The contents of the number before me are as follows: Summary; Arrival and Departure of the Mails, etc. Leading articles: The Financial Statement; The Missionary Ideal; Mr. Consul Robertson's Report; Explanatory Statement of the Estimate of Receipts and Expenditure; British Consular Trade Report; Spirit of the Native Press; Correspondence; Notes of the Fortnight; Shipping Intelligence; Market Report.

The two subjects to which I call special attention are the leading article on "The Missionary Ideal," and the ten pages occupied by "Spirit of the Native Press."

The leading article purports to be a reply to a letter from a Protestant missionary, on page 345 of this *Japan Mail*, remonstrating with the editor for decrying the Protestant and advocating the Catholic system of discipline.

The editor now defends his position by pointing out the easy, contented, unheroic aspect of the Protestant missionary, and contrasting it with that of the Roman Catholic. He contends that the former system discourages that fervor and enthusiasm which the latter cherishes. But, in doing this, he also unmistakably avows his preference for the Protestant over the Catholic religion in these terms:—

"We should unhesitatingly declare for Protestant missionary exertion, even under what we consider an inferior system, rather than for Roman Catholic missionary exertion under a higher system."

The rest of the article is a trenchant attack upon the inconsistency between the lives led by missionaries and the direct and explicit rules laid down by Christ for the guidance of his disciples. Here and there the editor gently insinuates, as inoffensively as he can, his own alienation of heart from both forms of Christianity.

But it is to the "Spirit of the Native Press" that the greatest attention should be paid. Here we have ten pages of small type covered with extracts from about fifteen native papers, the majority treating entirely of the subjects of missionaries and Christian dogmas. In spite of occasional slips which betray a foreign hand, they exhibit a marvellous acquaintance with the Christian religion, with the New Testament, and (*mirabile dictu!*) with the weak points in the so-called "evidences."

One writer raises his voice against the foolish credulity with which some nations listen to the missionaries. The key-note of this extract is "Think for yourselves." Then we have remarks on "The Tactics of the Priests," illustrating and condemning the mutual vilification for which rival priesthoods are famous.

The "Introduction of Christianity," "Speculations on Progress," "Inquiry in regard to Foreign Religious Teachings," abound in wise and pithy sayings, betraying the hopelessness of the Christian cause in Japan, and yet manifesting such a desire to get at the truth, and to inculcate right conduct, that we cannot withhold our applause. The question of the possible influence of Christianity in disturbing domestic harmony, and in sowing sedition, is also carefully and impartially discussed.

We next come upon a paper on "Cremation," from which we gather that the government of Japan had at first prohibited cremation, and subsequently withdrew their prohibition.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the papers are those which deal with the Christian dogma of the Resurrection, both as to its mythical origin in gospel history and its application to mankind at large. The writer attributes the myth entirely to the enthusiasm of Mary, which she suddenly communicated to the disciples. Though the view of the subject is one very different to my own, the Japanese analyst has treated it with some originality, and displays careful study of the narratives.

His subsequent chapter on "Rewards and Punishments" and the theory of the "Judgment Day" is extremely able, and well argued throughout. I must give you his closing paragraph:—

"If people are to come forward to be finally judged with their bodies and souls, why not send them to heaven or hell as they are, without dying at all? I asked a foreign clergyman whether it would not be difficult to reconstruct these bodies once more after they were dead; but he replied, 'No! not at all; the power of God is so great that he could turn a piece of grass or wood into a body in an instant.'"

But certainly, with such power as that, he could make people ascend to heaven or descend to hell without dying. Why should he wait until the last day to cast the devil into hell, instead of doing so before, so that his loving children should not be turned away from the right path? To this I do not think there can be any answer."

Nor do we.

One characteristic runs through the whole of these native writings. The Japanese are dearly fond of argument, and are very fair logicians. In this feature there lies as much promise for the enlightenment of their people and the spread of their settled convictions about religion, as there is ground for anxiety and even despair on the part of Christian missionaries to plant their precious gospel successfully in Japan.

We, too, in the Western civilization of which we boast, may have much to learn from this gifted and thoughtful people.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S.E., Sept. 25, 1875.

Communications.

THE INDIAN POLICY.

ST. PAUL, Minn., Sept. 5, 1875.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT:

My dear Sir, — In THE INDEX of August 12, under the head of "Glimpses," you refer to Mr. Marsh and the Indian Commissioner in a manner favorable to Mr. Marsh. Now I have nothing to say for or against the Indian officers referred to. The present Indian system is bad enough, every one knows; and the fraud and corruption connected with it are the natural consequences of such a system. General Grant's attempt to improve it, by placing it under the control of the different sectarian organizations, I believe to have resulted in the worst possible failure; it is becoming more and more clear that such is the case, and I fear the result will be next to throw the Indian Department under the control of the War Department. There could be no greater mistake than such a move. The Indians about all the frontier posts are the most degraded of all, not excepting those crowded together on the Reservations; and I hope, if THE INDEX can say anything on the subject, it will be directed earnestly against such a change. The whole country is aroused to the fact that there must be a change, and a move will be made doubtless in the next Congress to that end, as the argument will be that anything will be an improvement. The Indian Department runs the government now, and the Indian money is the great corrupting fund of the nation. Let the military have that in addition to its present power, and who can divine the consequences, not only to the Indians, but to the nation,—especially if the present administration be continued! For one, I should lose all hope of the republic.

But I did not start to criticize the head of the present administration, or his policy. It would take more pages than you would care to read to mention one half of his acts for the subserving of his selfish ends, one of the most prominent of which is the appointment of his brother-in-law to the control of the sutler-ships of all the posts in the North-west. But of all this you are doubtless better advised than myself. What I wanted to do at the outset was to put you on your guard about placing too much confidence in Mr. Marsh, which might lead you to take up as his defender. I send you a few newspaper articles which, if you will have the patience to read, will give you an idea of the man much better than I can.

We have another man in this State, in the person of the Right Rev. Bishop Whipple, who has exercised almost irresistible power in placing the Indians under the control of "the Church." His long sentimental articles and sermons are just the thing to dupe Eastern people into donating funds to build large and costly churches on the different Reservations. One of his tools, the Rev. Mr. Hindman, who is one of the chief persons selected to treat with the Black Hills Indians at the present time, has been and is in charge of a one-hundred-thousand-dollar church at the Santee Sioux Agency, away up the Missouri River in Nebraska, built with a contribution from some lady in Philadelphia. It is so ridiculous that the Indians themselves make fun of it. Two years ago last spring, I happened to be at this Agency, and called on Mr. Hindman. Asking for a glass of water, it was ordered, and a black servant with white gloves entered, bearing it on a salver! This little circumstance will express to you, doubtless, as it did to me, more than pages of written matter.

On the other corner of the Reservation I found a plain little chapel, with a school conducted by a son of the Rev. Mr. Riggs, who has labored for over thirty years, in a plain, common-sense manner, to instruct and improve that particular tribe. He being forced now to retire on account of old age, his sons are filling his place at different points along the Missouri, away up in the heart of the Indian country. I must not forget in this connection the labors of the Rev. Dr. Williamson and the Rev. Mr. Pond, who labored in the same field. The son of the former, the Rev. John Williamson, is now at the Yankton Sioux Agency. I refer to these men, not because of their particular religious teaching, but because, outside of that, they are plain, honest, earnest men. They have written and systemized the language, so that a large portion of the Dakotas read and write their own

language, generally well, which enables them to keep up a large correspondence between the different bands; and it is from their labor, of many years' duration, that the Messrs. Marsh, Hindman, and Whipple are enabled to communicate with the Indians at all.

These new comers are now usurping the field cultivated many years before by those old, quiet, earnest men, under the Grant religious policy. But still the descendants of the faithful pioneers labor on as faithfully, quietly, and unobserved. You hear nothing of them. They seek no public position. None of them is found in the Indian Commissions to treat with the Indians. Yet they are laboring on, in season and out of season; and the result of their labors seems to be, not so much to make sectarians, as to increase the general culture of those under their instruction. So much so, that in the year 1860 (thirty years after the labors of the Messrs. Riggs, Williamson, and Pond commenced), Bishop Whipple visited these Indians, and held a service which he claimed was the first *Christian service* performed among the Dakotas. The meanness of this claim will the better be appreciated, when it is stated that, in that same service, the Lord's Prayer and a portion of the Scriptures were read, and hymns were sung, all of which had been translated by these old faithful workers years before, from whom they were obtained. It was at this meeting that the bishop proposed to establish a mission among the Dakotas. This was commenced in the autumn of that year by placing in charge of it the Rev. Mr. Hindman, before referred to, then a mere boy.

But into all this I had no idea of entering when I began. I only now ask a little further indulgence, while I give my idea as to what should be the Indian policy for the future; which has not changed since my letter to you over a year ago. There should be no more Indian treaties; no more Reservations should be established; and those already established should be sectionized (surveyed), and every alternate section be subject to settlement by a white family. The remaining Indians should be left in their small bands or families where they are found, and made at once subjects of the government. What the Indian wants is protection, the same as any other citizen; he wants to be a man, not a babe as he is under the present system. Give the Indian the same laws in every respect that any citizen has, and the Indian problem is settled at once. The large Territories should be divided up into smaller ones, and placed under the government of civil authorities. The United States laws should be strict as to the right of each and all, and the courts should have the power to redress all wrongs, and keep the peace. The military should be kept as far from the Indian country as possible. The United States Marshal, under the direction of the court, should be strong enough to protect every section, and his deputies should be composed largely of the most trusty Indians themselves. Let the Indians understand this, and you will hear of no more Indian troubles. All would be interested in keeping the peace, and all would understand how their wrongs could be redressed without resorting to revenge, as the Indians are now forced to do if they get any justice at all. Those Indian families who are disposed to adopt the habits and customs of the whites should be assisted by the government, under the direction of the courts in the Territories in which they belong; but in no instance should the Indian be assisted except for actual labor performed, even if it be on his own house or farm. Of course the old, infirm, and the destitute should be provided for without this requirement; but this could all be done under the direction of the court, without the expense of Agencies and the military. The Indian Territory should at once be thrown open to settlement under the same rules and regulations. I can't conceive of any more short-sighted policy than trying to concentrate all the Indians within that, the fairest portion of the West, to make it the resort of desperadoes, with no laws to restrain them. I suspect, Mr. Abbot, that you will say this subject is not within your province; but I do feel that THE INDEX is more generally read by the thinking minds of the country than any other paper; that its power, if directed a little in this channel, would be almost irresistible; and that the Indians, to whom we are so much indebted, need not be lost to our body politic, in which they ought to be absorbed, and would be in a very few years.

Yours very respectfully, B. M. SMITH.

DO WOMEN DESIRE THE BALLOT?

MY FRIEND ABBOT:—

In THE INDEX of May 6, I find an article by "F. H. G.," claiming to invalidate my preceding remarks, inserted in THE INDEX of March 25. He tells us that men are almost universally qualified to vote understandingly, and would speak, if at all, for good government and good morals. Now if women were voters, this class would be very much larger among them than among men. Thus the aggregate effect would be very bad! This, he says, is a misstatement of his "position" on the subject; which, it seems, I have made by not noticing what he says, that good men and women staying away from the polls, where they should be found, the aggregate effect would, of course, "be bad."

This conceded, let us now look at some of his further remarks. In my former article I attempted to show that the only construction that can be put upon his words is that women are not capable of exercising the wisdom and discretion he ascribes to men. I am called upon to indicate the exact place where that principle of the Constitution of our country—"taxation without representation is tyranny"—can be found. I am aware that the exact words of this important principle are not found in the Con-

stitution; but the substance of it exists there as a necessary implication.

Article I., section two, declares that "taxes shall be apportioned among . . . the whole number of free persons, . . . including those bound to service for a term of years, . . . and all other persons."

Article IV., section two, declares that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States"; and section four: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government."

How clearly is taxation without representation contradictory of these clauses of the Constitution! Are not women, equally with men, both persons and citizens? To this question there can be but one answer.

I will here cite a few passages from an article on "Female Suffrage" in THE INDEX of May 13, from Haverhill, Mass., and I do it the more willingly because the writer is a woman. In reply to F. H. G., she says: "Because nine of your correspondent's female friends do not want the ballot, is that a reason why the tenth should not have it if she wishes it, and equal justice demands it? I never heard that any woman in asking for the ballot, did it on the ground that all women must vote. I supposed we should have the same privilege the men have to vote or not, just as we pleased. Now no one will deny that the best men in city and town rarely vote, or touch politics at all; the consequence of this is, the men who are least fitted to vote *always* vote. On the other hand, the ablest women in the land ask for the right; that granted, they will go to the polls, and vote conscientiously, leaving F. H. G.'s nine-tenths of all grades and conditions at home, until they feel the need of being something more than nonentities in regard to the laws that govern them. Again, our friend says, we are subject to the same laws as men, and our property is equally taxed. Is the law just the same for women that it is for men? You can vote away your money and ours, and we can pay whatever you see fit to tax us. If you think we are subject to the same laws put yourself in our place, and see if you would like a man, without a dollar to his name, voting away your money. Would you think you had all the rights you wanted?"

There is also an excellent article in THE INDEX of May 20, likewise by a woman, Sara A. Underwood, which I would like to give at length; but the space occupied by this communication warns me that I must confine myself to the last paragraph: "So long as the elective franchise is allowed to remain the prerogative of the male sex, just so long is there a virtual admission that woman is the inferior and creature of man; and just so far is true progress hampered and hindered. And just so long as this invidious aristocracy of the sex is kept up and believed in, just so long must there remain in the midst of our vaunted civilization an undoubted 'relic of barbarism.'"

That the right of woman suffrage is attracting the close attention of the best and most advanced minds, may be illustrated by a fact of late occurrence in this city. By invitation of the committee selected to revise the Constitution of Pennsylvania, our citizens and others were requested to meet with them one evening, and give their views of the subject embraced in their appointment. Several citizens and others accordingly gave their views. Among them was an intelligent and amiable bishop of one of our churches, who declared emphatically that, if in the instrument they were appointed to prepare they did not confer the right of suffrage on the female part of the community, jointly with the male, then they might rest assured he *had cast his last vote*.

T. M. C.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 1, 1875.

CHRISTIANITY AND LIBERALITY.

Is it possible for a true believer in the Christian doctrine to be as *liberal* as the thoroughly developed radical must be? It is just as impossible for a consistent Christian to concede to the Jew, the Mohammedan, or the sceptic the same degree of goodness and happiness which he claims for himself and his fellow-believers, as it would be for a child to be a man. It is chiefly the bias of education, or peculiar mental development, which makes the Jew, the Christian, the Radical, what they are. If a man concedes the same share of goodness and happiness which he enjoys himself to those who differ from him in belief, his mind is developed to the condition of genuine liberality. "We respect the rights of all men," it is said and written alike; but it is carried out in accordance with the various degrees of development of the minds of men. When Francis E. Abbot took, consistently with the development of his own mind, the anti-Christian position, only those could fully agree with him who had congenial minds, and could comprehend the absolute necessity of opposing Christianity because it clashes with universal liberty, which we are compelled to love more than all special forms of religion. The true liberal must *strive* in order to develop the religion of humanity, and therefore he must be anti-Christian; but he should not cherish the least personal ill-will to Christians, or wish to throw aside all that is covered by the word "Christianity," as even some of our liberal writers seem to imply. My fellow-men, Christians and radicals alike, who have not yet been able to comprehend our stand-point, an all-just God is our witness that we have no desire to be destructive or to do you any harm. No; our only endeavor is to act up to that sense of justice which our Creator has impressed upon our mind, or, as our brother materialist or atheist would say, that which the mind has developed within itself. CARL H. HOESCH.

DOVER, N. H., Oct. 11, 1875.

THE CATHEDRAL OF COLOGNE.

In a letter describing the celebrated Cologne Cathedral, Grace Greenwood says: "Though restored from comparative ruin by Protestant power, it is yet a wonderful emblem, of the inexorable, intolerant, obdurate old Papal faith. Aspiring, outstretching, it is Rome's mediæval dream of ascendancy and supremacy in stone. It is yet one of her dim sanctuaries from the searching light of human reason and knowledge,—one of her strong bulwarks against the rising floods of liberty and humanity. I went into the cathedral for matins. I listened to the chanting, a few sad voices, wandering in a lonely, lost way through the mighty aisles and arches, and then to the organ rolling down its thunders and packing the whole vast nave with heavy harmonies. I came upon a hideous representation of the dead Christ—a carved, life-sized, wooden image, surrounded by emaciated saints and very much dilapidated angels, all figures that would shame a New England idol-maker, and yet all crowned with votive wreaths; and as I stood there, men and women came and knelt in prayer by the central effigy, and devoutly kissed its ghastly feet. More and more these Old World cathedrals seem to me like mighty architectural caves—*cavernes de l'homme mort*,—in which we find records of the childhood of the world—fossil remains of dead idolatries. We paid our respects at the shrine of the Three Kings of Cologne, whose skulls, crowned with jewels, are shown among the precious relics, many-gems, and much gold of the sacristy. It is a wonderfully brilliant show, that little room under ground, and the church makes a very good thing out of it. She well knows how to utilize her saints. She has not only a life, but a death interest in them. She thrives well on their remains, and works mighty works with their bones, which fact is triumphantly demonstrated by the Church of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, which derives its chief income from the exhibition of the osseous structure of St. Ursula and her great train of maiden martyrs. The sacristy, or 'Golden Chamber,' is the place where they are mostly employed in the decorative way. It is wonderful how much priests and monks can do with the bones of young women, when they really set themselves to work. The Princess Ursula lies in a *sarcophagus* by herself, behind the church altar; but the skulls of several of her maids of honor are here enclosed in silver cases, like casques; and on shelves are ranged several hundred virgin heads, covered with skull caps, made by the nuns of the monastery once attached to the church. It was ghastly work for rosy fingers and bright eyes. Better embroider smoking caps, or, better still, baby caps. A young priest showed us about, and told us the story of the discovery of the remains of St. Ursula and her companions. They exhumed, he declared, three thousand skeletons the first day, and I half expected him to say, 'It wasn't a good morning for bones either.' Not being a 'bone sharp,' as a Nevada miner called Professor Marsh, I, with a cursory glance, like Charles Lamb on one occasion, 'took them for girls.'"

A BIRD SINGS, a child prattles, but it is the same hymn; hymn indistinct, inarticulate, but full of profound meaning. The child, unlike the bird, has the sombre destiny of humanity before it. . . . The most sublime psalm that can be heard on earth is the lisping of a human soul from the lips of childhood. The confused murmur of thought, which is as yet only instinct, holds a strange, unreasoning appeal to eternal justice; perchance it is a protest against life while standing on its threshold; a protest unconscious, yet heart-rending; this ignorance, smiling at infinity, lays upon all creation the burden of the destiny which shall be offered to this feeble, unarmed creature. If unhappiness comes, it seems like a betrayal of confidence. The babble of an infant is more and less than speech.—Victor Hugo.

WE HAVE heard from time to time of cases of mental derangement of a religious kind arising from the visit of Messrs. Moody and Sankey to this country; but never until last week had we any reason for believing that the malady would reach as far as Southport. Nevertheless, it is a fact, for during the past week the magistrates have been engaged, morning after morning, in hearing informations for the committal of individuals to Lancaster Asylum, all of whom were affected with what is well-known as "a religious mania." From Monday, July 19, up to Saturday, 24, there were no less than five cases of this nature brought before the notice of the magistrates, and were principally males.—*Southport (Eng.) News*.

EXAMINER (divine of the old school): "Name an instance of benevolence and design united in the native productions of a specified soil." Candidate: "The growth in Spain and Portugal of the cork tree, coincident with that of the vines yielding port and sherry." Examiner: "Very good, indeed, sir. I trust you will live to be a bishop." (Candidate passes with flying colors.)—*Independent*.

A GRAND international exhibition of electricity, as applied to arts, science, and industry, is to be opened in the Palais de l'Industrie, Paris, on the 1st of July 1877. It is expected that all countries will be largely represented.

GAIL HAMILTON thinks she has found a clear case of genius in a little Cambridge boy who the other day closed his list of the exports of Massachusetts with "many learned men from Harvard College."—*Woman's Journal*.

THE WORLD is a comedy to those who think, and a tragedy to those who feel.—Sir Horace Walpole.

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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PUBLICATIONS

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India;" also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

Proceedings of Fifth Annual Meeting, 1872. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by J. W. Chadwick on "Liberty and the Church in America," by C. D. B. Mills on "Religion as the Expression of a Permanent Sentiment of the Human Mind," and by O. B. Frothingham on "The Religion of Humanity," with addresses by Rowland Connor, Celia Burleigh, Lucretia Mott, A. B. Alcott, C. A. Bartol, Horace Seaver, Alexander Loos, and others.

Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1873. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. S. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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VOLUME 6.

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WHOLE No. 305.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———.

Also, as soon as five hundred such Liberal Leagues shall have been formed in different places, to send two delegates to a National Convention of Liberal Leagues, to be hereafter called, in order to co-operate with all the liberals of the country in securing the needed reforms.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the National Convention of Liberal Leagues when called together.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

"If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. Now, the centennial year of our national existence, I believe, is a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundations of the structure commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian schools. Resolve that neither State or Nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmingled with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school, supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and the State forever separate."—PRESIDENT GRANT, at Des Moines, Sept. 29, 1875.

GLIMPSES.

THE JEWS are said to own nearly half of Berlin.

ST. LOUIS has 144 churches, of which the total valuation is \$2,939,770. Only \$275,640 of this large amount is taxable by local regulations, leaving \$2,664,130 wholly exempted from taxation.

BISHOP BOURGET has warned his Montreal flock in a pastoral letter not to interfere riotously with the burial of Guibord's remains, but declares that the grave will be cursed from the moment it is occupied.

THE BANKS of Great Britain hold in coin somewhat over eighty per cent. of their outstanding issues; and the Bank of England has never suspended gold payments for a single day during fifty-four years.

COUNT D'ALVIELLA, the author of the article which occupies the leading place in this week's INDEX, holds an important post in the Belgian government, and has just left for India in company with the Prince of Wales.

A "CENTENNIAL FUND" of \$500,000 was voted at Louisville, October 20, by the Christian Missionary Society, to be raised for the Christianization of the negroes of America. Catholics and Protestants alike cast longing looks in that direction.

AN EXTREMELY interesting and valuable essay on the "Rationalistic Churches of London," translated for this journal from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, will be found in our present issue, and deserves to be read very carefully by all who can appreciate a thoughtful study of modern religious tendencies.

REV. REUEN THOMAS recently lectured in Brookline, Massachusetts, on "Gladstone and the Pope," and said truly: "The Vatican decrees, if Romanists were faithful to them (and they would repudiate them at their peril), would establish a new form of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, far more dangerous than the old form, for it extended not only to Italy but to all countries where Romanists were found."

CANNOT you form a club of five new subscribers to THE INDEX, among your own friends and acquaintance? To clubs of five new subscribers the paper will be sent for a year at \$2.50 each; to clubs of ten new subscribers, at \$2.00 each. This does not apply to any whose names are now on our mail-list, as the reduction is made in the hope that such new subscribers will renew at regular rates. Now is the time to help THE INDEX, if you really value its ideas and aims.

BISHOP FERRETTE issues a bright little "Monthly Circular" called *New and Old*, in which he discusses almost everything of interest. The October number

says that "Jesus secured no copyright on his Gospel"; that, "on examination, almost every American error turns out to be a European error attenuated by American common sense"; and that "*New and Old* has no space for amplification, but expects its readers to think." This piquant little half-sheet is twenty-five cents a year; address Bishop Julius Ferrette, Cambridge, Mass. The Bishop is a man of wide and varied knowledge, and of large experience in many countries; and these are quite evident in his writings, as our readers already know.

THE REPORT of President Grant's memorable speech at Des Moines from which the above quoted extract was originally printed was contained in the *Boston Advertiser* of September 30. It was clearly inaccurate in some respects; but even in its imperfect form it constituted so noble a text for the Liberal League movement that we printed it at once, writing meanwhile to the *New York Tribune* for its probably accurate report. After much delay this was received, and the extract as now printed follows it, with the simple correction of the word "aid" to "add"—an evident typographical error. The Liberal League movement proposes simply to "add all needful guarantees" for religious freedom; and, presumably without knowing anything of this nascent movement, President Grant has struck its key-note with a power and clearness beyond all praise.

PROFESSOR SWING alluded in a recent sermon to the action of the Chicago School Board in excluding the Bible from the schools, and planted himself squarely on the only defensible principle: "The government has no more right to teach the Bible than it has to teach the Koran. My idea is that the government did, in its earlier life, run according to a sort of Christian common law; but now the number of Jews, Catholics and infidels has become so greatly increased, the government has to base itself squarely upon its constitutional idea, that all men are religiously equal. Even if the genius of the country permitted the teaching of the Bible, I should doubt the propriety of continuing the custom, because no valuable moral results can ever come from reading a few verses hurriedly in a school-house, and social strifes will be continually springing up out of the practice."

SUCH A statement as the one below, copied from *Zion's Herald*, a Methodist paper of Boston, should be hailed with the greatest satisfaction. If the Protestant religious press would only take universally this honest, honorable and sensible ground, the objects of the Liberal League movement could be attained without difficulty, and untold disaster might be avoided. No other ground is possible, if our magnificent and indispensable system of public instruction is to be sustained; and every indication that Evangelical Protestants are inclined to stand loyally by it on a thoroughly secular basis should be most cordially and fraternally welcomed by all radicals. The *Herald* says: "The State deals only with temporal affairs, and does not attempt to usurp spiritual functions. Therefore the objects and methods of public education are wholly secular, but by no means necessarily, or at all, immoral or irreligious. On the contrary, they are decidedly favorable to piety and morality. But, composed denominationally as the American people is, the State ought not to impart religious education. The moment such an attempt should be made, the community would be in conflict as to what form it should take. It may be conceded, without danger perhaps, that the State should not teach ethics, except so far as the great fundamental principles of morals and politics as to which all Americans are agreed are concerned. The religious education of children may and should be remitted to the family, the Sabbath-school, and the Church—the natural and divinely appointed guardians of religion and ethics."

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A Visit to the Rationalistic Churches of London.

TRANSLATED FOR "THE INDEX" BY A LONDON LADY, FROM THE "REVUE DES DEUX MONDES."

BY COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.

The London Sunday generally scares the foreigner, who in the pursuit of business or pleasures takes up his quarters in the capital of Great Britain.

I shall perhaps astonish such when I tell him that during my later visits to London, I always arranged to pass as many Sundays there as possible. A curious book called *Unorthodox London*, by the Reverend Maurice Davies, enlightened me as to the enigma. Why does England on Sunday so completely bore the foreigner? Because she is absorbed in her religious life. Let him follow her in the various phases of that evolution, and, provided he is sufficiently master of the language, he will find the long hours (the very contemplation of which made him yawn with ennui) full of new impressions.

As Mr. Davies observes, never, since the time when the schools of philosophy and religion obstructed the streets of Alexandria, has the religious life shown itself under forms so exuberant and diversified as now in the metropolis of the British empire.

In consulting the London post-office directory I found mention of thirty different forms of worship; and, as this list confines itself to giving the addresses of congregations who have recognized places of meeting, one must also add the innumerable sects that gather together in private, in concert halls, and even under the viaducts of railways.

What a field here opens for the investigation of religious phenomena! Some of these sects are as strange in their practices as in their denominations. I shall confine myself to naming the Swedenborgians, who regard the revelations of the famous Swedish mystic as of celestial origin; the Irvingites, who, under the name of the "Catholic Apostolic Church," have a magnificent cathedral in Gordon Square, where they proclaim the return of the prophetic age; the Seventh-day Baptists, who celebrate the Sabbath in place of the Sunday; the Christadelphians, who deny the immortality of the soul, and who have resuscitated the theory of the millennium; the Johanna Southcotes, who wait for the second incarnation of Christ; the Sandemanians, who admit Paradise, but who spurn Hell and Purgatory, and who celebrate the sacrament with mutual embracings; the Peculiar People, who have rendered themselves amenable to law by obstinately refusing medical aid for their sick children; and lastly, those whom the popular voice has christened Shakers, Jumpers, and Ranters.

By the side of these parasitical excrescences of Protestantism a movement exists which on the other side represents the logical and inevitable crowning of the Reformation,—I mean the Rationalistic churches.

Among Protestant nations, the multiplicity of sects leaves room for a series of beliefs graduating between the blindest faith and the most absolute scepticism.

If we take the extremes of this series, the Ritualists and the Deists, the distance is nearly as great as between Catholics and Freethinkers; but this chasm is bridged by a ladder of sects which shows us the partisans of the Broad Church, approaching the Unitarians within the limits of the Anglican liturgy; the advanced Unitarians, in their turn, transforming themselves to pure Theists by a simple sup-

pression of etiquette, and Theists passing over to the Deists, or Liberal Theists, by the negation of the Divine Personality; and lastly the Deists themselves adhering to positivist scepticism.

The development in England of these rationalistic churches is explained also by an idea essentially English, or rather a prejudice; namely, that it is not respectable to omit religious service on Sunday. As it is immaterial whether that service be Anglican, Catholic, Dissenting, or even Rationalistic, so long as it is celebrated in presence of a congregation and by a minister (of whatsoever denomination), one can imagine that advanced minds have thus accepted the only means of reconciling the independence of their convictions with the exigencies of custom.

Nor must we be in haste to blame the intolerance of the one party, or the hypocrisy of the other, if it is simply a question of giving up a few half hours in the week to listening to a sermon or a lecture delivered in the intervals of music by a favorite orator. Is this pressure of public opinion more to be regretted than the thousand daily encroachments of social convention on our individual liberty? Doubtless religious England has her extravagances and absurdities; but, in order to judge of a social status, one must view it under all its phases; and by the side of this archaic Puritanism, which already recedes before the advance of modern modes, one must place the extension of that intellectual and moral activity which the habit of discussing, or at least examining, the most elevated problems of human nature has so much contributed to spread amongst all ranks of the English people.

Of all rationalistic churches, we do not hesitate to rank the Unitarian as the best known, the most ancient, and the most numerous.

In its most advanced divisions it still deserves the name of Christian, because in traditions and in sentiments it remains in original community with all the other subdivisions of Christianity, though it has none the less the right to the title of Rationalist, specially the Unitarian Church of to-day, whose distinctive characteristic it is to impose no dogma on its members which their individual reason disapproves. The ancient Unitarians, whether, in imitation of the Socinians, they recognized in Christ a semi-divine nature, or simply regarded him as the most perfect of men, still, like all sects, held a certain body of positive doctrines which formed the common patrimony of their disciples; but, rejecting all the essential dogmas of Christian theology, such as original sin, sacramental virtue, resurrection of the flesh, possibility of miracles, and infallibility of holy books, they ended by retaining no other religious ties than their denomination of "Christians," their veneration for the person of Christ, and their adhesion to the general principles of evangelistic morality.

On this platform they found themselves in company with the numerous congregations of Methodists, Presbyterians, Independents, etc., who by a simultaneous internal emancipation had equally arrived at a rejection of the dogmatic part of Christianity. The official organization of the Unitarian Church of to-day also embraces not only the religious descendants of the ancient Socinians, but all the congregations of diverse denominations who, without rejecting the title of "Christian," cease to impose on their members any formula of adhesion to a professed faith.

Some Unitarians, desirous of sanctioning this fusion by abandoning all that could mark them as a particular sect, have even proposed to suppress their traditional denomination, and in the year 1872 founded, under the name of "Free-Christians," a religious association open to "all those who hold that man is bound, not to possess religious truth, but seriously to pursue it, and who require for the satisfying of their religious wants that they should be in accordance with filial piety and fraternal charity, with or without agreement in matters of theological doctrine."

A year later the Free-Christians solemnly celebrated their first anniversary in the great Masonic temple (Free-Mason's Hall) in Queen Street. Amongst the ministers who participated in this religious ceremony were Monsieur Athanase Coquerel, of the Reformed French Church, and the Reverend C. Regan Paul, a member of the Anglican Church. The Free-Christians could not have better affirmed their pretensions to embrace all Christian sects in a universal church, not founded upon what Channing called "a degrading uniformity of dogmas," but upon that community of sentiment which permits the independence of individual thought to coexist with the ties of religious association.

According to the *Unitarian Almanac*, the various congregations in Great Britain comprised under that name are three hundred and sixty-five. London alone counts twenty-five, scattered about in chapels built of iron or brick, in music halls, in Grecian temples, and Gothic churches.

My first visit was to the chapel in Little Portland Street, which owes its celebrity to its old minister, the Reverend J. Martineau, who has withdrawn to the Unitarian college called "the New Manchester College."

When I arrived there one Sunday morning I found a long string of carriages which promised a distinguished attendance; in fact, the Unitarians, as the lists published by the British and Foreign Association show, recruit their ranks from the superior classes, though some of their congregations in poor quarters are exclusively formed of the lower orders. The chapel, of Greek style, is in no way distinguished from the greater part of Evangelical churches; the altar had no other ornament than a sculptured figure of Christ. The congregation appeared to me thinly scattered,—about four women to every man. Can it be that in England the fair sex has a preference for Unitarianism, or, as amongst Catholic nations, are

the masculine sex divided into the Orthodox and the indifferent? But we must not judge rashly; as in the case of the most advanced of these churches the men preponderate.

The minister, who immediately ascended the pulpit after a moment of private meditation, announced that he was about to celebrate the tenth service of the Unitarian liturgy. To follow the service, I had only to open a little book called *Book of Common Prayer for Christian Worship*, containing ten services, and several prayers, all more or less founded on the English Church liturgy,—leaving out all that bore on a Trinitarian interpretation or dogmatic signification, like the Athanasian and Apostolic Creeds. This liturgy is in use in two hundred and twenty-nine churches of Great Britain.

I shall not busy myself with detailing the ceremony, which differs little from the ordinary English one. The sermon which followed pointed out that Christ did not address himself to the intellect, but to the heart, of man; that he never attempted to teach theology or metaphysics; but that he simply sought to develop those sentiments of morality and charity inherent in the human soul. It was, as one may see, really an apology for the position taken up by the actual Unitarians towards other Christian schools (or societies).

I had great difficulty in following the preacher in the working out of his thesis, either from his volubility or the bad acoustics of the chapel. The retirement of the Reverend Mr. Martineau must have struck a severe blow to this, until lately, the most frequented of the Unitarian chapels.

I had more difficulty in finding out the church of the "Free-Christians" at Kentish Town. A charming little church, built at the end of a garden, the interior with large nave, stained-glass windows, and mural inscriptions in Gothic letters, appealed a thousand times more to the soul than the rigid austerity of many an Evangelical chapel.

I found the liturgy as well as the hymns were compiled by Mr. Martineau. The preacher cited a text of St. Paul relative to the dissensions of primitive Christians, and observed that, "as these ancient theological disputes struck us of to-day as absurd and ridiculous, so we might conclude that it would be the same in future ages regarding our own dogmatic quarrels. Unhappily we could not judge ourselves with the eyes of posterity; but we should do well to confine ourselves to following the advice of St. Paul, given to the controversialists of his time: 'Follow Jesus, and may the truth live.' The superiority of Christ consisted in his having taught the law of love; that he placed the spirit above the letter. Also we deceive ourselves in making faith in miracles a necessary element of the Christian religion, or in refusing to admit Christianity without belief in the Divinity of its Founder." Here again one sees that the sermon was in some sort a résumé of the views adopted by the congregation.

The preacher, however, was not himself Unitarian, but an Independent, the Reverend I. A. Picton. The Independents are a detached branch of the English Church, from which they differ solely because they reject all official ties. One may judge of what will occur in the heart of Anglicanism by this example of the Reverend Mr. Picton, if the Church is ever disestablished, or if one day she throws down the dogmatic barriers of the Thirty-nine Articles.

If we may believe an anecdote related to me, the first time the Reverend Mr. Picton arranged an exchange of pulpits with a Unitarian minister (which is common enough amongst dissenting churches), he astonished his new congregation by the boldness of his language, while his confrère equally surprised the Independents by the timidity of his arguments. No doubt the one had chosen the most Orthodox of his discourses, and the other the boldest, with the intention of being on a level with their hearers. But this does not lessen the difficulty of establishing a fine-drawn distinction between the scarcely divided elements of the different churches, which in England graduate from a semi-Catholic ritual to the furthest limits of religious rationalism.

One Sunday evening, Mr. Moncreu Conway (to whom I shall again refer) conducted me, near to the Grace Street Station, to the entrance of a cave where a congregation of advanced Unitarians held their meetings.

One peculiarity attending the advanced Unitarians is that after the service the chapel is transformed into a hall of discussion, where the sermon is discussed by the faithful. One can imagine what befalls the texture, and even the precepts, of the Bible, given over to such a controversy; but this is all in conformity with the eminently theological temperament of the English nation.

A church constituted on so wide a basis as actual Unitarianism must necessarily comprise very diverse religious opinions, which to us is its principal claim. Amongst its faithful adherents there are certainly found those who are inclined to recognize miracle and revelation. At the church in Little Portland Street, part of the congregation kneel at certain portions of the service, and the sacrament of communion is there regularly celebrated, not in its mystic character, but under the form of a fraternal and commemorative feast. Elsewhere one meets with Unitarian congregations that have nothing of Christian but the name. Such, amongst others, is the church at Clerkenwell, to judge by the preaching of its minister, the Reverend Peter Dean, who "substitutes for all theology faith in an infinitely perfect God; for revelation, the Universe; for the Bible, the manifestations of Nature, as well as the sacred literature of all times and countries; for Christ, the good incarnate in humanity; and for sacraments, the love of God and the love of mankind, piety and morality." Here we find ourselves landed in pure theism.

II. THEISM.—THE REVEREND CHARLES VOYSEY.—THE INDEPENDENT REFORMERS.

Some logicians have reproached the Unitarians with not carrying their attempts at religious synthesis far enough. To preserve the name of Christian, and at the same time to reject the supernatural origin of Christianity, strikes them as a self-delusion which unnecessarily causes the exclusion from their religious community of Jews, Mohammedans, Buddhists, and even Theists, who refuse to recognize the moral supremacy of the Bible.

Why, having founded a religious association not on identity of beliefs, but on the simple conformity of religious sentiment, set up precepts, however purely moral, as dogma?

The Universal Church is not a "Free-Christian" church. It is a *free church*, open to all who admit the existence of God, and who feel a desire to render him homage in common.

In the last years of the French Revolution, a society of Theophilanthropists established in Paris a worship founded on what they termed the truths of natural religion; that is to say, upon principles acknowledged by all nations, and so capable of uniting all sects in a common aspiration towards the Divine.

Two congregations in London, purely theistic, are founded on analogous reasoning; one under the direction of the Reverend Charles Voysey, and the other (much less important) by Dr. Perfit.

The Reverend Charles Voysey was a clergyman of mark in the English Church, distinguished from his first entrance into orders by the extreme independence of his religious opinions. The publication of a work called the *Sling and the Stone*, in which he called in question the Divinity of Christ and the dogma of Original Sin, excited such indignation in Orthodox ranks that two clerical associations each offered £500 to cover the costs of prosecuting him. In short, Mr. Voysey was deprived of his benefice, and, without halting at Unitarianism, founded at St. George's Hall, Oct. 1, 1871, the theistic congregation which he still directs.

A fund is in course of collection for building a church, and on the list of subscribers one alone has given 12,500 francs.

On this list I noticed military men, baronets, and men of science,—as Sir Charles Lyell, Sir John Bowring, etc.

I found at St. George's Hall, as in the Unitarian churches, a ritual specially composed for the use of the congregation. As the ritual of the Reverend J. Martineau is a corrected edition of the English Liturgy by the exclusion of the Trinitarian doctrine, so that of Mr. Voysey seems a *résumé* of the Unitarian, carefully denuded of all Christian formula. For the first time in any liturgy, I found rites appropriate for cremation of the dead, and I regret I did not ask the author if he had ever had occasion to use them.

The Reverend Charles Voysey entered the pulpit wearing the surplice and stole in use in the English Church. At first sight it struck me strangely to hear the most audacious attacks, not only against the practices of certain sects, but against even the doctrines and traditions of Christ himself, made by a preacher in the costume of the English priest, and after a service in the style of Christian churches, interspersed with readings from the Bible.

In his printed sermon, "Christianity *versus* Universal Brotherhood," after having denied to Unitarians the right to establish a distinction between the dogmatic and the moral in religion, the orator reproached Christianity for not having accepted as its body-guard the grand principles of charity and tolerance so often invoked by its adversaries and dissentients. This apparent contradiction between the old and the new, the *entourage* of this service, is explained by the conviction held by Mr. Voysey that, in the matter of worship, we should introduce *new ideas under old forms*.

"Since it is necessary that we should continue some form of worship," he says, in the preface to his prayer-book, "the most acceptable will be that form already familiar to British ears, deprived of all that is obsolete and discordant with pure theism."

The sermon on the day of my visit was in refutation of the "atonement"; that is to say, of the expiation suffered by Christ to ransom humanity. It might have been preached by any Unitarian minister, and taught me nothing of the particular doctrines of a church which claims to be "unique of its kind."

I was fortunate enough to be able to procure the sermon preached by Mr. Voysey at the inaugural ceremony, October 1, 1871. In it he says: "Our first object is to undermine assault, and, if possible, destroy that portion of religious belief which we hold false,"—which, as he explains it, is nearly the whole Christian doctrine. But he adds: "That is not all our task; we should be both unhappy and confounded if our work was purely destructive; on the contrary we only demolish to rebuild; we only desire to extirpate false beliefs to replace them by true ones." He then expressed his firm faith in the existence of a Supreme Being, infinitely good and just, which in default of a better name he calls God. Then comes his affirmation of belief in a future life, which he considers inseparably linked with belief in God. "The two must stand or fall together." Lastly, he seeks to develop the spirit of truth, of morality, of purity, and of fraternity, which represent to him the real conditions (or bases) of religious sentiment.

It is on these somewhat vague foundations that the church of Mr. Voysey has victoriously passed through the trials inseparable from the *début* of a new church. Should he succeed in raising sufficient funds to build a church, it will be a satisfactory reply to those who have in all times contested the possibility of establishing a serious worship on the simple formula of *theism*.

I cannot feel as much confidence in the future of the congregation presided over by Dr. Perfit, in the Free Church, Newman Street.

The fundamental statutes of these independent religious reformers are as follows: Firstly, the union of all those who desire to cultivate religious sentiment divested of all dogmatic spirit, all sacerdotal leaven, and sectarian intolerance; secondly, to discover and formulate truths in relation with the laws of Nature, the progress of intelligence, and the lives of men of wealth in all camps and in all countries; thirdly, to fulfil our religious duty towards the regeneration of society by aiding the efforts of all associations organized with a view of abolishing superstition, ignorance, intemperance, political inequality, and any of the other numerous evils that actually afflict society. Any person, male or female, desirous of contributing to these various objects, can join the society without signing any profession of faith, provided he or she engages to pay a contribution of one pound a year.

When I heard Dr. Perfit, his discourse was on the means and the glory of spreading the knowledge of religion. He particularly insisted on the error of the Christian missionaries, who treat as idolaters, if not savages, people far more advanced than themselves in the knowledge of God, instead of meeting them as St. Paul did the Athenians, with the simple pretension of completing their notions of the Supreme Being and the immortal soul.

In spite of the interludes of prayers and hymns, the service struck me more as a conference on the history of religions than the celebration of a worship, even purely Deist. No one assisted or took part in the proceedings, and no books were used to follow the different details of the ceremony. The non-success of this church is thus explained, though in its principles it is near akin to that of Mr. Voysey, who perfected the organization of his worship by the continual and logical development of his spiritual vocation.

III. DEISM.—THE FREE THEISTS AND MR. MONCURE D. CONWAY.

Simple belief in God is a dogma, however little one may be able to define the attributes of the Divine Being, or make of that definition the creed of a church. If it is admitted that worship is purely an affair of sentiment, not of reason or of faith, it must be detached from all positive formula, howsoever simple.

Starting on this principle, Mr. Moncure D. Conway, a talented American, founded some ten years ago a church open to all those who wished to satisfy their religious aspirations without distinction of beliefs, theological or metaphysical,—the only condition being that they did not erect as a *dogma* the *non-existence* of God.

Such a conception embraces not only Theists of all schools, but Pantheists, Positivists of the John Stuart Mill type, and all sceptics who refuse to declare themselves on the *reality* of a superior Being. We would not even affirm that materialists could not there find place, as only pronounced atheists are excluded.

Mr. Conway takes no title either of reverend or doctor, and belongs to one of those Methodist families who every spring unite to form religious camps, so well described by Bret Harte in his stories of the far West. He pictured for us lately himself, in one of his sermons on revivalism, a moving picture of the religious scenes which surrounded his youth, and the futile efforts he made to participate in the spiritual exertion of his early influences. In 1864 he succeeded the famous theistic preacher, W. J. Fox, in the chapel at South Place, Finsbury Square; and since last year he has a second chapel at St. Paul's Road, Camden Town.

The congregation at South Place has many recruits among savans and professors, as well as rich city families. Graduates of Oxford and the President of the Royal Society of Philology are among the number. And Mr. Conway's followers represent, I discovered, the *extreme left* in politics as well as in religion. This alliance of a religious element with the small school of extreme radicals which assimilates to French socialism sometimes leads to rather odd results. I myself heard a coming conference of Mr. Bradlaugh recommended in the sermon at this theistic chapel,—Mr. Bradlaugh, who not only figures in England as one of the rare apostles of Red Republicanism, but who, finding the term *atheism* too moderate, has taken his stand on the religious platform as the champion of anti-theism.

Unitarianism, and even the St. George's Hall congregation, are in politics quite fashionably Orthodox; and Mr. Voysey's liturgy, as well as Mr. Martineau's, retains the prayers of the English Church for the Queen, the Prince of Wales, the Houses of Parliament, etc.

The liturgy of Mr. Moncure Conway consists only of hymns, to the number of five hundred and fifty, compiled by Fox, and the latter part by himself. As one may suppose, there is no prayer-book in a worship that dispenses with prayer. This last element is replaced by "meditations,"—moral and religious allocutions which tend to elevate the soul without any direct appeal to Divinity.

The rest of the service consists of hymns and readings from his work, *Sacred Anthology*, where he has gathered together with great skill more than seven hundred passages drawn from authors, ancient and modern, sacred and profane; the Bible figures by the side of the Koran and the Vedas, and Confucius shakes hands with St. Paul and Monsieur Renan. Mr. Conway told me that this *Anthology* is used by ten congregations in England—probably Unitarians on the borders of theism.

Mr. Moncure Conway, on the Sunday in question, chose for his text, "The Public Health"; and, while

taking up the practical side of the subject, he skilfully developed the relation between health of body and purity of soul, in conformity to the Protestant view that "cleanliness is next to godliness." It is one of his fundamental principles that science and religion are one—that the pursuit of the one involves the other; and we must therefore not be surprised if he endeavors to justify this pretension.

Every Thursday the members of the congregation meet in the chapel to discuss some moral or political question. They also have periodical meetings, *soirées* for conversation and music, and so become a centre not only for religious but social intercourse.

The St. Paul's Road congregation is an *ancient colony* of "Free-Christians" who disagreed about the choice of a minister; and, since they have been under the care of Mr. Conway, have renounced the denomination of "free Christian," thus exemplifying the facilities which Protestantism offers for the gradual and almost insensible transition to forms of worship more in harmony with the continual development of individual reason.

The Roman Catholic Church has clearly circumscribed limits, from which one does not pass except at the cost of an abrupt and sometimes painful heart-rending, to arrive suddenly at the extreme limits of incredulity, or, at best, religious indifference; but, outside Catholicism, the churches of today, in spite of dogmatic limits within which they endeavor to confine the diversity of their doctrines, are only halting places in the evolutionary process of "religious thought" towards an IDEAL ever wider and more liberal. Further, it gives each the power to stop exactly at the precise point in that evolution process which best corresponds to his intellectual and moral culture.

Mr. Moncure Conway, as far as we could gather of his doctrines, starts from this point: "That *instinct* constrains us to render homage to a *superior principle* generally understood by the notion of God"; but at the same time he thinks it best not to define that notion, or gift it with any decided attributes, for fear of enclosing it in some formula that on the morrow should prove at discord with the fresh *verifications of science*.

He rejects prayer on this account, because (1) he sees it is an illogical request to change the course of natural laws; (2) because in invoking the Divinity, one appears to attribute to him organs and sentiments more or less analogous to our own. If in his meditations he often speaks of God, he never calls on him directly, either to adore him or to bless him; and, amongst the hymns and anthems which form all his ritual, he told me himself he purposely chose those which avoided bringing on the scene a *personal and conscious God*.

It seems to me that here we have exaggerated scruples. Mr. Conway confounds the *exaggerated individuality* of the Divine. Who necessarily imagines God with eyes and ears, a brain and a heart, in a word, with an organization after our pattern, if in a burst of religious emotion he appeals to the "sovereign intelligence" or the "supreme goodness" of "the Divine Being"?

The Reverend Charles Voysey cannot be accused on this head, as he himself told me that he should cease to pray did he consider God capable of complying with his prayers. Nevertheless, Mr. Voysey (like Dr. Perfit and the Unitarians) has retained prayer in his liturgy, because he sees in it the satisfaction of an instinctive and rational inspiration of the soul, a sort of intimate communion between the Divine and human nature. Mr. M. J. Tiberghien expresses this idea in his *Experimental Psychology*, when he says: "At whatever system of philosophy we take our stand, we must recognize, with theologians of all times, that the religious sentiment does not address itself to a vague substance, but to a Being gifted with *conscience and self-knowledge*. If the Divine Personality is only an abstraction, the 'love of God' is objectless."

Again, we may ask, does not Mr. Conway, by suppressing prayer in his liturgy (spite of the vague religiosity of his hymns and meditations), cross the last barrier which separates a rational worship reduced to its simplest expression from a society for conference or a school for morals?

Still, however vague may be the theology of Mr. Moncure Conway, one cannot doubt that his preaching responds to the religious sentiments of his numerous auditors; but this success is due perhaps more to the form than the substance of his doctrine. Were it not for the absence of all invocation to the Divinity, we should even have found in his service more of warmth and life, not only than in the little Free Church of Dr. Perfit, but than in the formal theism of the Reverend Charles Voysey; because, faithful to his principle, Mr. Conway, in place of addressing himself to the reason to provoke religious emotion, contents himself with making the lyric chords of the human heart vibrate,—the most powerful auxiliaries, if not the chief sources, of the religious sentiment.

Mr. Conway as an orator chiefly excels in his choice of images, and if sometimes his thought is veiled beneath a cloudy naturalism, from this very obscurity he knows how to strike out a reflex of mystery and grandeur that satisfies the religious aspirations of his auditors,—for the rest, easily satisfied.

IV. THE COMTISTS.—THE HUMANITARIANS.

One might suppose that the "Liberal Theists" of Mr. Moncure Conway had reached the utmost limits of a religion upon the progressive elimination of the supernatural; beyond it there would seem no possible form of worship, since there is room for nothing but atheism; that is to say, the dogmatic negation of God. Still, London possesses one more church (if church it be) that deserves notice here. I mean Positivism, or rather Comtism, which pretends to

substitute the religion of humanity for the worship of God.

One knows the division that broke out in Positivism even during the life of its founder. The school prevalent in France rejects entirely the religious and political views of Auguste Comte, although they hold to his philosophical system; but a small party in England, constituted of men of reputation and talent, have accepted the doctrine of the master in its entirety.

They hold their meetings not far from the British Museum, in a small room in Chapel Street, ornamented with the busts of the thirteen great men whom Comte constituted patrons of the months in his famous calendar.

As the Comtists have always abstained from popular propagandism, they have remained but a small party. Some years ago a member of the Broad Church assisted at one of their reunions. On his return a Unitarian friend of his asked him whether he had seen God in three persons? He replied he had seen three persons, but no God! According to one of their most distinguished members, Professor Beesly, who wished personally to inform me, their congregation in London includes several active members. Every Sunday they meet to listen to an address delivered by their director, Dr. Congreve. As yet, they have not made use of the minute details of the Comtist ritual, except at the celebration of marriage and the "presentation" of children; but (always according to Mr. Beesly) they only wait for a spontaneous increase of their numbers to organize fully their worship. We must add that they have arranged a primary instruction conformable to their system, and, like the clergy, they proclaim the absolute incompetence of the State in the matter of instruction.

Comtism is not the only religion which, the offspring of a French brain, has taken root on the other side of the channel.

Going one day towards Pentonville with the intention of visiting Unity Church, I came across the rendezvous of the "Humanitarian Society" at Claremont Hall, Islington.

I found the theories broached by this society founded on the system of Pierre Leroux, who, as one knows, claimed to evolve from Pagan and also Christian philosophy the belief in transmigration of souls within the limits of terrestrial humanity!

The Humanitarians in their definition of God approach more nearly to Pantheism,—“a Being eternal and indivisible, whose essence penetrates all the universe under the double form of matter and spirit”; but their theory on the soul is an exact reproduction of the hypothesis of the French reformer.

However, Humanitarianism as a doctrine is inoffensive enough, perfectly moral in its precepts as in its consequences, and confined to that supra-sensible sphere where all religious speculations are permissible, so long as they are in good faith,—the more necessary as the process of scientific method is powerless to demonstrate either their truth or falsehood.

We have not hesitated to number this amongst the religious schools of the British metropolis which, though not holding a place in the gradual emancipation of religious thought, nevertheless deserves the title of rationalist, in the sense that, in the domain of reasoning, they respect the authority of reason.

I commenced this wandering amongst the London churches more as a diversion than anything else. Doubtless on my road I encountered both inconsistencies and eccentricities; but the smile that may have risen to my lips soon faded under a general impression of respect and sympathy for the efforts of sincere and thoughtful souls who have undertaken to reconcile religious feeling with intellectual liberty,—those two necessary elements in all harmonious civilization.

I owe it specially to them that I understood for the first time all the importance of that great reform inaugurated by Luther and still unfinished.

The impossibility of restraining within dogmatic limits a religious belief founded on a Protestantism averse to the authority of dogma; the extreme flexibility of Protestant Christianity, which reaches from ritualistic sacerdotalism to the theism of advanced Unitarians; the difficulty of drawing a line on the ground of doctrines between the least perceptible shades of churches the nearest akin,—these three facts which struck me above all others, are they not happy auguries for those who dream of religious peace in this world?

When society understands that religious unity is to be found not in a chimerical uniformity of dogma, but in the union of sentiment the result amongst men of their individual perception of the *infinite and the ideal*, then, though there may still be theological controversies, different schools, congregations as variable in their practices as in their denominations, there will be no more sects, no more churches, or rather there will be but *one*—the community of the faithful gathered together in their respective temples to adore God under different formulas.

Do we not already see from this picture of the rationalist churches that tolerance in dogma does not exclude variety in rites? Some, like Unitarians, hold more in accordance with tradition; others, like the theists who join the Reverend C. Voysey, seek to base themselves on reason; others, like the deists who gather round Mr. Moncre D. Conway, are founded solely on sentiment,—and thus each responds to a particular phase of our religious nature. But all find themselves linked by the common conviction, first, that in case of conflict between reason and faith it is the first that one would and ought to follow; secondly, that man is morally bound (according to the definition of the Free-Christians) “not to possess religious truth, but simply to seek it conscientiously.”

It is only on condition of accepting these two conditions for starting-point that one can work at the solution of what a *savant* (little suspected of spiritualistic partialities, Professor Tyndall) terms “the problem of problems, the rational satisfaction of the religious sentiment.”

Amongst the nations of the Old Continent, it is easy to see that England will be the first to approach this goal. Doubtless the congregations whose picture we have sketched count as yet but a restricted number of the faithful; but we cannot ignore that they represent a wide-spread tendency of English society, amongst men of science as well as religious men,—the sincere and reciprocal desire to find grounds for a cordial understanding between science and religion. The Established Church does not even escape this movement, as Mr. Albert Reville has lately shown, between the ritualists and the revivalists, who in different ways personify the supreme reaction of the theological spirit against the invasions of rationalism. We daily see the Broad Church party increasing, who for the rival theories of justification whether by faith or by works claim to substitute the more elevated doctrine of salvation through sincerity of beliefs and the worth of works.

But it is chiefly amongst the dissenting sects, the Methodists, the Presbyterians, and the Independents, that we observe the weakening of the ancient dogmas, even where the primitive liturgy is retained; as in the French Reformed Church it is generally the ministers themselves who, influenced by the spirit of the age, gradually lead the rationalistic education of those around them.

In some congregations the transition is complete; with others we may in some sort take it on trust; as for instance in regard to the Presbyterian Church at Notting Hill, where every Sunday the minister celebrates the evening service according to the Presbyterian ritual, and in the morning according to the Unitarian liturgy of the Reverend J. Martineau.

“We do not make many proselytes,” said a Unitarian minister to me, whom I questioned on the state of his church; “but, what is still more important, we see our ideas conquer, little by little, the other communities of the country.” And thus, without doubt, the religious veneration of society will proceed, not by the creating of a new faith, nor by a general movement towards conversion to the rationalistic churches, but by a sort of transfusion process that shall infuse the sap of modern ideas into the veins of churches vigorous enough and flexible enough to submit with impunity to such a metamorphosis.

Certainly the ancient theological conceptions will not disappear in a day; they will long remain the property of those who are incapable of attaining to a more general perception of religious truths; but the essential point is not so much to inculcate that perception in those who are content with a narrower faith as to furnish them with the means of emancipating themselves as soon as they feel the necessity for doing so, without breaking the continuity of their religious development.

Nevertheless, in order to realize that superior organization of an open and progressive church, capable of entirely satisfying the moral and intellectual wants of our nature, and alone able to authorize that tolerance which the laws prescribe, a great part of modern society will have to break with those religious schools that not only refuse to other churches all claim to the truth, but who also dispute their very right to exist.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

LEAVES FROM MY JOURNAL.

BY S. H. MORSE.

AS REGARDS the keeping of a “Journal” it may be well to observe that there are at least two ways open to mortals. One may diligently put the day’s doings down in black and white, or he may quietly allow his “Journal” to keep itself in the “book and volume of his brain.” The latter method is by far the most convenient, and I imagine it to be the least spiritually destructive. The former method is too intermeddling. One arranges, or is apt to arrange, his eyes with a view to the reporter. Life and liberty are—in short, Nature wants her own way without being reminded of it every twenty-four hours. But to filch from one’s memory now and then stray bits of opinion to serve some well-beloved editor is no crime, I take it.

CAUSE ENOUGH we have to thank our fathers and take courage; but the end is not yet. What was called the Revolution is our inheritance, not as a consummation of a past time, but as a present and unescapable reality, demanding fresh intelligence and fulfilment. Whether the fathers build better than they know depends very much upon the children. It is not enough to finish what they began as they began it, and comprehended it. Every generation has a new experience and a new vision. The old words, given by inspiration, abide; but they must have fresh interpretation. Every one of them holds a meaning whose depth no one age can sound. “Profounder, profounder,” the great words appear as the growing race considers them. The great word freedom, which has come to be our American word in a peculiar sense, has broadened out wonderfully since the fathers interpreted it, defining its scope. The enlarging work is destined to go on.

IS AMERICA to have a new religion of its own? Or will Christian religion suffice? Or, shall there be no religion? There are at least these three parties. For myself, I prophesy the time when there will be “no religion to speak of.” Was it Schiller who said as much, “for religion’s own sake”? The German government has recently amused itself with a grand

“war play.” It must keep up the practice to be prepared for real war when it comes. That there is a vast deal of religious play throughout the world, is no secret. Getting ready, is it urged, for real religion when the need appears? Or if not that, practising that the religious spirit may increase? Well, now, is there not somewhat irreligious in the idea that one must play religion, or practise religion, or even strive to be religious? One’s religion, I think, will best take care of itself. If he have it, he has it; if he have it not, it cannot be extemporized. Effort kills. A sense of duty even is not friendly or helpful to it. “Our duties to you,” said Horatio. “Your loves,” cried Hamlet. Religion lies in the spirit of the deed. It is the way one unconsciously comforts himself. It is the joy one feels in the beauty and truth of his work, in the presence of noble thoughts,—the joy he feels; but he does not say or think, “Now I am religious, and God is pleased.” He has “no religion to speak of,” or think of. But I mistake; I am not describing religion at all? Well, perhaps not. Words—my words—are inadequate; take the spirit of them. But this much I say: when America gets religion, it and its life will be one and inseparable.

EXAMPLE for the sake of example, I do not hesitate to pronounce as vicious. It is one of the fatal delusions into which desire to help others may lead us. If we do what we think good and wise in and of itself, for its own sake, the example inheres in the act, and is healthful; otherwise not.

A NEW YORK editor is of opinion that “faith in mediums, tipping tables, and the like, however pleasant as a supplement to a fixed religious creed, is but a slight anchor to fix eternal hopes upon.” “Faith in Christ” is far better. No danger then of “shipwreck to one’s eternal hopes.” It is written that the Christ brought “life and immortality to light,” and we are warned that in him alone can hope be made steadfast.

This strikes me as a most perverse reading of the text. It says nothing of “hope.” It declares that he brought not hope, but certainty. “All men live in hope.” But if Jesus brought “certainty,” where is that certainty? What evidence did he offer less unsatisfactory than is furnished by the modern mediums? Where is the evidence to show that he knew more than other people about a “life to come”? I do not say he did not; but if he did, he could not convince those who could not enter into a like experience.

And those who could would see with their own eyes, not with his. No; immortality is not brought to light outside one’s own experience. It is a light within, and cannot be supplied from without.

MY FRIEND is of opinion that the world is more than six thousand years old; he rejects the plenary inspiration of the Bible, the authority of the Christ; disbelieves, of course, in the Trinity, hell fire, the forgiveness of sins, and thinks all days of the week equally holy. Well, I say to myself, what of it? I knew him when he still believed the old creed concerning these things. I strive to mark the effect wrought upon his amiableness or disagreeableness by this change of opinions. I do not discover any great difference. He was stiff-necked in believing the old way; he is now stiff-necked in not believing the old way. I have other friends whom I esteem equally with him; and they believe as he did before he became wise. They are all stiff-necked believers. As regards theology, what one vehemently affirms, the other as vehemently denies. As regards some other things, they stand neck and neck together, and “stiff” is no name for it. I confess I would not turn my hand over for the choice between them. And yet, my friend daily cries, “I thank the stars that I am out of the woods,” and desires, I suppose, that I should admire him for that reason. What do I care whether he be in or out of the woods? What I care for, if I care for aught, is for himself, wherever he may be. In the woods or out—does he charm me? If no more so out than in, am I particularly interested in his being out? But he is happier out; well, peace to him; I can say so much. But he is a “genuine radical,” and a “free man”; and I “ought to admire him from principle and for the sake of the cause.” Ought! Thou shalt not attempt aught that is vain. No; I can’t admire the performance; there is too much effort; he makes such boisterous work of his disbelief! May be his children will take to it more naturally.

“WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE, and charity for all.” No one can doubt but that these words convey the spirit in which Lincoln conducted the war. There was not a grain of vindictiveness in his nature, nor of false, foolish pride. He implored the Southern people not to bring on the war; but he implored them with reason and not with concession. His duty, as he understood it, was to preserve the Union. That, to his mind, was his business first and last. But against those who were fighting to destroy it, he bore no trace of ill-will. They were wholly in the wrong, as he believed; but in their own hearts he knew that they believed themselves wholly in the right. They must be put down, but he did not exult in the work. The spirit of the man was indeed sublime. Reconciliation was the major part of his being. “God forgives the sinner before he sins,” I once heard a preacher say. So with Lincoln; before, while he was sinning, and after. “When he died,” said Grant at his grave, “the South lost its best friend.” He had the ability to review his enemy, as well as all people with whom he had to deal, from their own several stand-points; he could see with their eyes, and always find the fit apology for their conduct. I knew a woman with Southern sympathies, whose son, under age, ran away and

joined the Union army. She went to Washington, and for weeks hovered about the War Office bringing every possible influence to bear on the Secretary. At last Stanton rudely repulsed her, telling her her son should remain in the army to the end of the war. The government had no right to hold him a day. Nearly broken-hearted she at length fought her way into the presence of Lincoln. He told her he was "worn out; ready to drop dead." "I can't hear you; go to Stanton." "I have been to him for weeks. He has no heart, no spark of justice in his nature." "Tut, tut; I won't hear him abused. Well, then, be brief. What is it?" She told her story. He took out his pencil and wrote, "Give this woman her boy." As she stood crying, with this order to Stanton in her hand, he added: "You must forgive Stanton. You don't know how that man is worried." She never quite did so; but she said on her return, "If the Southern people only knew Lincoln, I believe they would throw down their arms at once. He is the nearest approach to a man I have seen."

THERE IS A DISPUTE as to whether Sherman tells the truth when he says that he refused to shake hands with Stanton. Stanton's friends say he does not; the great Secretary did not offer his hand. The probabilities are that he did. Certainly, for friendship's sake, I would not go out of my way to deny it. I should prefer to think he had the manliness on such an occasion to set aside mere personal feelings, and recognize cheerfully Sherman's real service, which was conspicuous enough, notwithstanding what he deemed his serious blunder in negotiating with Johnson. Let it stand as a faithful record that he offered his hand to Sherman. Pity Sherman must also add, "I refused to take it."

GREELEY AND SUMNER turned the edge of battle toward peace. Boston, on the 17th of June, finished the work of reconciling grace, and Virginia and South Carolina, Maryland, and all the late rebellious States, "joyfully accept union and fraternity." But it was unkind in Sherman to tell Fitz Hugh Lee that he was like the prodigal son; that he must not forget that as enemies Yankees were devils,--unkind to the South; casting also, though he did not intend it, a reflection on the North that is somewhat damaging. One may inquire, If the South was like the son, was the North like the father, as celebrated in the parable? As Jesus put the case it runs thus: the son told his father he wanted to go, and asked for his portion of the goods,--a request which the father did not feel at liberty to refuse. He gave the son his portion and let him go; and when he voluntarily returned, he killed the fatted calf. That is, the union was broken, and restored; but it was altogether a peaceable affair. One might suppose from Gen. Sherman's manner of following the text that the old man in the parable gave his son "a devil of a thrashing," and never let him go at all. But Jesus could never have been the author of such a parable. It was not like him. He may have been wrong; but if his parable is good for anything, it is good as a whole, and not for a part.

UNDOUBTEDLY the South will accept the "verdict of the sword," and strive to make the best of it. But one can sympathize with that Virginian who recently declared that, while he would bury all bad feeling, he never would own himself a "repentant rebel." Why should he? Why should it be expected of him, or of any Southerner? It would be contrary to fact, and when the true history of the war is written, the verdict of the dispute between the two sections will not all appear on one side. That slavery went down was by no particular design of the North. At least there is every reason to believe that, had the North seen that its continuance was indispensable to the maintenance of the Union, it would have resolved upon that course. At the same time it cannot be gainsaid but that the North rejoiced in slavery's downfall. Nevertheless, in coercing the South, if there be any force in words, it violated the original doctrine of American independence which based government on the consent of the governed. But it is useless to discuss the question, arraigning one party or the other. One thing is plain: both sides were in earnest, and equally believed themselves in the right. Now that chattel slavery has disappeared, both sides are apparently glad of it. Neither party are ready yet, dispassionately, to discuss whether the Union shall henceforth be voluntary, or continue by force. Indeed, on this subject there is a nearer agreement in favor of force than may appear. The Southern States were never consistent. They demanded a government of consent as against Northern free States; but the Confederacy was as much a thing of force as the Union. So, when South Carolina claimed the right to secede from the Union, on the same principle of consent any single county might secede from the other counties of that State; any township from the other townships of that county; and, finally, any individual from the other individuals of that township. This South Carolina no more recognized than Massachusetts. But it would be the legitimate carrying out of the principle.

A CORRESPONDENT writes me as follows:-- "I have read Mr. Warren's book, and I think it the most masterly analysis of human relations I ever came in contact with. Of course many a query arose in my mind as to how any arrangement could overcome human cupidity; but as to the propositions which underlie his book, I believe them to be indisputable. Now, when the labor certificate is employed as the medium of exchange, I do not see what can restrain the clergyman or physician from demanding ten hours of labor for his fifteen or twenty minutes, when the patient is so timid and supersti-

tious as to believe his life or immortal soul will be forfeited on refusal. In brief, the general question comes back: How can human injustice be overcome as long as one portion of the race are keen and cunning and shrewd, while the other remain ignorant, timid, and superstitious? I can see how the face of the labor certificate would be a constant reminder of a great and true principle; but I can see no speedy help for a weak intelligence as against one well fortified, and armed with audacity. Warren admits, finally, that the only practical application of this principle is for A, B, and C to set the noble example of receiving no more than a just equivalent of labor for labor. Yes, when the moral heroes appear, I can see many a way to the millennium.

"I am very grateful for literature and thought bearing on the question of the right of governments to harness a man up in the car of state, whether he is willing to pull and be pulled or not. Would a labor reformer who disbelieved in coercive governments, on principle, be justified in inciting the laboring classes to use the ballot-box for their salvation? If I disbelieve in the right of society to ballot me into submission, can I conscientiously advise the laborers to do it?"

"Do you believe in taking society as it is and using instrumentalities which are developed out of it, when you know that they are the fruits of false and unjust principles? Now I live in this intellectual tomb of ---, and am weighing such matters in my mind. The suggestions of others are most welcome."

In regard to the opportunity for injustice in the exchange of labor suggested above, the advantage of Warren's system over the prevailing system would be held up as the standard. Now the disproportion in exchanges is justified. To take away this justification, was, I take it, Mr. Warren's aim. The precise ways in which the old will be disestablished, no one can pretend to map out. Nor does it signify. The idea will make its own path. If the cost principle be founded in justice, there is no further question. Human nature cannot avoid it. In the long run it must arrive at the conviction, and embrace it,--do this, or despise itself. Fear not. What can those do who believe already? Keep the idea in motion. It is itself the educator.

As to the "ballot-box," I have little to say. If one sees "salvation" in it for anything or anybody, use it, of course. Go to church in the same way, both Catholic and Protestant. Advise other people the same. But if one think "salvation" is not there, I should say let him devote most of his time in pointing out that fact, and in showing where he thinks it is. Let him use the instrumentalities he believes in, and can justify, rather than those furnished him. "Take society as it is," of course. But, also, take yourself as you are, regarding yourself as a fact quite as providential as any other. That is, sink or swim, stand by your idea. You'll swim if you sink. Never fear.

I SEE NO MORE harm in the Pope's effort to extend civil government over the world, establishing universal empire, than in the foundation of a German Empire, or of the Union in America. In fact, the unity of the whole world is a nobler aspiration than the aggressive unity of a part of it. The principle involved is the same in either case.

IT IS OBJECTED to the Church of Rome that it does not respect religious liberty, or liberty of conscience. Where is the State that does this? Religious liberty is not secured when you are permitted to build any kind of a meeting-house you choose, and say any sort of prayers there you choose. One's religion may have nothing to do with meeting-houses or prayers. If the modern professed free religious notion is correct--namely, that religion cannot be divorced from life,--why, one's conscience is concerned with other questions than the religiousness of Sunday touches upon. One may have as strong conscientious scruples against giving aid and support to the State as at present anywhere organized, as to the Church of Rome. The Roman Church in its worst days never did more than enforce obedience. What less does the State--the free State of our day? We talk of the Inquisition. But the victim could surrender and conform and have full pardon for his contempt of the Pontifical Court. It is the same here in America to-day. John Smith declines to testify. Our Inquisition (the Court or Congress) commits him for contempt, to bread and water in close confinement, or to whatever other better treatment will serve its purpose. In either case the victim must surrender or die. A filthy jail, bad air and food, are a rack on which if a man be stretched a sufficiently long time he will confess his "sin," or pass on and away from the State's clutches. The kind of torture resorted to has nothing to do with the question of right. To deprive one of his liberty by shutting him in a palace would not help matters. The fact is, both State and Church act on the same principle; the individual must surrender to the institution. Yet one's religion may dictate no support of either. Where then is religious liberty?

IN THE GUIBORD case, it seems to me the Catholic Church was clearly in the right. Guibord as a Catholic was bound to submit to Catholic discipline. If he did not, the Church had a clear right to withhold Catholic privileges. It refused to bury him in consecrated ground. What right had the civil power to compel it to do so? This claim of the State is an impertinence the Church does well to resist in whatever way the exigency may dictate.

MR. MURRAY gives his people their freedom as follows:--

"We know that new ideas, new views of truth,

new conceptions of the Deity, and a finer sensing of things spiritual will come continually to the mind that keeps itself open to their coming. I urge you all to keep growthful therefore. Live always in anticipation of knowing more to-morrow than you know to-day. Let no new truth, no new discovery, be a surprise to you. Live expecting them to call upon you as expected friends, any day. Do not cling to your last year's growth. Be as wise as the trees, and shed your leaves when they begin to wither and get old. Do not perpetuate stupidity; do not transmit ignorance to your children; do not impose bigotry upon the next generation by cherishing the bigotry of this. Feel that there is room enough on all sides of you to expand; that you can no more touch the boundaries of knowledge than a tree can thrust its branches out until they touch and are doubled back upon themselves by contact with the horizon wall.

"You see, then, how out of this idea of education comes naturally the idea of freedom. No man, no body of men, have a right to dictate to your minds. Reject all human dictation. Search after the true analysis. Feel all liberty to filter all sands in your search for the precious grains which lie no man knows where, until by patient seeking and testing he has found them. Any church that tethers its membership within narrow bounds, fetters the divine life of the soul. The spirit which dwells within you, which wings you with power to fly, is as free as the wind which comes and goes at its will. It blows the fragrance of blossomed truth from all shores; it wafts perfume from all points of the compass; and only those nostrils that are kept open to its coming ever scent the sweetness of its breath."

To be sure, he follows this up with the declaration that "the end of all Christian education is Christ"; but then he immediately adds, "Not the objective Christ which has his personality outside of you and above you, but the subjective Christ whose personality is in you."

IF WE START with the idea that human nature is depraved and damnable, we shall bring up into all sorts of damnable ways. To say that human nature is perfect, is not to say that individuals have attained to perfection. It is only to say that human nature is perfect in its adaptation to, and disposition towards, self-culture and perfected attainments. But it is in bondage to a lower nature out of which it has sprung, with which the human part must not be confounded. Divine nature is the human nature emancipated.

A POLICEMAN told me he could have arrested any number of drunken men on the 17th of June, but it was unnecessary, they were all so good-natured, so brim-full of the spirit of reconciliation. This shows what an idea can do, even when it is whiskey-soaked.

THE CHICAGO Times puts it very compactly when it says: "When it is once thoroughly understood that the game is to issue greenbacks until they are as cheap as were John Law's notes, or the assignats, or the continental or Confederate 'money,' and then use them to pay the war debt, the repudiators will be overwhelmingly repudiated, for the people still have a good strong sense of public honor, and some perception of the advantage of public credit. But if the repudiators win, they had better build themselves impregnable castles, or flee the country, as there will be trouble for them when the deposits in savings banks of the country, amounting in round number to a thousand million dollars, have been made worthless by inflation. Let them remember John Law, who had to flee precipitately to escape the wrath of his deluded and plundered victims."

"WHAT DO I CARE for a depreciated currency," said a lazy loafer to a man who tried to prove that inflation meant depreciation; "fifty cents on a dollar will do for me," continued the loafer. "I'll take your dollar at ten per cent. on its face. You fellows that work may object to them, but I go for the value I find in them. I don't care to sweat over a gold dollar, if I can get enough depreciated currency for nothing. I go for inflation!"--Columbia, S. C., Union-Herald.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 23.

E. L. Saxon, 25 cents; A. Magnussen, \$1.50; John Gardner, \$3.20; Charles Bartholomew, 75 cents; W. M. McFarland, \$3; Mary N. Adams, \$3.20; J. O. Wellington, 13 cents; Edward Palmer, \$1.47; Cash, 85 cents; Colby & Rich, \$1.50; C. B. Boyce, \$3.25; Francis Alger, \$34.40; E. W. Weir, \$23.40; American News Co., \$2.55; A. J. O. Weise, 75 cents; I. B. A. Haynes, \$3.20; Preston Day, \$3.25; P. R. Wright, \$3; W. H. Walbridge, 10 cents; W. L. Hays, 25 cents; C. S. Stebbins, 10 cents; D. Porter, 20 cents; A. P. Tilden, 10 cents; Geo. Iles, \$1; C. W. Newton, \$9; R. Kieler, \$1; A. Williams & Co., \$2.68; George Young, \$3.20; Atherton Blight, \$3; John Hendrie, \$2.65; H. M. Fisher, 75 cents; C. M. Lunger, \$3.20; P. N. Bucknam, \$3; Geo. O. Smith, \$5; C. Wellington, \$3.20; Caroline Wellington, \$3.20; L. G. Janes, 45 cents; Joseph Whitney, \$3.20; Southward Potter, \$3.15; David Tenney, \$3.20.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.--Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.--Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.--When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.--Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 28, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. Toledo Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), PROF. FRANCIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

MR. C. D. B. MILLS, as appears by his list of lectures on our last page, offers a tempting intellectual feast to the public this winter. His reputation as a lecturer is growing rapidly and deservedly.

THE VOTE of the Overseers of Harvard College with regard to compulsory attendance on religious services, by which the seniors were last year excused from penalty or censure on account of absence from church, has been renewed for the current year. It seems that the college does not go to the dogs, even if the students do not get their regular dose of preaching. Probably the liberty now enjoyed by the senior class will soon be shared by the other classes. We hope it will.

MR. GILES B. STEBBINS, who is so well known as a lecturer both in the East and the West, informs us that he is now "in the lecture field for Free Religion; Spiritualism; the emancipation of the mind; a wise use of the mental and spiritual faculties for a higher conduct of life; the exposure of the horrors and absurdities of dogmatic theology, with a pointing-up to a higher and richer ideal of life; a truer conception of man's nature and capacities; opposition to 'God-in-the-Constitution,' and to all plans of Catholic or Protestant intolerance." Mr. Stebbins commands universal respect by the purity of his character, the elevated and cheerful tone of his lectures, and the devotedness of his spirit to all good things, and deserves the success he wins. His address in Detroit, Michigan.

PROGRESS AT FLORENCE.

We are glad to receive this encouraging letter from Mr. Clark in season for publication this week:—

FLORENCE, Mass., 23d Oct., 1875.

FRIEND ABBOT:—

You will be interested to know of the prospect in regard to the Liberal League for which the seeds were planted when you were with us, two or three weeks since.

We have been much cheered by the number at Northampton who have expressed themselves as favorable to the movement. Our first preliminary meeting, succeeding that at which you addressed us at Cosmian Hall, took place last Tuesday evening at Northampton. There were some twenty-five or thirty persons present, some of them of Evangelical affiliations. Joseph Marsh, the well-known Northampton book-seller, and a member of the Florence Free Congregational Society, made some introductory remarks explanatory of the objects of the Leagues. Dyer D. Lum, of Northampton, with whom the readers of THE INDEX have an acquaintance, acted as secretary. The plan of organization presented in THE INDEX was taken up and discussed, and the occasion was one of an interesting and intelligent exchange of opinions and feelings. The meeting adjourned for one week, when the organization proposed will doubtless be effected and put into operation.

The Springfield Republican contained the following brief reference to our meeting:—

"The preliminary meeting for the forming of a Liberal League was held in Clark's Hall, Tuesday evening, among those present being Seth Hunt, treasurer of the Connecticut River Railroad, Revs. C. B. Ferry, of the Unitarian Church, and D. H. Clark, of the Free Congregationalist Church at Florence, W. B. Hale, and others. After discussing the aim of organization, they adjourned for one week, when the officers will be elected and the League instituted."

It is time that the cry went forth to Radicals everywhere: "Awake, thou that sleepest." While men sleep, the enemy sows tares. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

D. H. C.

A PROGRAMME OF WORK.

The Liberal League Convention at Philadelphia, on September 17, 18, and 19, reported in THE INDEX of September 30, seems to have had an excellent effect in calling attention to the true character, objects, and principles of an intrinsically great and important movement, and in awakening interest in it in different parts of the country. From various quarters we learn that the liberals are seriously contemplating the organization of new Leagues, and we hope their purpose will not be allowed to flag. A gentleman in the capital of one of the Western States has just written to communicate information of a new local movement in this direction, stating that in that locality the word "League" is in disfavor with the liberals on account of its association with the "White League" of the South, inquiring whether the name is essential to the movement, and suggesting that this point is worth noticing in THE INDEX. Our reply was to the effect that no name can be made a shibboleth of so broad and vital a movement as this, and that, if a prejudice exists anywhere against the word "League," any association is to all intents and purposes a Liberal League which is intelligently and earnestly devoted to the League's especial work. By a direct vote expressing in an unambiguous way its intention to labor actively for the complete separation of Church and State, and its desire to cooperate in the formation of the proposed National Liberal League next year, any organization, whatever its local name, will properly belong in our informal list of Leagues, and be properly entitled to representation in the General Congress of Liberals in 1876, in case it is deemed best by the General Centennial Committee to convene that gathering as a representative body. It might prevent some possible misunderstandings among the friends of this movement, if they should all adopt the same general title for their local organizations; but all that is really essential is devotion to the practical reform of secularizing the State in all respects. Wherever a radical society or club exists, the advisability of the whole project should be specially, freely, and candidly discussed; and if it seems to be a wise and right movement, then it will be well to take prompt action accordingly.

One point, however, it is all-important to bear in mind. Whatever name may be adopted as a local designation, it should never be forgotten that the ultimate object of the Liberal League movement as a whole is action; debate and discussion should be merely means to this end. It may be doubtful whether a society organized simply to hold stated meetings of a social, literary, scientific or religious character, and originally designed for the support of lectures or local services rather than for the active prosecution of practical measures, can easily or wisely be transformed into an association of the latter kind, or whether it can readily combine the two objects together. If serious objections should be urged, no attempt ought to be made to override them, even if urged only by a small minority. It would be far better for the bolder and more active spirits, though few, to organize a Liberal League independently, and seek only the cooperation of those who heartily and entirely favor the vigorous promotion of its objects. The kind of work contemplated calls for courage and self-sacrifice; the indifferent, the unconvinced, the timid, cannot do it, and should not be asked to do it. Let only those be appealed to who have a clear vision of the magnitude and magnificence of this cause, a clear purpose to promote it in a spirit worthy of it, and a clear willingness to brave whatever opposition and to make whatever sacrifices it may involve. It calls for heroes to take up this cause in earnest, and persistently plead its justice till the conscience of this mighty nation is touched to its core. Although the justice of the demand for the absolute secularization of the State is so evident, and the necessity of it so pressing, the obstacles to it are nevertheless so formidable that reluctance to move in the matter should not too much discourage us. Let it be understood that whoever openly and boldly tries to emancipate the State from the unacknowledged but in fact tremendously strong chains of ecclesiasticism will encounter more or less odium and opposition at once, even among those who would assent without hesitation to the abstract proposition that in a really free republic the Church and the State must be absolutely separate. There is an immense and difficult work before us, friends, and it must be taken up, if at all, in the spirit of genuine heroism. Whatever is unimportant, this is supremely important: to understand thoroughly the nature of the vast task before us, to bring to its ex-

ecution a noble spirit of self-sacrifice for the public good, and to be resolved to prosecute it with the determination, energy, and wisdom which men carry into their chief business affairs. It is no child's play to undertake the enlargement of public liberty and the establishment of denied or violated public rights; and it will be only men of strong character and high aims who will really give themselves to this great cause of the Liberal League.

For those who may not precisely comprehend in what manner it is to be practically carried forward, we venture to suggest that the secularization of the school system by the abolition of Bible-reading and other religious exercises in the public schools is the reform most urgently demanded at present. The public school system is to-day in the greatest danger, not so much from the fact that it is openly attacked from without by the Catholics, as from the fact that a great inherent injustice to all non-Protestants is made part and parcel of it by its distinctively Protestant character. What is built on wrong is built on the sand; and our school system will certainly fall in ruins by-and-by, unless it can be grounded on equal justice to all. Let, then, the exclusion of the Bible from the schools be the first measure proposed by the Liberal League. How will a local League go to work?

1. Let a meeting of the League be called to discuss the adoption of some such resolution as this:—

"WHEREAS, The use of the Bible in the public schools is a violation of the recognized American principle that the Church and the State ought to be absolutely separate; and whereas it is a practice which gives a distinctively Protestant character to the public school system, is grossly unjust to all non-Protestants taxed to support it, and thereby dangerously aids the Roman Catholic Church in its openly avowed warfare upon it; therefore,

"Resolved, That the Liberal League of ——— hereby respectfully petition the Board of Education to prohibit the use of the Bible in the public schools of this city; and that the officers of the League are hereby instructed to carry this resolution into effect."

2. If this resolution is heartily adopted, then let it be immediately published in the local papers, even if it has to be paid for as an advertisement; for the appeal is made really to public opinion, which is to be educated so as to discern and ordain justice in this matter.

3. Further, let the officers of the League, in presenting the resolution, request a public hearing by the Board of Education, at which the ablest and best advocates of the measure to be found in the city shall be engaged to plead for its adoption.

4. At the same time, let all the members of the League join in canvassing the city for signatures from the citizens in support of the League's petition, securing as many as possible, and not forgetting that this whole movement is a general, not partisan one, and proposes only to make the schools genuinely unsectarian.

5. Moreover, let the League hold public meetings, free to all, for the fullest discussion of the subject, welcoming objections and giving a most kindly and courteous hearing to all objectors. The strength of the movement must lie wholly in its justice, its reasonableness, its beneficence to the whole community; it must win its triumph solely by an appeal to the public reason and conscience; and it will be sure to win in the end, notwithstanding temporary defeats, wherever these methods are thoroughly and persistently practised.

6. If the Board of Education refuse the petition after all, then let the election of a new Board that will grant it be made the special object of the League. The reform of the school system in this respect is of most vital concern to the whole body of electors; and the question should be boldly carried to them for decision. Reform may be voted down again and again, but it will be voted up in the end, provided only that the friends of reform do not flag nor grow weary in the good cause. The Liberal League is nothing but an organized expression of the awakening conscience of the country touching a great existing wrong.

7. "DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP!"

TYPHUS VERSUS PRAYER.

George Müller's Orphan Asylum in Bristol, England, supported (as he claims) entirely by prayer, has become famous throughout the world. In founding and sustaining this institution, which has grown into an immense and in many respects excellent establishment, he professes never to have made any appeal to man for aid, but to have relied wholly on that kind of Divine Providence which is moved to action by human supplication. Some less naively pious people have been ready to suggest that the dexterous system of advertising, through Müller's

continual public iteration of the claim that the asylum is supported by prayer and through his careful distribution of information as to the good work it is doing, is quite sufficient to account for its financial success. It is certain that such publicity given to the work through newspapers and circulars is a pretty direct appeal to the sympathies of two classes of people,—of those having the same faith in the efficacy of prayer as Müller, and of philanthropic persons who care little for the religious dogmas involved, if they can only help forward a humane mission. But let this sceptical intimation pass at present. Let it be admitted that the asylum is the result solely of Müller's prayers to his God as he has bent on his knees in his closet, and that even the same financial success would have attended it, if Müller had not prayed so as to have been heard of men.

But now it seems that the Divine Providence that has thus brought these hundreds of orphans together and given them the shelter of a home has not deemed it necessary to care for the health and life of the little ones when collected. It would seem, on the contrary, as if many of them had been entrapped to an early and suffering death. For late reports from England brought the intelligence that the asylum had been visited by a most virulent form of typhoid fever, which raged with such fury and proved so fatal that the civil authorities of the city of Bristol were compelled to order an inspection by the public Board of Health. And the official British inspection of this work of the Almighty showed a condition of things that had directly invited the worst forms of malignant disease. In foul water-closets and bad sewerage the seeds of typhus were revealed. The most ordinary requirements of sanitary drainage and cleanliness had been neglected, and none of the precautions taken for the protection of health which modern science demands. The inspectors bluntly reported that the sickness and mortality could be traced directly to this violation of common sanitary laws, and directed, without recourse to prayer, an entire reconstruction of the drainage of the establishment.

Now it is a curious fact, worth noting, that Müller's success by his method of prayer seems to have extended just as far as his human sympathies and knowledge extended, and no farther. The Divine Providence that was caring for his asylum appears to have been limited by Müller's own limited knowledge of sanitary laws, and threatened to break down just where his knowledge so fatally ceased; a fact indicating that the Divine Providence which is working for human benefit works very much through human intelligence and volition. Müller and his associates had spent their zeal in supplicating the Almighty for the money needed to keep the orphans from starvation and the perils of street life, and in spreading printed information concerning their prayers through England. Hence no Providence had been invoked to save the innocents from the poison of a foul drain, until the typhus, like an angel of retribution for broken law, threatening to devastate the city with disease, summoned a very effective providential agency in the health inspectors. And these two acts—Müller on his knees, praying for money to carry on his asylum, in the midst of the very foulness and disease it had engendered, and the health inspectors ferreting out the ill-constructed drains and demanding that they be rebuilt according to sanitary laws—represent in sharp contrast the old and the new ideas of Divine Providence.

And this incident will serve as well as any to illustrate that none of the beneficent results alleged to flow from the old view of Divine Providence would be lost, if it were to be supplanted by the new. If the same philanthropic zeal which now impels Müller to prayer as his instrumentality were to impel him to appeal directly to his fellow-men for the aid he needs in his work, there can be no doubt that the means would be abundantly obtained. Orphan asylums seldom appeal for human help in vain. Nothing touches the sympathies of man or woman so quickly as the sight or the imagination of a helpless orphaned child. The feeling that hastens to its relief does not have to be invoked to descend by some supernatural, invisible pathway from the heavens; it is already implanted and actively alive in some human heart, which only has to be notified of the need. The roughest frontiersman, the coarsest and vilest of men, will soften into something of tenderness, if an infant child, bereft of its natural care, be thrown upon their compassion. Nothing is easier in philanthropy than to secure an interest in schemes for destitute children. Only let the schemes be judicious and genuine, and there will be no lack of

means for their support in any ordinarily moral community. The means will flow from that fountain of natural kindness which belongs to the human heart; and of which we may say that it is not only human, but divine—that is, representative of a power in the universe that is beyond and greater than humanity.

And so in general. The sentiment and act of philanthropy are the natural pathway of Divinity. The philanthropy of the human heart, guided by reason and knowledge, using the results of science as well as the impulses of pity, may be appealed to with confidence for establishing even greater works for human welfare than Müller and his fellow-believer have ever instituted.

W. J. P.

WOMEN'S CONGRESS.

The Women's Congress held at Syracuse on October 13, 14, and 15, was a noteworthy gathering in all its aspects, and is a sign of the progress making both by and for women on the questions in which they are most deeply interested.

It was not precisely a convention for agitation, but rather a meeting for discussion and the promotion of mutual acquaintance with each other's views; and yet, partaking as it did of both characters, the unexpectedly large audience which came to listen made the former purpose more predominant.

The question of suffrage did not occupy a very prominent place, but seemed to be taken for granted by the speakers generally, who were rather aiming to strengthen women to meet the new order of things that seems to be inevitable.

The papers were generally earnest statements rather than rhetorical appeals, and there was very little controversy, sarcasm, or denunciation of any sort.

Education was the leading topic, and was ably touched by many speakers. The importance of woman's influence in the public schools, and the duty of woman to acquire thorough training in every department of study undertaken by her was repeatedly insisted upon. Anna C. Brackett, of New York, read an admirable essay on the value of the mental discipline of the school, full of sound wisdom and great beauty of expression; and Grace Anna Lewis sent an excellent scientific paper.

The subject of crime was represented in a clear and suggestive paper by Elizabeth R. Chace, of Rhode Island; but it did not receive the full discussion it deserved. More time was given to temperance, in regard to which Mrs. Blackwell and Mrs. Cutler gave some interesting reminiscences.

One morning was given to art in its relation to education and society, and a very charming paper was read by Mrs. Doggett, of Chicago.

Dress reform, also, received some attention. Perhaps the Congress failed to do as full justice as it might to any one subject, by touching upon so many; but the temptation is very great, with a fresh place and a fresh audience every year, to strive to arouse attention to a subject rather than thoroughly to satisfy inquiry.

The presence of Prof. Maria Mitchell as presiding officer gave a great charm and dignity to the assembly. She was very quiet and courteous, and yet decided, in her management of the meeting, and was reelected for another year by universal acclamation.

Mrs. Livermore's lecture on "Superfluous Women" was given one evening, and delighted the large audience which crowded the Opera House to its utmost capacity.

The hospitality of the people of Syracuse seemed to be unbounded, both to the members of the Congress and to their ideas. The audience were remarkably intelligent, respectful, and responsive, and the frequent references in society to the thoughts offered in the speeches from the platform showed how much interest they had aroused. Members were often stopped in the streets by listeners eager to ask some question about the subjects discussed at the meetings.

It was curious to see how all sense of strangeness passed away. Prof. Mitchell seemed to preside by divine right, and all the speakers took their places so simply and naturally, that the peculiarity of their being all women was hardly felt.

The Congress is good as an intermediate measure, to unite women together, to show them their own strength, and to give them freedom in expression; but any such one-sided expression should be only temporary. We need for the discussion of these great social questions the united wisdom and conscience of both sexes working harmoniously together.

It was delightful to feel the pervading spirit of

Samuel J. May throughout the city. All classes and sects united to do him honor, and we felt almost as much that we had visited him in his city, as if he had been there in actual presence. His gifted young fellow-citizen, Miss Gifford, has made an admirable bust of him, which by the generosity of the Unitarian society is placed in the city library, in the high school building. Miss Gifford was a pupil of Hiram Powers, and her work is thoroughly good. It represents Mr. May in his last years, and looks somewhat old and bent to those who remember him best in his prime, and it emphasizes the strong rather than the sweet traits of his nature; but it is a faithful likeness of Samuel J. May, and so, like him, will be a perpetual lesson of truth and good.

E. D. C.

INFLATION.

NO. III.

By reference to the tract that was printed at the head of the first of this series of articles, the reader will observe that, believing the banking system now in vogue, is unjust and oppressive, the inflationists have determined to abolish the banks and to substitute a financial system of their own. Their first proposition is to "demand a return of the national bank-notes, and return to the banks their securities." A return of these notes means their redemption in greenbacks and a contraction of the currency. To avoid this contraction, they demand an issue of greenbacks by the government, fully equal to the amount of the retired notes. But how do they propose to put these greenbacks into circulation? The plan is very simple: "Create sufficient greenbacks to buy an amount of bonds equal to those returned [by the banks]. Tax-payers will thus save millions of dollars yearly, and the country will still have about the same volume of currency as now."

I emphasize the main part of this proposition by the use of italics. It is essentially a dishonest proposition, and the saving of hundreds of millions of dollars to tax-payers cannot make it honest. The government is under no obligation to pay any part of the bonded debt for years to come. On the other hand, it is under a solemn obligation to pay the enormous debt represented by greenbacks, at the earliest possible moment. What would be thought of a merchant who refused to meet obligations overdue, and then entered the market to purchase his notes maturing years hence—pleading in justification, that he was saving interest? The standard of mercantile honor is no higher than it should be, but there is not a business man in the community who would not condemn such a transaction as an abominable fraud. However innocent of fraudulent intention, gentlemen may be, who propose this scheme to the government, this is just what the proposition means; for if such a transaction is dishonest when committed by an individual, it is equally so when committed by Congress. The expediency of such a policy need not be discussed; for what is morally wrong is necessarily inexpedient, and, being essentially wicked, the mere statement of the scheme is its best refutation.

But let us suppose the inflationists in power, and the policy adopted. Let us imagine that they have bought \$400,000,000 of bonds (the amount now held by the banks), retired the bank-notes, and issued \$400,000,000 in greenbacks. The amount in circulation will then be about \$800,000,000. The national banks will be abolished, and authority to issue currency will be vested solely in the government. And now all the benefits and blessings of inflation are to be realized. The government is to "issue as much [currency] as productive industries may require, on United States bonds or real estate as security, charging four per cent. interest, and making the money interchangeable with 3.65 per cent. United States bonds." That is to say, when money is worth five, or six, or seven per cent. per annum, the government must lend it, at four per cent.; but, when it is not worth over one or two per cent., it must borrow at 3.65 per cent. There may be a surplus in the treasury, but it must borrow, and must pay a higher rate than other borrowers pay; or there may be a deficit in the treasury, but it must lend, and lend at a lower rate than other lenders will submit to. Refer this feature of the proposition, also, to the mercantile community. There is not a merchant or banker who will not characterize it as ridiculous and suicidal, if you ask him to adopt it in his own business.

But aside from the loss of interest involved, what effect will the adoption of this financial measure have upon the business of the country, and the ultimate credit of the nation? If a majority of the people can be persuaded to believe in it, the spirit of

speculation will receive a new impetus. The value of United States bonds and real estate together is estimated at many *billions* of dollars. A rush for the treasury will be made by bond-holders and real-estate owners, and an unlimited amount of the new currency will be put into circulation. Enterprises of all kinds will be started, and, for a time, the people will suppose they are prosperous; but eventually, and as sure as night follows day, the evils of over-trading and speculation will overtake them. The crash will come. Over-production will have glutted the markets with unsalable goods. Town lots, for which inhabitants cannot be found, will have been laid out; railroads, canals, factories, will have been built, far in excess of our necessities. The fever once broken, a chill of fear and distrust will succeed it. Millions, or, more probably, thousands of millions, of dollars, will in vain seek for safe investment. No longer able to earn four *per cent.* through the "productive industries," this vast amount will be thrown upon the government; and it must swell its indebtedness by paying 3.65 *per cent.* for it. Land, having been pledged, not alienated, and being practically indivisible, cannot well be exchanged for currency, and therefore all money carried to the treasury, will be entitled to a 3.65 *per cent.* bond. Then denunciation of "bloated bond-holders," and bloated real-estate owners, will be in order. The laboring class, unemployed, will denounce, as an imposition and an iniquity, the law that taxes them to enable these lazy aristocrats to draw their income from the treasury. And right here I call attention to the fact, that the men who are now loudest in their condemnation of money monopolists and class legislation, are the very men who vociferously urge legislation that will give bond-holders and real-estate owners a monopoly of the money issued by the government.

But, overlooking this rather suggestive, not to say instructive, coincidence, let us pursue their scheme a little further. The danger of an over-issue of money in response to the demands of bond-holders and land-owners—the privileged classes—will be almost paralleled by the danger of an over-issue by Congress for its own purposes. It will have authority to issue money, limited solely by the demands of "productive industry." An immaculate Congress might make serious mistakes; but, judging from the past, our future Congress will not be immaculate; and, in addition to issues of money honestly proposed, there will be a pressing demand for issues to be applied to internal improvements. Washington will swarm with patriots eager to engage the government in plans for the development of our internal resources. The party in power will not hesitate to secure votes by the employment of thousands of laborers. How to pay them will no longer be a serious question, for the Secretary of the Treasury will "create" money as fast as it is needed. His paper-mill can be kept running day and night, if necessary. But, says the inflationist, "our 3.65 bond will absorb any excess of currency." Unfortunately, this "bond" is only another name for the currency; it is the same thing, with a little more added, under the name of interest. The two, that is, the greenback and bond, are to be "interchangeable"; the new greenback is to be paid in this bond, and it is to be paid in greenbacks. There is no solid foundation for either, and, practically, there is to be no check upon the issue of either.

Millions of dollars are to be paid out for government salaries and government work; billions of dollars are to be loaned to bond-holders and real-estate owners; and all of this money is to be redeemed in bonds payable in paper! How many bushels of such money and such bonds will be required for the purchase of a bushel of wheat? This is a conundrum that can be answered only when one can guess how many gallons of water a *bottomless tub* will hold.

But another question remains to be considered. With the advent of the new legal-tender, what is to become of the greenbacks now in circulation? They will cease to be currency as soon as the new money is issued, for no one will exchange a paper dollar redeemable in gold for one redeemable in paper. They will represent a gold debt of the government, amounting to about \$800,000,000, and payable on demand. Yes; and they will represent the honor of the government and the integrity of the nation. Will the inflationists redeem them? It is safe to say they have no such intention. Having ruined the public credit with their irredeemable currency and bonds, they will point to our hopeless financial condition, and plead inability. Here and there, some one will propose to fund them in a long, very, very

long bond, with principal and interest payable in gold. This, interpreted, means, violate the pledge of the nation by forcing the holder of the greenback to exchange it for the bond. Others will tell you plainly to pool it with the new legal-tender, and so use it as money, or to invest it in the new 3.65 bond. Take your choice! This is *repudiation*, pure and simple, and this, after all, is the true solution of the inflation problem. The road from inflation to repudiation is direct, the distance is short, and the transit will be rapid. "Let her paint an inch thick, to this favor she must come."

In conclusion, I wish to say that, in characterizing the inflation schemes as dishonest, and disastrous to national morals as well as to national prosperity, I by no means intend to impugn the integrity of all inflationists. Some of them, and especially the author of the tract I have used as a text, believe they are reformers in the best sense of that much abused term. If the advocacy of inflation could be confined to unprincipled men, the possibility of its endorsement by the people would be materially diminished.

R. P. H.

WEST WISCONSIN NOTES.

The fairs are over, and the grangers have scattered for winter quarters. There was the usual number of fat hogs, big squashes, rows, races, and run-aways. The usual dust this year, however, was mud. This is the only variation we can report, except, perhaps, a very sensible address at Oshkosh by Chas. Francis Adams, Jr., in which he departed from the conventional speech about the delights and independence of the farmer's life, to tell the citizens of our State how to deal with the railroads.

The weather is cold; Indian summer is wintry; but the theological thermometer in and about Chicago indicates blood-heat, with an upward tendency. It is true, Moody has not yet made his advent in that "upstart village," as St. Louis denominates her rival sister; but the infidels, rationalists, Jews, and emissaries of Satan generally, have produced, perhaps, a greater excitement than brothers Moody, Sankey, and the Holy Ghost could possibly have done. About two weeks ago (Sept. 28), the School Board of Chicago voted to dispense with Bible-reading and morning prayers in the public schools. Following close upon this sacrilegious act, Judge Booth delivered before the Philosophical Society of Chicago an able, elaborate, and very radical lecture on "The Evidences of the Resurrection of Christ," in which he exposes the tissue of contradictions in the Gospels with unsparing hand, and which was all spread out in sight of the public in the morning papers. These almost simultaneous assaults in front and rear of the Christian camp have thoroughly aroused the clergy; and the papers are full of their replies to Judge Booth, and sermons, lectures, resolutions, and emphatic protests against the action of the School Board.

The Chicago Presbytery passed resolutions unanimously condemning the Board for expelling the Bible, and committees have been appointed to labor with the School Board to prevail upon them to reconsider their action. With but few exceptions, including the Unitarian clergymen, the preachers of the city appear to be a unit in their opposition. Unless the members of the School Board have more moral back-bone than some other officials in that city, it is greatly to be feared that the Bible-worshippers will force them to back down. Zeal, enthusiasm, and pertinacity frequently overcome justice and truth. If we are not mistaken, the Board of Education in Detroit were thus persuaded to get down on repentant knees, and abjure their heresies. We trust Chicago will show us that the world does move, after all.

So far as we have read the sermons against the action of the Chicago Board, the arguments rest on the assumption that the Bible is the only moral standard; that Republican institutions must rest on morals as well as on intelligence; and therefore that the State is bound to retain the Bible in her schools where her citizens are trained. If these premises were both true, the conclusion would be inevitable; but, if true, the Church and State ought to demand (as Catholics do) that the Bible and the Christian theology in full be instilled into the minds of children at school; that a rigid indoctrination be exacted of teachers, and examinations in Bible-teaching be required of every candidate for suffrage, or for any official position whatever. Instead of this, in several States where religious services are required in schools, the law expressly provides that the Bible shall not be

taught; that it shall be merely read without note or comment. Will the Christian clergy presume to say that upon such desultory and perfunctory reading our republican institutions rest?

But the premise is not true, that the republic rests on the Bible. It rests on the spirit of liberty, and upon ideas of justice and equal rights which were quite foreign to the age of Jesus. The Bible, especially the New Testament, does not inculcate political, but rather the domestic, social, and submissive virtues. So far as the theology of the New Testament is concerned, it is decidedly anti-republican. It commands us to bow down to King Jesus; to pay the tax of unquestioning "faith," and acknowledge mental and moral allegiance to a heavenly dictator. Such a doctrine is monarchical rather than republican.

Again: it is urged by these Protestants that, if it offends the Catholic conscience to keep the Bible in the schools, it also offends the Protestant conscience to put it out of the schools. If so, there is a "conflict of consciences," and we see no way to settle it squarely except by fighting it out on that line, and decide it by majorities, as questions of conscience have been decided in history, unhappily too often, by sword and fire. If Protestants feel that the Bible in schools, and Catholics feel that the destruction of the schools themselves, are demands of conscience rather than of religious prejudice or political expediency, then we can see no other alternative but a stubborn conflict of consciences. Catholics and Rationalists united against Protestants to expel the Bible from public schools; and, when that is done, Rationalists and Protestants united against Catholics to preserve the public schools themselves, which both believe are essential to the stability and perpetuity of republican institutions. But Protestants and Rationalists ought to form an immediate alliance against the common enemy of free schools. It is unquestionably true that Catholics do not hate Bible-reading in schools half as much as they hate the schools; and, on the other hand, we believe it is unquestionable that Protestants do not care half as much for Bible-reading in schools as they do to preserve the schools themselves. Now, as Catholics are winging their shaft with our feather—are making the common practice of reading the Bible in schools a pretext for assaulting the school system itself,—cannot all Protestant Christians see that it is the part of political wisdom to disarm the Catholics by taking the Bible out of the schools? So long as we suffer Bible-reading in schools, we are furnishing a strong, plausible reason to legislatures to grant division of the school fund, as is done in East St. Louis. Nothing is more short-sighted and fatuous than the purblind stubbornness of Protestants in insisting on Bible-reading in our public schools. They unwittingly whet the knife or clasp the sword-blade aimed at their own heart.

One of the protesters against the action of the Chicago Board urges that such action was a discredit of the Bible. Says he: "The very day the reading and prayer was abandoned, I had the question from my own and other children, 'Is the Bible not a good book? Why, then, quit reading it in school?'" Would it not have been very easy for the gentleman to have answered? "Yes, the Bible is a good book; but we think the place to read it and teach it is the home, the church, and the Sunday-school. It is not proper to read it at school, because there are children attending school whose parents do not wish the Bible read there; and, as they are taxed to support the public schools, equally with myself, we do not think it right needlessly to offend their feelings. So we take the Bible out, and we think it is doing to others as we would have others do to us." But the reverend gentleman could apparently think of no other answer than this: "Because the Bible is not a correct moral standard, and therefore unfit for the school, they kicked it out," and the child goes away with a debased idea of the Bible, and of course will soon be using it as a foot-ball, and end his days in a felon's cell or on a traitor's gibbet! "Where will you stop?" they cry. "If you expel the Bible, why not expel all hymns and songs of Wesley, Watts, or Milton? You can't teach reading, for the child might come across the truth—'Man is immortal,' or 'Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners,' and this would be sectarian reading. You can't study grammar, for the pupil might have to parse the sentence, 'Sin is the transgression of the law'; can't learn to spell, for such words as soul, sin, guilt, salvation, hell, and heaven may come in to offend somebody,—in short, can't study anything. When are we going to stop expunging and expelling, if we begin to concede to the whines and prejudices of people?"

The reply to all this is very simple. Bible-reading

as a religious service is what we object to. As to the literature of the Bible, properly selected, we think no one would object to its occasional use in reading, parsing, etc., any more than they would to passages from the *Koran*, *Books of Kings*, *Laws of Manu*, or *Path of Virtue*. It appears like a dishonest evasion of the real issue, and mere special pleading, when such objections are offered by Bible-defenders. Still they are presented apparently in good faith, and no doubt carry conviction to those who cannot see through the veil of sophistry.

Hoping that we may report in our next that the Bible is still excluded from the Chicago schools, we remain yours for truth,
W. H. S.
SPARTA, Wis., Oct. 14, 1875.

Communications.

PRACTICAL EFFECT OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE ON MASSACHUSETTS POLITICS.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

"Equal Rights for all American citizens irrespective of sex" having been reaffirmed by the Republican State Convention, Woman Suffrage again becomes a recognized question in our State politics. As such it must be met next winter in our Legislature. I propose to show what it actually means.

The United States Census for 1870 gives the following statistics. There were in Massachusetts

Native born males over 21 years of age	280,324
Foreign " " " " " "	130,832

Native American male majority	122,492
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Of the males, however, the following number were unable to read and write, and were therefore legally disqualified to vote:—

Native born illiterate males over 21	2,577
Foreign " " " " " "	28,343

Total	30,920
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This gives us the following as the male population capable of voting on the present educational and sexual qualifications:—

Native born male voters	257,747
Foreign " " " " " "	109,489

Native American voting majority	148,258
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This was the actual state of facts in 1870 in Massachusetts. It is still approximately correct, and represents, on our present voting basis, a native American voting majority of 148,258. Now let us see what would be the effect of an extension of suffrage to women upon the same terms as men.

By the United States Census for 1870 there were in Massachusetts:—

Native born women over 21 years old	289,820
Foreign " " " " " "	149,918

Native American female majority	139,902
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Of these females, however, the following number were unable to read and write, and would therefore be legally disqualified to vote:—

Native born illiterate females over 21	4,404
Foreign " " " " " "	48,486

Total	52,890
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This would leave us the following female population capable of voting on the present educational qualification:—

Native born female voters	285,416
Foreign " " " " " "	101,432

Native American female voting majority	183,984
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Thus a law giving suffrage to women in Massachusetts upon the same terms as men would give us

Native born male voters	257,747
" " female voters	285,416

Total native born voters	543,163
--------------------------	---------

Foreign born male voters	109,489
" " female voters	101,432

Total foreign born voters	210,921
Native American voting majority	332,242

Thus the extension of suffrage to women in Massachusetts would increase the number of native American voters from 257,747 to 543,163, and would increase the native American voting majority from 148,258 to 332,242. It would thus thoroughly Americanize the politics of Massachusetts. This fact explains, though it does not justify, the rabid virulence with which the Boston *Pilot* opposes Woman Suffrage.

The Democratic party demands the repeal of the educational suffrage qualification. The explanation of this is found in the fact stated above. Of the 30,920 males over 21 who cannot read and write there were

Native born	2,577
Foreign	28,343

In other words, the repeal of the educational qualification would give the Democratic party, as now organized, at least 28,000 additional votes, or, in other words, would give them the control of the State; while Woman Suffrage, on the other hand, would give the Republican party, as now organized, at least 100,000 additional majority, and would thereby continue its supremacy.

It will be remembered that, in 1871, the Massachusetts House of Representatives directed the Tax Commissioner to ascertain and report to the Legislature the number of women who paid taxes on property. The Report (House Document No. 428) states that 33,961 women were taxed, and that they paid in that year \$1,927,653.11; i.e., one-twelfth of the whole sum raised by taxation. If these 33,961 tax-paying women were made voters, they would counterbalance any supposed dangers that might arise from the votes of the 30,920 illiterate men whom the Democrats propose to enfranchise. If, therefore,

the extension of suffrage to all women who can read and write seems too radical a change for our timid legislators, would it not be well to enfranchise our 33,961 tax-paying American women?

Permit me to say, in conclusion, that I do not expect a political millennium, even from impartial suffrage irrespective of sex. I am not one of those who fancy they see impending ruin in "rum, Romanism, and ignorance." I am not a "native American" in a political sense, nor even a partisan Republican. But I do believe that women born on our soil, educated in our free schools, members of our churches, and readers of our newspapers, our own mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters, are a thousand times better qualified to vote than men who cannot read and write, and who have no intelligent comprehension of political issues.

Respectfully,
HENRY B. BLACKWELL.

THE TWO WORLDS.

MY DEAR MR. EDITOR:—

There is a world of mind and a world of matter. The world of mind stands to the world of matter as superior to subordinate; as ruler to ruled. Not only is the human mind, in its ultimate conditions, destined to such lordship over matter as to subject it in unlimited uses, but it is destined to an intellectual supremacy that will open to all its most hidden secrets, and so give possession of full amplitude in knowing as well as doing. I further conceive that mind must first truly know itself as a condition of truly knowing its dependent or subordinate. Thus my thought inevitably leads to the conclusion that a valid science of mind is indispensable to a valid science of matter. I do not mean to say that the current analyses and syntheses which make our generalizations and classifications in the physical and rational sciences are dependent upon the attainment of such mental science; but I mean that the deeper mysteries of matter that are to be satisfactorily solved in a clear knowledge of its nature, methods, and purpose as a whole, are only to be explicated in a knowledge or science of mind, fully comprehensive as such.

Thus you see, while I hold, with you, that science is all-sufficient, or rightly supreme, I also hold that there are degrees of science, degrees of true knowing, and only the highest can comprehend and rule the lower in amplest manner.

The heart-throbs and head-struggles of the day seem in vital earnest for full realization in such science; and so I think they are coming to rest in attainment; for I cannot believe the human soul is fired with delusive aspirations sure to wreck it. He who can point clearly to the *requisite conditions* of achievement does much; but he who can unfold the *actual commanding science itself*, and give it available form, will do infinitely more. But whether more or less, the person is simply instrumental, and in any such effort is not rightly the object of applause or censure, though he may be congratulated or commiserated in view of success or failure.

Yours,
CONCORD, N. H., Oct. 8, 1875.
THERON GRAY.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

DEAR INDEX:—

I am glad to see that you have taken up the grand sentiment of President Grant uttered at Des Moines.

Do not tolerate for one moment the idea that he spoke as a "bid" for another term of office. The speech was wholly incidental, as I am directly informed. He spent the afternoon riding about the city with Judge Cole, who pointed out to him the fine school-houses of the city. This brought up the subject of the Catholic Church and the schools, in the light of the discussion pending in Ohio; during which, President Grant said he was interested in that subject, and, as he would be expected to speak in the evening, he would speak on that subject. They returned to Judge Cole's house about five and a half o'clock, and supper came at six and a half. In the meantime, in about half an hour, Gen. Grant, in his room, wrote his speech in pencil on notepaper.

You see it was an imprudent speech, if he wanted popularity with all parties. But he probably spoke his heart, and it made a speech that will go with the last inaugural of President Lincoln.

Truly yours,
DAVENPORT, Oct. 13, 1875.
S. S. HUNTING.

GEN. GRANT'S SPEECH.

THE IMPORTANCE OF NON-SECTARIAN SCHOOLS.—THE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS WARMLY APPLAUDED. ADDRESSES BY GOV. FLETCHER, GEN. SHERMAN, AND OTHERS.—THE GENERAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE REUNION.

DES MOINES, Iowa, Sept. 30.—At the evening session of the Army of the Tennessee yesterday the Opera House was crowded. An address of welcome was delivered by the Hon. C. C. Cole, Gov. Fletcher delivered the annual oration. He reviewed the history of the Army of the Tennessee and of the Society, and dwelt on the part taken by the Iowa soldiers in the war. He referred in kindly terms to the Confederates, who opposed them, and expressed the hope that the people of all sections of the country will conduct themselves toward each other like men who have a common country.

Eulogies were pronounced on members of the Society who have died since the last meeting. Among the dead are Gens. Morgan Smith, Frank Blair, and Chester Harding.

President Grant being called for, came forward and said:—

"COMRADES: It always affords me much gratification to meet my comrades in arms of ten and four-

teen years ago, and to tell over again from memory the trials and hardships of those days,—of hardships imposed for the preservation and perpetuation of our free institutions. We believed then, and we believe now, that we have a government worth fighting for, and, if need be, dying for. How many of our comrades paid the latter price for our preserved Union? Let their heroism and sacrifice be ever green in our memory. Let not the result of their sacrifices be destroyed. The Union and the free institutions for which they died should be held more dear for their sacrifices. We will not deny to any of those who fought against us any privilege under the Government which we claim for ourselves. On the contrary, we welcome all such who come forward in good faith to help build up the waste places, and to perpetuate our institutions against all enemies, as brothers in full interest with us in a common heritage; but we are not prepared to apologize for the part we took in the war.

"It is to be hoped that like trials will never again befall our country. In this sentiment no class of people can more heartily join than the soldier who submitted to the dangers, trials, and hardships of the camp and the battle-field, on whichever side he fought. No class of people are more interested in guarding against a recurrence of those days. Let us then begin by guarding against every enemy threatening the prosperity of free republican institutions. I do not bring into this assemblage politics, certainly not partisan politics; but it is a fair subject for the soldiers, in their deliberations, to consider what may be necessary to secure the prize for which they battled. In a republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign, and the official the servant, where no power is exercised, except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign, the people, should foster intelligence,—that intelligence which is to preserve us as a free nation. If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other.

"Now, the centennial year of our national existence, I believe, is a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundations of the structure commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar, appropriated for their support, shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian schools. Resolve that neither the State nor Nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmixed with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school, supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and the State forever separate. With these safeguards, I believe the battles which created the Army of the Tennessee will not have been fought in vain."

The President's speech was greeted with applause, which was repeated again and again.

After speeches by Secretary Belknap, and Gens. Jeff. C. Davis, Force, Baine, Meyers, and others, army songs were sung. Gen. Sherman closed the speaking for the night with brief, humorous remarks, in which he said he wished all the speeches made here to-night could be printed in full and scattered broadcast through the South, to show the people there how the ex-soldiers of the North all feel toward them.—*N. Y. Semi-weekly Tribune*, Oct. 1.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AT DES MOINES.

A correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, writing from Des Moines, Iowa, gives the following as the true history of the President's speech at the reunion of the Army of the Tennessee: "The fact is, it was almost an impromptu speech. During the afternoon the President had given a reception to the school children in the Opera House, when a scene met his gaze which would have awakened enthusiasm in the heart of any American citizen. From the Opera House he took a carriage for a drive through the city. By his side sat Judge Cole, of the supreme bench, who has great pride in the capital city, and the culture and refinement of her citizens, and especially in her public schools, which are really worthy the pride of every citizen. During the drive, in which the school buildings were viewed, the topic of public schools was discussed by the party, after various political questions had been talked over. The President expressed himself very earnestly upon the subject, and seemed anxious to impress his views upon those with him. The wish was expressed that he would give them to the public. The President replied that if he had time he would prepare them and present them at the reunion that evening, as he expected to be called on to say something, and he knew of no subject more impressed upon his mind just then. The drive was cut short, and the President taken to Judge Cole's residence at 5:30, and, during the thirty minutes preceding supper, on four sheets of commercial note paper, he hastily pencilled the speech which has set the nation agog. There was but one change from the original draft. The words, 'But we are not prepared to apologize for the part we took in the war,' were interlined after the speech was written, and with a different pencil from that first used; in another place he changed the word 'government' to 'institutions.'"
—*Boston Advertiser*, Oct. 16.

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Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India," also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop Rabbi Wise, and others.

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Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1873. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. S. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains *verbatim* reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Sonnenschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Calthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity,—as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"—together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Keshub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. Wasson.

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Taxation of Church Property, by Jas. Parton. 10 cents, singly; package of ten, 60 cents; of one hundred, \$3.

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being.

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1875.

WHOLE No. 306.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

"If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. Now, the centennial year of our national existence, I believe, is a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundations of the structure commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian schools. Resolve that neither State or Nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmingled with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and the State forever separate."—PRESIDENT GRANT, at Des Moines, Sept. 29, 1875.

GLIMPSES.

Will-friendly journals please copy our "Open Letter" to President Grant?

PROF. DENTON begins next Sunday a course of eight lectures at Paine Hall, Boston, on theological and scientific subjects.

THE DILEMMA to which voters are reduced of throwing away their votes or casting them for undesirable candidates is discouraging. Is there no remedy?

THE NEW YORK STATE Baptist Missionary Convention, just held at Saratoga, adopted resolutions protesting against the State law giving the Gray Nuns power to issue certificates of qualification for teaching in the public schools, and "against any and all changes in the management, instruction, and support of our secular education in the interest of any sect, whether Romanist or Protestant." This sounds well; but it is a vote to retain the Protestant Bible in the schools.

MR. BENJAMIN R. TUCKER was sent to jail at Princeton, Mass., on Monday, Oct. 26, for refusing on principle to pay his poll tax; but he was released on Wednesday. Mr. Tucker has the "courage of his opinions," and evinces no little fortitude in adhering to them at all sacrifices. While we do not see the reasonableness of his objections to paying his poll tax, we can yet admire that quality of his character which makes a conviction of duty sacred in his eyes, cost what it may. His action is at least a refreshing instance of non-conformity.

THE NEW YORK Independent says that "the action of the Chicago Board of Education has resulted in a redoubling of the cry of 'irreligious schools,' not only, unfortunately, by the Catholic press, but by some Protestant journals also." Already the press is yielding to the growing pressure in favor of Protestant, as opposed both to Catholic and secular, schools. The secular principle must assert itself in organized form, or it will be lost in the revival of fanaticism. All signs of the time point steadily to one conclusion—the necessity of the Liberal League movement.

THE NEW YORK Presbytery of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, on October 27, adopted resolutions protesting against the act of the New York Legislature to which we referred last week, and which practically empowered the Roman Catholic Sisterhood of Gray Nuns to grant certificates of qualification for teaching in the public schools. But they also "pledged the Presbytery to the defence of the Bible in the public schools and all the Christian features of our government." These men, in their sturdy opposition to the craft of Rome, rush to a suicidal policy which can stop nowhere short of adopting a

Christian Amendment of the Constitution. The logic of Christianity is driving them, even against their will, towards open advocacy of that deadly measure; and already they are adopting its special phraseology, as the words we have italicized show clearly.

EVERYWHERE the indications of a rising tide of Evangelical Protestant sentiment on the school question are visible. The Chicago ministers are almost a unit in protesting against the exclusion of the Bible from the schools; a great mass meeting has just been held in New York, and an "American Common School League" has just been formed at another mass meeting in the Cooper Institute, for the same purpose. Before long the secular press, which has hitherto been pretty unanimously in favor of the secular principle, will begin to waver and yield to the pressure of the now organizing and protesting opinion of the churches. Where is the organized and protesting opinion of true American liberalism, in default of which the worse will be made to appear the better reason? Would that our fellow-countrymen might be wise in season, and unite in the broad, just, and in the best sense *peaceful* movement of the Liberal League!

AT THE immense mass meeting held in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on October 21, to protest against the exclusion of the Bible from the schools, Rev. Dr. Gregg declared: "The expulsion of the Bible is only the starting point; it means ultimately the elimination from public instruction of all that tends to the promulgation of the *doctrines of true religion*, of morality, and of the rights of free human worship. . . . It is time for the people of America to arouse, and, if there is no law or statute in the Constitution to specify what principle of religion or of faith shall be sustained, then it is necessary for the people to speak and *amend the Constitution*." Thus does Evangelical Protestantism confound itself with liberty and justice, at the very moment when it is getting ready to crush both beneath its heel. And thus is the stern and terrible logic of Christianity whipping the churches into support of the Christian Amendment of the United States Constitution. O sleepers, O sluggards, can you not hear the muttering of the approaching storm? Sleep, then, till it bursts upon your heads; but say not that you were not warned betimes.

THE BROADWAY TABERNACLE was filled on the evening of October 21, says the New York Sun, "from the pulpit's edge to the outer doors, by the opponents of the measure that would banish the Bible from the public schools." Impassioned addresses were made by Rev. Dr. Gregg, Rev. Dr. Osborne, Rev. Dr. Newton, Rev. Dr. Prime, and Rev. Mr. Terry, all influential clergymen of New York city. Rev. Mr. Mickle sang the "Sword of Bunker Hill"; ribbons of red, white, and blue streamed from the breasts of a score of ushers; the national flag was displayed above the pulpit. The cause of the Bible-in-schools was evidently regarded as that of our national existence and religious liberty; and the bitterness of some of the speakers showed how dangerous already is the excitement of Protestant fanaticism. Who cannot see the necessity of enlightening Americans themselves upon the principles of true secular government? If the liberals neglect much longer the duty of compelling public attention to the right and wrong of this great question,—if they do not in some form or other take up the work of the Liberal League,—they will see the present Protestant character of the school system hopelessly confirmed, and probably intensified. The result of that step must be a mighty popular effort to Christianize the United States Constitution, and ultimately the ruin of the school system, which will break down under the load of an unnatural and unjust sectarianism.

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[For THE INDEX.]

Revivalism.

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

Of the labors of Moody and Sankey in Great Britain, of Varley in New York, of Hammond in San Francisco, and of Finney, Earl, and Burnell in various places, the press speaks with a voice nearly unanimous. The results of these labors are admitted by the secular press to be wonderful, and on the whole beneficial; while the "religious" press (so called) pronounces them very wonderful, eminently useful, and obviously "the Lord's work."

Does this unanimity on the part of the press prove, or tend strongly towards proving, the correctness of the opinion expressed? It will hardly appear so to those who remember that, with those who express it, weighty motives of self-interest tend in the same direction. Revivalism is the chief promoter of that increase of church-membership which is the main object of the papers called "religious"; and the Church element is so powerful in the community as seriously to influence the prosperity of a secular paper according as it does or does not favor their theological theories.

It is admitted that, in most places where they operate, the revivalists have great success. They draw crowds, make a sensation, excite intense interest in a portion of the community, and have a crop of "conversions," from which ultimately comes enlargement of the churches whose members have been forward in the work. Is this success wonderful, or even strange? Is it any more wonderful than the success of any commercial or industrial enterprise which has been engineered with intelligence, industry, and perseverance?

The church people say of the success which follows revival labors: "It is the Lord's work!" We will by-and-by examine the facts, and try to discover what grounds exist for this confident assertion. At present let us inquire whether the success is not accounted for by the abundant sufficiency of the human means employed; just as in house-building or ship-building.

House-building and ship-building require intelligence, industry, and perseverance. Moody and Sankey, and the other operators of the same class above mentioned, are as much masters of their craft as any architect or engineer that can be named. They all have a genius for organization, and a power of exciting and arousing their assistants and subordinates to the work of effective coöperation, not less than of working upon the sympathies of the unintelligent mass of their hearers. Their work in each town is carefully prepared for weeks beforehand. They sharpen the tools in advance, stimulating their church allies to the active performance of the work that must be done, and done energetically and simultaneously in various quarters, to secure the grand result. The way must be prepared beforehand by the press, by pre-announcement in the various churches, by placards on the walls, and by the employment of all other available means of calling public attention.

All these means, actively and skilfully used—and they are used, both with energy and skill, where the persons above named have control,—insure a good audience and an attentive hearing for the revivalists. Then half the work is done; for the people who go there accepting the designation of "impenitent sinners," with which the revivalist labels them, under-

stand perfectly what is to be there urged upon them, and by the very fact of being there (generally in company with "pious" relatives or friends) express their consent to be operated on.

Is it strange that, while in this consenting frame of mind, under the influence of fervent rhetorical appeals from the leaders, and urged by the known sympathy, often the direct solicitation, of relatives or friends, a proportion of the hearers should do the very thing which they went there with the desire to do, and the hope of doing? The wonder is that, when so many take the preliminary steps, steadily attending the meetings, consenting to be prayed for and labored with, and even themselves asking for prayers, so few take the final step. For, it should be remembered, what the revivalist asks of them is no new thing, but precisely that which they have heard announced as their duty every Sunday from the pulpit, and which, by force of repetition, and through its assumption as certain by the pious people around them, they have come to suppose must be really their duty. The "impenitent sinners" (so called) of each congregation, though perceiving religion, as taught by the minister and exemplified by the Church, to be an unattractive thing, desirable only for its (supposed) ultimate result, yet have settled into the belief that the disagreeable thing so taught and exemplified is religion, and that they themselves must have it sometime before they die. What wonder, I say, that, under these circumstances, a proportion of the seekers should really embrace the "opportunity" then urged upon them—"the last one, perhaps, with which they will ever be favored," the exhorter tells them.

The success, then, of revival operators is by no means "wonderful." The amount, the skill, and the energy of the human means employed account abundantly for all the results.

Let us now inquire, Are these results beneficial?

This is a mixed and complicated problem. The question is not to be disposed of by an impassioned affirmative or negative. Many and various interests are concerned in the solution of it.

A revival brings a crop of new members to the Church, a crop of new subscribers to the "religious" papers (so called), an increase of subscriptions to the Church's propagandist societies, mission, tract, and Bible, and an increase of honor and glory to the revivalist under whose administration it occurred. This last result comes all the more certainly and thoroughly when the operator is profuse in disclaimers of merit in the matter. The more he cries out, "Not unto me, not unto me; it is the Lord's work!" the more his associates hail him as a chosen and favored servant of the Lord, request his prayers in their behalf, and try to engage him for the next town in their appointed series. Indeed if an operator in any other department, an editor, an architect, a carpenter, could make the community really believe that the results following his diligent labor were "the Lord's work," he would certainly find an increase of patronage, as well as of credit.

We may now ask, "Does a revival benefit the community in which it occurs?" It will do this if, and in proportion as, it benefits the individuals whom it claims as "converts."

This if, however, is a very important one, and the question of advantage or disadvantage in a conversion from worldliness to churchliness is by no means so simple as it may at first appear. In fact, some gain and some lose by it.

The Church is a respectable and a conservative institution. It upholds law and order. It is opposed to vulgarity, to gross vice, and in fact to all vice except that which is upheld by the respectable public sentiment of the community. To explain this last qualification, I will give some instances. When slavery (which John Wesley justly called "the sum of all villainies") was upheld by the government and the nation, the Church upheld it. When war is declared by the government, the Church upholds it, though pretending to follow "the Prince of Peace," to receive as binding his command to forgive injury and to return good for evil, and to receive as inspired the prediction that at his coming swords should be beaten into ploughshares, and nations should learn war no more. And, whether or not war at the time exists, the Church makes no objection to the enrolment of her members in armies and navies, ready to engage in war whenever ambition or revenge shall bring it on, and choosing that business as their occupation for life; nor does she object to their enrolment as teachers or pupils in schools designed to teach the art of war; thus directly opposing the principles and postponing the reign of him whom they pretend to honor and imitate, the Prince of Peace.

The Church, then, being respectable and conservative, opposes all vulgar vice, and all unpopular vice; and thus membership in her body exerts a beneficially restraining influence upon men who were addicted to those forms of sin. The prize-fighter, the drunkard, the gambler, the pickpocket, will be materially helped to combat their peculiar temptations by joining the church, adopting its ways, and associating with its members. Decency in conversation and manners, and regularity of life, are indispensable to them if they would retain their standing in the Church. And this, to the small class of men above mentioned, is a real help and advantage.

But the decent and respectable man, the man (rich or poor) whose language, manners, and habits are up to or above the average of moral society, will probably be a loser instead of a gainer by that conformity to church theories, ideas, manners, and habits, into which "conversion" brings him. If he be an ignorant man, he will probably suffer a complete arrest of mental development, besides having superstition engrafted on his ignorance. His reading will be confined to the Bible, with tracts, an approved commentary and a "religious" newspaper; and the sophisms, false assumptions, and misinterpretations of Scripture

in the last three will probably pervert and neutralize the wisdom he might have gained from the first. He will be taught to recognize Church theories (utterly without foundation) as settled truths; to practise customs useless or injurious, as duties; to avoid many things innocent or salutary, as sins; and to follow the Church's traditions in regard to manners, morals, and religion, not only where these violate common sense, but where they contradict that Bible which the Church calls infallibly inspired. In short, the ignorant man who submits himself to Church influence is likely to remain destitute of knowledge in other departments, while in the departments of morals and religion his ignorance is increased by the acceptance of false theories as true.

Let us now inquire how church connection modifies the condition of the decent and respectable man whose general intelligence is up to or above the average.

Here the Church's power to arrest mental development will be much more limited than in the case of the ignorant man; she will strive, however, to accomplish this in the departments of morals and religion, leaving the intellect in other directions to take its natural course. She will require reason to be silent and submissive when the church creed, or church traditions, or theories, or church customs are in question; she will exact conformity to church ways of thinking, and looking, and acting; and she will discourage, as dangerous and evil, all critical inquiry into the foundation, the authority, and the reasonableness, of creed, traditions, theories, and customs. And not only must the mind of the convert be silenced in these departments, but his conscience must be warped by the reception, as true, of dogmas dishonoring to God and libellous of his creature, man. He must believe what the Church teaches, though it may revolt his moral sense as well as contradict his reason.

If now, as we have seen above, the success of professional revivalists is fully accounted for by the ample sufficiency of the human means, the skill, energy, and perseverance employed, what plausibility is there in their pretence and confident assumption that it is "the Lord's work"? When success attends the same amount of labor in agriculture or architecture, it is attributed to the persons who have applied the requisite skill and labor to that work, not to any special Divine interposition. The fact is, it suits the purposes of the engineers of revivals to say of such success as follows long effort and skilful management on their part, "It is the Lord's work;" just as it suited the purposes of the priests at the shrine of Delphi to say that Apollo gave the oracles there delivered. Success in obtaining credence, in the modern cases as in the ancient, is due mainly to *confident assumption*, made so solemnly and so persistently as to constrain the belief of those whose education and surroundings have predisposed them to receive it as truth. Confident assumption, solemnly uttered and persistently repeated in the midst of a community predisposed to believe it, is the great instrument of revivalists; and the acquiescence of the public in this assumption is the key to their success. This success is greatly facilitated by two circumstances: 1. A large proportion of the converts in revivals are ignorant persons, undeveloped intellectually, quite unaccustomed to weigh evidence, and even unconscious of the need of it, and so overmastered by the pretension of the exhorters to enlightenment and spirituality, that implicit belief seems to them an imperative duty; 2. The very effort at scrutiny, the demand that pretension be supported by evidence, when any attendant at a revival meeting has intelligence and self-possession enough to make it, is promptly rebuked by the revivalist as a sin, a temptation of Satan, one of the most dangerous devices of "the great enemy of souls." The manager of the meeting is fluent in assumptions of this sort; but he does not furnish the evidence nor answer the objection. When circumstances permit, he will blacken the reputation of the querist, and represent him as a dangerous person; but he will at all events represent doubt and the disposition to scrutinize as dangerous, and will demand thorough and unquestioning submission to his claim, as the first duty of that great majority of the community which he stigmatizes as "impenitent sinners."

I will now inquire whether internal evidence throws any light upon the question whether the success of revival operations is "the Lord's work."

If the assertions and assumptions which lie at the foundation of revival operations are found, on examination, to have a large intermixture of misrepresentation, partly unreason and partly untruth, this will fatally interfere with the claim of the operators that their success is "the Lord's work." Let us examine some of the principal matters coming under this head.

The revivalist classes the people who are not of his way of thinking as "impenitent sinners." This assumption on his part is impertinent, and in very many cases unjust and untrue; but he also classes and addresses them as "lost sinners"; a statement grossly misrepresenting God, their Creator, from whose superintending power and love they have not been and cannot be "lost."

The exhortations of the revivalist assume:—

1. That God will forever inflict unspeakable torments on millions of the men and women he has created here, having made arrangements for this purpose even before their creation.

2. That this doom will be inflicted upon these persons as a punishment for living in accordance with the inclinations and propensities with which they were born.

3. That, throughout the eternity which is to follow this short mortal life, God has provided that these sufferers shall receive no benefit from repentance and reformation, and shall have no encouragement

from him in the attempt to do right rather than wrong.

The doctrine of "damnation," or of punishment ordained to continue *forever*, irrespective of repentance or reformation after the death of the body, includes all that is contained in the three specifications above mentioned. The mere statement (as above) of a doctrine so horrible would suffice for its refutation with any unprejudiced person; but since a majority of the people of the United States are taught to believe it from their childhood, there is need of a plain statement of the reasons why it should not be believed.

The sufficing and decisive argument in this case is found in the nature of God, and of goodness and justice, of which he is the embodiment.

1. Goodness. Is it consistent with goodness deliberately to create a being capable of suffering intensely, knowing at the time that he certainly will suffer intensely forever, and that thus his entire existence will be a curse to him?

If Satan had power to do the thing here supposed, would it be right for him to do it? If he did it, would not that act be fairly attributable to his preference for evil?

If an archangel had power to do that act, would it be right for him to do it? Would not even the desire to do a thing so cruel show him to have fallen from his original measure of holiness?

If the disposition to do such an act, in case the power were granted him, should arise in the heart of a human being, should we not confidently decide that such desire arose from the worse and not the better part of his nature? In classifying man by moral character, should we not judge his place to be with the evil rather than the good?

It seems clear, in the light of these suppositions, that the act in question is an act positively and enormously evil; an act which would be repudiated with horror by the better class of human beings—by the missionaries, the philanthropists, the benefactors—by Henry Martyn, William Penn, Elizabeth Fry—and by such people exactly in proportion to their benevolence, and their general elevation and refinement of character.

How, then, dares any one attribute the deliberate perpetration of such an act—nay, more, the choice of a system including unnumbered millions of such acts—to God, the embodiment of benevolence and beneficence? What human opinion should avail for a moment to make us think such evil of him?

2. Justice. Is it just to force immortality upon a being capable of suffering, with the knowledge that his existence will certainly be an everlasting continuance of the most dreadful suffering? If an archangel, if any good man or woman, if any being with less than the malignity of a fiend, had the option of creating or not creating persons whose doom was thus foreseen, would he not of course prefer to abstain from such creation?

But in the act and choice we are supposing, it is not men nor angels, but God who is in question; and many people are accustomed to think of God as a being possessing unlimited rights, but bound by no duties. Neither of these notions will bear examination. God has no right to do wrong. Moreover, from the moment God creates a living, sentient being, he necessarily enters upon certain obligations in regard to it, preëminent among which is this: that the creation, all things considered, shall prove beneficial, and not injurious, to that being.

In our judgments concerning men, these points are deemed axiomatic; namely, that they do wrong to beget children when circumstances show a strong probability that these will inherit lifelong disease and suffering from their parents; and that, when children are born to them, they do wrong voluntarily to leave them unprovided and uncared for. If parents could know certainly that their children would permanently suffer the very worst disasters in consequence of their birth, would not the deliberate procreation of offspring under such circumstances be justly reckoned an aggravated sin? But, if such be the confident decision of reason and conscience, how dares any one attribute to God acts the same in character (and far worse in degree) than those which we have seen to be evil and base in men?

The central doctrine, then, on which revivalism is founded, the theory; namely, that God will inflict vengeful and eternal torments upon some of his creatures, is a calumny against God, and thus is not for a moment to be believed. But others of the main assumptions of the revivalists are equally incredible. Such, for instance, are their theories about the remedy for the pretended danger above mentioned.

To secure this remedy, you must believe (they say):—

That the shedding of blood is necessary for the remission of sins;

That in ancient times the sins of men were really purged by shedding the blood of sheep, bulls, and goats; but

That now, and for all future time, sin can be remitted only through acceptance, by the sinner, of the blood of Jesus of Nazareth, shed long ago on Calvary, as his atonement; and

That Jesus, in this and the other acts of his life and death, must be accepted as fulfilling the predictions of Hebrew prophets in regard to an expected Deliverer, to be called "Christ," or "Messiah," or "the Lord's Anointed."

In these propositions lies the very essence of what is called "the plan of salvation"; the diffusion of which, and the persuading of men to accept it as the only way of escape from (a supposed) hell, is the main object of revivalists. But not one of these propositions will stand examination in the light of reason and fact.

Shedding the blood of a creature without sin,

whether beast or man, has not the slightest tendency to remove the guilt of a sinful person. Purification can be accomplished (if at all) only by the repentance and reformation of the sinner. The perpetuation of the utterly unfounded notion that "without the shedding of blood there is no remission" is only one instance among many of the incorporation of Hebrew superstitions with the Christian system.

The blood of Jesus is assumed to fulfil this function only on the supposition that he was really that "Christ," or "Messiah," or "Lord's Anointed," predicted by the Hebrew prophets; but a comparison of those predictions with the New Testament narratives of the life and death of Jesus proves conclusively that they were not fulfilled in him; and the state of the Hebrew people now and ever since the record of those predictions proves that they have never been fulfilled at all.

The statement of Jesus (when asked by Pilate if he were the King of the Jews) "My kingdom is not of this world," is a sufficient refutation of the theory that he was the "Messiah" of Hebrew prophecy. The Messiah's kingdom, according to Isaiah (ix., 6, 7), Jeremiah (xxiii., 5, 6, xxxiii., 14-18, and 20, 21), and others, was to be of this world. The predictions were of a king in the line of David, who, sitting on the throne of David, should gather Israel in their own land of Palestine, and rule them there, in peace and righteousness forever. These things have not been accomplished at all. Of course, then, Jesus has not accomplished them. And the pretence of a spiritual kingdom (as if that would be a fulfilment of the prophecy of a temporal one) has no better foundation than the other. The Hebrew people continue to refuse all recognition of Jesus as their predicted Messiah. He is not, he has never been, in any sense, "the King of the Jews." True, Jesus taught a doctrine far better than that of their prophets; but this better thing was so entirely different, that they could not possibly accept it while they continued to regard those prophets as inspired of God, and the fulfilment of their predictions as certain. He set forth God as the universal Father, instead of that localized and limited Jehovah who was supposed by the Jews to have chosen them as his peculiar people. He freely criticised their Scriptures, Moses, the decalogue itself, as well as the traditions and ecclesiastical rulers of his own generation. He flatly denied some of the doctrines specially cherished by them, because undoubtedly taught in their Scriptures; saying that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands; that he did not rest on the seventh day; that he is not a respecter of persons; that he does not require men to go up to Jerusalem to worship; that the abstinence from certain articles of food, and the ceremonial washing of hands, cups, and pots is not required by him; etc., etc., etc. The many things that Jesus said in utter disregard of the laws of Moses and the Scriptures popularly ascribed to him, necessarily seemed to the Jews of his day what they called them, "blasphemy against Moses and against God." The reality and extent of this opposition is the reason also why the great mass of the Jews have continued to reject Jesus. They never can with consistency accept him as the Messiah while they retain their belief in the infallible inspiration of Moses and the prophets.

We find, then, that these cardinal doctrines of the revivalists—namely, everlasting punishment not to be modified by repentance or reformation after the death of the body; bloodshedding needful and available for remission of sin; Jesus the Messiah of Old Testament prophecy; and deliverance from hell now possible only through trust in the blood of Jesus,—are mere theories, entirely destitute of evidence, and with no ground of reason or probability sufficient to justify our acceptance of them. We now come to another vicious feature of the system in question.

Belief in the unproved and unreasonable theories above mentioned is required by the revivalists, irrespective of evidence; or (to give a more minutely accurate statement), the propositions which they offer as full and sufficient evidence are found, on examination, to be mere assumptions, without ground either of truth or reason. "If you do not believe, you will be damned," is the ground taken by the revivalist, just as by the Mussulman; and for the truth of this proposition no better evidence is given by one party than by the other. Doubt of any of the theological doctrines which he teaches is declared by the revivalist to be dangerous and sinful, just as by the Mussulman; and when earnest and candid examination has caused any one to reject those doctrines as unsound, he is treated with sactimonious pity or sactimonious rebuke therefore, by persons who have not only never examined, but who are utterly unable to give any sufficient reason for retaining that which he, on evidence, has rejected. The people in question depend so entirely on authoritative assumption as the means of propagating their doctrine, that they habitually discourage appeals to reason, stigmatizing it as "carnal reason," and recommending, in its stead, implicit faith in their theological system.

The last of the unfounded assumptions of the revivalists of which I have space here to speak is what they call "the inspiration of the Bible." Their customary title for the volume containing the Old and New Testament is "The Word of God"; and they assume that every portion of it is infallibly inspired, so as to be without error either of fact or doctrine; also that it claims for itself such inspiration and authority; and also that it is, and will permanently continue to be, a sufficient and obligatory rule of life for all men.

On the other hand, examination shows the following facts, absolutely irreconcilable with the revivalists' pretences above mentioned:—

Neither Old Testament nor New makes any claim for itself of inspiration such as is above pretended.

Neither Old Testament nor New pretends to be other than a collection of writings by various human authors; the first comprising the history, laws, and early literature of Judaism; the second the history, laws, and early literature of Christianity.

In both these collections, the authorship and date of many of the separate works is absolutely unknown; of others, obscure and doubtful. We have each in its present form, because some unknown man or men, at some unknown period, chose these among the writings then extant as best worthy of preservation; we have them bound together under the name of "The Bible," because some unknown men or man, at some unknown time, chose so to unite them; and we have them divided into chapters and verses, because various persons in more modern times have chosen so to divide them.

There is no evidence whatever proving, or tending to prove, the assumption of divine authorship or superintendence for these writings; on the other hand, such assumption is imperatively forbidden by the occurrence there of errors of fact, irreconcilable discrepancies of statement, and imputations of error, imperfection, and infirmity to the Creator. God certainly has never dictated unworthy and degrading representations of his own character; yet, if all the Scriptural portrayals of him are to be credited, we must believe that he objected, in the beginning, to men's acquiring knowledge, and even to their learning the distinction between good and evil; that he allows Satan not only to tempt and torment, but to destroy men and women; that he represents labor as a curse and punishment to the human race; that he partakes so far of human infirmity as to be wearied with labor and refreshed by rest; that he has many times shown jealousy, passion, and misjudgment, repenting of some of his past acts, and changing a course of action determined on and declared, in compliance with the better judgment of one of his creatures; that he hardened Pharaoh's heart, and then punished the people of Egypt for the king's doing what he was divinely impelled to do; that he commanded robbery of the Egyptians by his chosen people, the Hebrews, expressly directing that the false pretence of a loan be used for its accomplishment; that he afterwards enjoined upon the same people not only robbery but extermination of the whole population of many cities of Canaan; that on one occasion he commanded a father to kill and burn his own son as an act of sacrificial worship; that on one occasion he commanded a much more extensive human sacrifice, the slaughter of one portion of the chosen people by another portion, to the extent of three thousand men; that, besides enjoining this fearful fratricidal slaughter, he still further "plagued" the chosen people for having followed the directions of Aaron, whom he himself had set over them as leader and guide, in conjunction with Moses; that, of two brothers not yet born, he chose one as his favorite, and continued that favoritism through their lives, though the chosen one proved far the worse in character and conduct; that he tempted David to number the nation over which he was king, and then not only stigmatized as sinful an act which experience has shown to be desirable and needful in every civilized community, but punished for it the innocent people instead of the offending monarch, even allowing that monarch to decide whether the penalty should fall on himself or his people.

But what need is there of further citation? The cases above mentioned are only a small proportion of those contained in the Hebrew Scriptures of such a character as to force upon us this alternative: either to think ill of God (whom we desire to recognize as perfect in wisdom and goodness), or to admit that the unknown writers of the most ancient Hebrew records made an estimate of the divine character in some points defective, and in some points erroneous. Why should we not trust in God rather than in those writers? Who were they, that for the sake of agreement with their hoary superstitions we should impute error, folly, injustice, and cruelty to the heavenly Father? Why should we not admit that they, like other historians, have shown themselves human and fallible?

The revivalists, however, assume that the portions of Hebrew Scripture above mentioned must be received as God's Word, infallibly inspired, not less than any other portions of the Old and New Testaments. The whole contents of those books, they say, must stand or fall together; and they continue their sactimonious repetitions of this absurd fiction with an air well suited to overawe and impose on the ignorant portion, that is to say the majority, of their audience.

The considerations above mentioned (to which many more of like character might be added) convince me that the system taught by the revivalists very mischievously misleads those who receive it, giving them grossly erroneous views of God, of man, of the relation between these two, and of human character and destiny in this world and the next. If this view be correct, their work is certainly not "God's work." I hold it, in the main, to be neither pleasing to God nor useful to men, though some classes of persons may get, on the whole, more good than harm from them.

A PRESBYTERIAN minister, while marrying a couple of his rustic parishioners, felt exceedingly disconcerted on his asking the bridegroom if he were willing to take the woman for his wedded wife, by his scratching his head and saying: "Ay, I'm wull-in', but I'd rather hae her sister."

HE THAT speaketh against his own reason, speaks against his own conscience; and therefore it is certain no man serves God with a good conscience who serves him against his reason.—*Jeremy Taylor.*

[FOR THE INDEX.]

CAN THAT BE TRUTH WHICH CANNOT BE APPREHENDED?

In the *Contemporary Review* of February last, Mr. W. R. Greg discussed the question, "Can truths be apprehended which could not have been discovered?"

In reasoning out this problem he answers in the decided negative as far as regards matters distinctly within human cognizance: "Matters of positive knowledge, the facts of science, the operations of Nature, and the laws or principles deducible from these operations, can be verified by those to whom they are announced; the faculties and mental processes needed to test and verify are the same as those employed in the original discovery; the power of verifying a proposition implies the power of discovering it." Again: "All so-called revelation is only an anticipation of future attainments by the mind. If we can ascertain that a proposition comes to us from a superhuman source it must surely be by applying some test or standard which can judge the doctrine; judging it would seem to imply the means of verifying it."

On these statements of Mr. Greg, we propose to consider two questions. Is the revelation of a God verifiable? Have we any test or standard whereby we can judge and so verify the proposition, "There is a God and a life hereafter"? for on these two, either facts or fictions, rests the whole superstructure of revealed religion.

When Mr. Greg comes to deal with the important class of truths, propositions, or revelations, embracing the existence of a personal Creator and a life beyond the grave, he is much less confident in the efficacy of his unerring formula, "That a truth apprehended could have been discovered." If the power of apprehending a proposition implies and involves the possibility, by the process of research and meditation, of constructing or divining it, the assertion that "there is a God and a life hereafter," does not come within the category laid down by Mr. Greg of "truths that can be apprehended," inasmuch as it is not a truth discoverable.

If "so-called" revelation is only an anticipation of future mental attainments," we make bold to say that 4000, or rather 400,000, years have not sufficed to produce the faculties of mind necessary for this "original discovery"; that within the era of human knowledge no tests applied to verify this doctrine of "God and a future life" have succeeded in discovering for us that gold without alloy which passes by universal acclaim as "the truth."

In regard to this class of "revelation," Mr. Greg remarks: "It can scarcely be supposed that any future perfection of our matured instruments of vision, or of our mental faculties, will enable us to solve these problems." So, then, the most vital of all problems ever propounded to the human intellect are to be solved by some other process than the exercise of our mental faculties,—are to pass out of the region of verifiable facts into the shadowy land of "those apocalyptic flashes of imaginative insight which the intellectual history of our race assures us have in all ages been vouchsafed to it." After this, Mr. Greg may well ask in the next page, "If the authoritative announcement of the truth comes to us from 'on high,' in what language can it be conveyed so as to dispense with that verification which by the very constitution of the human mind precedes and clinches certainty if not conviction?"

His answer determines one of two things: either that man's intellect is utterly incapable of absorbing or apprehending by any operation of its powers this "announced truth from 'on high'"; or, if it comes from a superhuman source, there is no human test or standard by which to judge the doctrine, and, as it cannot be judged, it cannot be verified.

Mr. Greg says: "If the announcement is of such a nature as to need no such verification, if it include and convey its own credentials so as to be self-evident, self-proving, as soon as made, does not this imply such an adaptation, such a native fitness and preparation for its reception in the very frame-work of the spiritual intelligence, as could scarcely fail in time to reach the goal and to discern the light?"

In other words, had a longer period of evolution been permitted to this spiritual intelligence, no revelation, no announcement, had been needed; by itself, spontaneously, the mind would have apprehended this "assertion from 'on high'"; by aid of its native fitness for the supernatural the mind of man (or rather his "spiritual intelligence") would have discovered as a "self-evident truth" the revealed knowledge of "God and a future state."

What would not poor humanity have been spared, had this evolution process been allowed its course? For as no date is assigned by Mr. Greg for "arrival at the goal, for discovering the light," eternity itself might not have sufficed, and in blissful ignorance of this "Promethean Vulture," forever gnawing at the vitals of free thought, to what unimagined heavens of knowledge might not the untrammelled mind have soared, unhampered by the dogmatic incubus that curses all inquiry into the regions of the unknown. This God of the Bible with his hell for all unbelievers still unrevealed! Where might we not have been piloted by those divinely inspired sons of genius, who, like Columbus, opened up not only new but imperishable worlds, and, like the great explorer, found their reward in chains, misery, obloquy, and death?

Were the human mind, as Mr. Greg thinks, capable of spontaneously apprehending the knowledge of God, why such fearful waste of machinery in order to inculcate this truth? Why such continual grinding of victims beneath the wheels of this Juggernaut car, whence shouts the prophet, "Believe and be saved, or deny and be damned"?

We hold that the human mind would never spontaneously have engendered any such monstrous conception as the revealed God of Scripture, and we utterly dissent from Mr. Greg's definition of "revelation"; namely, a "confirmation of the verdict and hopes of human speculation concerning the unknown and the future," the knowledge of which we maintain has never been revealed, and the search after which, as Professor Tyndall finely and prophetically observed, "will occupy the best and noblest minds long after this generation has faded like streaks of morning clouds into the infinite azure of the past."

It has been proved by no less an authority than Dr. Moffat, who should be a good judge of the "untutored savage," that not only is there a total absence of all spontaneous idea, but that the language of savagdom contains no word calculated to express God; whatever occurs to their mind as the origin of all things, including themselves, it certainly bears no reference to the glorified man of the Bible; like the imaginative Greeks and Latins, all Nature for them is deified; their "Great Spirit" resides in rocks and trees, in waterfalls, in the thunder and in the lightning.

"Thou art in the soft winds,
In music; thou art in the cooler breath
That in the inmost darkness of this place
Comes scarcely felt; the barksy trunks, the ground,
The moist fresh earth, are all instinct with thee;
Thou art the soul of this wide universe."

The most natural and spontaneous of all worship is surely Pantheism; that and sun-worship we should select as the natural outcome of human cogitation regarding a "Higher Power."

We must go back to the Persians for our earliest known conception of a something that was before man, a something from which they derived existence, and which, in the person of the Sun-God, they thus addressed: "Let us adore the supremacy of that divine Sun, the God-head, who illuminates all, who recreates all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must return."

Our Aryan ancestors believed that from the sun sprang all life, animate and inanimate; nor are they alone in their conclusions, as witness the speculations of to-day by two able men; one perhaps merely a romancer, the other an acknowledged scientific philosopher. The former, Louis Figuier, in his *Tomorrow of Death*, ventilates the theory of "our final home in the sun"; and the other, Professor Clifford, in his essay, "The First and Last Catastrophe," says: "The life which exists upon this earth is made by the sun's action, and it depends upon the sun for its continuance."

The professor does not seem to have determined whether we shall be frozen to death by the going out of the sun, or whether this planet is to be burnt up by absorption into the "God of Day"; but with us, as with the Persians, the Sun-God is still the acknowledged arbiter of the fate of all material life.

From these early gropings, these aspirations after a "first great cause," the ingenuity of the human mind created for itself not only a "God the Father," "God the Son," and "God the Holy Ghost," but also a "Mother Mary."

To the student of comparative religion, it is no difficult matter to trace back the present Christian belief to its source in the Persian and Egyptian mythologies; not only the Trinity but also the Resurrection come to us from Egypt, where they flourished as religious tenets eight hundred years before the Christian Era.* Yet this "resurrection fable" which has survived since the days of Osiris, is declared by the priests of the Christian religion "to be an absolute fact, and not a matter of speculation or opinion." Dr. Church (Dean of St. Paul's) says in an Easter Sunday sermon: "It was the plan of salvation that after death Jesus Christ should come back to convince men of the existence of a future life."

We ask, Do these "absolute facts" come under the head of those considered by Mr. Greg as—"Whatever we can receive and comprehend, that we can also ascertain and discover"? The rule Mr. Greg applies to test "all matters of positive knowledge, the facts of science, and the operations of Nature," we claim to apply in judging those very serious phenomena included in "Revelations from 'On High.'" Will this rising from the dead of a man "like in all things unto ourselves" stand the test by which we verify other propositions? Yet, to quote St. Paul, if this is not a truth, then the Christian religion comes to naught; "then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain."

Instead of accepting such traditional fables as facts, we may safely refer them to the category of those truths alluded to by Mr. Greg "as vouchsafed in a sudden gleam of light, in a dream, in a vision of the night, to some favored and highly-strung natures, who tell us they have arrived at this confirmation by spiritual discernment, and can feel not the shadow of a doubt about the matter."

We fear that Mr. Greg, in this discussion on "truths that can be apprehended," has permitted himself to wander in that spiritualistic atmosphere where truths that cannot be apprehended are allowed weight because of their supposed source,—are accepted, however incomprehensible, as "a revelation from a higher power," that "will-o'-the-wisp" which lures us across the misty moors of the incredible, that *ignis-fatuus* which shines only to deceive.

This acknowledging of a spiritualistic realm apart from the intellectual, where all things are weighed according to their worth, opens wide the door to the imaginative and emotional, and permits a very fair-land of impossibilities,—a land where the genii reign triumphant over sober sense.

If Mr. Greg's long explorings in the mine of free inquiry (the cost of which he so eloquently alludes to in one of his finest works) have but resulted in

* Egyptian Mythologies: Samuel Sharpe.

convincing him that we must be content with "apocalyptic flashes of imaginative insight" concerning the most vital of our inquiries, then we think his method of research is misleading, or he is hampered by the ignoble fear that dares not meet the consequences of looking a truth in the face, a fear that dreads the results of his own conclusions.

The Dean of St. Paul's speaks of the resurrection as "having solved the great riddle of human existence; as an answer to the universal cry for a solution of the mysteries of life, the cry that asks, What was man made for, and what is his destiny?"

Mr. Greg is surely not far from Dr. Church when he characterizes "revelation as a confirmation of the verdict and hopes of human speculation concerning the unknown and the future"; and though he gives up miracles (which the Dean does not), Mr. Greg speaks of the "signs and wonders now no longer regarded as proof, having given way to the essential loftiness of the divine characteristics of the truth announced."

It is because the essential loftiness of what we conceive divine characteristics is absolutely wanting to revealed religion, because in grandeur and nobility of conception the God of the Jew and the Christian falls below the highest ideal of humanity, that we claim to reject the teachings of "Moses and all the prophets"; that we claim for mankind the right to withhold assent to any recognized solution of the deep mysteries of life and death. If, as Mr. Greg says, "the patient-working brain has in all ages discerned for itself the truths it sought," we claim it shall still be permitted its right of search towards the greatest of all discoveries, towards the working out of the deepest of problems, "whence we came and whither we shall return,"—a problem buried in a sea "deeper than e'er plummet sounded." W.

LONDON, Sept., 1875.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

CATHOLICISM IN CANADA.

This province of Quebec presents a sharp contrast with the adjacent New England States. Originally settled by French Catholic missionaries and their protégés, the Roman Church has been able to plant and rear a remarkable colony, rich, devoted, and obedient as nowhere else in the world. The aggregate population, various as it is, remains powerfully affected by the nucleus; and throughout the land Catholicity is the principal feature, as at the beginning.

The cessions of land to the Church by France were respected by England at the conquest, although men high in the nation, as the Duke of Wellington, urged repeal, seeing, as they did, the viper that was being nursed in the bosom of British liberty. The opening up of the country, and its settlement by English-speaking people, has enormously enhanced the value of lands belonging to the Church, giving them riches entirely unearned. Every foot of land in this city that it does not own has been bought from it at one time or other. Hence the profusion of churches, convents, and colleges which cap every hill, and are being continually added to.

Jealously watched by a Protestant minority, and living under what is in some degree a foreign civil power, the Catholic clergy are a respectable class of men; much more so than their American confrères appear to be.

Until the accession of the present Pope with his ultramontane party, mild Gallicanism prevailed; middle-aged men remember when Presbyterians held services in the Church of the Recollet Fathers on Notre Dame Street; now such a thing would be utterly impossible.

Not satisfied with unbounded spiritual sway, the Church aims as ever at civil power. At elections the priests are the chief nominators and supporters of candidates; and their freely-made threats of spiritual pains for disobedience make opposition useless. After mass on Sunday, in country parishes, the favored one may be heard setting forth his principles to the congregation at the church door, reminding them of his filial love for *Monsieur le Curé*.

The ultra-spirit which has so recently and so strongly arisen, is shown in many curious ways. The miraculous Lady of Lourdes is having an expensive church built in her honor on a fashionable street; and a milliner in the western part of the city announces on her sign-board that her shop is dedicated to the same person. On Notre Dame, the chief retail street, there are several shops for the sale of sacred articles,—images, sacred hearts, lamps, pictures, incense, rosaries, etc. Ten years ago not one of these shops existed.

Bi-hop Bourget recently incorporated a new order of nuns—the Sisters of our Lady of Mount Carmel,—who are neither to engage in works of charity nor industry, but on a pleasantly-elevated site at Hochelaga are to devote themselves to contemplation.

Such an obituary as this is not uncommon in the French press:—

"Died, on Tuesday morning, F. X. M., aged —. He ever cherished a peculiar devotion to the Sacred Heart."

About five years ago the bones of St. Zeno, a martyr, were imported from Rome, and carried about the streets with much pomp. Strange to say, they have as yet effected no miracles for us.

The bad weather and other troubles which afflict our poor farmers have engaged the attention of the priest who is treasurer of the Seminary of St. Sulpice. He proposes to remove these troubles by erecting on every farm a statue of the Infant Jesus, whose protection cannot but be most efficient. Inaugural and annual fees are to be paid to the good father for the relief of the Holy See from the wicked and expensive opposition of heretics.

The methods of this wonderful Church can be

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well studied here, where it has had its own way. Its doctrine of original sin requires the baptism of an infant when a few hours old. Its name and parents' house are registered. If it lives, its education at a Catholic school is looked after. There doctrinal instruction is given, and at about ten or twelve years of age the child, with millinery and a pretty ceremony, is admitted to membership. The enforced attendance at mass and the confessional are the life-links binding it to the Church, until at last the ever-necessary priest shows the poor soul out of the world.

Nor is this submission unwilling. Priest and people are on a plane. They are satisfied complements of each other; and were they alone in this province, it might be an interesting bit of mediævalism to the traveller, and a peaceful unit of the Dominion. As it is, the Protestant minority, more intelligent, and as individuals more wealthy, than their neighbors, have much cause for discontent.

The original gifts of land to the Church, and the present exemption from all taxes, even water tax, on all church property, press very sorely on the active workers who do not hold the faith. Besides, the collateral effects of Romanism, in the ignorance that always goes with it, and the subordination of civil authority which it demands, make trouble continually, and have had their fruit in two recent riots to which reference shall be made farther on. Yet in this atmosphere, laden as it is with superstition, I cannot see how Romanism really threatens civilization, as many fear. The mass of its adherents and converts are fit for nothing better, and its system of authority and obedience stifles the very factor needed for its supremacy; namely, the intellectual power required to wield successfully so vast and bold an organization. Such power is only born of freedom where individuality can be developed, not by any plan of mechanical uniformity and suppression. The recent policy of the Church here, as well as in Europe, has been a mistake, and shows plainly how irresponsible power is ever abused to its ruin.

Scattered throughout this province there are many religious communities provided with competence or wealth, leisure, and such education and culture as might lead one to expect them to produce something good and new in letters, science, or art. Not so. Their intellectual squalor is disheartening. They have not even written as much as a hymn, or even a good book of meditations; and the very pictures and frescoes in their best churches are the work of foreign artists.

The entire book business of this city I am sure is exceeded by several retail houses in Boston; and elsewhere in the province there is scarcely any book business at all.

Nor can the ground be taken that morally the people make up for intellectual short-comings. After seeing a great deal of them in city and country, I think that, like the native Irish, the absence of violent crime is attributable to mere simplicity of conditions. They are too ignorant, weak, and scattered to be able to commit forgeries, house and bank burglaries, or gross and extended swindling; but in all the vices and crimes within their range they are like other people,—neither better nor worse.

The ultramontane spirit has been too recently imported and forcibly spread to have been kindly received in all quarters, and some twenty years ago a few liberal French Catholics organized throughout the country some score of "Canadian Institutes," which were to furnish chiefly young men with public libraries, news-rooms, and halls for social and public discussion,—all free from priestly control. Of all these institutes the one in Montreal is the sole survivor; the priests have killed the rest, either by opposing similar institutes of their own, or by denouncing them as infidel and demoralizing.

Guibord, a printer, belonged to the institute here, and, as he well knew, as it was under the ban, he could not die in its membership and be buried in the Catholic cemetery. Having disobeyed the Church, in however arbitrary a command, he had certainly forfeited its privileges, as in the deed of purchase of his cemetery lot it was expressly agreed that none should be buried there who had not died at peace with the Church. When he died, the Church consistently enough refused to bury him. The institute took the case before the local courts, and lost, and appealed finally to the English Privy Council, which issued mandate for Guibord's burial in his lot.

The Church has weakened its otherwise strong position in two ways: by recognizing the civil courts at all, and by burying members of the institute without question when they have died rich.

At the attempted interment recently, a mob forcibly prevented the fulfilment of the law; and although trouble was anticipated, neither the Church nor the city government did anything to prevent it, nor have they since done anything to punish the rioters. The corpse still remains unburied, a disgraceful proof of the moral weakness of the community. The Catholic Bishop, seeing that the burial shall be effected, even at the sword's point, has laid himself open to farther trouble by cursing the grave, for the mandate requires burial in consecrated ground; and besides, Mrs. Guibord, who died a good Catholic, must not be endangered or contaminated by the curse on her husband, who is to rest with her forever. Verily one of the chief uses of the Catholic Church is to show the utter folly of dogmatic religion, by carrying it out rigorously in actual life in all its logical consequences.

A notable fact in this province, and particularly this city, is the high death-rate, mainly caused by the great fecundity, comparatively, of the people, the severe and fitful climate, and the prevalent ignorance of the laws of health. Small-pox never leaves the city, and frequently thirty or forty have died of it in a week. The French Canadians are generally the victims, because of their antipathy to vaccination.

Several of their physicians, chief among whom is Dr. Emery Coderre, make attempts to prove it injurious scientifically. When vaccination was first introduced here, impure lymph infected several persons, and no improvement in practice nor accumulation of evidence can now convince the common people of its safety and value. The citizens other than French, in self-defence, proposed to pass a by-law for compulsory vaccination, whereupon large opposition meetings were held, resulting in an assault and riot at City Hall, when the by-law was under consideration. Windows were smashed, furniture broken, and the councillors rudely dispersed after pitifully agreeing to drop the matter. The old French spirit of mob and revolution has not yet died out in the breasts of the submissive, priest-led Canadians, and with fitting opportunity it may yet be aroused into flame.

The present mercantile depression in Canada has never been equalled in its history. Stocks within a year have dropped twenty to thirty per cent., and the wide-spread lack of confidence is daily reducing the small, active capital engaged in business. The causes of our panic are mainly local. A succession of good years has gradually expanded credit of all kinds to the snapping-point. For years imports have been too large, and too many have been induced to start business without fit capital, character, and ability.

The enormous banking capital of the country has postponed the evil day which has come at last, and with compound interest. Two of our banks have failed in circumstances of the grossest fraud; both of them for months have published false sworn statements of their affairs, and have been managed in a slovenly, reckless way, to the severe loss of many poor stockholders. Defalcations and bankruptcies abound, with apprehension of worse yet.

This winter is expected to be a terrible one. It is a sad and dangerous thing when a man wants work and cannot get it; and thousands of such there are here now who have done nothing to bring the panic about, and who see those who are responsible for it as well off as ever. The discontent among the idle, together with the excitement about the Guibord case—which at a busy time would be much less,—conspires to make the situation here an anxious one. Firm civic control and the utmost individual charity are required, if peace and order are to be maintained.

J. G. H.

MONTREAL, Oct. 14, 1875.

INANIMATE objects sometimes appear endowed with a strange power of sight. A statue notices; a tower watches; the face of an edifice contemplates.—*Victor Hugo.*

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 30.

M. C. Perkins, \$13.30; E. Bornemann, \$6.50; J. W. North, \$3; Ths. Nye, \$3.20; B. M. Smith, \$3.20; Wilnot Wilson, \$1.80; W. A. Tower, 80 cents; E. W. Hooper, \$53.20; Wm. E. Shepherd, \$16; C. D. Gambrell, 5.50; J. H. Clark, \$3.20; W. B. Studley, \$3.20; C. H. Peirce, 3.20; Aberdeen Keith, \$3.20; C. A. Marks, 5 cents; H. Balcomb, \$3.20; Marcus T. Jones, \$1; Wm. T. Carpenter, \$5.50; H. N. High, 75 cents; A. G. Wait, \$3.65; C. B. Tilden, 54 cents; W. H. Parsons, \$3.20; C. D. Weston, 10 cents; Harvey Spaulding, 10 cents; C. P. Somerby, \$2.20; J. S. Shaler, \$1.20; N. A. Lombard, \$3.20; C. N. Norris, \$3.50; S. Buhner, \$3.20; R. J. Rogers, \$2; T. D. Giddings, \$3.20; Mary E. York, \$2.50; George B. Thompson, \$3; W. S. Bell, \$5; B. F. Underwood, \$3.50; Henry Müller, 25 cents; J. W. Castle, 10 cents; L. Neufeld, \$2; James L. Angle, \$3.20; P. Plimpton, \$3.20; J. S. Cox, \$2.50; N. W. Covell, \$3.90; J. A. Needles, \$1.20; Cash, \$2.15.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

RECEIVED.

Books.

MONEY AND THE MECHANISM OF EXCHANGE. International Scientific Series. By W. Stanley Jevons, M. A., F. R. S., Professor of Logic and Political Economy in the Owens College, Manchester, Eng. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

MUSIC OF THE WESTERN CHURCH. A Lecture on the History of Psalmody, illustrated with Examples of the Music of the Various Periods. By William A. Leonard. London: F. Pitman. 1872.

THE CHRISTMAS FESTIVAL: its Origin, History and Customs, together with a Selection of Carols. By William A. Leonard. London: F. Pitman.

Pamphlets and Periodicals.

INTERESTS MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL. A Sermon by O. B. Frothingham. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1875.

SERMONS by the Rev. Charles Voysey. London.—The Causes of Irreligion: September 7.—A Plea for True Religion: September 12, 19, 26.—The End we have in View: October 3.

DANGER SIGNALS: an Address on the Uses and Abuses of Modern Spiritualism. By Mary F. Davis. New York: A. J. Davis & Co. 1875.

ECONOMIC SCIENCE. By Joel Densmore. Boston: Colby & Rich. 1875.

KINDERGARTEN TOYS, AND HOW TO USE THEM. By Heinrich Hoffmann. With other Tracts on the Kindergarten. All published by E. Steiger, New York.

THE NATIONAL SECULAR SOCIETY'S ALMANAC, for 1876. Edited by Charles Bradlaugh and Charles Watts. London: Charles Watts.

THE OLD FARMER'S ALMANAC, 1876. Boston: Brewer & Tileston.

THE POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY. November, 1875. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

THE WESTERN. October, 1875. St. Louis: Western Publishing Association.

THE HERALD OF HEALTH. November, 1875. New York: Wood & Holbrook.

DREAMS.

I have been reading in the book of Job, Soul-shaken by its most tremendous thought: "Gird up thy loins!" thy understanding, man! "And answer me—ME, the Almighty!" So The ancient, wise, and most prophetic word. In those far times, unseparated, still devotee, Man walked and talked with God as friend with friend. Now God is banished from the human world. Not banished quite,—they say God lingers yet Upon the confines of the outer world, 'Twixt Nature and the supernatural, Or else, in region of the unknowable. Gone is the Presence and the Form Divine: That awful light and glory which once shone Around men's thoughts, as round their footsteps, is "Pinnacled dim in the intense inane"; And God exists by faith of worshippers. For like a burning light that's borne from us, So God, as faith and worship fail, recedes In distance and remoteness dim, which makes A strange, sad starlight for the orphan soul. But yet the child his trailing garment sees In clouds that hide the glory of his face; And the child hears mysterious voices still. Not sounds alone, but voices, issuing whence He knows not; but he knows the soul in him Is touched and melted in strange harmony. For the same Power that strikes upon the world Strikes on the soul, that chorded shell, and wakes The music slumbering in its silent cells, 'E'en as it slumbers in a wood, until The winds arise, and, blowing in their might, Make musical at times the roar of woods, And ring the sweet bells of the underworld.

We cling to Nature as to nurse's hand, And to the objects of our early love: The dear old earth, the cradle of our lives, The sun and moon, familiar to our thought, As honest servants, shining faces seen But balanced on the far horizon's edge! The blue horizon rimming the green earth, And shutting in my valley-home, with all Its homely virtues, and that still serene And cheerful hope on which the mind relies, Not darkly doubtful, but with trust sublime. And there are minds so full of hope and faith, So poised and balanced in eternal calm, And wrapt in ethers of embracing love, They wear the heaven's fair, perpetual smile, A look of happiness,—supreme content,— Like deep seas in a sunny atmosphere. And what were man without the hope sublime. That fills the present, makes the future bright, And rainbows o'er the world beyond the grave,— The lustrous hope that rises soft and clear Behind his knowledge and low-born desire, Like heaven's blue ground against the baser earth? "Our little lives are rounded with a sleep." And were they not—could lives continue on Unaltered still by fate or circumstance,— Yet who would live without the hope of change? Who does not almost hate the world because It grinds forever in the self-same groove The thoughts of him who lives and works in it? But that sleep comes to break the chain imposed, To break the circle, and to let go free The conjured spirit and its kindred claim With brighter worlds and better lives than ours. 'E'en as the sea that washes round the earth Becomes a bridge uniting worlds in twain, So is this world and other joined by sleep. Spirits and angels on that bridge may meet And pass their greetings, and on errands still Run to and fro, and knowledge be increased; But chief our knowledge of the spirit world. There was a time when men relied on dreams. They welcomed them full-freighted from the skies, As messengers from heaven and from God. "The Lord came to me in a dream by night." So they believed the dream, and welcomed it As eagerly as men now welcome news By the last packet from a foreign strand. Poet and prophet was the dreamer then, For he interpreted the dream, and brought Not Asia's word, not Europe's troubled thought, But news of God who sent the dream to him, And by a sentence like "Thus saith the Lord," He raised the abject slave above all fear, And shook the stoutest monarch on his throne. Dreamers were poets then; the poet now But plays some tricks in language of his own. Is this the art, the faculty divine, When rhetoricians skillfully usurp The name of poets, but they cannot wear The fallen mantle of the sacred bard? But poetry is not dead, nor that divine Spirit that lives and breathes in all mankind. And men might poets be, would they give heed Unto their dreams, and above all obey The secret hints and omens of the mind. But men reck not; they lose and cast away, Or suffer to be lost, their ships of dreams, Rich argosies of golden thoughts to men, Which not embalmed in books have disappeared. For thoughts once lost are like forgotten dreams; And many a noble work in ruin lies, Because the dream did not become a fact. The world calls dreamers those who live alone, Who dedicate themselves to some great work, And pass their time in fancies of silent thought. The work is done, and then the workman dies. The world meantime knows not, nor cares to ask, Who laid the keel of that mysterious ship To sail o'er gulfs of space and time and thought: O'er gulfs like that which Milton's hero passed; Or that enchanted boat, by no hand steered, Which Shelley launched in his adventurous song; Or epic of the mightier Florentine, Who sailed his Dream through hell and world and heaven, Ascending visions to the most high God. St. John saw sitting on "a great white throne" Him in the heavens; but there was no place For earth or sea, which fled before his face. His raiment white as snow, and sun and moon Beneath his feet,—for darkness ever was About his throne, though in a blaze of light. "Shadow of God," said Plato of the light, Implying that the light became a veil Which hid the features of the Eternal One In glow of splendors most insufferable. The face of Moses glowed upon the Mount: For he had seen, the record says, a face Which no man else might see and hope to live. And still the faith of Orthodox divines Draws round his form the light-obscuring veil, The dread effulgence of the face of God, Which withers man as fire the shrivelled leaf: And in the judgment who cannot abide To be in presence of that awful light, Ten thousand splendors brighter than the sun, Will fall with others of our worthless race, Swept like dead leaves before the fiery blast. But thou, soft Moon of that great Sun, who art The God of glory veiled in mortal flesh (Unless the faith of Christendom be vain), On thee men look, behold thy face, and live.

J. S.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 15, 1875.

The Index.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 4, 1875.

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N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRANCIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, *Editorial Contributors.*

CANNOT you form a club of five new subscribers to THE INDEX, among your own friends and acquaintance? To clubs of five new subscribers the paper will be sent for a year at \$2.50 each; to clubs of ten new subscribers, at \$2.00 each. This does not apply to any whose names are now on our mail-list, as the reduction is made in the hope that such new subscribers will renew at regular rates. Now is the time to help THE INDEX, if you really value its ideas and aims.

THIS LITTLE NOTE explains itself: "Major Evans Bell, the Honorary Secretary of the Fund for Mr. G. J. Holyoake, to which many friends in America have subscribed, would be obliged, if the editor of THE INDEX would announce that it is intended to close this fund at the end of the year, and that the Committee will be favored by receiving at an early date any further sums which friends of Mr. Holyoake may intend sending. The editor of THE INDEX has kindly consented to receive subscriptions to forward them." We add that it will be the greatest of pleasures to be the medium of such kind messages to one whose character commands the highest respect, whose sacrifices and services for the cause of mental liberty deserve the general gratitude, and whose honorable poverty, advanced years, and feeble health now render assistance a sacred duty of humanity.

MR. GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, whose monthly letters to THE INDEX have been interrupted for several months by sickness, contributes another of his interesting series to the present number. His many friends in this country will be rejoiced to learn that, although not yet wholly restored, his health is decidedly better. Lippincott has just published an American edition of Mr. Holyoake's invaluable *History of Coöperation*, Vol. 1, which will be forwarded from this office on receipt of two dollars. It is an indispensable work for all who are interested in the labor question, and its scope can be gathered from this pregnant definition: "Coöperation, in the social sense of the word, is a new power of industry, constituted by the equitable combination of worker, capitalist, and consumer, and a new means of commercial morality, by which honesty is rendered productive."

MR. MURRAY'S *Golden Rule* and Mr. Babcock's *New Age* are new papers recently started, the former in the interest of "Liberal Orthodoxy," and the latter in the interest of "discussion, not advocacy"; though all "discussion" is necessarily "advocacy" of different views by different minds. The typographical appearance of the *New Age*, an eight-page weekly at \$3.00 a year, is faultless, and its tone is mild and conciliatory. Its first issue contains a variety of bright paragraphs and longer articles by the editor, the best of which is on "Dreams," and contributions by Messrs. Stevens, Hinckley, Clifford, Smart, Pratt, and others. The purpose of the paper is to "convene in these columns a Congress of all sections and representatives of human progress"; and the editor says that, "if there is a journal now doing the work we propose for the *New Age*, we are unacquainted with it." If Mr. Babcock has definite and positive convictions of his own to express, they will probably develop themselves hereafter, as he still holds them in reserve. We wish success, and the best success, to every attempt to bring forward the results of matured thought on any side of any question; but we believe no journal can ever win the best success, if the editor either has no such results, or forbears to bring them forward in order to avoid making his paper "advocate" something. Mr. Babcock's enterprise will deserve sympathy exactly in proportion to the excellence of what he has to "advocate."

F. R. A. CONVENTION.

A Convention of the Free Religious Association is to be held in Worcester, Mass., beginning on Tuesday, the 16th November, in the evening, and holding through the 17th.

Messrs. Frothingham, Higginson, Abbot, Gannett, and other well-known speakers, are expected to be present. Further particulars will be given next week and in the local papers.

WM. J. POTTER, *Secretary.*

AN OPEN LETTER.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, ULYSSES S. GRANT, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

Sir,—The brief speech delivered by you at the late reunion of the Army of the Tennessee made a deservedly favorable and deep impression on the minds of your fellow-citizens. It struck a responsive chord in the soul of every enlightened patriot. The danger of "another great contest in the near future of our national existence" is not an imaginary one, and you admirably defined its character; the necessity of "strengthening the foundations of the structure commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago" is evident to every far-sighted thinker; the duty of "adding all needful guarantees" for freedom of thought and utterance, and for equality of human rights regardless of all arbitrary distinctions, cannot be too strongly dwelt upon; the one great guarantee and safeguard of republican institutions, a system of absolutely unsectarian public instruction in the primary elements of knowledge, cannot be entrenched too strongly in the hearts of the people; and, lastly, the principle that the matter of religion should be left entirely to the citizens in their private capacity, and that the Church and the State should be absolutely and forever separate, needs to-day as never before to be pressed home upon the general mind and conscience. For your weighty and timely declaration of these things—weighty by its intrinsic truth and by the just influence of your own high position, timely by reason of the evident drift of contemporaneous events—I venture, as merely one of your forty-six million fellow-citizens, to thank you gratefully and publicly.

At the same time I would respectfully suggest that, in one supremely important point, the meaning which I doubt not you intended to convey by your words is liable to be misunderstood by the general public, and to express a hope that, in such manner as shall best commend itself to your own judgment, you will take occasion to render all such misunderstanding impossible by an explicit and indisputable interpretation of your own language. The point I refer to needs a little explanation.

Moved undoubtedly by sincere devotion to its own religion, the Roman Catholic Church in this country is avowing itself more and more plainly every day the enemy of our public school system. It claims that, as administered, this system violates and oppresses the Catholic conscience: (1) because the schools are made "Protestant" in character by the religious exercises now held in them; (2) because the total omission of all religious exercises would convert them into "godless" schools; and (3) because the requirements of the Catholic conscience can only be met by a system of instruction absolutely under the control of the Catholic priesthood. For these reasons the Catholic Church demands that the school funds shall be divided, or the school tax remitted, or the school system surrendered wholly to their own control. Fair-minded persons will not hastily assume that these claims and demands are wholly baseless, but will be disposed to lend an attentive ear to complaints urged in the sacred name of conscience. I believe that, so far as the protest lies against the Protestant character impressed on the school system by the Bible-reading and other religious exercises which it sustains, the Catholics are in the right and the dominant majority are in the wrong. It is a fundamental principle of our government, which is formally affirmed in most of our State Constitutions, that no man shall be taxed for the support of a religion which is not his own; and it follows by irrefutable logic that the nation does wrong to tax the Catholics for the support of Protestant worship, whether such worship is practiced in churches or school-houses. Our school system, therefore, is not rightly or justly administered to-day, judged by the very principles we profess to be governed by. The American people are persuaded (and I certainly share the persuasion) that it is not only just, but absolutely indispensable to our national existence, to maintain a system of public education by general taxation; but all the more

incumbent upon us is the duty of making this system perfectly equitable and impartial. No one who is willing to waive his prejudices so far as to consider this question from the various points of view held by the Catholics, the Protestants, the Jews, and the great multitude of free thinkers of all sorts, can fail to admit that no one of these parties has the right to stamp its private belief on the public school system. The case is too plain for argument; wilfulness alone can obscure the issue. I hold it, therefore, as self-evident that so much of the Catholic protest as lies against the maintenance of Protestant worship in the public schools is intrinsically just, and that the schools ought to be absolutely unsectarian in the broadest sense of that word.

It is only on this point that I think the language of your late speech susceptible of misconstruction. The word "sect" is almost universally considered to apply solely to the denominational subdivisions of Protestantism, not to Protestantism itself. The Methodists, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Episcopalians, and so forth, are popularly classed as "sects"; but the great body of Protestant believers which is composed of all such denominations combined is not popularly so classed. It is not perceived that the Protestants are as much a "sect," in relation to the Catholics, the Jews, or the community as a whole, as the Methodists are in relation to the Baptists. Hence the Protestant public are quite unanimous in the declaration that the public school system must be "unsectarian," not perceiving that they have themselves made it "sectarian" by maintaining in the schools a non-denominational, but distinctively Protestant, form of worship. Here is the root of a possible misunderstanding of your speech. When I consider the breadth of your words—"Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions," I cannot resist the conviction that in your own mind you have risen above the common, confused notion of sectarianism; and that, when you so emphatically urge your fellow-citizens to withhold all support from "sectarian schools," you mean to be understood as expressing yourself in favor of the total cessation of all religious exercises in schools supported by general taxation. If your meaning is any less broad or just than this, I shall for one be greatly disappointed; for I would fain find your speech to be what I now believe it—the bravest, the wisest, and the most truly American utterance on this question yet made by any one holding high official position in public life.

But, on account of the ambiguity of the word "sectarian" which I have pointed out, the natural effect of this utterance is at least greatly impaired. So many Protestants think that the full measure of unsectarianism is reached, when the mutual differences of Protestant sects are put out of sight, that it does not occur to them that you could mean to counsel the exclusion of the Bible from the schools and the discontinuance of all religious exercises in them. They fail to comprehend the broad sweep of your language, and thereby lose its most instructive lesson. No question of this time is so profoundly important as that which concerns the preservation, the reform, the improvement, of our public school system; and the country will owe you a great debt of gratitude, if you now unmistakably throw the weight of your influence in favor of the absolute secularization of that system. I therefore venture to ask you in this public way to remove the uncertainty, and in many quarters the misunderstanding, which lessen the full force of your noble speech, and to declare yourself unmistakably in favor of the only genuine "unsectarianism"; namely, that which sinks not only the distinction between Methodist and Baptist, but also that between Catholic and Protestant, in the grand universality of equal human rights. If you, a Methodist Protestant, can practise the high magnanimity of waiving your Methodism and your Protestantism for the preservation of that public school system which is the republic's only bulwark against self-dissolution in general ignorance and degradation, I am persuaded that the effect of your example will not be lost on the great body of your fellow-Protestants, but will stimulate them all to make the sacrifice now imperatively demanded of them by their country's welfare—the sacrifice of the sectarian but unjust advantage they now enjoy in the conduct of the public schools. It is a great opportunity for you to do a new deed of priceless service for the country which owes so much already to your historic past; and the greatness of the opportunity must be my excuse for the liberty I have taken in pointing it out.

Respectfully yours,

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

"L'INSTITUT CANADIEN."

Last Saturday M. Joseph Dufresne, the accredited representative of "L'Institut Canadien" of Montreal, which is engaged in the great struggle with the Roman Catholic Church over the burial of Joseph Guibord, presented a letter of introduction at this office, in furtherance of the objects for which he is travelling in the United States. He solicits the pecuniary aid of the American people in the maintenance of the Institute's cause; and any sums, large or small, which may be forwarded to "M. Joseph Dufresne, Advocate, St. F. X., Montreal," will be faithfully devoted to that purpose. As explained by M. Dufresne, the Guibord case is imperfectly understood in this country, even by our best journals. It seems that, by the Concordat mutually agreed upon by the Pope and the French government prior to the English conquest of Canada, it became the *civil right* of every French Catholic citizen to be buried in consecrated ground, unless excommunicated by name and by notice personally served upon him. At the time of the cession in 1763, the English government bound itself to execute the already existing laws relating to the Catholic Church; and the mandate of the Privy Council, ordering the burial of Guibord in consecrated ground, is issued simply for the protection of Guibord's civil right, under a contract formally assented to by the Church itself and made part of the law of the land. Bishop Bourget, by denying him burial in consecrated ground, violates this contract, and renders himself amenable to the Courts. The real question now is whether the Church has the right, or shall have the power, to cancel this contract at its own pleasure, and set at defiance the civil power which interferes to protect the rights of the *habitants*, solemnly guaranteed by itself at the time of the cession. If the Bishop executes his threat of cursing the grave after Guibord's burial on November 18, a new appeal will be at once taken to the Privy Council; for the independence and supremacy of the civil government, as well as the civil rights of Canadian Catholics, are at stake. Although the issue is a terribly mixed one, considered from an American point of view, there can be no doubt that the little Canadian Institute, with its heavy debt of \$15,000, is bravely fighting the battle of religious liberty in its own country; and it deserves the hearty support of all who sympathize with that cause the world over. With its property of \$30,000 now mortgaged to half its value, its local usefulness has been sadly crippled by the expenses of its law-suit; and its modest appeal for general support in a general cause will surely be heard and responded to.

FREE THOUGHT NOTES.

BY A VETERAN ENGLISH FREE-THINKER.

ED. INDEX:—

Formerly I saw without looking; now I look without seeing—very much. Though the capacity of discernment increases, I have been wandering about our eastern coasts, with great advantage to my health. My physician advised me to do nothing for a long time; and I have tried it, till I begin to like it. It has just occurred to me that I have not fulfilled my engagement of sending to you a certain series of letters, and that I ought to give my mind to fulfilling that duty.

A curious emendation occurred in a public letter I lately wrote, which shows that the delicacy of terms imputed to Americans, as a fastidious singularity, exists also among us. Not being able to read at the time I wrote, the revision of my letter fell into other hands. A passage occurred in it in which I said that a certain Act of George III., employed in this country to put down any public address or scientific lectures on the Sunday, where admission was charged, was a prohibition of any instruction given to the poor on the seventh day; since it must be given altogether at the cost of those who gave it, unless those who valued and availed themselves of it were permitted to contribute in some small degree to defray its expenses. Lecture halls and advertisements are expensive in England, and those who are best able to give information worth receiving are not always able, even if willing, to give all their time of research, preparation, and delivery for nothing. The Act which prevented payment by the hearers was written by Bishop Porteous, and drawn so astutely by his wise and wicked hand, that not even a bug could get into his lordship's bed on a Sunday (if any consideration was taken for his admission), without the chamber-maid being liable to a fine of £200. The word "bug" never appeared. That noisome little word was changed into "tiniest insect." It appeared, I suppose, to the reviser that

even a bug could not have been so depraved and thoughtless as to attempt to bite that worthy bishop. But why the "tiniest insect" should be considered capable of an act of audacity from which his larger brother was conceived to shrink, I have never ascertained. You will please bear in mind that we have delicacy of sentiment over here, and due discernment of all the gradations of ecclesiastical deference in the insect world.

There is general contentment expressed in every town in the kingdom here that Messrs. Moody and Sankey have retired from troubling us, and we hope they have found repose in the bosom of their country. Complaints are made that, now that the machinery of spiritual excitement which those ingenious operators put in motion here is withdrawn, there is great flatness in the world of religious sensationalism, and that the average of piety has fallen below its former standard, and cannot be brought up to the more wholesome level at which it formerly existed. Well-informed clergymen wrote to the public journals after the departure of the Chicago apostles, to complain that they had introduced a spurious and dangerous doctrine of salvation into the country. They had represented that the forgiveness of God was to be had at their hands; its acceptance there and then was all that was necessary; unless people believed upon the spot, they could hope for no further chance. These clergymen contended, and I think very wisely, that salvation depends not merely upon change of profession, but on change of life; that it is an affair of spiritual culture, and is to be purchased by conduct; and that it is immoral to represent it as being obtainable by the lucky accident of meeting with Messrs. Moody and Sankey.

You heard these gentlemen were invited to Eton, the most famous aristocratic school in Great Britain,—it being intended that the Eton boys should be brought under the tuition of the Chicago salvation agents. Immediately parents of the children, in both Houses of Parliament, called for public interference to save their sons from being subjected to contact with this spurious spiritualism. In consequence of this outcry, I wrote a letter to the *Times*, saying: "America has finer samples of faith than that lately so ostentatiously made known to the English people. It is therefore creditable to the higher taste among us, that the parents who have children at Eton object to their sons being familiarized with the peculiar quality of grace imported into this country by Messrs. Moody and Sankey. It was as pleasant as rare to see anywhere in our days self-respect in salvation. But how is it that noblemen and clergymen of high degree should think that good enough for the people which is not good enough for their sons? Since God is no respecter of persons, why should the common people be left to go to heaven in an inferior way?" The fact became obvious to the whole country, from what took place at Eton, that we have two sorts of salvation in England; that respectable people have their own private arrangements for their eternal security; and that they are quite content that working people should be carted away to Paradise by Messrs. Moody and Sankey. No doubt they believe in their hearts that St. Peter keeps a separate gate for the admission of the humbler arrivals.

Since your enterprising countrymen have returned, balance-sheets have been published of the total expenditure on account of their proceedings in London; but not a word is said of what they received for their services. I should have no objection to their being paid. I never thought them anything but earnest, sincere men, very much mistaken in their ideas, and largely deficient in spiritual taste. They certainly worked incessantly, and ought to have been liberally paid. If they were paid, why should they be ashamed to own it? And why should we not be informed whether they were paid adequately? There were prelates and priests who promoted and connived at their proceedings who were handsomely paid themselves; and if they sent Moody and Sankey pennilessly away, we have some very shabby saints among us. We do not want American apostles to visit us for nothing. The common people have independence, and do not want to go to heaven by charity. Their means have much improved of late years, and they can afford to pay for grace like their betters, and I hope will always have the will to do it.

You are a determined people. When Lord Coleridge (then Sir John) made his twenty-one days' speech against Orton Tichborne, the butcher of Wapping, he flattered ourselves that a Britisher had made the biggest speech on record; and when we

began a second trial, and continued it month after month, we naturally concluded that this nation would be so silly as to wish to rival us in this costly and perilous prolixity of law. The Irish are the most ungrateful people in the world. We have abolished their national Church, and keep up the disadvantage and dominancy of our own. We have given the Irish a system of land-laws immensely superior to any we enjoy ourselves. In Parliament we treat their members with a deference which is not accorded to English representatives; so that Englishmen discontented with their own country, and seeking a land of freedom, emigrate to Ireland. If an Irishman presents himself as a candidate in any English borough, the constituency go mad to elect him; this is why the borough of Stoke sent Dr. Kenealy to Parliament, and why the populace listen to him, as he goes about our country complaining that the spurious Roger Tichborne did not have a fair trial. It took two years and cost the country £200,000 to convict him. If he had not a fair trial, there is no knave ever transported who is not illegally convicted, and no scoundrel been hanged who was not murdered; for we never devoted a twentieth part of the money or time on any trial before.

It was Lord Coleridge's ill-timed and virulent tongue which made premature imputations, and took twenty-one days to try to prove them. The crowd cannot follow a three weeks' demonstration. He founded the Tichborne agitation, which we thought would deter all rivals. But we have been deceived. You envy us our foolish fame, and so have invented a big trial of Mr. Beecher imitating us in the most ridiculous particulars. We closed our proceedings by prosecuting a witness (one Luie) for perjury; and we learn from the papers you are going into that line also, and also have a perjurer before your courts. We scarcely understand in this country how the Tilton scandal could be the subject of a protracted trial. Two witnesses like Moulton and Tilton would not have been believed, in England, against any minister whose character stood half as high as that of Mr. Beecher. At the beginning of the affair, I wrote to Mr. Beecher to say I did not believe a word those accusers could say, or would say, against him. I once had, when Mr. Beecher was in this country, a short correspondence with him; but I did not imagine it could be of consequence to him what I thought of this Tilton-Moulton affair. But I had respect for him and his great services on the side of freedom and the Union in this country and in yours; and I thought it might be some satisfaction to him to know that persons whom he might regard as the most likely to believe charges against a minister were not among his adversaries or defamers here. I know that any person in a position where he is required to be the counsel of others is often placed by his own generosity, and mere kindness of heart, in circumstances which might easily be construed into guilt; and unless a generous construction was placed upon his conduct, many persons would be deterred from rendering services of the greatest social value.

I have begun to have propagandist adventures again, of which I will give you an account.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—I hope you are aware that we Englishmen are a very virtuous nation. There is nothing we abhor so much as vice—in others; nothing so soon rouses our righteous indignation as tyranny and oppression—in foreign lands.

Wherever we are unable to play the part of international policeman, we betake ourselves with resignation to the rôle of "heavy father," rather than not interfere at all in the correction of our neighbors.

We have just had a tremendous eruption of this praiseworthy zeal. A deeply degraded member of our government, totally blind and deaf to English ignorance and traditions, lately issued a circular in regard to fugitive slaves and British men-of-war, practically rescinding the old glorious shibboleth: "Every man is free on British soil, or under the British flag."

In sober earnestness this was a terrible blunder, and ought not to have been committed. The government, aroused by the general agitation, seem to think so too, and have "suspended" the obnoxious order, with a view, no doubt, to its being ultimately cancelled. The benighted individual who has caused all this clamor possibly fell into this woful mistake through a sense of justice to the holders of property

who, we are taught to believe, have rights quite as much as fugitive slaves.

We may congratulate ourselves, however, that our zeal for poor slaves is still strong enough to crush every other moral consideration. One of our orators went so far as to say "the sooner the owners of slaves were ruined, the better."

Some of our philanthropists have invoked "Christianity" to their aid in denouncing the hated circular; and one went so far in his bold flight as to quote the New Testament on his side in spite of the example of the Apostle Paul. Altogether the exhibition has been both amusing and highly flattering to our country; and it will be long before any government repeats such an enormity as to enjoin the surrender of fugitive slaves.

Yet, somehow, I do not feel quite so elated and proud of my countrymen as might be wished. The fairness of the picture is considerably spoilt by a text which will keep thrusting itself up into my mind's eye: "First cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to pull out the mote that is in thy brother's eye."

It seems to me that Englishmen are yet steeped in ignorance on the question of slavery, and are totally blind to the various ways in which they themselves are both slave-holders and slave-traders.

No sane man would dream of defending the iniquity of buying and selling slaves; or the still worse horrors of slave-breeding, and the separation of husband and wife, parents and children, for mere gain. No one with a heart the size of a pea would tolerate for a moment a revival of slave-beating and cruelty such as disgraced our colonies fifty years ago.

But all these evils are not absolutely essential to a system of compulsory labor, such as is in the highest degree beneficial to some races and some conditions of men. That slavery is not an unmixed evil, is as true as that it is not an unmixed good. And on this part of the subject of slavery Englishmen for the most part are perversely ignorant and, of course, intolerant. As I cannot enlighten them by half-a-dozen lines in THE INDEX, I pass on to point out their inconsistency. While we rave against the slave-trade in foreign countries, we have some of the worst features of slavery in our own land.

Some may think that I am alluding to the alleged tyranny of the upper classes over the lower. I am doing no such thing. If we want instances of generous consideration, and even kindly indulgence of employers towards the employed, we should find the most eminent and most numerous among our hereditary aristocracy and most ancient county families. Where slavery abounds is chiefly among those who are just above the verge of poverty themselves, or who are eaten up by covetousness and greed of gain.

There are thousands of white slaves here in this land of boasted freedom,—slaves who are bought and sold as well as coerced, and God knows how often ill-treated.

I am not going to bring a hornet's nest upon my head by singling out individuals, or even mentioning specific trades and employments where slavery is rampant. I only say that it is so, and the slaves at all events know it full well, and live and die beating against the bars of their cage. Many a family has been broken up and scattered just as fatally and cruelly as under the auctioneer's hammer in Tennessee. To this hour aged couples, not less dear to each other than "John Anderson" and his wife, are separated in the work-houses in their old age; and if this be not inhuman and cruel as any slavery, I know not what cruelty is.

No doubt the struggle for existence interferes at every turn with individual liberty; but of this discipline we do not complain; we receive it and use it—with a wry face, probably,—but with a secret conviction that it is the best possible training for our characters, and but for it, we should never be more than animals. But this needful discipline is fearfully aggravated and overdone through either the thoughtlessness or selfish ambition of those into whose hands its administration has fallen. We, of all people, have no right to cry out against foreign slavery, while we have so much more of it than we ought to have in our houses, and shops, and factories. I am no more a friend to oppression than Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Garrison—would no more hand over a fugitive slave to a cruel master than would Theodore Parker; but for all that, I see but too plainly a vast amount of noisy and easy "virtue" in the antipathy of Englishmen to compulsory labor, and a vast amount of hypocrisy in their denunciation of slavery.

"Charity begins at home," and so does true liberty. It is our business to see, not that all without excep-

tion shall be turned loose to do as they please, but that the necessary and wholesome restrictions on liberty shall not be perverted into tyranny; and that only those who can and will use their liberty aright shall be intrusted with so precious, so perilous a boon.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, Oct. 9, 1875.

Communications.

CONTRABAND OF WAR.

THE BISHOP'S PLATFORM AND THE CATHOLIC CONSPIRACY.

THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—So the propositions which I have been for some time developing in the columns of THE INDEX have now, in your estimation, shrunk into mere truism. If so, they are demonstrated; demonstration, to whatever applied, being nothing else than the reduction to truisms, which every one admits, of propositions the truth of which was not at first manifest.

This truism, as you express it with my full assent, is that, in the United States, Church and State are not yet as completely separated as they should be. This is a very fair summing up of all that I expressed with specifications.

Since my series of communications began, there has been in your sheet comments upon them, and in your own articles, as well as in those of several of your contributors, a steady approximation to a clearer understanding of the subject. Whether my humble and zealous efforts have contributed to this result, or have been themselves one of the individual manifestations of the collective growth of the public mind, is a question as unimportant as my own personality.

In reference to a doubt that you still express, I reiterate to you and to your readers the assurance that nothing is farther from my mind than to wish to see American citizens restricted in their liberty to make just such private contracts as they please, provided that of those private contracts, such as are, in their stipulations, of a civil nature, should alone receive enforcement at the hands of the civil courts. Private contracts sectarian in their nature should have none but a spiritual enforcement, such as excommunication or deposition from the ministry; and excommunication or ministerial deposition, in a country with a laic government, should have absolutely no temporal effects enforceable at the hands of a civil court.

The opposite doctrine is simply that of the Inquisition. The Inquisition justified its proceedings on the ground that there was a private contract between the Church and the person who had subsequently turned a heretic. This contract was held susceptible of temporal enforcement by the temporal courts, into whose hands the Church delivered the criminal to be executed.

It is evident that nothing short of the theory on which the Inquisition was founded could justify the present practice of the civil courts of this country in enforcing sectarian contracts. In other words, as it is true that

"A presbyter is but a priest writ large,"

though Presbyterians do not like to hear it, so is it true that we now have the Inquisition in full operation in the United States, though, thanks to God, Americans do not like to hear it, and will soon put the matter in order. Until they do, I will, as myself a good and loyal American citizen, reckon among my most glorious privileges that of grumbling at my country in this and every other thing in which I may think her wrong.

In this, however, I do not only act in my capacity as an American citizen loyal to his country. I also act in defence of the spiritual interests entrusted to me as a Christian bishop. As long as sectarianism can hold the souls of men captive through the bribery of its endowments and mercantile stipulations in matters of conscience, so long will it be impossible for the Christianity of Jesus Christ to take a footing in this country. I see in the ministers of the different sects slaves used against me for strategic purposes; in other words, CONTRABAND OF WAR; and it is as a strategic measure that I demand their emancipation.

I remain, dear sir, truly yours,

JULIUS FERRETTE.

CAMBRIDGE, Oct. 22, 1875.

AN IMPORTANT CHURCH CASE: NO "CANON LAW" IN NEW YORK STATE.

EDITOR INDEX:—

As bearing upon the question "whether we have a canon law in this country," allow me to call your attention to the case of *Watkins vs. Wilcox*, decided by the General Term of the New York Supreme Court in the Third Department at April term, 1875, and reported in 4th Huse, at page 220. It will also be interesting to you, as it involves substantially the same questions as were at issue in your case in New Hampshire. We see by the liberal language used by Judge Learned, who writes the opinion of the Court, that the "world moves," and that we have public men who dare to express their common-sense views, and say that in religious corporations the majority should be allowed to control, the same as in other associations; men who recognize the fact that, "in spite of written symbols, the beliefs of men change and have changed"; and who "look with no favor on a rule which would permit the past genera-

tions to appropriate property to the support of their beliefs, so permanently as to deprive the present of the use of such property, in case those old beliefs shall have passed away."

The incorporation in question was formed under the act of the New York Legislature, entitled "An Act to provide for the Incorporation of Religious Societies," passed April 5, 1813, under the name of "The Elders and Deacons of the Protestant Reformed Dutch Church of Ithaca." It was in connection with the general synod of the Reformed Church in America, and with the *classis* of Geneva, an inferior ecclesiastical body connected therewith. In July, 1872, a large majority of the church and congregation petitioned the *classis* to dismiss the church from its ecclesiastical connection. A meeting of the consistory in October, 1872, with one only dissenting (the plaintiff), requested the dissolution of the relation between the church and that *classis*; the *classis* declined to terminate the connection itself, though admitting that either party had the right to terminate that connection when it thought proper.

In December, 1872, the church voted to disconnect itself from the *classis* of Geneva and the general synod of the Reformed Church of America. The vote was sixteen male members in favor, one opposed.

In February, 1873, the consistory of the church voted to confide the management of its concerns to nine trustees, and the trustees were elected accordingly. Subsequently, an application was made to a justice of the Supreme Court for a change of the name of the church, and it was changed accordingly to "The First Congregational Church of Ithaca, N. Y.," and a Congregational clergyman was employed. The action was brought to set aside the order changing the name of the society, and to have the transfer to the trustees of the temporal affairs of the church declared void, and to have the old consistory of 1872 adjudged entitled thereto. Judgment was rendered for defendant, and plaintiff appealed to the General Term. Judge Learned then proceeds on the opinion of the Court as follows:—

"It may be well to examine this case on the broad grounds raised by the plaintiff's counsel. In substance these are that as the majority of the congregation have severed themselves from the old ecclesiastical connection, the property belongs to the minority. It is important here to notice that the law of charitable uses has no existence in this State. 'Corporations take and hold property only to the amounts and for the purposes prescribed by their charters or acts of incorporation' (52 N. Y., 332). And in the act to provide for the incorporation of religious societies (Laws of 1813), the only purpose prescribed is to be found in section 4. There it is said that the trustees of every church, congregation, or society hold the real and personal estate for the use of such church, congregation, or society, or other pious uses."

"So far, then, as the express language of the act goes, there is nothing which declares that the trustees hold the property for the support of the *believers in any particular tenets*. That act is one in all its scope. It provides for the incorporations of religious societies in three different cases: first, in the Protestant Episcopal churches; second, in the *Dutch Reformed*; third, in all others. In each instance it provides for the election of persons to be trustees. In the first, these are the rector, wardens, and vestrymen; in the second, the minister, elders, and deacons; in the third, those who are elected trustees. But in each case their authority is not by virtue of any ecclesiastical office; it is simply because the law declares them to be trustees. And section 4 speaks of all these trustees alike, giving them, in each case, the same powers."

"I see no reason to think that the trustees of societies organized under one section of this act have any different rights or authority from the trustees of societies organized under either of the other sections; or that any system was intended to be established under section 3 different from that established under sections 1 and 2. The counsel for the plaintiff urges strongly that the contrary is true, and that an ecclesiastical character is possessed by the societies formed under sections 1 and 2, which does not belong to those formed under section 3. But we must notice that there are many other large denominations which are as thoroughly organized, are as much accustomed to have what, by a misnomer, are called ecclesiastical courts, as either of those denominations named in the first and second sections. Such, to name no others, are the Presbyterian, the Methodist Episcopal, the Lutheran. Now, the religious societies connected in belief with these organizations, must incorporate themselves under the third section of the act, and have done so. . . .

"The act was intended to form a general system, and to make only such variations as would facilitate, in each denomination, the election of trustees, by harmonizing such election with old and existing customs. . . .

"Religious societies are not ecclesiastical corporations in the meaning of the English law. They are civil corporations. The corporation consists not of the trustees but of the members of the society. 'It was the intention of the Legislature to place the control of the temporal affairs of these societies in the hands of a majority of the corporators, independent of priest or bishop, presbytery or synod, or other ecclesiastical judicatory.' (11 N. Y., 243.) . . .

"It is insisted that one qualification of a voter in corporations under the second section, is to be a communicant in good standing, and that the members of this church have ceased to be such. . . .

"The consistory of the church is the tribunal which decides on the standing of the members, and that body had not excommunicated any of these. Their right to vote was undisturbed. It seems to me

to follow from the decisions that the majority of the corporators have the right to control, and that they are free from any ecclesiastical restrictions. If there is anything contrary to this view in *Watson vs. Jones* (13 Wall, 714), or in the decisions of other States, it is not binding.

"I fully agree with the principle which thus seems to me to be established. In spite of written symbols, the beliefs of men change and have changed; and I look with no favor on a rule which would permit the past generations to appropriate property to the support of their beliefs, so permanently as to deprive the present of the use of such property, in case those old beliefs shall have passed away. The judgment should be affirmed with costs."

The italics are mostly mine. I have given a full statement of the case, and copious extracts from the opinion, for the reason that the statute in question does not differ in effect from the statutes of other States upon the same subject, and also to show to Bishop Ferrette that we have no canon law in New York. Churches here are civil corporations, like banks or railroads, having the right to connect themselves with other like corporations, the same as do banks and railroads, and the like right to disconnect themselves and be governed by the vote of a majority of the corporators, as to the manner in which they shall carry on the business for which they are organized. It is also recognized as a fact that beliefs in religious matters change, in like manner as do beliefs as to the proper manner to run a mine or a steamboat, and a majority of the corporators have the common, civil right to change the manner and form of the operations to be carried on by the concern.

MARATHON, N. Y., Oct. 18, 1875.

SETTLED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I wish to disavow any intention of doing you any injustice in holding you responsible for the "statements of fact" contained in the *Christian Union* article which you embodied in your editorial on "The Catholic Peril."

I now understand THE INDEX to affirm that it is not responsible for "statements of fact," or opinions, contained in extracts from other papers which are embodied in its editorials, unless they are distinctly indorsed in the editor's own language. Now this is to me an entirely novel position, and I think will be so to most of your readers, since every one whose attention I have called to the matter has agreed with me in the general understanding of the usage in such cases. I am yet unable to see what purpose that quotation served in your article, unless you tacitly indorsed its correctness.

However, since the position of THE INDEX is now understood, we will drop the matter, and I will endeavor to do you no "injustice" hereafter.

The Ohio election is happily over, and "hard money" is triumphant before the people. Whether more bigoted Protestants were influenced by the agitation of the "school question" to vote the Republican ticket, or sensible people, disgusted with the senseless clamor, were led to refrain from voting it, can hardly be known.

The subterfuge was so thoroughly exposed in Ohio, that the discussion was almost entirely dropped there (judging from the newspapers) for some time before the election; and probably very few votes were influenced, either way.

Let us rejoice, then, in the triumph of financial honesty, and rally all our friends, of whatever party, for the complete secularization and permanence of our public school system. LEWIS G. JAMES.

NEW YORK, Oct. 25, 1875.

[The "purpose" of that quotation was to show what the *Christian Union* thought, and to leave the statement of fact standing solely on the *Christian Union's* authority. This authority we considered good, but did not choose to be held responsible for a positive statement, when we had no personal knowledge. All this is so simple and easy to understand that we should not have thought it necessary to say it, if it had not been misunderstood. Our readers will avoid all "injustice" of the kind referred to by remembering that we "indorse" only what we say we indorse; everything else stands on its own authority. We thank Mr. James for his disclaimer.—ED.]

DON CARLOS, the pretender to the throne of Spain, has promulgated the penal code which is to "be provisionally enforced under the present circumstances of war." It will be adopted by all the judicial tribunals in the part of Spain which is under his control. What this son of the Church intends as to religious liberty will appear from the following clauses:—

No. 124. "Any attempt to abolish or change the Roman Catholic apostolic religion in Spain shall be punished by temporary imprisonment and perpetual banishment, if the criminal be in public authority and be guilty of the crime of abusing it. If, however, the criminal be in other circumstances, the penalty shall be commuted to long imprisonment; and in case of repetition, temporary imprisonment and perpetual banishment.

No. 125. "Any person celebrating public worship, not of the Roman Catholic apostolic religion, shall be punished by temporary banishment.

No. 132. "A Spaniard publicly abjuring the Roman Catholic religion shall be punished by perpetual banishment, this punishment to cease from the moment he returns to the pale of the Church."

This is now the law in a part of Spain.—*Investigator*.

STOCK LIST OF THE INDEX ASSOCIATION (UNPAID ASSESSMENTS).

In July last a copy of the following circular was mailed to the address of every stockholder of the Index Association:—

TREASURER'S NOTICE.

OFFICE OF THE INDEX ASSOCIATION,
BOSTON, July 15, 1875.

Dear Sir,—At the last monthly meeting of the Directors of this Association, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That the Treasurer be instructed to issue, as soon as may be convenient, a circular to all the stockholders of the Index Association, notifying them that a complete list of said stockholders, with the total amount of the assessments hitherto voted by the Board, the total amount of the payments thereon, and the balance (if any) now due in each case, set opposite their respective names, will be published next October in THE INDEX; and also requesting all of them who may still be indebted to the Association for unpaid assessments to remit the amount of such indebtedness before the first of September next, that they may be credited in said list with payment in full to date,—or to render such reasons for not so doing as shall seem to the Directors sufficient for omitting their names from the published list."

In obedience to the above order of the Board of Directors, I have mailed this circular to your address, and respectfully invite your attention to its contents. The enclosed notice will inform you of the amount of the stock assessments (if any) which stand charged to your name on the books of the Association; and it is hoped that you will be so kind as to remit accordingly. If all the stockholders shall do so, the continued publication of THE INDEX will be assured beyond a doubt; and it is greatly to be desired that those who have subscribed for this purpose to the stock shall all appear on the forthcoming list as having honorably discharged the obligation thus voluntarily and generously assumed.

Yours truly,

R. H. RANNEY,

Treasurer of the Index Association.

On September 22, the following resolution was passed by the Board of Directors:—

"Resolved, That the list as submitted be printed once at length in THE INDEX, with the appended note that so much of the list as relates to unpaid assessments will be hereafter published once each month in THE INDEX until the assessments are paid; and that the list be hereafter published in accordance with that note, except as to names for which a satisfactory reason for non-payment has been offered to the Board."

The list here published in accordance with the latter part of the September vote of the Directors is brought down to the date of October 5, 1875:—

Residence.	Name.	Assessments Voted.	Assessments Paid.	Assessments Unpaid.
Sacramento, Cal.	Henry Miller	200	100	100
Washington, D.C.	M. H. Doolittle	40	30	10
Chicago, Ill.	W. H. Overton	400	200	200
"	Jos. Singer	40	20	20
"	W. B. Billings	200	200	
"	A. Van Der Nailler	40	30	10
"	R. M. Whipple	60	20	40
"	Mrs. Sarah F. Mills	30	10	20
"	G. N. Jennings	40	30	10
"	C. S. Burt	40	40	
"	C. R. Woodward	40	10	30
"	R. S. Brigham	40	40	
"	Chas. A. Scofield	40	10	30
"	D. R. Sparks	40	30	10
"	Wesley Best	30	10	20
"	A. L. Munroe	30	10	20
"	J. R. Weist	30	30	
"	G. C. Glatte	120	90	30
"	G. M. Daussman	40	40	
"	F. W. Cook	40	30	10
"	Mrs. J. J. Pillsbury	40	20	20
"	J. O. Martin	40	20	20
"	Ferd. Christmann	40	20	20
"	Henry Schull	40	20	20
"	Gust. Zschech	40	20	20
"	Herman Lieber	40	10	30
"	Jas. Snelser	40	40	
"	John H. Popp	40	40	
"	Chas. Live	40	20	20
"	E. S. Barrows	40	20	20
"	Wm. H. Ellery	40	40	
"	S. S. Wemott	40	20	20
"	D. B. Henderson	40	10	30
"	Henry A. Dean	120	100	20
"	Chas. M. Wetherbee	40	20	20
"	Sam'l T. Durkee	40	10	30
"	J. M. Hadley	40	30	10
"	Frank Prather	40	10	30
"	Lewis Kurtz	40	10	30
"	J. T. Brady	40	30	10
"	M. S. Beach	40	40	
"	C. S. Bacon	40	30	10
"	C. Robins	40	30	10
"	John McDuffie	40	30	10
"	A. Folso (Trustee)	200	100	100
"	John F. Mills	40	20	20
"	Miss Rebecca Bowker	40	10	30
"	M. Luce	80	40	40
"	Henry N. Stone	80	60	20
"	S. H. Pearce	40	20	20
"	F. H. Henshaw	40	20	20
"	E. B. Loring	40	20	20
"	Isaac Ames	120	60	60
"	Frederic Coffin	40	10	30
"	Chas. H. Coffin	40	20	20
"	E. G. Burnet	80	20	60
"	C. W. Eastbrook	40	30	10
"	Clark Jilson	40	10	30
"	G. H. Briggs	80	20	60
"	Edward A. Brown	80	30	50
"	John A. Hawes	80	60	20
"	Jas. Purinton	30	10	20

Residence.	Name.	Assessments Voted.	Assessments Paid.	Assessments Unpaid.
Lexington, Mass.	W. J. Currier.....	30	30	
	Geo. W. Robinson.....	30	10	20
	W. H. Gilmore.....	30	10	20
Chicopee, Mass.	James Damon.....	20	10	10
Ipswich, Mass.	E. B. Ward.....	800	400	400
Detroit, Mich.	M. H. Isbell.....	40	20	20
"	John J. Bagley.....	1200		1200
"	B. F. Stamm.....	40	10	30
"	Fred. Stearns.....	40	10	30
"	Geo. Jerome.....	40	10	30
"	D. J. Davison.....	40	10	30
Battle Creek, Mich.	Wm. Newman.....	40	20	20
"	John Harper.....	40	10	30
"	C. M. Stiles.....	40	10	30
"	".....	40	10	30
Ionia, Mich.	".....	40	10	30
Union City, Mich.	J. D. Zimmerman.....	40	30	10
"	Phebe A. Zimmerman.....	40	30	10
"	Geo. Hubbard.....	40	10	30
"	S. H. Nye.....	40		
"	Chas. H. Spring.....	40		
"	D. D. W. Rodgers.....	40		
Castine, Me.	".....	40	20	20
Ft. Fairfield, Me.	R. L. Baker.....	40	20	20
Minneapolis, Minn.	S. C. Gale.....	400	100	300
"	R. E. Grimshaw.....	40	20	20
"	Marshall Bros.....	40	20	20
Long Lake, Minn.	S. Lydard.....	40	30	10
Lake City, Minn.	D. K. Boutelle.....	40	20	20
Palmyra, Mo.	S. C. Eastman.....	40	30	10
St. Louis, Mo.	Henry Stagz.....	40	20	20
"	J. C. Rooney.....	80	20	60
"	".....	40	20	20
"	E. G. Windeger.....	40	40	
St. Joseph, Mo.	Jacob Sprinkel.....	40	30	10
"	P. V. Wise.....	40	40	
"	C. Murat Masterson.....	40	40	
New York, N.Y.	Asa K. Butts.....	1280	340	940
"	E. F. Dinmore.....	40	20	20
"	M. L. Holbrook.....	40	20	20
"	S. Sexton.....	40	20	20
"	Henry H. Richardson.....	80	20	60
"	Mrs. M. R. Van Rensselaer.....	40	20	20
"	".....	40	30	10
"	W. E. Booraem.....	40	30	10
"	J. Lienau.....	70	50	20
"	J. P. Dinmore.....	80	40	40
"	B. W. Pierce.....	400	100	300
"	".....	200	100	100
"	D. Throne.....	40	30	10
"	Lewis G. James.....	40	40	
"	J. J. Nichols.....	120	30	90
"	J. W. Bigelow.....	80	20	60
"	E. Namberg.....	40	20	20
"	".....	300		300
"	".....	30		30
"	John Cowan.....	30	20	10
"	John Mills.....	30	30	
"	W. C. Russell.....	80	60	20
Ithaca, N.Y.	".....	40	30	10
Peekskill, N.Y.	J. Whitaker.....	40	30	10
Kerkonkson, N.Y.	J. Goldmark.....	30	20	10
Brooklyn, N.Y.	".....	60	40	20
"	".....	150	100	50
Hornellsville, N.Y.	D. F. Sweetland.....	40	10	30
Binghampton, N.Y.	Titus L. Brown.....	40	40	
Buffalo, N.Y.	H. G. White.....	40	20	20
Syracuse, N.Y.	J. N. Stearns.....	40	10	30
"	Gno. M. Price.....	40	20	20
"	J. Henry Clarke.....	40	20	20
"	".....	50	7	43
"	E. B. Waldo.....	40	20	20
"	M. Schlessinger.....	40	20	20
"	L. T. Osborne.....	40	20	20
"	".....	40	30	10
"	W. J. Lewis.....	40	10	30
"	Harvey Hakes.....	40	20	20
"	Louis Bristol.....	40	20	20
"	Mrs. M. A. Wright.....	40	10	30
"	".....	30	10	20
"	".....	40	20	20
Rutherford Park, N.J.	Jabez Elverson.....	30	30	
Newark, N.J.	S. H. Dame.....	40	40	
Dover, N.H.	J. H. York.....	40	30	10
"	Jos. Hayes.....	40	30	10
"	G. P. Folsom.....	40	40	
"	".....	80	5	75
Omaha, Neb.	David R. Locke.....	800	300	500
Toledo, O.	".....	400	50	350
"	".....	400	100	300
"	".....	400	200	200
"	E. P. Bassett.....	120	60	60
"	Jas. M. Ritchie.....	120	30	90
"	Victor Keen.....	120	60	60
"	Alanson Wood.....	200	30	170
"	Wm. Kraus.....	120	50	70
"	J. G. Holzwarth.....	40	10	30
"	".....	40	40	
"	Wm. Clarke.....	120	60	60
"	C. L. Smith.....	40	10	30
"	Frank J. Scott.....	400	300	100
"	Henry Kiest.....	80	60	20
"	Otto Klein.....	40	20	20
"	H. G. Neubert.....	80	40	40
"	".....	40	20	20
"	H. Heyerman.....	40	10	30
"	L. Von Blessingh.....	200	100	100
"	".....	600	300	300
"	".....	400	50	350
"	".....	200	390	1610
Cincinnati, O.	Max Pracht.....	40	20	20
"	D. K. Innes.....	20	10	10
"	Peter H. Clark.....	40	20	20
"	J. T. Sutton.....	40	20	20
"	Chas. Churchill.....	40	40	
"	Mrs. Mary Pracht.....	40	20	20
"	Wm. Bismark Pracht.....	40	20	20
"	J. J. Stevens.....	40	20	20
"	Geo. T. Alpress.....	40	20	20
Defiance, O.	Wm. Blackmore.....	40	10	30
Painesville, O.	A. D. Wilt.....	40	20	20
Dayton, O.	W. F. Heikes.....	80	60	20
"	L. S. Bryant.....	40	40	
"	".....	40	30	10
"	Chas. Bonnell.....	40	30	10
Salem, O.	C. W. Farciot.....	40	20	20
Kelley's Island, O.	J. A. Simon.....	40	20	20
Kryan, O.	S. F. Woodward.....	80	60	20
Osborn, O.	H. E. Parsons.....	20	10	10
Ashtabula, O.	W. F. Ewing.....	40	40	
"	".....	40	30	10
Oberlin, O.	W. C. Head.....	30	30	
Philadelphia, Pa.	A. Loos.....	30	10	20
Pittsburg, Pa.	Walter F. Austin.....	40	30	10
"	".....	40	30	10
Allegheny City, Pa.	Val. Ludwig.....	40	30	10
"	Mrs. Nancy Gebhart.....	40	40	
"	O. A. Nicholson.....	40	40	
Newport, R.I.	Jas. B. Brayton.....	40	10	30
"	".....	40	40	
Providence, R.I.	J. D. Frost.....	40	30	10
"	Geo. L. Clark.....	20	40	20
"	".....	40	40	
"	A. Reymann.....	40	10	30
Wheeling, Va.	R. B. Smith.....	40	40	
Madison, Wis.	W. H. Dyke.....	40	15	25
Prairie du Chien, Wis.	A. Mc D. Young.....	40	20	20
Milwaukee, Wis.	C. T. Hawley.....	40	20	20
"	Wm. Becker.....	40	20	20
"	E. C. Spencer.....	80	40	40
"	C. M. Lawler.....	40	10	30
"	Mrs. G. D. Norris.....	200	50	150
"	D. G. Chittenden.....	40	10	30
"	C. D. Kendrick.....	40	10	30
"	Thos. Hoover.....	40	40	
"	Mrs. Mary C. Davis.....	80	40	40
"	E. R. Ireland.....	40	40	
Eau Clair, Wis.	H. E. Mann.....	40	10	30
Fond du Lac, Wis.	B. B. Smith.....	40	40	
Not known.	W. L. Ratho.....	40	10	30
"	Jas. R. Stone.....	40	20	20
"	James Fischer.....	80	50	30
"	J. L. Taylor.....	40	40	
"	M. M. Pratt.....	40	5	35
"	M. E. Dayton.....	40	40	
"	A. E. Whitmore.....	30	10	20

Advertisements.

THE PATRONAGE

of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support. To this end, all improper or "blind" advertisements, all quack advertisements, and all advertisements believed to be fraudulent or unjust to any one, will be excluded from these columns. No cuts will be admitted.

THE INDEX must not be held responsible for any statement made by advertisers, who will in all cases accept the responsibility for their own statements.

ADVERTISING RATES.

For 1 to 12 Insertions, 10c per line.			
" 13 " 25 "	8 "	" "	" "
" 26 " 51 "	6 "	" "	" "
" 52 "	5 "	" "	" "

On half-column advertisements, a discount of 10 per cent. will be made; on full-column advertisements, a discount of 25 per cent.

On all advertisements for which cash is paid in advance, a further discount of 25 per cent. on the total, as above calculated, will be made. FRANCIS E. ABBOT, Editor.

TO ADVERTISERS.

The following states the experience of a successful Bookseller who has advertised in THE INDEX:—

TOLEDO, Ohio, Sept. 20, 1872.

To THE INDEX ASSO., Toledo, O.:
Gentlemen,—Having had occasion to advertise in your paper during the past two years quite largely, I take pleasure in stating that I have always obtained very satisfactory returns—better in fact than from book advertisements in any other paper I have advertised in. Not only have I obtained immediate results, but orders have frequently been received months after the insertion of the advertisement, showing that your paper is kept on file and referred to by your readers.

Yours truly,

HENRY S. STEBBINS.

Special arrangements will be made at reduced terms for long-time or extended advertisements. Address

THE INDEX,
No. 1 TREMONT PLACE,
Boston.

CULTURED FREE THOUGHT.

The Index Association,

OFFICE, NO. 1 TREMONT PL., BOSTON,

has been organized with a capital stock fixed at ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND dollars, for the purpose of publishing Tracts, Books, and

THE INDEX,

A Weekly Paper devoted to Free and Rational Religion.

It is the object of THE INDEX to give public utterance to the boldest, most cultivated, and best matured thought of the age on all religious questions, and to apply it directly to the social and political amelioration of society.

It is edited by FRANCIS E. ABBOT, with the following list of Editorial Contributors:—

O. B. FROTHINGHAM, New York City.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, New Bedford, Mass.

WILLIAM H. SPENCER, Sparta, Wis.

RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, Boston, Mass.

Mrs. E. D. CHENEY, Jamaica Plain, Mass.

REV. CHARLES VOYSEY, London, England.

PROF. FRANCIS W. NEWMAN, London, Eng.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, London, Eng.

DAVID H. CLARK, Florence, Mass.

Every liberal should subscribe for THE INDEX, as the best popular exponent of Religious Liberalism. Every Christian minister, and every thinking church-member, should subscribe for it, as the clearest, most candid, and most scholarly exposition of the differences between Free Thought and Evangelical Christianity, and as the best means of becoming well informed of the arguments and the movements which the Church will have to meet in the future.

Almost every number contains a discourse or leading article, which alone is worth the price of one year's subscription.

Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

Send \$3.00 for one year, or 75 cents for three months on trial.

Address THE INDEX
No. 1 Tremont Place Boston.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

FREE

RELIGIOUS

ASSOCIATION.

Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India," also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

Proceedings of Fifth Annual Meeting, 1872. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by J. W. Chadwick on "Liberty and the Church in America," by C. D. B. Mills on "Religion as the Expression of a Permanent Sentiment of the Human Mind," and by O. B. Frothingham on "The Religion of Humanity," with addresses by Rowland Connor, Celia Burleigh, Lucretia Mott, A. B. Alcott, C. A. Bartol, Horace Seaver, Alexander Loos, and others.

Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1873. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. S. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains *verbatim* reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Sonnenschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Calthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity,—"as Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"—together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Keshub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. Wasson.

Proceedings of Eighth Annual Meeting, 1875. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains Essays by Wm. C. Gannett, on "The Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. P. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

Religions of China, by Wm. H. Channing. 25 cents.

Reason and Revelation, by William J. Potter. 10 cents.

Taxation of Church Property, by Jas. Parton. 10 cents, singly; package of ten, 60 cents; of one hundred, \$3.

These publications are for sale at the office of the Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston. The Annual Reports for 1868 and 1871 cannot be supplied, and the supply of others previous to that of 1872 is quite limited. Orders by mail may be addressed either "Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston," or to the Secretary, New Bedford, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER Sec. F. R. A.

GOOD PHOTOGRAPHS

OF

LEADING INDEX WRITERS.

Including

O. B. FROTHINGHAM,

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

"If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. Now, the centennial year of our national existence, I believe, is a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundations of the structure commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian schools. Resolve that neither State or Nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmingled with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and the State forever separate."—PRESIDENT GRANT, at Des Moines, Sept. 23, 1875.

GLIMPSES.

ACCORDING TO Comptroller Green's statement, the debt of New York city on October 1 amounted to \$131,113,906.74—the result chiefly of the alliance between Catholicism and Democracy.

NOTICING the absence of all open opposition to the Moody and Sankey revival in Brooklyn, and also the "small number of converts," the *Sun* inquires: "Why this barrenness in the Brooklyn vineyard?"

THE NEW Constitution of Alabama, to be voted upon November 16, explicitly exempts church, charitable, and school property from taxation. This is more than a "straw." Unless our political framework is made more secular, it will gradually be made more ecclesiastical. The moral is too obvious to be pointed out.

MR. BRADLAUGH is lecturing in America this season with unabated success. He has all the engagements he can fill, despite an undercurrent of opposition from Orthodox opponents who are shrewd enough not to put themselves on record. His power and eloquence as an orator are conceded even by those who most dread his influence as a freethinker.

ALAS for the inconsistency of human nature! In September President Grant earnestly counsels the people of the United States to "keep the Church and the State forever separate." In October he himself mixes the two together by solemnly recommending the people, in an official proclamation countersigned by the Secretary of State, to go to church on Thanksgiving Day.

IT HAVING been stated in a New York daily that Rev. Mr. Chadwick was "signalled" by Mr. Moody to "give the benediction" at one of his revival meetings, Mr. Chadwick denies the charge with refreshing frankness, saying that he was not present, and that "this whole revival movement, with all its works and ways, is utterly distasteful and abhorrent to my feelings, as I believe it calculated to do very little good and almost infinite harm."

DEPRECATING the appointment of Mr. Chandler as Secretary of the Interior, *Harper's Weekly* of November 8 boldly declares that "a national Republican majority can not be marshalled under the leadership of the remains of the late Senatorial group under which the party has been shaken and shattered"; that "the fact must be plainly stated that the new Secretary of the Interior is not a representative of the political character or intelligence or practices which can secure a Republican President in 1876"; and that, unless the Republican party takes up civil reform in good earnest, "the country will take the risk of a Democratic Administration." If this is "partisanship," we do not object to it.

MRS. EMMA C. MOULTON has been expelled without a hearing from Plymouth Church, under circumstances which make the act appear a grave mistake, to say no more. She protested against it in these dignified terms:—

"My absence is an enforced one, and is caused by

the crime of adultery committed by Henry Ward Beecher, pastor of this Church, with one of his parishioners, which I know to be a fact through Mr. Beecher's confession to me, and through the confessions of Mrs. Tilton's, and through conclusive evidence of the crime from other sources. I appear before this church in loyal obedience to the summons which I have received, and I hereby declare my disposition and desire to discharge all the duties devolving on me as a member that are consistent with my knowledge of the adultery of the pastor and his false swearing with regard to it.

"Very respectfully, EMMA C. MOULTON.
"BROOKLYN, N. Y., Nov. 4, 1875."

THE GREAT unfinished Roman Catholic Cathedral in Fifth Avenue, New York, was sold on the last day of September for unpaid taxes amounting to \$780. These were assessments for street improvements. The Tammany Ring used to remit these taxes in return for political support, but this ceased under the Reform régime, and Cardinal McCloskey pleaded lowness of funds to avoid payment. In the Cardinal's absence, however, payment was pressed, and the property was at last sold for the unpaid taxes of the last seven years. The buyer is a Catholic, however, and will undoubtedly hand it over to the Church again. But conclusive proof of the falsehood of the excuse given for not paying these taxes is the telegraphic announcement on October 11 that Cardinal McCloskey "has ordered at Rome a splendid marble altar for the Roman Catholic Cathedral of New York, costing \$40,000!"

THERE WAS a significant scene in one of the public schools of Newtown, Connecticut, not long ago. Father McCartin entered the school and ordered the Catholic children not to listen to the Bible-reading. Teacher Day violently ejected him from the room, tearing his clothes, for which the teacher is to be prosecuted. The school committee uphold him in his course, and have voted that "there is no impropriety for a teacher to open the morning session by reading a portion of the Bible without making comments, and maintaining order while the same is being read; and any interference therein will be regarded as an intrusion." In other words, it is just to make the public schools Protestant in character, and to tax the whole people to sustain Protestantism in them. The priest did wrong to interfere as he did; but what just person will say he had no grievance? The school system is doomed, if it cannot be purified from this iniquitous violation of the rights of conscience.

"H. H.," WRITING in the New York *Independent*, lamented the death of the "dear old adjectives" of affection, slain by the Brooklyn "pestilence"—"so bedraggled have sentiment and its language become together." She said: "The hurt is irreparable. We shall go hungry for years for want of an epithet or two which a decent and well-balanced affection can venture to apply to its object. Yea must be bare yea, and nay, nay, for us, forever; 'whatsoever is more than these' has come to such terrible evil! There is one more of Love's sacred possessions which has been slain by this pestilence. It is the most terrible death of all. We cannot speak of it. More sacred than any words, more significant than any phrases, if they had left it to us, we might have done without the words! But now, alas! we cannot even kiss each other without remembering the part that the kiss was forced to play in the pestilence. To think that it should have survived Judas Iscariot, to be slain now!" No! All the vileness of all the ages has not been vile enough to degrade the tender words and innocent caresses of a pure human love. They cannot be spoiled while love survives. Let us be too strong in our integrity to concede such power to evil. Mankind cannot afford to have the affectionate intercourse of the pure-hearted tainted by the impurities of the foul. The guileless will be guileless still; and the beautiful old song will be sung forever to the same exquisite, immortal music.

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[For THE INDEX.]

Life and Death.

AN ESSAY READ TO A SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY IN LONDON, DEC. 4, 1873.

BY JOHN BADCOCK.

What is life? This is a very old question, and one that seems to have puzzled mankind in all ages.

Man, from his superior abilities, has regarded his life as something essentially different, both in its origin and termination, from that of all other beings on this globe, and hence, in the absence of positive knowledge, has invented a number of theories to account for the same.

In Christendom we are all familiar with the old Jewish story of Adam, the first man, having been formed in earth and then breathed into by God; and of Eve, the first woman, being made out of one of Adam's ribs, and how they became mortal by eating of a certain fruit which had been forbidden them. "Thus by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin."

Other nations besides the Jews have traced back their ancestors to a similar fabulous origin, and they have also their sacred books believed in by millions.

Now I will not insult the intelligence of a scientific society, by discussing the truth or otherwise of stories such as these, for I cannot imagine any scientific person worthy of the name who can seriously believe them.

Dr. Carpenter* thus expresses the position and views of scientists and others in relation to this question. He says: "All unprejudiced Biblical critics have now come to accept these narratives, not as truthful historical statements, nor, on the other hand, as forgeries, but merely as expressions of the early belief of the people whose sacred literature they constituted." And further: "We must agree that the more they are investigated by scientific minds, the more we come to feel that they cannot be received as more than a record of the early ideas of this very ancient people." Again: "The revelations of science as to the history of the earth and its successive inhabitants can no longer be screwed and twisted into conformity with a set of writings which, however ancient, can only be taken as representing the beliefs of the ancient people whose sacred literature they constituted."

What then does science teach us in reference to life and death?

The essential nature of life we cannot define. We find, however, that when certain forms of matter are placed under certain conditions relatively to other forms, that life is the result; but whether this is occasioned by any chemical combination of atoms thus placed in special relation to each other, or whether there is made a deposit of some of those infinitesimal germs which pervade the atmosphere, seems as yet impossible to decide. The experiments of some seem to prove that a spontaneous generation of life is possible under given conditions. Here, however, we are treading on the border-land of discoveries yet to be made. Let us wait. Enough, however, has been discovered whereby we know that innumerable forms of life have for countless ages existed on the earth; that what we call the "crust" of the earth is mostly composed of the remains of animals and plants; that animals and plants exist

of such minuteness as not to be recognized by our ordinary senses of sight and feeling, while what we call "germs of life" are still, if possible, more minute; that disease itself is in many cases only another form of life, its minute, floating germs ever present and waiting only for favorable conditions for development into life.

Life, consequently, may be defined as *latent force in all matter, and co-existent with the same and inseparable from it*. Life is thus the normal condition; and what we call death would thus seem to be only a temporary or transitory state, not even involving a cessation of life; for as matter is never absolutely at rest, there would of necessity be a constant change from life to life through the apparently quiescent state which we call "death."

But what we are concerned mostly with, is not life and death in general, but as regards ourselves in particular, i.e., human life and death. Is there any difference between man and the brutes, or is he under the same general laws as all other animals? I am not aware that anything is known which would warrant us in excepting man from the operation of any natural law; at the same time it must be admitted, that we may not as yet know all of law or laws which relate to this special question; and consequently there is this uncertain ground for presuming that the shadowy forms which our fancy paints in this dim twilight may possibly have a certain tangible reality in that region "whence no traveller returns."

We know that, under the operation of the laws of growth and decay, we have already passed through several phases of life. Death has never been absent. He has carried away body after body, and yet our conscious existence remains. We can remember the events of early youth, though not a particle remains to us of the bodies we then possessed. And this consciousness, combined with the instinctive longing for immortality and the horror of annihilation, begets in us a hope which is capable of inspiring us with the highest aims and the loftiest efforts. Man under the influence of this faith becomes a hero, and thus renders himself fit for, and worthy of, a continuation of his individual existence.

The most recent discoveries of science, though they scatter to the winds every vestige of superstition, furnish also, to my mind, at least, the strongest argument yet known for "the hope that is in us" of "immortality and eternal life." I allude especially to the discoveries of Darwin and Spencer as expressed in the doctrine of natural selection or the "survival of the fittest."* For if Nature in grosser operations, so to speak, preserves and continues on through countless ages, the best and highest forms of life, while it allows others to become extinct, i.e., if she thus acts with merely physical organisms, is it not probable that a similar law exists in the higher region of mind, by virtue of which those great moral intelligences whose characters are the adornment of our race shall be preserved in their conscious individuality, and rising hence into other spheres inherit that immortality which has been the grand inspiration of their noble lives?

You will observe that this immortality differs from the popular notion of the doctrine, in that it is not a necessity, or rather the inevitable lot, of every human being; and in this difference lies its grandeur and beauty. For a necessary immortality preserving every individual of our race who has ever lived or ever shall live is to me the most repulsive idea that can well be conceived, and is out of all harmony and analogy with natural law, as is, alas, the extermination of grand and noble characters which it has taken countless generations to produce.

Nature preserves that only which is worth preserving; and destroys, or uses up as material for fresh effort, those forms of life which so far have proved worthless or unsuitable.

[For THE INDEX.]

THE FUNCTION OF GOVERNMENT.

What is the function of government? This is really the most important and difficult question of the day. Herbert Spencer is inclined to curtail the province of government, and so make it but little more than the exertion of a police force. Huxley, on the other hand, argues for its enlargement. Paine seems to think that government is an evil, while Locke affirms that it is a good, and that it is to be benevolent, not simply in a negative, but in a positive way. It seems to me that government, like all other forces, is an evolution. It has sprung out of the needs of humanity, and is the result of centuries of growth, and is not to be lightly thrown away. It has been achieved through toil and suffering. Government, also, if the result of evolution, grows more complex with the advance of the race, and so will attain greater power and prominence. It seems to me, then, that its function will become larger; that, being in itself a good and not a bad thing, and one of the most precious inheritances of the world, it will in the time to come and on this new continent be a vaster and more beneficent energy than ever. While individuality is to be maintained, and indeed made more profound and persistent, it must still be kept in subjection to the progress of universal humanity. We must advance by association, by consolidation. Solidarity is the law of our growth. The whole race must go on together. Hence the governing capacity of the people must be made larger; the collective authority of the nation must be increased.

I will not point out all the directions in which this

*Since this was written I find the following remarks in an anonymous work entitled *Supernatural Religion*, in two vols. Longman, Green & Co., London, 1874. In Vol. I., page 54, the author says: "In the spiritual as well as the physical sense, only the fittest eventually can survive in the struggle for existence."

increased function of the government must find play. I will only revert to that point touched upon in my last article, "The Catholic Conspiracy." I still maintain that a democratic form of government has a right to make democracy the method in every organization throughout the land. This must be done eventually in order to save ourselves from the encroachments of the Papal Church. The government must claim the right to forbid any Church from being in itself a despotism. It must insist that the authority of the organization be located in the whole body. How else can we defend ourselves from Romanism? The mere separation of Church and State is not sufficient. The Church only submits to that for the time being. It does not acquiesce in the separation, but means, whenever the chance presents itself, to exert the power over the State that it once did. In order to do this effectually at the favorable moment, it makes its own organization a compact despotism, locating all authority in the hands of a few. It commits no "overt act," being too shrewd, but gathers within itself, year by year, enormous power and influence. When that becomes of sufficient magnitude, then it strikes the decisive blow, and the State is at its mercy. Have we no defence, I ask, against this insidious and ever-advancing enemy? The "Demands of Liberalism" are not enough. They must be vastly more aggressive.

Not only must the Church and State be separate, but the State must insist that the Church be a democratic institution. Religion is not too sacred a thing to be allowed to do what we permit no nationality to do—set up a monarchical form of government upon the soil of this new world. The Monroe doctrine is applicable to the Roman Church in our midst as well as to Mexico. No matter if the people of Mexico want a monarchy, we say they shall not establish one. Can we not say the same to Rome?

Is this "persecution"? I care not whether it is or not, it must be done.

Has not Mr. Abbot himself declared that a "conflict of consciences" is inevitable? I do not see how we can help it. Mr. Morse has shown that any form of government is a violation of conscience to a certain extent. So, then, if we are to respect every man's conscience, we must simply give up the exercise of all collective authority whatsoever. Is there not a direct conflict of conscience on the school question? Are not the Catholics and many of the Protestants conscientiously opposed to a "godless" or secular school? Yet we compel them to support such a school. If, then, we can compel a man to support by the payment of taxes a "godless" school that his conscience loathes, can we not by the same plea of State necessity insist that his Church shall be a democracy? The persecution in the one case is just as great as in the other. If we cannot insist upon democracy in the Church for conscience' sake, how can we insist upon a "godless" school to which the conscience is just as bitterly opposed?

The plea of "persecution," it seems to me, will not avail. The individual conscience is not to be respected, when its dictates are opposed to universal progress. The good of the whole transcends the most sacred conviction of the individual, for the individual is not supreme, but humanity. Harmony cannot come by respecting each and every conscience, but by the triumph of the best conscience. We must accept the issue. There is not simply a conflict of ideas, but a conflict of consciences. What is an idea good for, if there is no conscience in it? My conscience is in my liberalism, and they who oppose my liberalism oppose my conscience. Shall they cease opposing because I am conscientious in the matter? Of course not. Conscience must not then be a bar in the way of doing what we think best for all. We must either, as Mr. Morse says, do nothing, or, if we do, do all that is necessary, whether conscience suffers or not. If we do, let us not do half. If we must violate conscience to keep up our common schools, let us also violate conscience to make democracy the perfect law of the land. Why "persecute" in one case, and not in another? Is not democracy as necessary as education?

S. P. PUTNAM.

[We are glad that somebody, at least, has discovered that the "Demands of Liberalism" are not "aggressive." Indeed they are not: they are simply defensive of liberty and justice. But if the State is to "insist that the Church be a democratic institution," it must persuade Jesus to declare that he is no longer the Christ, and induce his followers to organize all over again on this inverted gospel. It is needless to say that this is impossible. The State cannot make the Church "democratic," for it is by its very nature despotic. In proportion as it makes itself democratic, it unchurches itself, and commits suicide. The upshot is that the State cannot reform the Church, and should only make open war upon it when it openly attacks the government. The "conflict of consciences" may yet lead to political (we trust not military) strife over the State's right to support schools by taxation; the State must meet the consequences of enforcing this right, which is only the right of self-preservation.—Ed.]

A NEWSPAPER can drop the same thought into a thousand minds at the same moment. A newspaper is an adviser, who does not require to be sought, but comes to you without distracting your private affairs. Newspapers, therefore, become more necessary in proportion as men become more equal individuals, and more to be feared by tyrants.—De Tocqueville.

*"Ancient and Modern Egypt." A Lecture delivered by Dr. W. B. Carpenter, at Manchester, Feb. 19, 1873.

SENATOR KERNAN'S SPEECH.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

To the admirable speech of President Grant on our public school system, and the brave words of Prof. Swing, quoted in your current issue, I would add the following plea for secular education, from the speech of Senator Kernan, of this State, a Democrat and a Catholic, as respected and influential as any man of that faith in this State or country. No one who knows him doubts his sincerity or good faith.

NEW YORK, Oct. 29, 1875.

LEWIS G. JANES.

"While we are employed in trying to choke off from the treasury the plunderers of your money, why, opponents, or a portion of their press and some of their speakers, say, 'Oh, don't mind about these thieves that are robbing the people; but here there is danger to the public common schools,—let us look after them.' I want to say a word about that. This attempt is either, in my judgment, an attempt to divert the attention of the people from this question of reform, or it is an effort to stir up sectarian hate among our people. Now, there is no other question involved in this election. There can be none touching your common schools. The Constitution of 1846 provides that the Common-School Fund shall be preserved inviolate, and that the income therefrom shall be applied to no other school. Your Supreme Court and your Court of Appeals more than fifteen years ago decided that the common schools (the common schools as used in that provision meant the ordinary public schools) would be supported by the State at its own expense, for the benefit of the children of the State; and a provision of the Constitution adopted last year goes further, and was only applied to the Common-School Fund and its income. But the people of this State adopted provisions amending the Constitution last year which provided that neither the money nor the property of the State, nor of any city, county, town, or village, shall be given to any private institution; thus money shall not be given to any private schools, whether sectarian or non-sectarian, and that they shall not have a share in any of the school fund in any other money that could be raised for that purpose by taxation. Therefore there is nothing—no sort of danger to your public schools. The common schools of this State are imbedded in your Constitution beyond the power of any legislature to interfere with or change them. (Applause.) And, my fellow-citizens, they must be maintained as common schools, in which all the children of the State may obtain a good secular education, and as common schools in which the religious prejudices or feelings of no one—child or parent—shall be wounded. (Applause.) Supported by the funds of the State, and the State composed of people of different views, they are to be maintained for the purpose of secular education alone; and while I recognize the duty and the importance of every parent and guardian giving religious teaching to his child, yet he cannot have that religious teaching at the expense of the State; it must be done in the family, in the church, in the Sunday-school, in the private school, because there are the proper places where we can have views peculiar to ourselves and our children taught. (Applause.) My fellow-citizens, I have another word on this subject. If, on the contrary, this attempt to bring the common schools into the canvass is for the purpose of stirring up sectarian discord among our people, then every patriotic man, every real Christian man should condemn it. Why, my fellow-citizens, sectarian discussions and religious bigotry—these have been a curse to every people among whom they have been allowed to take root. (Applause.) They are at war with the glorious Constitution of our common State. This attempt to have man persecute man in reference to his creed or his religion, I repeat, is in violation of, and at war with, the letter and spirit of the Constitution of this glorious free State of New York. (Applause.) I desire to read to you the language of your own Constitution as it is written down for our government and guidance: 'The free exercise and enjoyment of religious professions and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed in this State to all mankind.' (Applause.)

"And yet, unless these gentlemen on the other side fear—as I cannot believe they do—there is real danger to your common schools (there can be no danger to them under the Constitution), then they are seeking to stir up this hatred of man against man. This hatred, this religious bigotry, this religious bitterness towards our neighbor on account of his creed, on account of his doing that which he should do, following his own convictions, is at war with the great principles of American constitutional liberty, and it is at war with the doctrine of Christian charity, the foundation almost of Christian religion as it is taught by every denomination to those who believe in Christ. (Applause.) No, my fellow-citizens, let us early, not in passion, not in excitement, but let us early, when we see any attempt made to get up bitteresses among our people on account of creed, let us calmly, firmly, and temperately do all that we can to prevent it. Why, it is the right in every land where they have real liberty, it is the right and it is the duty of every man, to worship his Creator according to the dictates of his own conscience and judgment, and not according to what may be the views of some other man. (Applause.) Mark my words. Look at all history for its verification. The man that will fail to do conscientiously and openly and in the proper spirit in his worship that which he honestly believes is his duty to his God will never be truthful to his fellow-man. (Applause.) Let us always remember that no man is accountable to me for the creed which he believes, or which he practices. I am accountable to no other man for mine. Each of us will be accountable only to our Maker, to

be judged by him, not according to the errors and judgment of men, but according to our sincerity, our unanimity and purity in trying to worship our Maker according to the dictates of our own consciences. (Cheers.) I rejoice to see this unanimity of sentiment in favor of this great principle of mankind, and one which is imbedded in our constitution; and, thank God, I have lived more than fifty years up and down in my daily walks among men of all creeds, and with pride I say it, there never was so liberal, so Christian a people in spirit and in charity as this American people of ours. (Applause.) There may be—I know there are—honest men who have very strong prejudices; but, my friends, you will never get rid of prejudice by prejudice; you will never get rid of bigotry by reviling each other. Oh, no; let us cultivate that which would make a heaven upon earth compared with the bitterness of sectarianism as it exists in other countries than our own. Let us cultivate charity and good will; let us remember we are not accountable to others or they to us. Let us remember that it is the right and duty of another to enjoy and practise that which he believes to be true; let us cultivate this charity and this good will, and we will blot out all the bitterness and bigotry that may stir up in us ill-feeling, and in so doing, believe me, we will best discharge our duty to our neighbors and to our glorious free government, and we will also best discharge our duty to that God whom we profess to worship, and who will judge us according as we judge in charity and good will towards our fellow-men. (Cheers.)—Speech of Senator Kernan, of New York, in New York City, Oct. 28, 1875.

[Mr. Kernan's excellent plea for secular schools is so good that he stands in marked opposition to the Catholic clergy and Catholic press. He is not a representative Catholic. It is simply preposterous to treat the school question as a false issue foisted on the people as a mere party trick. Read candidly the subjoined authentic record, with facts and figures, of what Catholicism and Democracy have actually done by conspiring together against the public treasury. Mr. Kernan is too much ashamed of what his Church and his party have done even to mention it; but we supply his omissions by quoting a full account of it from the New York Times.—Ed.]

SECTARIAN SCHOOLS.

HOW THE PEOPLE OF NEW YORK SUPPORT THEM.

TAMMANY HALL GIVING MILLIONS TO CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS—A FEW HUNDREDS TO PROTESTANTS AS A BLIND—OFFICIAL FIGURES FOR NON-SECTARIAN TAX-PAYERS.

Senator Kernan tells us that the public schools are in no danger from the Democratic party or their Romanist allies; that the Constitution prohibits the diversion of the school fund from its legitimate use; that the Supreme Court has affirmed that there is no power in administrative or legislative officers to make sectarian use of the people's money; and, in fine, that all talk about danger to the schools, or sectarian favoritism, is nonsense.

The Senator is right in saying that the Constitution prohibits sectarian appropriations. He should have added that such a provision only went into effect last January, and that at the election in November last he and his party did their utmost to defeat the clause to which he now points as our safeguard. It is not there by consent of the Democratic party, but in spite of them.

What is that party's record in this matter before the amendment put a stop to sectarian gifts? Let us take the jubilee years of Tammany, when Hoffman was Governor, and Tweed was "Boss," and Connolly kept the cash-box, and Barnard and McCunn were on the bench, and Samuel Tilden was Chairman of the Democratic State Committee, dispensing the stolen money of the Ring. In 1869, 1870, and part of 1871, the following sectarian appropriations were paid out of the money raised by tax on the property of New York City:—

ROMAN CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS.

	Amount.
Convent Sacred Heart.....	\$10,000
School Academy Sacred Heart.....	6,170
House Good Shepherd.....	70,292
House Mercy, Bloomingdale.....	5,000
Sisters Mary.....	437
Sisters St. Dominic.....	15,000
Sisters St. Dominic Asylum.....	11,000
Church Dominican Fathers.....	5,550
Dominican Church, Lexington Avenue.....	7,000
School St. Nicholas, Order St. Dominic.....	11,800
St. Nicholas Church.....	365
St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum.....	8,152
St. Patrick's Cathedral.....	17,858
St. Patrick's Cathedral School.....	15,000
St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum, Mott Street.....	5,000
St. Bridget's School.....	30,512
St. Bridget's Church.....	5,000
Sister Helena.....	4,318
Sisters of St. Joseph.....	5,000
St. Joseph's Church.....	5,271
St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum.....	15,000
St. Joseph's Parish School.....	9,768
St. Ann's Parochial School.....	5,984
St. Joseph's Parochial Male School.....	7,090
St. Teresa's School.....	17,415
St. Teresa's Church.....	1,280
St. Teresa's Chapel School.....	5,000
School attached to St. Teresa's Church.....	5,000
St. Ann's Parochial School.....	6,920
St. Ann's Church, Eighth Street.....	2,172
St. Peter's Free School.....	14,096
St. Peter's Church German School.....	1,500
German-American Free School.....	18,459
St. Lawrence Church.....	12,500
St. Lawrence Parish School.....	12,445
St. Mary's School, Grand Street.....	46,368
St. Mary's Church, Grand Street.....	400
St. Mary's Church, Sister's Charity.....	140
School Most Holy Redeemer.....	31,800
St. Francis Female Parochial School.....	4,250
St. Francis Male Parochial School.....	3,750
St. Michael's Parochial School.....	8,056
St. Michael's Church Schools.....	10,000
St. Gabriel's School.....	23,380

Church of Transfiguration.....	388
Transfiguration School.....	34,310
St. James' Parochial Schools.....	35,410
St. James' Church.....	800
School of Our Lady of Sorrow.....	19,700
St. Columba Week-Day School.....	18,370
Church Holy Innocents.....	1,125
St. Andrew's Church.....	2,014
Church Immaculate Conception.....	5,182
School of Immaculate Conception.....	32,104
Church St. Paul Apostle.....	10,004
School St. Vincent de Paul.....	6,628
German School, Nineteenth Ward.....	5,859
Church of St. Nifose.....	963
St. John Evangelist School for Girls.....	6,880
Church Nativity Parish School.....	640
Second Avenue Catholic Church.....	645
Church of Holy Cross.....	8,565
Parochial School of Holy Cross.....	1,272
Church of the Holy Name.....	463
Church of the Assumption.....	918
Church of St. John Baptist.....	535
St. Vincent's Hospital.....	26,000
St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum.....	15,000
Catholic Protectory.....	15,000
St. Stephen's Orphan House.....	310,168
Lots for church property.....	8,000
Free German School.....	505
German Mission Association.....	13,680
St. Francis Xavier College.....	15,000
St. Peter's Church.....	7,272
St. Columba's Church.....	1,043
Church of the Covenant.....	1,987
Sisters of Mercy.....	652
Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum.....	436
Church Nativity.....	30,762
Church Epiphany.....	645
St. Vincent de Paul Orphan Asylum.....	766
St. Joseph's Home.....	15,000
Shepherd's Fold.....	6,000
School of Bethlehem.....	10,000
St. Boniface's Church School.....	770
St. Patrick's Free School.....	2,270
St. Francis Xavier School.....	7,384
Sacred Heart Female Academy.....	13,826
Church Annunciation.....	3,000
Church Annunciation School.....	3,174
St. Gabriel's Schools.....	2,240
St. Alphonsus' School.....	12,000
St. Vincent's Free School.....	5,240
Church of Holy Redeemer.....	2,500
School St. Francis Assisi.....	3,000
School Holy Cross.....	2,820
School Nativity.....	5,520
School St. Chrysostom.....	700
Orphan Asylum, Prince Street.....	1,129
Sisters of St. Mary.....	10,000
Roman Catholic Foundling Asylum.....	1,000
School Sisters St. Dominic.....	9,173
School Sisters St. Dominic.....	5,600

Aggregate to Catholics.....\$1,396,389

PROTESTANT SECTS.

Episcopal Churches.....	\$25,216
Episcopal Schools.....	10,500
Episcopal Hospitals and Homes.....	14,257
Episcopal Miscellaneous.....	7,333

Aggregate.....	\$56,957
Reformed Dutch Churches.....	\$22,210
Presbyterian Churches.....	13,961
Baptist Churches.....	5,326
Methodist Churches.....	7,271
Lutheran Churches.....	3,694
All other Protestant institutions.....	2,874

Total to Protestant institutions.....\$112,293

To Hebrew institutions.....\$25,852

Grand Total.....\$1,534,534

Catholics got 91 per cent., and Protestants a little over 7 per cent.

And what were the donations put in for Protestants? They were mainly fictitious, and purposely so. It would not do to give millions to Catholics without making a show for the other side. To make this show the Tammany tax officers levied assessments upon Protestant churches—assessed property that always went free as a matter of course,—and thus made parade of impartiality, afterward reimbursing the churches for assessments that they could not, and never meant to, collect. Take, for instance, the Methodists. Here is the whole list:—

M. E. Church, Fourth Avenue and Twenty-second Street.....	\$434
M. E. Church, Bloomingdale.....	205
M. E. Church, Yorkville.....	621
M. E. Church, Sullivan Street.....	416
M. E. Church, Bedford Street.....	612
M. E. Church, Forsyth Street.....	500
M. E. Church, Greene Street.....	315
M. E. Church, Jane Street.....	129
M. E. Church, John Street.....	1,328
M. E. Church, Second Avenue and Forty-fourth Street.....	1,322
M. E. Church, Sullivan Street.....	221
M. E. Church, Willet Street.....	316
M. E. Church, Second Street.....	247
M. E. Church, Lexington Avenue.....	1,130
St. Paul's M. E. Church.....	274
Church of Evangel Association.....	390

Total, with odd cents.....\$7,291

Not a cent for Methodist schools or asylums, for not a cent was asked or expected by that denomination. It was a cheap and very mean trick, but quite characteristic of the party. Yet the conspirators were themselves ashamed of it, for the sums named were levied only in 1869 and 1870; in 1871 no tax was charged, because the truth was too manifest, and the Ring was falling to pieces.

Let us go back a little toward the beginning of this sweetness on Roman Catholic schools and churches. In 1867 the following sectarian donations were made from the money levied upon the people at large:—

School.....	\$10,000	School.....	\$5,000
St. Bridget's.....	5,000	St. Peter's.....	5,000
St. Stephen's.....	5,000	St. Mary's.....	5,000
St. Gabriel's.....	5,000	St. Teresa's.....	5,000
Holy Innocents.....	5,000	Transfiguration.....	5,000

And in the tax levy for the next year (1868) are these items:—

School.....	\$5,000	School.....	\$5,000
St. Joseph's.....	5,000	St. Dominic's.....	5,000
St. Lawrence's.....	5,000	St. Michael's.....	5,000
St. Teresa's.....	5,000	St. Joseph's Asylum.....	5,000

For the operations during the Ring's palmy days see the full table above. Before Tweed broke down the public Treasury was not only available for the Ultramontanes, but, ever fertile in resources, they managed to get a percentage of the receipts for liquor licenses set apart by the law of 1869 (smuggled into tax levy), and out of that they made a good thing. For instance, in 1869, out of \$214,960 of excise money, the Roman Catholics got \$178,672, or eighty-two per cent.; Protestants only about \$6,500, or less than three per cent., the remainder going to Hebrew and non-sectarian institutions.

In 1870, out of \$217,300 of excise money, the Catholics got \$182,295, or eighty-four per cent., and the Protestants about two per cent., the rest going, as be-

fore, to Hebrew institutions and non-sectarian missions and schools.

When this last grab became known, there was some agitation of what Mr. Kernan would call the "unimportant" school question. Mr. Nathaniel Jarvis, who was getting \$6,000 a year as Clerk of the Common Pleas, had been selected by Tweed to divide the excise money, and had taken for his trouble in the two years nearly \$10,000. Meddlesome Protestants "wanted to know" why the "established church" of Tammany Hall should get \$8 where outsiders only got \$2, and why Mr. Jarvis should get more for distributing the money than all the Protestant sects got of it. The result was the Legislature, in the tax levy of 1871, enacted:—

"SECTION 8. It shall not be lawful for the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of New York, or the Board of Supervisors of the County of New York, or the Board of Apportionment herein created, to appropriate or apply any portion of the tax herein authorized to be raised, in aid of any private or sectarian school, or to any institution or enterprise that is under the control of any religious denomination; or to borrow any money on the faith or credit of the city, to be applied to any such purpose; but the foregoing restrictions shall not be held to prevent any appropriation by the said Board of Apportionment from the tax herein authorized of \$1 per week in addition to the amount now provided by law for each founding taken charge of and supported in the founding asylum under the charge of the Sisters of Charity, which additional amount is herein authorized and directed to be hereafter raised annually in aid of such asylum, or to affect the provisions exempting free libraries, hospitals, charitable institutions, and churches from assessments as provided in section 117, of chapter 137, Laws of 1870, nor shall said restriction prevent appropriations in aid of the following charities; namely:—

The charities named included all or nearly all of every denomination, except those actually under public management. The law provided that:—

"Money derived from licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors since the organization of the present Board of Excise Commissioners, and the moneys hereafter received for such licenses, shall be appropriated for charitable purposes by the Board of Apportionment herein provided for, as they may in each year determine from time to time as to objects, purposes, and amounts, and the proper officers shall deposit such excise moneys with the Chamberlain, who shall hold it subject to the disposal of said Board of Apportionment."

Under the distribution in 1871, the various schools got \$179,088, of which Roman Catholics had \$155,140, or eighty-two per cent., and everybody else, sectarian and non-sectarian, \$23,948, or eighteen per cent.

The glaring unfairness of this distribution created some remonstrance, and an effort was made in 1872 to have the list of institutions made up by one Catholic and one Protestant; but it failed, and two Ultramontane Romanists were chosen to decide how little they could give Protestants, and how much they could grab for their own side. The result was that of \$142,890 distributed, the Infallible Church got \$119,111, or very nearly eighty-three per cent., leaving for everybody else \$23,778.

Thus it appears that even after the Ring's downfall, under this apparently fair distribution, the Romanist schools have got about fifteen dollars to every one dollar for all other church schools.

We need not pursue in detail the succeeding distributions. In 1873, under the heading of "Asylums, Reformatories," etc., the Comptroller paid out \$601,661, and among other items are these:—

Foundling Asylum, Sisters of Charity.....	\$62,760
Catholic Protectory.....	139,767
House of Good Shepherd.....	49,214

There goes \$301,741, more than one-half the whole pile, to three institutions, whose work is provided for by regular State and city organizations, except in the case of the House of the Good Shepherd. By the way, the Catholic Protectory, which was established solely because the Romanist religion was not to be taught in the Juvenile Asylum, has taken already more than one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars from the City Treasury. In the donations for 1873 it gets nearly one hundred and ninety thousand dollars, while other really lawful institutions of which it is a rival get only \$67,300.

In 1874 the distribution was in like proportion, and in the required statement of the Comptroller for 1875, published two months before the election, the charity distribution is as follows:—

ROMAN CATHOLICS.	
Foundling Asylum.....	\$223,052
Catholic Protectory.....	246,168
House of the Good Shepherd.....	14,979
Total Catholic.....	\$484,199
HEBREW.	
Hebrew Benevolent Society.....	\$25,293
PROTESTANT.	
Episcopal House of Mercy.....	\$4,461
GENERAL—NON-SECTARIAN.	
Deaf and Dumb.....	\$35,540
Blind.....	4,750
Idiots.....	250
Female Guardian Society.....	25,000
Children's Aid Society.....	70,000
State Hospital.....	423
Magdalen Benevolent Society.....	5,328
Juvenile Asylum.....	76,976
Infant Asylum.....	20,241
Lunatic Asylum.....	1,810
Epileptic and Crippled.....	24,937
Nursery and Child's Hospital.....	4,937
Union Home, and others.....	30,203
Total—general.....	\$390,560
Aggregate.....	\$874,448

Percentages: Roman Catholic, 52; Hebrew, 3; Protestant, about one-half of one per cent.; general, about 44.

Consider carefully these figures. See what the

Church that denounces our system of public education as "Godless" helped itself to—using the claws of the Democratic party to pull the money out of the Treasury,—and ask yourself how soon they would have stopped if the people had not put an extinguisher upon them in the shape of the Constitutional Amendment, which prohibits the State, or any county, town, or city, from loaning its credit or giving its money in aid of any association, corporation, or private undertaking, provision for the education and support of the blind, deaf, and dumb, etc., being excepted.—*New York Times*, Oct. 30.

FREETHOUGHT IN AMERICA.

In a land so full as is America of young and vigorous life we naturally look for advanced thought, and we expect to find religious, as well as civil, liberty. The land where Thomas Paine found welcome and favor; the land where Channing thundered against slavery; the land where Theodore Parker struck at superstition blows whose force made the ancient fabric totter to the very foundation; the land where Emerson teaches to-day, culturing all wide and noble thought; from such a land we have surely a right to expect much, both in depth and in boldness of theological investigation. The position of Freethought in America is very similar to its position among ourselves, except that its advocates fight at less disadvantage than they do in England. Religious bigotry is strong there as well as here—as witness the case, to which we drew attention a short time since, of the expulsion of a Hicksite Quaker from a State Legislature,—but it is not buttressed by a State Church, and therefore "dissent" carries with it no social stigma. The rapid interchange, so to speak, which goes on amid the various classes of society, appears also to prevent any one form of religious creed from becoming a badge of social elevation. There being no State standard of orthodoxy, "dissent" is, strictly speaking, impossible, and each faith stands on its own merits, without artificial brilliancy being cast upon it by the sun of State favor and support; it is quite as "respectable" to be a Baptist as to be an Episcopalian. The wide prevalence of forms of Protestantism other than Anglicanism is, of course, favorable to the spread of Freethought. Protestantism is a mixture; it is the strong wine of private judgment—which is Freethought—diluted with the impure water of superstition and dogma. The more authority is thrown off, the more obvious becomes the claim to independence of thought, and the more crushing becomes also the blow of the Rationalist: "If you have the right to reject that authority, why have not I the right to reject yours?" Once acknowledge the right of private judgment, and no logical exception can be taken to the claim for fullest liberty. The free clash of opinions in a fair field, where no favor is shown to one more than to another, is also favorable to the evolution of Freethought; and these conditions of the theological atmosphere, have all aided the growth of American Rationalism.

The various schools of Freethought in the States differ each from each much as we do in England. There is the Unitarian body, rather narrower—on the whole—than the same body among ourselves, as it appears to insist more upon its Christian character, and to keep its ministers within stricter bounds. From this body has broken away a more rational school, similar to the party represented here by Professor Newman, Miss Cobbe, and the Rev. Charles Voysey. This Theistic school is, fortunately, far less narrow and bitter against Rationalists who think further than it does than is its confrere on our side the water. It is more fearless, more brotherly, and far more ready to show kindness to the Atheistic party; its special organ is *THE INDEX*, most ably edited by Mr. F. E. Abbot, and its most eloquent teacher is Mr. O. B. Frothingham, to whose sermons we wish to draw the special attention of our readers. Before dealing with them, however, we must speak of our own brethren, the Atheistic division of the Freethought camp. All our friends know something of that brave little paper, the *Boston Investigator*, which has ever shown the *National Reformer* so much courtesy and attention; the London friends will have probably seen the large print of the Paine Hall, which owes its existence principally to the gallant and arduous exertions of Messrs. Seaver and Mendum, and in which are now established the offices of their journal. Unfortunately, the party has lost the services of one of its bravest and most eloquent platform advocates, the Mrs. Ernestine Rose who worked with so much intrepidity and power. Now and then we notice an article from her pen in the *Investigator*, but ill health prevents her from using her tongue in the cause. Others have, however, caught up the flag she carried so gallantly, and bear it on in the forefront of the battle, clearing the way for those who follow, and braving the shock of the odium which always falls on the advanced guard of the Freethought army.

We turn to a more detailed notice of Mr. Frothingham, whom we are bound to respect, however much we may on some points differ from him. A cultured scholar, a generous-hearted gentleman, at once liberal and fearless, outspoken and charitable, he thoroughly deserves the high position he has won, both as speaker and as thinker. His published sermons strike one at once with admiration for the beauty both of thought and of style, noble ideas clothed in noble words, gems of imagination and feeling set in the rich, chaste gold of purest eloquence. To set clearly before our readers Mr. Frothingham's theological position, we quote from his sermon, "The Radical Belief," the word "radical" being used in a religious, not in a political, sense, and being, in fact, synonymous with rationalist. He states the various points of his creed in order, and we quote them, one by one, regretting that lack

of space obliges us to leave out his amplification of each:—

"1. In the first place, then, we affirm the existence of the religious sentiment in man. We declare that man is a religious being, worshipping from an impulse of his nature, believing from the necessity of his constitution, yearning, hoping, loving, aspiring, because an instinct within him prompts him to do so.

"2. The religious sentiment throws out the thought of God. The Radical believes in God in the most positive, cordial, and determined manner. Not in the God of any particular church or confession; not in the God of the Romanist, the Protestant, or the technical 'Christian'; not in any special or individual God; not, let me say, in a God, but simply and only in God. He has no thought; he cannot think of a God who is in time and space; who consecrates temples, or sanctifies exceptional hours; who lurks behind altars, nestles in creeds, or inspires officials; who created the world in six days, and had to make it over again, and at last died himself that it might not finally perish; who peeps into his earth through holes in a concealing curtain; tears up his own roads and mines his own bridges in order to visit his own children in the city he has provided for them; throws into confusion his own press-work, and breaks up his own forms, in order to make himself more intelligible than he was when every letter was in place; who appears to an individual Moses, Samuel, or Isaiah; haunts the dreams of devout men, and rises upon the vision of pious women; a God who listens to private prayers and takes an interest in private fortunes, and selects tribes or nations for special favors, and vouchsafes his witness to this or the other generation, and prints books for his favorite tribe of men. The God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob the Radical knows not; he knows only God.

"Of this Being he does not attempt, he does not dare to attempt, a definition; rather, he tries to break through all definition that he may be absolutely without bound or limitation, pure spirit, pure intelligence, the fullest ideal of possibility, the fairest dream of the soul. . . .

"The Radical's God is simply a dream of all conceivable perfection, the perfect thought, will, care, providence, in whom none die, but in whom all who live at all, live and move and have their being.

"3. Next we say that God reveals himself. The Radical believes in revelation. . . . It is a necessity of the Divine Being that he should reveal himself."

"4. The Radical believes in Christianity as he understands it; not as the only religion, by any means; not as the absolute or final religion; not as the best religion for all men; not as the finest expression of the religious sentiment, but as the most worthy form of it yet manifest.

"5. The Radical believes in Jesus. Not in 'the Christ,' but in Jesus as the highest expression of the religious sentiment in human form; yes, on the whole, the highest manifestation of God.

"6. The Radical believes in immortality.

"7. The Radical believes in as much of the Bible as answers to his cultured reason and his matured conviction, and in no more. He takes what nourishes him, and leaves the rest. He reads it as he reads other books, and judges it."

Such is Mr. Frothingham's creed, boldly stated. That our readers may judge how he teaches it, we append one brief extract from his explanation of Revelation:—

"The spiritual eye opens last, and lo! the Godhead widens on man's view; regions of benignity lie all about us; flowers of tenderness bloom on the bleak spaces of the universe; tendrils of pity and graciousness twine around the iron clamps and rods of law; there is a loving radiance in the sunbeam; there are soft tears in the rain; a sweet purpose is seen gliding through the domains of Nature and life; footprints of a boundless good-will are detected in all the first and latest formations, and God is recognized as Father and Mother, as Savior and never-forgetting Friend."

We have not space to review in detail the number of sermons which lie before us. One of the best, in our opinion, is that on "The Suppression of Vice," showing how vice can only be "suppressed" by pure outlets being provided for the passions which now break out in evil. Similarly sensible is his "Plea for Amusement," in which he pithily remarks that "labor is not a curse; but to have no relief from labor is." All through his teachings, in spite of their extremely religious tone, we find running the golden threads of sterling common-sense, and of glowing human sympathy, sympathy that is really human, in its loving fellow-feeling for the needs, the sorrows, the pains, and the hopes, of humanity; it is Man he loves, simply because he is man; human nature, to him, is glorious and beautiful; and even in its lowest degradation his eyes see the dawn of a coming day; on the edges even of the clouds of vice he catches glimpses of the transforming rays of the rising sun. Such, very roughly sketched, is Mr. Frothingham, the leader of the American Theistic party, and its tower of strength. He is doing much to spread liberal views, and so, indirectly, he is our co-worker, because when the fetters of dogma are broken, and men are set free to walk forward in the path of inquiry, they oft-times walk further than their deliverers intended, and carry the Freethought flag higher up the Mount of Truth. What we all desire is that we should follow Truth; it is not any new creed we wish to impose, nor any new dogma we want to enforce; we only long that we may aid each other in the struggle to be free, each proclaiming the light he sees, and living up to the highest he can reach, and all bearing as badge the words that we English Freethinkers have graven on the banner of our Secular Society, "We seek for Truth."—*Mrs. Annie Besant, in the London National Reformer* of Oct. 10.

THIERS AND HIS WORK.

At Ouchy the waters are not particularly famous, but the scenery is fine and life there agreeable. A French correspondent has just had an interview with M. Thiers at this place, and he gives some interesting details. He met the ex-President coming from Beau Rivage, where he had been for his morning walk, hastening back to resume his literary labors. "I am in a hurry," said M. Thiers, "for I mistrust my memory. I do not want to lose the ideas that have been floating loosely in my mind for forty years. I must write at last the work in which they will assume shape and consistence. It will be my testament." Then, remembering that they were then upon the soil which was once trod by the author of *Julie*, M. Thiers continued: "Rousseau said that he wrote his *Emile* to repair his fault of not having reared his children. I do not have to reproach myself for the same thing, since I have never been the father of a family; but how many times have I asked myself what I should wish my son to learn from me, at the moment when I should have to help on his intelligence and transmit to him the fruit of my own long studies." The youth of France is like a child of my own. It is going astray in the midst of the bad lessons that are given it. To escape from religious ideas that are little better now-days than the instruments of a detestable *politique*, it allows itself to run into other ideas which serve no better turn. It is not well that youth should wander in this chance way between the syllabus and systematic materialism. I shall try to recall it to reason and to retain it there. It was for the youth of my country, as well as for myself, that during the past few years, before I was obliged to take the pilot's post after the terrible shipwreck of France, that I was so happy to study with the best masters, what it is possible for man to see at the summits of all the sciences. I read chemistry, medicine, geology, astronomy, with an ardent love for the truth. I wished to draw nearer to the light in everything. Because I had long been in politics, did that prevent me from so doing?"

The correspondent here made a remark upon the skeptical and materialistic tendencies of the age, saying that in all ages probably youth had doubted, and admitted the courage of those who mocked at the supernatural, but that when age came those doubts were gradually effaced to a certain extent. At least one no longer took pleasure in doubting, but in feeling that one doubted less frequently. "But the task is by no means an easy one," pursued M. Thiers, "for we must only believe that which good sense approves. I am not, you can readily fancy, for the supernatural of M. Guizot. It is at least very strange that we should imagine a mountebank God, who performs all sorts of tricks to draw the crowd to Him. In our ideas of God, miracles are *de trop*. He has no need of *petites finesses* to make his creatures believe in Him." "And the title of your new work?" the correspondent abruptly asked. "I do not know yet," replied M. Thiers; but he went on to give an idea of its object, showing that we may expect something like the books that Cicero wrote at Tusculum, when he was there to repose his mind after his family chagrins and his civic disappointments. A *De Natura Deorum* from the pen of M. Thiers would be interesting indeed. I fancy, however, that only one or two chapters will be devoted to theology, and that the rest will be devoted to philosophy and art. The very evening of the day upon which this conversation occurred a number of delegates from the French Societies of Geneva came across the lake and gave M. Thiers a serenade. A silver pitcher bearing the inscription, "A Thiers, Libérateur du Territoire," was presented with an address. M. Thiers in returning thanks said that the efforts to establish a monarchy in France had proved fruitless on more than one occasion. Seeing that it was useless to attempt gaining liberty in his native land through constitutional monarchy, which he preferred, he had counselled his countrymen to frankly accept the Republic.—*New York Times*.

DEATH OF A GREAT PONTIFF.

The Delai-Lama of Thibet died recently. We presume scarcely a person who reads these lines has any very intelligent idea who the Delai-Lama was, or cares who he was; and yet he was the spiritual and infallible head of the Lamaists, offshoots of the Buddhists, who number over 400,000,000 souls. There are Lamas and there are Delai-Lamas, and the Delai-Lamas are recognized as incarnations of God, and worshipped as the Deity is worshipped. The Kublai-Khan, the great conqueror of China, first established the Lama in power, and gave him both temporal and spiritual sway, and a throne where he could sit as high as the emperor in temporal matters, and a good deal higher in spiritual. His most noteworthy successor was Sonkapa, who was immaculately conceived by his mother's falling upon a Buddhistic inscription. By his immaculate birth he was endowed with many very remarkable characteristics. He had a white beard, and could talk before he was a day old, and from his hair grew a tree producing leaves which were covered with sacred inscriptions. He died in the fifteenth century, and although he ascended into heaven, his body is still preserved, floating in the air, in a monastery which he founded.

The first of the Delai-Lamas, however, was born in 1389, and the one who has just gone to meet Buddha was the tenth of the line. Their lives have not always been very peaceful, for three of these pontiffs have suffered death by violence at the hands of the emperors, who were jealous of their power over the Mongolians. Their position, however, is an enviable one. They have no end of palaces and

temples richly adorned with gold and silver ornaments. They have endless ceremonies, pageants, and music. They run prayer-wheels which are very profitable, and make a handsome thing out of helping the release of dying rich men's souls, which they accomplish by the neat little surgical operation of tearing the skin from the skull and boring a hole in it. Religious services are held for the comfort of departed souls, but their effectiveness depends greatly upon the manner in which the friends of the relatives come down. The bodies of ordinary common people are made into meat balls and fed to the Delai-Lamas' sacred dogs.

They derive immense tribute from mines, lands, and flocks, and manage also to eke out a living by the sale of holy textures, fumigations, relics, and idols. When engaged in official business, the Delai-Lama is an object of envy to all persons who love their ease, for on such occasions he sits cross-legged, like a statue, on five elegant cushions, arrayed in his best attire. He is not obliged to say anything or notice anybody. He simply waves his hands, which is equivalent to blessing, and sometimes he distributes little balls of paste or clay. As everything which emanates from him is considered to be omnipotent, there is great demand for these dirt-balls, and the profits are correspondingly large. In addition to this, annual tribute is carried every year to him by caravans. In point of fact, there is very little to do and most excellent pay in the position, the most onerous duties being to sit cross-legged, look wise, and say nothing.—*Chicago Tribune*.

AN INDUSTRIAL EXPERIMENT.

There is an association of young persons at Springfield, Vt., known as the Industrial Works, that furnishes all its members with constant work at fair wages and a pleasant home at small cost, which is meeting with a success so marked as to attract the attention of all thinking people. The members of this association are all young people who are willing to rid themselves of all bad habits, work steadily, dress economically, and save a portion of their wages; no others are taken. All the men who join are required to furnish a small amount of capital, and to save one-fourth of their wages, which must be invested in the capital stock of the association. Women are not required to furnish any capital in the outset, but must save one-sixth of their wages and invest it in the business. Those who do not comply with the requirements of the association are expelled, and those who wish to leave can do so at any time, and can withdraw their capital by giving six months' notice. The wages paid to each member is fixed by a board of directors, and is proportioned to their skill and ability. They have a large dwelling or home where the members live and enjoy many privileges and comforts not usually found in families or boarding-houses. All pay a moderate price for their board from their wages. They have two new factory buildings, and a good water privilege and considerable machinery, and are engaged in the manufacture of toy and house-furnishing goods, for which they find a ready sale. They commenced business a year ago with five hands and are now working forty-five; their sales for last month were over three thousand dollars, their pay-roll for the month was over twelve hundred dollars, and the saving of wages which was added to the capital of the company was more than three hundred dollars. The average amount saved from the wages of each man in a year is one hundred and fifty dollars, and of each woman fifty dollars. Many of the members have saved much more than this during the year, but this is all that is required of them. The aggregate amount saved by the present company in a year will be nearly five thousand dollars. By continuing in this course a few years the capital of the company must become very large, and the savings of each member a respectable competency. The advantages of belonging to such an organization as this to young persons just starting in life are numerous and valuable, and are appreciated by those who enjoy them. It is the purpose of those engaged in the enterprise to increase their numbers and business as rapidly as their accumulating capital will permit with safety, and they expect to be able to employ a hundred hands by the close of another year, and to grow up an institution where every intelligent young person of good habits who wishes can find constant work at good wages, a comfortable home, good associates, and a place where they cannot fail to save money, and where they will learn to live in accordance with the laws of health and Nature, and thus secure permanent happiness and contentment. When every town in the country has an establishment like this, much will be done towards solving the problem of how shall panics, prostration in business, and poverty among the working classes be avoided.—*Woodstock (Vt.) Standard*, Oct. 8, 1875.

THE TEXT of the circular sent by the Papal Nuncio in Spain to the bishops has come out by the last mails, and it would be useful, if the matter needed any further elucidation, in illustrating what Catholic prelates mean when they talk about "religious liberty" and "equal rights." The Nuncio claimed peremptorily the execution of the Concordat of 1851. By the new constitution, freedom of religious opinion and religious worship is allowed; but the Catholic religion retains its place as the religion of the State, and all public ceremonies or manifestations on the part of other denominations are forbidden. The Nuncio is not content with this, and claims the execution of the first clause of the Concordat, which forbids the open profession of any other creed; also of the second clause, which provides that "all instruction in public and private schools shall be in conformity with the Catholic

faith, and the bishops shall be charged with watching over the purity of faith and morals in the schools"; also of the third clause, which provides that the bishops "shall have the help of the secular power every time they shall have either to oppose the malignity of men who try to pervert the souls and corrupt the morals of the faithful, or to stop the printing, introduction, or circulation of bad and perverted books." This, it will be perceived, gives the bishop the use of the police in exercising a censorship over all literature, and enables him to prescribe the mode in which every child shall be taught; for it makes him supreme in private as in public schools. Yet if this Nuncio were transferred to the United States, and were to engage in the school controversy here, he would put on a bland, liberal, and "broad" look, pretend he never had heard of the Spanish Concordat or the Inquisition, treat the stories of Papal intolerance in European countries as mere inventions of infidel and Protestant writers, and declare that what the Church sought was only fair play and "equal rights"; that what she sought here was not the right of interfering with the education of the Protestant children—God forbid,—but simply and solely the right of using the Catholic share of the school-tax in her own way. The circular closed with something very like a threat that if the Concordat was set aside, the Church might have to throw in her lot with Don Carlos—that is, give him her blessing, and begin cursing Don Alfonso.—*Nation*, Oct. 7.

Poetry.

ONLY A BABY.

TO A LITTLE ONE JUST A WEEK OLD.

Only a baby
'Thout any hair,
'Cept just a little
Fuz here and there.

Only a baby!
Name you have none,—
Barefooted and dimpled,
Sweet little one.

Only a baby!
Teeth none at all;
What are you good for?
Only to squall.

Only a baby,
Just a week old;
What are you here for,
You little scold?

BABY'S REPLY.

Only a baby!
What should I be?
Lots o' big folks
Been little like me.

Ain't dot any hair!
'Es I have, too;
S'pose'n I hadn't,
Dess it tood grow.

Not any teeth!
Wouldn't have one;
Don't dit my dinner
Gnawin' a bone.

What am I here for?
'At's pretty mean.
Who's dot a better right,
'T ever you seen?

What'm I dood for,
Did you say?
Eber so many things,
Ebery day.

'Tause I squall sometimes,
Sometimes I bawl;
Zey dassent spant me,
Taus I'm so small.

Only a baby!
'Es, sir, 'at's so;
'N if you only could,
You'd be one, too.

'At's all I've to say;
You're most too old;
Dess I'll det into bed,
Toes ditin told.

—Autumn Leaves.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 6.

F. D. Edwards, 20 cents; S. H. Barton, \$3.20; T. A. Hanson, \$3.20; K. L. Green, \$3.20; H. M. Redington, \$3.20; Abraham Payne, \$8.70; John Hammond, \$3; Rob't Clarke, \$3.20; Henry Schnull, \$3.25; Lizzie Martin, \$6.50; J. W. Frank, \$3.60; E. L. Saxon, 25 cents; S. Donaldson, \$1; Alex. Foster, \$3.20; Henry Lantz, \$1; Alan Greenwell, \$4.21; Benj. Breed, \$1; E. W. Seigman, \$5.75; Geo. Graham, \$4.75; D. Hays, 25 cents; W. M. Fahnestock, 20 cents; E. P. Walton, 10 cents; A. B. Morse, 10 cents; John Campbell, \$3.20; E. Bryant, \$5.65; Norman Weir, \$5.75; J. H. Bosworth, \$3.25; W. E. Parmenter, \$5.50; Wm. Merritt, \$3.20; Chas. Doolittle, \$3.50; W. P. Wesselhoef, \$4; O. B. Vose, \$5; Lee & Shepard, \$4.99; J. Birdelhough, 20 cents; Matthew Luce, \$20; Nichols & Hall, \$2; S. M. Whistler, 10 cents; Samuel Fish, \$5; E. B. De Gersdorff, \$6; Joseph Barnsdall, \$1.20; Henry Appleton, \$3.20; Conrad Wesselhoef, \$6; Gabrielle Bachem, \$3.20; F. H. Buchanan, \$6.40; J. W. Truesdell, \$6; T. McWhorter, \$3.20; Emily J. Leonard, \$3.25; Abner Forbes, \$3.35; J. Vaughn, 10 cents; P. R. Johnson, 25 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

The Index.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 11, 1875.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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F. R. A. CONVENTION.

A Convention of the Free Religious Association is to be held in Worcester, Mass., at the Horticultural Hall, beginning on Tuesday, the 16th November, at 7.30 P.M., and holding through the 17th.

On the opening evening an Address will be given by O. B. Frothingham, President of the Association, on "The General Religious Outlook of our Time."

The Sessions on Wednesday, the 17th, will begin at 10½ A.M., 2½, and 7½ P.M. In the morning an Essay will be read by David H. Clark, of Florence, on the question, "Is it to be Peace or War in Religion?" In the afternoon the subject is to be, "The Secularization of the State and the Public School,"—the discussion to be opened by F. E. Abbot. In the evening an Essay will be given (probably) by John Weiss.

Speakers expected to be present besides the above-named are Dr. Bartol, Mrs. E. D. Cheney, Wm. C. Gannett, E. S. Elder, W. J. Potter, and others.

A cordial invitation is extended to all persons interested, for or against, to attend.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

B. F. UNDERWOOD will speak at Arenzville, Ill., Nov. 8, 9, 10; Yates City, Ill., Nov. 14; Auburn, Ill., Nov. 15, 16, 17; Clayton, Ill., Nov. 18, 19, 20; Du Quoin, Ill., Nov. 24 to 28 inclusive; Oskaloosa, Iowa, Dec. 1 to 5, inclusive; Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, Dec. 7, 8, 9; Lincoln, Neb., Dec. 12.

CANNOT you form a club of five new subscribers to THE INDEX, among your own friends and acquaintance? To clubs of five new subscribers the paper will be sent for a year at \$2.50 each; to clubs of ten new subscribers, at \$2.00 each. An extra copy will be sent free to the getter-up of the club. This reduction cannot be made to any whose names are now on our mail-list, as it is made in the hope that such new subscribers will renew at regular rates. Now is the time to help THE INDEX, if you really value its ideas and aims.

IF THERE is anything satisfactory in life, it is to find those with whom one has necessary dealings to be worthy of absolute confidence. For over two years we have enjoyed this great satisfaction in our intercourse with Mr. George H. Ellis, the printer of THE INDEX. His compositors are all women, and, as our readers must have perceived, are equal to the very best male compositors in the accuracy of their work; and if (as sometimes happens) our subscribers fail to receive their papers, we are sure that the trouble must be in the Boston Post Office, of which great complaint has been made by many parties. Mr. Ellis himself is one of the most energetic, active, and enterprising young business men of the city, and even in these hard times is reaping the deserved success of which such qualities are the seeds. But it is his probity, his high sense of honor, and his invariable kindness and gentlemanliness to which we feel impelled to render a special tribute of appreciation and thanks—which it will probably surprise him not a little to see in print. During these two years and more we have had not the slightest cause of complaint, but on the contrary great cause to feel indebted for uniform urbanity, fidelity, and obligingness far beyond technical limits; and we make this little notice simply and solely to relieve our own mind by a due acknowledgment of sterling merit, at a time when so many things are happening to pain those who would fain see high ideals carried out in the world of affairs.

"CRUSHING" THE LIBERAL LEAGUE.

It is well for those who delight to point out the gradual amelioration of public sentiment on the subject of religion, and who are in consequence liable to be seduced into oblivion of facts which do not minister to the gratification of their taste in this respect, to come face to face now and then with the manifestations of a certain brutal religious bigotry which still exists in the world to-day, ready to rush forth like a wild beast from its lair, and to rend with savage ferocity whoever ventures to draw too near its lurking-place. Human passions remain the same from age to age; and it is no proof of wisdom to conclude hastily that the day of danger from outbreaks of blind religious fury has passed away forever. While we are exulting over the progress of mankind in knowledge, freedom, and catholicity of sentiment and thought, we are apt to forget that the tendencies of modern society are exceedingly complex; that the course of civilization is the resultant of a social "composition of forces," and by no means of movement in the line of a single force; that there can be no current without its counter-current, so long as it is a law of Nature that water preserves its own level. Every sect thinks that the entire world is travelling towards itself; and liberals, though no sect, too frequently fall victims to a similar conceit. Catholics expect to see the race simultaneously bowing to kiss the Pope's toe; Protestants anticipate a millennial supremacy of the gospel according to Wesley or Williams, Knox, Fox, or Channing; Spiritualists are persuaded that mankind must become all spiritualistic; Materialists that they must become all materialistic, and so on through the catalogue. This is childish. The philosopher is satisfied with studying the numberless conflicting tendencies of modern thought and life as so many facts of the present, manifesting so many active forces which contribute each its own quota of influence to produce a future that cannot be foretold. He will not infer that a volcano is dead because it has had no eruption for a century; so long as it smokes, he knows it is not extinct. He will see in such utterances as the one we quote below, from the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, *Daily Telegraph*, of October 30, a great deal more than the insignificant fuming of a solitary fanatic; he will see in this tiny curling wreath of exasperated bigotry a proof of the continued existence of that terrible subterranean ocean of fanaticism which has so often belched forth in fury to lay waste a world; he will know that the essential beliefs and purposes of which it is apparently a single writer's surly soliloquy underlie the whole extent of our American civilization, and that the crust which confines them is perilously thin. See what sort of teeth a daily secular paper, published in the capital of the great State of Pennsylvania, dares to uncover before its audience, without fear of being put into a cage:—

MORE CHAMPIONS OF "UNSECTARIAN" SCHOOLS.

There is in this country, and especially in New England, a growing number of men and women who claim immense credit for their perfect freedom from the "degrading mental slavery" of the general public, and who call themselves the Radical Club. This club has its head-quarters in Boston, and it is merely a coterie of Infidels. Chief among them, a sort of apostle in fact, is a well known writer of fiction named Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Here and there among these "Radical" Infidels we find unsexed women who shock public opinion by appearing in that most unwomanly character. For unless it be a woman drunk, there is no spectacle so humiliating and unnatural as an Infidel woman. At a late meeting of these half-crazy fanatics the following "demands" were put forth, and we can see from the most careless perusal of them the whole character of those who make the demands. It is not an inspiring spectacle to see the New York *Tribune* and the Hartford (Conn.) *Courant* lending their influence to one of the crazy demands of this Infidel club. The *Tribune* does this by quoting, with approval, this man Higginson as a high authority approving the recent expulsion of the Bible from the public schools of Chicago, and upholding the same outrage in New York, Buffalo, Poughkeepsie, Cincinnati, East St. Louis, and numberless other places where the Jesuits have managed to work their vengeance on that sacred book. The *Courant* chimes in with the following agreement:—

"The school question has been forced upon the friends of the schools by the antagonism of the Catholic Church, and it must be settled, first, by additional constitutional guarantees, which will effectually remove the question from politics; and, second, by the complete secularization of the schools, so that no just complaint can be made from any source of proselyting tendencies, or of denominational bias."

And the Infidel club to which we have referred put forth their scandalous manifesto, under the belief, doubtless, that they—like the newspapers aiding them and the Jesuits to degrade the Bible into the category of books unfit to be taught to the

coming generations of Americans—are engaged in "emancipating the human intellect from the slavery of creeds," and all that. Here is their "platform":—

"1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

"2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

"3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

"4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

"5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.

"6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

"7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed."

Their devotion to their pet folly it would perhaps be harsh to deny. But, after all, it is nothing more or less than the devotion of a set of fanatics, who blindfold themselves in the search after truth by assuming their own intellectual superiority over all other minds, and so, failing to reach a solution of deep problems by the exercise of humility, come at last to rely on a stolid denial of all truth which does not begin (and end) in their own disordered brains. The pity of it all is that these people dupe themselves, in the first instance, and so render useless to humanity culture capable of positive good; and, in the second place, they give to the enemies of our schools the authority of some names that have come to be regarded with respect in literature. But apart from all sentiment, and in vigorous application of the logic of the case, these people must be brushed aside as mere auxiliary forces to the Church which they detest quite as much as that Church detests the common schools. No force, be it a half-Infidel press, an Infidel club, or a venerable Church, or all of these with a great political party as their steadfast ally, must be permitted to drive the Bible from our schools, as a mere preliminary blow to invite the total destruction of that noble institution. Whatever foe assails the schools as the nurseries of the morals of the people will be crushed. And the bitterest foe that can assail the school system is the combination which seeks, under the plea of making it unsectarian, to make it irreligious, pagan, and worthless.

It is really unnecessary to point out the blunders of fact which are contained in this tirade; yet justice to Col. Higginson requires at least a brief statement that the fulminator of the above has confounded the Radical Club with the Liberal League, and attributed to Col. Higginson radical utterances which probably (though we have not seen the articles of the *Tribune* and the *Courant*) originated in THE INDEX. He does not take any such radical ground as he is here declared to take; on the contrary, he is opposed to the absolute exclusion of the Bible from the public schools. As a matter of justice to him, we simply call attention to these blunders.

The points of importance in the article quoted, setting aside all the enveloping trash, are (1) the startling avowal of a determination to "brush aside" and to "crush" those who lift a finger in advancement of the objects of the Liberal League, and (2) the avowal of a determination to defend the Bible in the schools at all hazards. We have no desire to meet these threats in any such spirit as pervades them throughout; we only say that nothing on this side of the grave, short of forcible suppression of THE INDEX by the government or voluntary desertion of it by its own supporters, shall cancel a syllable or enfeeble a tone of our pleading for the solemn enactment of equity, freedom, and universal good-will through the triumph of State Secularization. Bigots may oppose, lukewarm liberals may belittle or misrepresent, the movement for these just and generous "Demands of Liberalism"; but it will grow in strength and power till the victory is won, despite all the "brushing aside" and "crushing" of a thousand *Telegraphs*, if there is strength in justice, power in truth, or love for either in the hearts of the American people.

HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

Two articles in the *Daily Advertiser* of Oct. 28, one over the signature of Henry F. Durant, and the other appearing as editorial, calling the attention of the public to the claims and needs of Wellesley College, have led me to ask the attention of your readers to a few thoughts in regard to the existing opportunities for women's higher education, and to the direction

in which greater improvement is desirable. It is always good to know where we stand, and what are the exact facts on any subject. From the report of the Bureau of Education for 1873 (the last one issued, so far as I know) the statistics of the higher education of women are thus given:—

Number of institutions.....	205
Number of instructors.....	2,120
Number of students.....	24,618

This includes the academies and so-called colleges and universities devoted exclusively to women. Besides these, we have 536 high schools, with 33,430 female pupils in them; and 102 co-educative colleges, with 5,410 students in the preparatory departments; and 1,947 in the regular college course, or 7,357 female students. Added still to this, are the pupils in various agricultural and scientific schools, making a total of 8,141 female pupils in co-educative colleges; so that we have a grand total of at least 66,189 women in schools and colleges above the rank of grammar schools.

Now I do not mean for a moment to say that we have enough women in such schools, or sufficient provision for such pupils; but I think, in view of the great cost to the public (for it is ultimately just as much at the expense of the public, whether endowed by private munificence or by State taxation) of this array of institutions, we ought to scrutinize very carefully the claims of any school which asks for assistance from the public. Almost everyone of these colleges is crippled in its efforts for excellence by the want of means. Is it not far more important to strengthen the hands of long-tried and proven institutions than to help to increase the number? The benevolence of Boston has for a few years past been aiding a college in a distant Western State which now turns out to be almost entirely a private speculation for money-making. When shall we learn that, if to give liberally be a virtue, to give discriminatingly is no less a duty?

Three new institutions for the higher education of women have been lately opened in Massachusetts. One is the Smith College at Northampton, which, as far as I know, has not yet made any appeal to the public for funds. The Wellesley College was also established by the munificence of an individual; and it was with great surprise that I found an appeal in the public papers for it.

Mr. Durant is well known to hold very positive religious views, and to be a decided proselyter, and no one objected to his using his wealth to carry out these views by means of a college. In fact, holding the opinions in regard to the infinite importance of regeneration, faith in Christ, and so forth, which he is supposed to hold, it seems the only logically consistent thing that he can do to use all his strength, talents, and money in forwarding this object. But when he asks the help of the public, they should inquire whether the constitution and management of the college are such as are best calculated to advance education.

While aiming to give tuition at so low a rate as to be within the reach of all classes, the magnificent building and appointments of the college seem out of keeping with the tastes and habits of those for whom it is intended, and to tend towards encouraging love of display and extravagance. Secondly, the entire restriction of all the offices in the college to the female sex is, in my view, a very unfortunate and wrong principle to act upon. It is cutting off the influence of one side of human nature, and narrowing the growing minds of the pupils within false limits. It is no more good that women should be shut out from all masculine influence during three or four years of their lives, than that men should be debarred from the society of women. If they are alike in all respects, her influence can do no harm; and, if they differ, it is important that all differences of human nature should be represented in education. There may be circumstances which require that schools should be devoted to either sex; but to emphasize this monastic principle is to destroy the harmony and balance of social life.

Again, every arbitrary restriction in the choice of teachers renders one liable to the necessity of taking the second best. The best attainable teacher of chemistry, mathematics, and so forth, may be a woman, but is just as likely to be a man; and, if the man must be rejected because of his sex, the chances of getting the very best instruction are lessened by one-half.

Again, the avowed object of the college is to make the pupils Christians. Here is another limitation. Christians have again and again found learning and science at war with Christianity. This conflict may be only illusory, but so it often appears. Now what

is the teacher to do? If her Bible lesson says the earth was made in six days, and the geology says it took millions of years, must she not subordinate the authority of science to that of the Bible?

The *Advertiser* says that in a certain sense the college is "unsectarian," but "no liberal preacher has yet been invited there." In what sense is it unsectarian? We all know that it is in the sense of the Evangelical Alliance, which unites several minor sects under its banner that it may war the more vigorously on all those outside. More than half of Christendom are excluded from this non-sectarian company; the Roman and Greek Catholics on the one hand, the Quaker, Swedenborgian, and Universalist on the other. Mr. Durant has a perfect right to establish a sectarian college, if his conscience prompts him to do so; but it is the duty of all who think differently to point out its evils and let the public know what they are asked to aid.

The third institution is the Boston University. I have not space to go into a full discussion of its plans; but it aims at equal advantages to both sexes alike in the classes and in the government of the college; at unsectarianism in all the departments (except in the theological school, which was endowed by a special fund); and at great economy in the use of means by making arrangements for their pupils to have the advantage of libraries already established, of scientific and industrial laboratories, and other helps to a full education.

While I cannot undertake to indorse all the methods adopted by this university, and while it is still crude and vague in its plans, it yet seems to me that its aims are in the right direction, and that a liberal and intelligent public ought rather to strengthen its hands than to raise up a rival of narrower aims and a lower standard of education. E. D. C.

THE REVIVAL.

The revival is under full headway in Brooklyn. The rink is crowded with people; hundreds, thousands sometimes, are turned away; prayer-meetings are instituted in churches, chapels, public halls, and even stores. A retail merchant on the Sixth Avenue, New York, a Scotch Presbyterian, clears his counting-room at noon every day in order that the spirit, summoned by Mr. Talmage, or some other son of Æolus, may blow through the spaces usually occupied by dry goods, not so much haunted at present by buyers. Mr. Hepworth's corrugated iron tabernacle is thronged by people drawn thither by the singing of Mr. Weeks, the next best to Mr. Sankey.

There are great expectations among the Evangelicals. The papers do what they can to increase the excitement. Even papers not commonly thought to be religious in purpose or opinion, the influence whereof is believed to be quite adverse to Evangelical if not to every kind of religion, and conducive rather to scepticism and unbelief, are careful to say nothing that can be construed as hostile to the movement. Infidel editors pelt infidels with gibes; and atheistical editors indulge in flings against "cold, passionless theism." In fact, the daily press is, as usual on critical occasions, doing what it can to expose its insincerity, and make thoughtful persons wish that its power of evil might be diminished. But there are indications that the movement has not yet received the impulse from the most prevailing sources that is needed to make it wholly satisfactory.

It is intimated in the *Herald* that the "Evangelists" may not come to New York at all this winter; the cause of their absenteeism being the want of co-operation and conspiracy among the clergy, and the consequent uncertainty of the welcome to be expected. The Evangelists venture on no doubtful ground. The victory must be guaranteed before they take the field. The citadel must be surrendered before they begin the assault. The alleged difficulty of securing the hippodrome would probably be removed, if it was really wanted. Brooklyn is a sound Orthodox city, with three or four men in it whose word is of great potency with the multitude. But New York is a great metropolis which cannot so easily be put under dictation.

Last week the *Herald* sent interviewers to great numbers of the clergy to obtain their judgment on the revival. The result appeared in the issue of Sunday, October 31. And very interesting it was to note how few gave in their full, cordial, unqualified approval of what was said and done; how many spoke guardedly and timidly; how much willingness was expressed to wait and see. On the whole, of course, the sentiment was favorable to the "Evangelists," because the clergy, by an immense majority, are Evangelical. Dr. Chapin was cautious; Dr. Bellows frank but moderate. There are plainly misgivings

and questionings of soul; and while that is the case, the spirit will rush towards its vacuum elsewhere.

Another thing caught my attention yesterday. The *Tribune*, which from the start has shown a fervid interest in the revival, presenting its leaders, its aims, and its achievements in the most engaging aspect, printing sermons and even prayers in full, and commenting on the proceedings in a tone of sympathetic admiration which at least showed what the editor desired that people should think he thought,—the *Tribune* in an editorial warned the revivalists against exaggerated statements, extravagant figures of rhetoric, and wildness of speech that could have no other effect than to bring reproach and ridicule on themselves and their work. The *Herald*, which has given them a fair chance, contained also a long editorial, characteristic in tone of the paper, the first half of which admitted the power and success of the movement, the last half of which led the reader to think that the power was mechanical and the success apparent. Mr. Moody was described as a man destitute of extraordinary ability, and his sermons were spoken of as thin and worthless. Mr. Sankey was accused of resorting to the tricks of the cheap concert-room and the "minstrels" to produce his effects. Neither of these papers would have spoken as they did, had they not felt that it was safe and even necessary to do so,—that there was a public opinion that must be recognized, a taste that could not wisely be offended, a judgment that even people who spoke in the name of the Lord must respect. When such papers make such admissions, we may be sure they are called for. The sentiment they recognize is very much deeper than they allow. They express only its mildest form. The revival is still at its commencement. A week or two more will reveal the justice or the injustice of these comments.

O. B. F.

MURRAY AT MUSIC HALL.

The recent sermon of Mr. Murray at Music Hall, introductory to his new church enterprise, apart from its intellectual merit, and the circumstances of its delivery, possesses a peculiar interest. It exhibits the drift and tide-mark of the most advanced Orthodoxy of the time. There could be no better demonstration of the perpetual change to which religious ideas are subject, and their inevitable conformity to the common laws of progress,—those of Christianity no less than others. Mr. Murray reminds us of a skilful and venturesome driver who tries how close he can shear, with his carriage wheels, the edge of a precipice without tipping over. He is recognized as an Orthodox clergyman in full and regular standing by everybody. Thus far, we believe, no formal charge of heresy has ever been preferred against him; nor is there anything, perhaps, in this discourse that would support such a charge as an actual issue; though why an actual issue has not been made, when we recall the case of Prof. Swing and some others, is not clear to us. It may be his turn has not come. A reflective and thoughtful reader of the discourse under consideration, remembering what has passed for Orthodoxy in the Church, will be disposed to ask: "Is this Orthodoxy? If so, what of that which has hitherto passed under the name?" What a contrast between these utterances and those of the theological school to which their author belongs of fifty years ago,—between them and those of Jonathan Edwards, or those even of a large portion of its pulpit representatives to-day! Those whose impressions of Mr. Murray have been derived to a considerable extent from his reputed devotion to horse-flesh and the race-course, and who have no special predilection for these pastimes, or sympathy with these tastes (and we confess we are of the number), will hardly be prepared for the truly elevated moral sentiment of this opening sermon, its manifest sobriety and sincerity. It indicates imagination, but more subordinate to the exercise of the rational faculty, and of a more refined and subdued quality, than is common to the average popular preacher—a power to evoke choice and striking similes when needed; a dexterous and telling application of the facts of life; a fluent expression, and a philosophy which, if not profound, is for the most part cheering and quickening. With a few passages stricken out here and there, and an occasional slight alteration of phraseology and the manner of "putting things," the discourse would be acceptable to almost any radical congregation.

Yet, with all these excellences, there is running through nearly all of it a vein, more or less distinctly perceptible, of something which seems very much like cant—the stereotyped expression of a mere

mental habit, as if to meet a customary expectation rather than fresh conviction,—a free and familiar way of referring to God, or presumption of acquaintance with his nature and purposes, and a tendency to make everything fit to certain foregone conclusions, which renders his production quite vulnerable to rational criticism.

Mr. Murray designates his theme "Christian Education," though we cannot see why it might not have been, nearly as appropriately, entitled *education*, or *culture*. It is easy enough to see, of course, from his stand-point, since it is the habit of the Christian preacher to credit all moral worth and high attainment to Christianity.

Mr. Murray begins with the proposition that the Bible "presupposes that we are intelligent and ambitious after good, and desirous of higher attainment"; "that we can be educated and desire to be." What strange doctrine is this, Mr. Murray, which thou, as an Orthodox teacher, bringest to our ears? "Ambitious of good?" Does not the Bible declare that the heart of man is "deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked"—"prone to evil as the sparks to fly upward"? That in our nature there is no good thing? That we are in enmity with all that can ennoble us? That has not this ever been a distinctive doctrine of all the creeds of the Church? Do you repudiate it? Does it not then become one in your position, in order to be frank and honest, to say so openly, and would not this initiation of your new Church enterprise be especially opportune for the avowal? You are pledged to the effort to lead men to higher life, and what virtue is just now in greater requisition than honesty? "Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?" If the preacher practices evasion and double dealing, is given to the concealment of his convictions, suffers himself to be misapprehended in respect to what others have a right to know, and it is important they should know, is not his influence upon those he addresses likely to be less exalted and ennobling than it might be?

Mr. Murray defines education, according to its literal significance, as a "leading forth of the natural capacity of the man." But "who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?" Has not the Church always taught, nay, and does it not still teach through its accepted and unrepudiated creeds, that man has no "natural capacity" for improvement until he is supernaturally changed to a new creature? Does Mr. Murray mean this? Why not tell the world openly and directly what he does mean in regard to it? If mankind have been given over to "vile affections" and a "reprobate mind"—are "shapen in iniquity"—"conceived in sin"; if "by the offence of one, moral death passed upon all men," as the Scriptures teach; if all are by nature "bond slaves of Satan," as the Westminster Catechism expresses it; if some men and angels, for the "glory of God," are "foreordained to everlasting death" (and these have been and are still the fundamental doctrines of the system of theology with which Mr. Murray is identified), what hope is there of leading forth the "natural capacity" of such a being to anything good or excellent?

"The worst thing that any man can do," we are told by Mr. Murray, "is to think of himself as a creature of little value." But the Church has always taught that this is precisely how he should think of himself, and such is the tendency of a no small measure of its influence at present. Does not a very large and important division of the Church declare in its devotions every Sunday, "that we have erred and strayed like lost sheep"; that "there is no help in us"; that we are "miserable sinners"? It is very gratifying to a radical mind to see one who has the power of drawing people to him and enlisting their sympathies that Mr. Murray possesses, turning his face from these dismal conceptions; but we should prefer to see it done in a more unequivocal way, with greater candor and courage.

The view of the material universe presented in this sermon corresponds with the cheering and hopeful one that is given of man. One would hardly infer it is a "ruin," or had been scourged by a blasting and withering curse. On the contrary, it is implied that it is a very good world to live in, and full of grand opportunities and inspirations,—so good, in fact, that it has been wholly devised and arranged with all it contains, for the sole benefit or education of man. "It is safe to say that there is not a creation of God, there is not a combination permitted by him, the object of which is not man's education. We are to look upon the whole world in all its growths, in all its ever-revolving changes, as ordained for your

instruction and assistance. There is not a tree, there is not a spire of grass, there is not even a daisy head that you passed this summer in the fields, that was not created and put in growth and bloom for you." But is not this stating it rather strongly? What warrant has any one for declaring (in the present state of knowledge) why this or that thing was created? We may discover the laws of their existence, the process of their evolution; but who can tell why they exist? Does not this world exist, so far as he is capable of using it, as much for the insect of a day, the toad or reptile that crawls upon the earth, the bird that soars "on pinions free," the bison of our American prairie, the tiger or elephant of an African jungle, the huge leviathan of the deep—in a word, for any creature in the long chain of animal existence,—as for man? And is not the opposite assumption—this idea of man's right to monopolize the use of all things as if expressly designed for his service—calculated to foster arrogance and selfishness? Ask Mr. Bergh what he thinks about it.

Mr. Murray assigns a high value to the knowledge of material things as well as to things divine. "To understand the catechism," he says, "and not know anything of the tree that shades your door, or the shrub or the flower in your garden, is to be imperfect as to knowledge." Sensible, that! At the same time he appears to attribute results to the attainment of knowledge which facts tend to disprove. "Not to know things, not to feel them, is to lose that fine sense of connection with God which every child of his should bear." Does Mr. Murray imply by this that knowledge necessarily leads to religion in any such sense as he holds and teaches it, by increasing belief in a personal deity and a supernatural providence? If so, the facts seem quite otherwise. Our scientific men, who are supposed to know as much about Nature as any class, are not noted for their positive convictions in these respects, but rather for their seeming lack of them.

"The end of all Christian education," Mr. Murray maintains, is "Christ"—"the subjective Christ whose personality is in you, and with which you grow into oneness of state, and word, and being." All true leading forth of the faculties tends to this result; renders one fit at last "to stand in that great choir around God, comprised of saints and seraphs, and of the spirits of just men made perfect; able to reach the highest keys, and contribute our part to that endless melody which swells in praise of him who redeemed us with his blood, and made us kings and priests before God."

There are in this sermon some passages which have a real radical ring, and are, were it not for a certain sense of inconsistency with others which they excite, not unworthy of a greater preacher who once stood where they were uttered. The following will serve as specimens:—

"Whoever attempts to fence in truth fences more out than he fences in. No segment of the sky will hold all the stars. You cannot include the truths of the Divine nature and administration in any theological segment. These truths are everywhere, and they are not revealed to any one body of men. They are not comprehended by any one class of minds; they are not discovered by any one particular generation of searchers."

"I urge you all to keep growthful, therefore. Live always in anticipation of knowing more to-morrow than you know to-day. Let no new truth, no new discovery, be a surprise to you. Live expecting them to call on you as expected friends, any day. Do not cling to your last year's growth. Be as wise as the trees, and shed your leaves when they begin to wither and grow old. Do not perpetuate stupidity; do not transmit ignorance to your children; do not impose bigotry upon the next generation by cherishing the bigotry of this. Feel that there is room enough on all sides of you to expand; that you can no more touch the boundaries of knowledge than a tree can thrust its branches out until they touch and are doubled back upon themselves by contact with the horizon wall."

Now all this is very fine, if Mr. Murray really means what these words import, and is bound in all events to stand by them. But we suspect they are uttered with a certain "mental reservation." That the truth in these passages refers to certain preconceived ideas of it, and that, in an issue between these and new knowledge, rather than surrender them, these fine glowing sentences would be cancelled. Examples enough there have been among preachers and sects distinguished for their advanced positions. If the author of the sentences we have quoted is prepared to carry them out in fact, he should respect the sincerity of every class of thinkers, and should be as ready to speak in Paine Hall, or at a conference of the Free Religious Association, as at Music Hall. We should be as eager for the latest word of THE INDEX or INVESTIGATOR as of the THEOLOGICAL REVIEW. Be

this as it may, we rejoice in the preaching of Mr. Murray, though it is not what we should like to see it in all respects, nor what we hope it yet may be. In the words of Mr. Jefferson in the play, we are ready to say, "May he live long and prosper."

D. H. C.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—It is not a pleasant, but I believe it to be a very profitable, task to "show up" from time to time the principles which lie at the root of prevailing systems.

This may be done, and always should be done, without any animosity or bitterness. It is enough simply to confront a speaker with his own words, and ask him plainly, Do you really mean what you say? If the speaker still remain impervious to this kind of rebuke, at all events it does some good to direct to his utterances the attention of the good people whom he is supposed to influence, among whom some are surely to be found earnest and honest enough to see and repudiate the obnoxious statement.

I see by some of your American papers that so-called "church principles" are spreading and taking deeper root in your country than I thought likely or possible. If THE INDEX does not reach church people directly, it may do so by roundabout means; and so I proceed to my subject, hoping that some of them may see what I am about to write.

The present Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Magee, who owes his present dignity to his support of Mr. Gladstone in Irish Church politics, is now going through his diocese delivering his triennial charge.

He begins by congratulating his clergy on the fact that "Ascension Day is now kept in four hundred and sixty-five churches in the diocese"; that week-day services are also increased in number; and that "the sad list of churches in which the Holy Communion is administered less frequently than once a month has decreased from one hundred and eighty-seven to one hundred and twenty-three."

"The number of churches having weekly celebrations of Holy Communion had risen during the last three years from thirty-five to fifty-two."

"As far as he could gather, the number of communicants approached (only) twelve per cent. of the church population."

"It appeared to him to be very desirable that every clergyman should keep a careful record of the number of communicants at his church. Such a record would be a guide to a clergyman of the success or failure of his ministrations. A well-attended church and well-attended schools might be evidence of the zeal or popularity of a clergyman; but a record of the number of his parishioners who were habitual frequenters of the Lord's table would show a clergyman how far he had drawn his people closely to himself, and how far his ministrations had really succeeded."

We cannot suppose that, when off his guard, the Bishop of Peterborough is one whit less anxious about virtue and integrity of life than you, or I, or any one else professing to be religious.

When off his guard, I say, and in the work-a-day garments of a busy man. But in the lawn sleeves, and speaking literally *ex cathedra*, he must forsooth give vent to a sentiment utterly at variance with the most ordinary regard for virtue! We cannot blame him for thinking much about the Holy Communion, and desiring a little more than a shabby "twelve per cent. of the church population" as the number of communicants. We cannot wonder at his calling the list of scanty celebrations a "sad" one. But we do wonder, with not a little indignation, that he should in this solemn and official manner deliberately mislead the already too-benighted clergy who were hanging on his words!

Confronted with his lordship, we would ask:—

Do you, my lord, really mean what you say? Do you in your inmost heart believe that the only test of the "real success" of your clergy is to be found in the frequency of their visits to the Lord's table?

Nay, after a moment's reflection, would you not yourself bitterly deplore that this should be made the only or even the chief test of the value of clerical ministrations? Are not your words the most subtle and insidious encouragement to formality, hypocrisy, and self-delusion? Would it not have been a thousand times better to have warned your clergy against the very natural temptation of accepting this observance as a sign of success, instead of the holier, more gentle, more loving lives their parishioners may lead? It is not as if your clergy were ministering to people whose character and virtues left nothing to desire, and who only wanted religious fervor and devotion to crown their perfection; but, my lord, you know

full well that the "church populations" everywhere are full of human faults; are as untruthful, mercenary, covetous, uncharitable, and selfish, as any populations outside the pale; and that the first and last duty of a minister is to try to raise their moral standard, to purify their lives, and elevate their motives. If this be the true aim of a clergyman, the test, the sole test, of "real success" is the moral improvement of his parishioners, and not any outward compliance with religious observance, however sanctioned, or however beneficial as a help to virtue.

I would not rail at one who thinks himself to be "God's High Priest"; I only ask you to confess how you have—at this solemn time and place—forgotten yourself; forgotten your heart's loyalty to what is really good and true in the sight of the Lord; forgotten your first and highest duty to your clergy; namely, to teach them to be less worldly, less formal, less hollow, less hypocritical, than by nature and position they are likely to become.

The "Lord's Supper," under the guidance of your mistaken rule, would be a commemoration indeed of a dead Christ, and of the Burial of his words. Dangerous would it then be to remember how he warned the priests of his time saying, "Ye tithe mint, and rue, and all manner of herbs, and pass over justice and the love of God." "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven."

If ever this deplorable slip of the Episcopal tongue should come to be the deliberate conviction of the hierarchy and clergy of any church, I think we may say without hesitation, *That Church is doomed*. When men begin to put means for ends, they lose sight of the real good for which they started, and having once taken the wrong path pursue it with increasing rapidity to their own ruin.

I say nothing against your Holy Communion; I only deeply and sorrowfully protest against the clergy being taught to regard its observance as the chief duty of their flocks, or to look upon it as a test of their success, in place of real progress in all virtue and godliness of living.

I am, sir, very truly yours,
CHARLES VOYSEY.
CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S.E., Oct. 23, 1875.

Communications.

THE INJUSTICE OF CONTRACTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

IN THE INDEX of Oct. 14, R. P. H. says: "We steal when we pay a creditor seventy-five cents and pretend we have paid him one hundred cents." Granted; but if a creditor exacts one dollar and fifty cents for a dollar promised, what is that? How is it that men looking at this question from the moral side see *stealing* and *wrong* only when the creditor is cheated, or when it is proposed that he shall be cheated, by inflating the currency, so that the money wherewith he is paid shall be worth less when he is paid than when the debt was made? Why do they see nothing wrong on the other side, when by lessening the volume of currency a dollar is made worth more, and the creditor still exacts the same number of dollars for his debt?

R. P. H., as well as Carl Schurz, Mr. Bradlaugh, and others, seems to miss, or ignore, this side of the question.

Now, no one, I take it, proposes to justify an inflation that shall enable a debtor to pay in money of less value than he promised; such a step could only be justified by the necessities of war that would, at the same time, justify taking men and putting them into the army to fight battles on such terms as the government might dictate.

But when pressing men into the military service can stand justified, then, I apprehend, no one would quarrel with a government, on moral grounds at any rate, for changing values by issuing paper money and making it a legal tender.

Granting, then, at once, all that is urged against changing values by an inflation of the currency, does that justify changing the value of money by a contraction of the volume already in existence?

Look a moment at the workings of the policy of trying to appreciate paper up to gold. No one supposes that can be done but by forcibly contracting the volume of paper on the one hand, and storing up gold on the other, preparatory to exchanging gold for greenbacks.

But as gold is stored in the Treasury, it becomes scarcer and dearer; at the same time the demand for it continues, and, as paper substitutes are lessened, may even become greater. We must keep on paying our interest in gold, while we seek to accumulate. Hence, as the volume of paper lessens, we may even find the premium on gold going up, as is the case now. More and faster contraction will then become necessary to keep up the appreciation of paper.

What is the necessary result of this course on business, and upon those who have debts to pay?

It is absurd to suppose that the volume of currency can be thus contracted without tending to reduce greatly the prices of all commodities.

This is now fully understood and expected. Hence production, beyond the calculated immediate consumption, stops. No one can continue to manufacture and put out goods, if what is produced this year will sell for less next year.

It is not at all strange that money accumulates in banks. Who wishes to exchange money now for

property, or commodities, beyond present necessities, if next month or next year the price of that for which he exchanges his money will be worth less in money than he pays for it?

They who manufactured cotton or woollen goods, or iron, or steel last year, find their products worth less this year than when produced; and, if the process of contraction is to continue, they must expect to find that what they produce this year, beyond the demand for immediate consumption, will be worth still less next year.

The result is, our industries languish, labor is unemployed, and, instead of gaining in wealth, we lose, and are compelled to fall back in part on former savings, to live and pay our debts.

The debtor, to be sure, has no more dollars to pay, but he must pay a great deal more for his dollars.

We pay debts with what we produce, and, if what we produce, by means of forced contraction of the money at any time in use in a country, is made less valuable, so that more of it has to be taken to procure the same money, it is equivalent to an increase of the debt.

I can point to many cases where an industrious and saving laborer has put his savings for a series of years in a little home, until half or more of the purchase price has been paid; but the mortgage that is left unsatisfied takes it all now, and his annual savings are swept away. Yet Mr. Schurz can only see, from his super-eminent moral stand-point, the iniquity of changing the value of money so that *creditors are cheated*!

As long as the change is downward, and only the debtor is robbed, it is to him but the natural reaction of too great an expansion of credit! Any arbitrary alteration of the value of money works unlimited wrong; but it is just as wrong to rob a debtor as it is to cheat a creditor. I say rob, because I believe already the limits of equity have been passed, and any further change of values, per force of law, is positively wicked. As to the effect of such a course as has been marked out in the Sherman Resumption Act, let those who have seen the result of similar legislation in other countries testify.

James Mill, who wrote immediately after the resumption of specie payments in England, and with a full knowledge of the effect on British industries, says: "When a considerable proportion of the medium of exchange is withdrawn from circulation, the evils of a scarcity of money are immediately felt; the prices of commodities fall; the value of money rises; those who have goods to sell, and those who have debts to pay, are subject to losses, and calamity is widely diffused."

Another writer says: "In 1815 the bank began to get ready for a resumption of specie payments by cutting down discounts and reducing circulation. It thus reduced the currency by £12,000,000,—a mere trifle as compared with the money value of the nation's property; but the whole circulation for a time stopped, and an artificial panic was produced. In 1819 it resumed specie payments, after a suspension of twenty-five years, thus altering at once, and greatly, the terms of all contracts made in the interval, and not yet executed. All who had land, labor, or produce to sell, or contracts to fill, were placed at great disadvantage. Creditors, *i. e.*, the wealthy, capital-holding class, gained greatly, except where their debtors were absolutely ruined. Mills stopped, land fell in price, labor was thrown idle, and in peace men suffered more than the calamities of war." And in peace men suffered more than the calamities of war! And these calamities we are just beginning to pass through, if we undertake to follow the Sherman Resumption Act through to the end!

Without approving the teachings of the circular quoted by R. P. H., I think the reviewer, however, will need to revise somewhat his presentation of the National Bank question, and, at some future time, if permitted, I may refer to this again. A. J. W.
MARIETTA, O., Oct. 20, 1875.

REVIVALIST RHETORIC.

At the Tabernacle, Wednesday, Oct. 27, at a great Moody and Sankey meeting, the following remarks of Rev. T. DeWitt Talmage are reported in the *Tribune*:—

"Dr. Talmage arose to say that the prayer for his sick wife had been answered. 'It flashed to the Throne of God, and from there to Charleston,' from whence a telegram came from her after three hours delay, saying: 'I am a great deal better. On Saturday I sail for home.'"

The *Sun* reporter writes as follows of the same remarks:—

"When the preacher closed, Mr. Talmage desired to tell the people how their prayers the previous morning for the recovery of his wife had been answered. 'That prayer went up to God for a woman who was lying sick in Charleston. It was flashed from here to heaven on angels' wings, and from heaven to Charleston without the loss of a moment's time. The only delay was in the telegraph line that brought me a message that my wife had suddenly improved, was almost well, and would sail for home on Saturday.'"

We may presume the report is correct. Comment is unnecessary.

Says the *Sun*, Oct. 29:—

"The Brooklyn revivalists must be particularly careful to avoid such expressions, figures of speech, and illustrations as are offensive to true taste or reverential feeling. In his discourse of Tuesday morning, Preacher Moody labored to show that the Almighty 'keeps all his best things locked up,' so that they can only be had by 'knocking'; and in doing so, these words were used:—

"He [God] keeps the Holy Ghost locked up, and when we want him we have got to knock, and knock,

and knock. And if we will keep knocking, we will get him.'"

"Now this sort of language cannot be tolerated by right-thinking people. It reduces to pettiness one of the most awe-inspiring mysteries of the ancient Church. Instead of inducing solemnity, it leads to levity by putting the Godhead in a grotesque attitude. The statement itself, as made by Mr. Moody, we would rather not argue about, though it is not warranted by anything that can be found in the Scriptures. According to the Orthodox belief, the Holy Ghost is the Third Person of the Trinity, and as such is of the essence of the Father and the Son, coequal with them, and inseparable from them; and it is far outside of the province of proper and reverent imagination to speak of any one of the Three Persons of the Trinity 'locking up' either of the other Persons. In no part of the Scriptures is there any example of any such way of speaking of the Deity. Neither Moses nor the prophets ever spoke thus, and never did the Christian apostles so speak. It is Mr. Moody's duty, on these and other grounds, to cease from straining after such expressions. He is not as fond of queer or strange figures as some other revivalists have been; but his use of them had better be checked at once."

Am glad to see you notice so earnestly President Grant's grand words on the school question and sectarian matters. "A."

THE CENTENNIAL OF FREE THOUGHT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The year 1876 will be Centennial year, and the city of Philadelphia will be the centre of the Centennial. The occasion will be an interesting one for the exhibition of relics of the old, in comparison with the active life of the new. These, however, will be its surface indications. Its deeper significance will lie in the moral forces that will be set in motion around it as a common centre. What political combinations will gather there, and what policies will they evolve? What is to be the influence of the Old World customs that will be represented there, more especially as related to governmental science upon American parties and politics? What the combinations among religious bodies, both American and foreign? We know that the competition of human thought and conflicting interest is ever active and alert, and we cannot expect that so great an occasion will be allowed to pass without an effort to improve it to the advantage of particular interests. It is by this very friction, in fact, that social progress is made.

I do not know whether the subject has been agitated or not; but the question suggests itself to me whether any concerted effort is to be made by the liberal sentiment of the country (and of the world) to represent itself at the Centennial. It ought to have a centre there where liberal literature should be on sale, and, if possible, a hall or halls where liberal thought could find free expression. Superstition will be preached from a thousand pulpits. Rationalism ought certainly to have its rostrum. Especially should works bearing upon the relation of the government to religion be accessible. The churches will reiterate their groundless plea that this government has Christianity, or some undetermined and indeterminate religious hebdomadal, as its basis. Rationalism should be able to oppose to this claim authentic facts. If a volume could be prepared showing the preponderance of liberal thought, as represented by some of the leading minds of the time, in the formation of the government, it would be of great value, and would tend greatly to restore a correct opinion on a subject relative to which a false opinion has obtained, through the uncontradicted claims of ecclesiasticism.

S. B. McCracken.

DETROIT, Mich., Oct. 25, 1875.

MASONRY IN THE BIBLE.

A prominent lecturer on Free Masonry declares that, when Jesus told Nicodemus he must be born again, he was simply advising him to join his lodge. Another defender of the "mystic tie" has stated in print that, when Paul says he was caught up to the third heaven and heard words not lawful for a man to utter, he merely meant that he took the third degree.

This method of interpretation may be applied to the Old Testament with equal success. The first lodge was called the Garden of Eden, and was broken up by the Grand Master, because a man of such bad character that he was nicknamed "Serpent" had got initiated. The need of Masonic institutions soon became so plain, that a second lodge was founded by Noah, and called the Ark. Its members were thus preserved from the wickedness which prevailed, like a deluge, around them. Envious people, who could not get in, started at Babel a rival lodge called the Tower; but this failed on account of internal dissensions. The difficulty of getting initiated in old times is symbolically told in such stories as those of Jacob wrestling with Jehovah; Moses and his proselytes wandering in the wilderness; Sampson slaying the Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass; Daniel in the lion's den; the three holy men in the fire; Elisha and the two she-bears; and other stories easily explained Masonically. Jonah may be supposed to have been unjustly expelled from his local lodge called the Ship, and to have been restored to fellowship by the Grand Lodge, which was appropriately called the Whale. This method is, however, so easily applied that I need only add, that the story of Balaam and his ass is perfectly comprehensible, on the supposition that they were both of them Masons.

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(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 60 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India;" also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

Proceedings of Fifth Annual Meeting, 1872. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by J. W. Chadwick on "Liberty and the Church in America," by C. D. B. Mills on "Religion as the Expression of a Permanent Sentiment of the Human Mind," and by O. B. Frothingham on "The Religion of Humanity," with addresses by Rowland Connor, Celia Burleigh, Lucretia Mott, A. B. Alcott, C. A. Bartol, Horace Seaver, Alexander Loos, and others.

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Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains verbatim reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Sonnenschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Calthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity,—as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"—together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Keshub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. Wasson.

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Reason and Revelation, by William J. Potter. 10 cents.

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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VOLUME 6.

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ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT: PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

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SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

"If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. Now, the centennial year of our national existence, I believe, is a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundations of the structure commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needed guarantees for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian schools. Resolve that neither State or Nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmixed with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and the State forever separate."—PRESIDENT GRANT, at Des Moines, Sept. 29, 1875.

GLIMPSES.

"Bosses" are going out of fashion since the election. Schoolmaster Quackenbos is abroad.

THIS PAPER goes to press before the opening of the Worcester Convention. Our next issue will have a report of it.

NEW YORK CITY is crowing over getting "rapid transit" at last. But what will become of its morals, if everybody deliberately sets out to be "fast"?

MOODY AND SANKEY are reported by the New York Sun of November 6 to have "got out an injunction to prevent another party from printing and circulating their hymns."

THE PROPOSED French-American statue of Liberty in New York Harbor will be pleasingly suggestive of international good-will; but why not also erect a statue of Honesty on the City Hall?

BAVARIA is distracted with the Catholic question, from which the King unavailingly tried to run away. The Pope tugs at one of his arms and the Emperor at the other, and the poor prince will soon be reduced to a "magnificent torso."

ELIPHAZ THE TEMANITE thought that the Almighty's bucklers had "thick bosses"; but if he were alive to-day, he would think that the "bosses" who are so "thick" in the neighborhood of New York belong to the bucklers of a totally different personage.

AN AMERICAN subscriber to this journal, writing from Nantes, under date of November 6, says: "May success attend your efforts to uproot 'ignorance and superstition'! The complete secularization of our public schools, and the just taxation of all church and other property, are very necessary to prevent our having in the future a Guibord to bury. In this country [France] that 'animal' is not a 'kitten,' neither is it a 'tiger's cub,' but a full-grown, roaring beast. Be careful, or it will grow on American soil."

IN FORT MADISON, Iowa, there are two Catholic parochial schools directly supported out of the public school fund. One has about three hundred scholars, and the other eighty; both are sustained in connection with the two Catholic churches of the place; the teachers are Catholics, employed and paid by the School Board; from 8 to 9, A. M., and from 4 to 5, P. M., these teachers give instruction in the forms and doctrines of the Catholic Church; and no Protestant teachers have ever been employed in these schools.

A COMMITTEE of the Congregationalist Association of New York has been appointed to investigate the charges against Mr. Beecher. The trial satisfied nobody who reflected on the evidence, and the Congregationalist body finds it necessary to take the painful matter up once more. It may or may not be true that "Christianity is on trial" in that case; but it is certainly true that the Protestant public are on trial for the way in which they have treated it. The action now taken is a new proof of the power of the public opinion which does little public talking.

THE METHODIST BISHOPS have just been publicly

entertained at Horticultural Hall, in this city, by their fellow-believers, and Bishop Haven made this remark in the course of his speech: "Boston needs more Methodist churches near the centre of the city. This Horticultural Hall has obtained a reputation for desecration by Sunday atheistical lectures; and now, after this entertainment, it will be regarded as having been redeemed." Of course! What would sanctify it anew, if not Bishop Haven with a mug of coffee in his hand and a mouth full of lobster salad? Lobsters and bishops, well mixed, constitute a powerful spiritual disinfectant.

IN 1807, Moses S. Wheeler was sentenced in this State to imprisonment for life for the crime of arson. He was convicted on the positive testimony of his sister and her husband, who now are proved to have perjured themselves from revenge. So the Governor and Council pardoned him out on November 6, 1875—conditionally! The invariable condition is that, if ever again found in prison, the pardoned man is to serve out the original term; and this condition must be signed by a man known and proved to be innocent! Alas for the imperfection of human justice! What could compensate the poor prisoner for eight long, weary years of false imprisonment? The State owes him more than it can ever pay; yet it frees him conditionally!

THE FOLLOWING SLIP has just been received for publication: "The National Association, organized to maintain existing Christian features in the American government, and to secure the Religious Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, met in Philadelphia on the 9th instant, for the transaction of its annual business. The Hon. Felix R. Brunot, of Pittsburgh, President of the Association, occupied the chair. Steps were taken to secure articles of incorporation, under the name of the National Reform Association. The maintenance of Sabbath Laws, the retention of the Bible in the common schools, the defence of the Judicial oath, and other Christian features of the government, and the securing of suitable religious acknowledgments in all new State Constitutions, were expressly recognized as among the objects of the society. The next National Convention was appointed to be held in Philadelphia during the last week in June, 1876."

THE Nation of November 4 argues that in only two ways can the re-appearance of "bosses" be rendered impossible: (1) the conversion of the municipality into a business, instead of a political, corporation, and (2) the administration of its finances by those who pay the taxes or think they pay them. The latter plan being judged impracticable (probably because it would involve a pretty high property qualification for suffrage), the Nation favors the former. But since this favored plan is to "involve, of course, very great concentration of power and responsibility," the Nation in fact simply proposes a responsible "boss" instead of an irresponsible one. We do not see how this is to get rid of "boss government." On the contrary, it is an almost undisguised retreat from the evils of ignorant suffrage into what have been proved by experience to be the still greater evils of imperialism. Why not resolutely recognize the fact that "ignorance and superstition" are, as President Grant has pointed out, the chief foes of the republic, and concentrate the public energy on the task of abolishing both by "compulsory" or guaranteed education? It is too late to be saved by "bosses," whether responsible or irresponsible; the people have got the power into their own hands by universal suffrage, and it will take more than editorial articles to get it out; and the only possible way out of the snarl is to make the people, by means of strictly universal and thoroughly secular education, an intelligent "boss" of its own affairs. This is a very short sermon, but it will bear very long thinking over.

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[FOR THE INDEX.]

On the Regeneration of Sunday.

BY PROF. FRANCIS W. NEWMAN.

Nothing can be more lovely and glorious than the ideal picture of Christian goodness, as we read it in the Apostolic Epistles. In how many Christians it was a living reality, it is impossible to judge. That it was exceedingly marred by violent doctrinal quarrels among themselves, and not a little also by the impure or rude habits which they brought with them out of Paganism, is made too plain by various allusions. Some Christians are even denounced as covering licentiousness by a form of godliness. Nevertheless, the sound-hearted believers set the goal of their moral aspiration high. When they talked of holiness, they did not mean an ecclesiastical, a formal sacredness—neither the outward washing of baptism (which Peter contemptuously calls, "The putting away of the filth of the flesh") nor attendance on church ordinances, maceration of the body, subjection to priestly rule, or any other artificial sanctity. At least their chief and most honored teachers esteemed holiness to men the highest goodness of every sort appreciable to the mind, springing up from within the heart, and overflowing in love to man, in gratitude and devotion to God.

Accordingly the Church, its ordinances and its teaching, were regarded as an instrumental means of vitally quickening all the members; and of so elevating their characters, as to rise above duty and law into the spiritual region of love and freedom. No lower form of morality was for a moment disesteemed; on the contrary, the function of the Church was to cultivate in its converts all that elementary rectitude of mental or bodily habits in which under heathenism they had generally been very deficient. Regarding holiness as only the higher stage of moral development, we may say that the function of the Church was "to cherish moral excellence in its members." According to the phraseology of the Apostle Paul, his office was, to minister the spirit; and in the spirit was included holiness, liberty, and practical wisdom. The spirit was with him opposed to the flesh, or baser nature. In the works of the flesh he comprised every form of immorality; but the fruit of the spirit, he says, is love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith [faithfulness?], meekness, temperance. So abundantly was the moral element expanded in his ideal.

But the Church of that day was in its own theory an exceptional body. It could not cohere or cooperate with so very corrupt a world as surrounded it, nor did it for a moment conceive the vast idea of converting the whole mass. To take out of the world an elect people was its sole ambition; and it was manifest that only certain temperaments (in their language, partakers of grace or God's special favor) were susceptible to conversion. From this antagonism to the world they shunned alike public posts, public amusements, and private company, thereby bringing on themselves dislike and suspicion. Thus they were kept in high tension, and by the persecution (small at first, soon severer) which followed, felt themselves to be a peculiar people, whose task was to promote good works and holiness. The whole life was to be holy. No distinction was made of working-day and Sunday. On the Sabbath, that is, *Saturday*, no common trade-labor was exercised by Jewish Christians; the Pagan converts met for worship, if able, on Saturday evening, when in Jewish computa-

tion the Sabbath was over, and the first day of the week was begun; but they had no day at all without ordinary work. Neither Romans nor Greeks had any week of seven days; hence the phrase "*first day of the week*" could only be interpreted from a Jewish sense. Gentile Christians (except when they had learned from the Jews to keep Saturday) counted no day of the week holy more than another.

Whether in the second and third century Christians collectively were really inferior to those of the first, it is difficult to know; but certainly the standard of holiness held up before them was constantly sinking, by ecclesiasticism growing up, and by controversy ever exalting the relative value of right opinion. In the fourth century, under Constantine, the first day became at last by the Emperor's edict a day of cessation from common labor; and from it our modern *Sunday* is derived. The Puritanical Sunday of England (falsely called Sabbath) dates barely from the reign of James I. Baseless as it is in matter of argument, the idea of it was noble in the mind of the Puritan. It was to be a day nationally devoted to teaching, learning, or meditation on holy things, to religious exercises of the heart in private and public, or to philanthropic action, with the least possible spending of minutes on the needs of physical life. The churches of modern England have adopted this theory, and the first question here arising is how far they have realized it.

I do not question that there is numerically a large body of persons who approximate to this ideal. But it must be remembered that the institution has been made *national*, and that the law forbids labor upon it, even so far as to fine severely those who deliver for pay scientific or literary lectures of the noblest and most instructive kind. *Nationally* the failure of the institution is enormous. With a great majority it is a day for lying late in bed, and other bodily indolence, a day for eating a more expensive and probably less wholesome dinner, a mere indulgence of "the flesh." With very many, the hours pass in stupid languor; with vast multitudes it is a day in which an extra quantity of intoxicating drink is swallowed. With others it is a day for rural excursions, in which, however innocent, no one can discover anything specially religious. Debauchery prevails in the evening so widely, that on Monday many an artisan is unfit for work, and the police offices show a great excess of crime. This is an eminently unsatisfactory Christian Sunday.

But even as to the portion of timespent in church, no very high account can be given. There are, I well believe, some who, happy in their minister and highly devout in themselves, find the attendance in church very profitable; but how slight is the efficacy on the great mass of a congregation! Weariness under long prayers, and listlessness under a sermon, is a widely applicable description; moreover, when we ask how often the pulpit directs itself against public immoralities, or exerts any appreciable effect against them, the reply is highly damaging. Moral topics are seldom treated at all from the pulpit. To preach (what is called) dry morality, would probably empty any church or chapel; nor are adults likely to get much benefit from a scholastic treatment of morals. To preach against the crying sins of the day, is quite a different matter. This is what Wesley, Whitefield, and their associates did; this is what Baxter and many Puritans before him did,—vehemently and successfully. If one asks why this is, on the whole, so very rare, now or formerly, the reasonable reply is, that the preacher has not sufficient weight of character, conviction, and earnestness of mind. Only exceptional men can do the thing well or usefully. A large number of preachers are too young; they are deficient in fire; they have not stern intensity and recklessness of man's judgment, where that of God is clear to them. Apostolic fervor in no age at all has been a common endowment. An underlying sense that, if the clergy collectively were to preach against the sins of the day, they would often become mere partisans and advocates in matters on which wiser men doubt, has led to a very prevalent disuse of such preaching. It is seldom that any widespread vice or injustice can be redressed without aid from the State; indeed, generally the State itself is guilty, perhaps is an accomplice. To preach against such sins is stigmatized as "political agitation." Even in the great movement against slavery, which began with Clarkson and Wilberforce, though some Episcopalian ministers and very many Dissenters were warm in the cause, I believe they seldom dared to bring the matter into the pulpit. They argued only on the platform, where their ecclesiastical character was merged; where they appeared, not as ministers, but rather as lay philanthropists. A long list of national sins, vices, injustices might be drawn up, as to which the pulpits have been utterly dumb. Even such scandals as bribery at elections, excess of drink-shops, immoralities of theatres, and other lower places, with ever-spreading social corruption, draw out from very few indeed (as far as I have heard) such preaching as in the movement of Wesley was prominent and fruitful.

It must not be omitted that another cause has greatly conduced to strip the *pulpit* of its moral functions; namely, the development of what we now call the *platform*. The essential difference is this: that from the platform *many* speak; and though they oftenest speak all on one side, yet opponents, if they are desirous to promote discussion and not confusion, will generally be welcome in any movement against injustice or other immorality. When a society has been formed to promote a definite object, its uniform difficulty, perhaps its greatest difficulty, is to get intelligent opponents to attend and argue against it. In general they disdain to come; friends only attend, and there are too few in the audience who need conversion. Yet room is open for debate. One man has it not all to himself in such dogmatic

style, as needs in him a weight of character not often to be found. There is room also for taking a vote of the audience; and little as may be the value of the vote, it much conduces to attention. For when men have something to do as the result of listening, they listen far more earnestly. A sense of responsibility comes in. But if nothing practical is to come of listening, inattention more easily steals on them. Moreover, far greater interest is raised by a variety of speakers, even if many of them are inferior.

On the whole, the influence of the modern churches against precisely the worst evils of the day—those which are supported by State institutions, by interested politicians or office-holders, or by great vested interests—is almost as feeble as under Paganism itself. This was eminently seen in the United States as to the slave question; so too in England as to our Asiatic wars, our drink traffic, and a worse traffic in the souls and bodies of women. If the function of church organization is to promote *that* public morality without which religion is fanaticism or hypocrisy, their failure on a national scale is most lamentable. The clergy have not, even by indirect influence, guided or spurred the laity to contend in any vital matter. It is not reorganization merely that the churches need, but regeneration,—the infusing of a new vitality. Yet, believe this as we may, to us little else is open than to make such suggestions concerning possible new arrangements as may give freedom to a new spirit, trusting that it does exist among us.

Indeed, the defects of the new system which has arisen—that of voluntary societies and public meetings—are very grave. The waste of effort, time, and money is enormous, and too much is thrown on the same philanthropic persons. The number of such societies is in itself a serious embarrassment, and the expense makes it difficult for poor men to set them at work at all. In so far as such societies are philanthropic, that is, are disinterested as well as useful, it belongs properly to the church or churches to conduct them; for which they would have many facilities, and by the very fact the Church as an organization would recover her true position in society.

No national church attempts to imitate the *form* of the apostolic action. In every age a few eccentric societies attempt it, with devout self-sacrificing zeal; and they are a useful protest against our selfishness and luxury. But no one can take a broad view of history, with a heart embracing all mankind, and be satisfied with so limited an action on the millions of our brethren and sisters as alone was possible or imaginable to the apostles and their contemporaries. It is an axiom with us that God cares for the unfortunate many as much as for the happy few; and that a first duty incumbent on those who whether by inward or outward resources are favored is to employ their ability for the welfare of the less favored. An apostle who said, "Silver and gold have I none," could with equal truth have said, "Political influence have I none." A deputation of Christians to Galba, Vespasian, or Trajan, imploring a political change in the interest of morals or of humanity, would have been treated even by these respectable emperors as impertinently offensive. "Do you think that the Emperor and the Senate do not know their duties, without your instruction?" was the mildest reply they could expect. But the majority of our nation is contained in the churches, which, if united in any philanthropic aim, become politically all-powerful. With the vast increase of means, the scale of duty enlarges itself. Apostles could not dream of uprooting the causes of vice and misery, because these were political as well as social and personal; with us, to uproot the causes is just the primary duty, and is of course the only way of removing the effects.

Nor is it possible for the churches now, as in some measure then, to keep themselves apart from the contaminations of a guilty and foul world; for with us church and world are inextricably mixed. Only while a church is a small and special community, can it at all successfully isolate itself. Enthusiasm may for a while keep such a church in a high-strung frame of mind, which resists the world's corruptions; but such enthusiasm barely outlasts in purity a second generation; the evil world drags the Church downwards. No church can sustain its own higher life long, unless active to purify society which is outside of it, on its outskirts, or in general interfused with it. Every way, therefore, the enterprise of healing the world's ulcers and cleansing away moral pestilence is an essential duty of the modern church.

The Church has the *pulpit* entirely to herself; but the influence of the pulpit, by universal confession, has immensely declined. Why should she not try to attract the *platform* within her limits, and work it under her own auspices, so far as it purposes to promote justice, mercy, and moral goodness? The Church overlooks her own facilities for this. First of all, she has, all ready for use, the building in which a public meeting can be held. Next, the cost of advertisement and placards in a large movement would be immensely economized. One or two placards outside the building would make announcement to the congregation, and by mutual agreements the different churches would soon learn to help each other in such advertising. They would often work in harmony, debating the same subject simultaneously. Thirdly (what is by far most important, and is the matter to be here specially developed) every local church has the *time* at her disposal for philanthropic action, if Sunday, that ecclesiastical day, were duly digested. From the severe pressure of business, attendance at philanthropic meetings is impossible in the prime of a working day, and is a troublesome effort to most persons late in the evening. This grave difficulty would vanish, if the meetings were held at the church itself, and on Sunday. Fourthly, a meeting so gathered would not be packed from any select clique, but would take up

more independent elements than now. Reasoning on both sides would be heard from the beginning. A futile project would be more quickly stopped; a good measure would more rapidly rise in public esteem. Fifthly, far greater solemnity would be maintained. Neither noisy excitement of applause, nor unseemly riot, would be endured. A more sober enthusiasm, a more earnest gravity, a greater general self-control, might be counted on. Sixthly, the clergyman or chief minister of the building would be the natural chairman, whose official character would certainly give him weight to restrain the meeting, if restraint were needed, and would be a full guarantee for decorum, in no small measure also for religious earnestness. Few clergymen have, or can have, the fire of a reformer or prophet; but a large majority of those in full maturity of life have the qualities needed in a vigorous and useful chairman or president. And every such president, if he had a word in his heart, would have a full right and a free opportunity to speak it out, at any convenient length. Each would earn the influence which his practical wisdom might deserve.

A secondary organization would be sure to rise. A committee of elders, similar to the deacons of many churches, would consult with the minister as to the desirableness of holding a meeting for the discussion of a certain subject. The initiation of the idea would rest with voluntary movement; that is, any individuals (or any amounting to a prescribed number) might make suggestion to the elders, who, if they pleased, would discuss it with the minister. If it seemed plausible enough to deserve fuller debate, it would be brought into a general meeting. If there it were disapproved, the matter would go no farther. No harm would have been done; no cost whatever would have been incurred.

As a result of holding meetings of philanthropic tendency every Sunday, on the one hand, persons who do not esteem the ordinary church ministrations enough to frequent them would be attracted by a service which they appreciate, conducted on the day which is least preoccupied. On the other hand, all the ordinary church attendants would learn that philanthropists are not a special class, but that philanthropy is the duty of every religious man. Owing to the severe engagements of business, a great majority of men now are apt to imagine that it belongs to others, not to them, to bestir themselves for the benefit of the world. If indeed they are rich, the pressure of others may get money out of them; but this is not at all so beneficial to them, as themselves to take part in good enterprises; nor does it so call out their liberality. The selfishness and materialism now dominant would receive a wholesome check, if Sunday, instead of being a day in which the laity are passive hearers and receptive of abstract truth, became a day in which kind, just, or merciful actions were promoted by their coöperation and advice.

To bring about the change which I imagine, a commencement must be made in churches really free. At this moment, the Episcopal or Anglican Church is wholly incapable of such development; but if that happen which to many minds seems fast approaching—that this Church should become free from the State, and able to reorganize herself,—she has in her cathedrals and other ample buildings, facilities far beyond all the rest. It would only be requisite to have courage to turn them to the best account.

With no small timidity, I proceed to state more in detail what changes would regenerate the Sunday; with timidity, because there are, of course, many ways in detail of applying the same principles, and those which I suggest cannot to all minds seem the best. I fear (for this often happens) that readers, instead of improving my scheme, where it may seem to them defective, will look on what they regard as its defects as a refutation of the fundamental idea. But unless I sketch a plan in detail, many readers will not get any vivid notion of the mode of action which I conceive. To fix ideas, I shall name definite hours and define other matters as well as I can.

Suppose that on Sunday the church doors were to open at twenty minutes past ten, and ten minutes were allowed for the congregation to assemble. I believe that *an hour and a quarter* amply suffices for what is called the ordinary church service, which might terminate at a quarter to twelve. The long prayers of the Anglican Church were never intended by the compilers of the Prayer-book. The modern system has been brought about by an arbitrary and hurtful accumulation of three liturgies,—namely, the morning prayers, the litany, and the communion, besides the sermon; in some churches and on some days the baptismal service, or the churching of women, or the communion is added. It is reasonable to believe that this will be reformed in a state of freedom. English Christians are morally unable to pray on so many topics as their ancestors. It is neither necessary nor profitable to open this remark more fully; but it is visible that a church no sooner becomes free than it much shortens its prayers. And is not this in close accordance with a precept of Jesus himself? In different modifications of religious theories the details cannot be the same; but there are many who will think it would suffice to allow twenty minutes for reading, ten minutes for prayer, fifteen minutes for hymns, and twenty-five minutes for sermon. An interval of nearly a quarter of an hour would remain before twelve o'clock, when the philanthropic meeting might begin.

But according to my ideal and prospectus of the future, perhaps in this same space of time (namely, from half-past ten to quarter of twelve), three other forms of service would either always or often go on in the wings of the same building,—namely, the youths, say from the age of thirteen to eighteen, would receive instruction, moral and religious, from

an elder priest; also the girls of the same age similarly, but under a matron priestess; thirdly, the younger children would get school-teaching. Whether such arrangement may be possible, would depend on the available teachers. Here it suffices to insist on two things: *first*, that at present the moral instruction of young persons of both sexes on subjects of all others vital to them is perniciously omitted, and will be omitted, until they are taught separately by an older man and by a matron; *next*, that children are cruelly and mischievously tired out, by teaching them in school first, and bringing them into church afterward. It is an ingenious way of making them hate the church service, for which they are every way too young. But unless the school be *simultaneous* with the church service, what is to be done with the children?

How very defective is our teaching of morals, few appear to me to be aware. As the happiness or misery of life is made up chiefly of small things, so is its morality. The boys of England are, perhaps, as reckless and as rude as of any nation in the world. Nowhere is fruit exempt from their depredations. They break down palings, steal sticks, tear off branches, pick flowers. Gentlemen would often gladly plant in exposed places fruit-trees instead of barren trees; sweet chestnuts or walnuts for horse-chestnuts; cherries, damsons, or apples for thorns (which, if done generally, would make fruit cheaper in the markets); but they instantly draw on themselves an invasion of lads who, besides stealing the fruit, do much mischief. A gentleman who opens a path through his grounds for the greater pleasure of walkers, or to shorten distance for them, finds his trees and grounds instantly damaged. I have known one who, on giving an entertainment in his garden, had his beds so trampled down that he never repeated it. In a recent summer I knew the case of a clergyman's widow, living in a retired village with a family of children on a narrow income, who had all the fruit of her little orchard stolen as fast as it ripened. The thieves were not professional rogues from any town, but some neighbor or neighbors who well knew her circumstances. In my own case I have had vexatious experience of rude mischief from boys. Ringing bells and running away is a very ordinary practice. Servants in vain call to them and scold. Mine more than once have said to me: "Ah, sir! there is no one to teach them better." Here is the germ of the whole thing. See again (at least in the towns) the great incivility of our lads to those whose dress has anything not in the cut of the day, or unusual to their eye; observe the rudeness of their fun, the coarseness of their language and jokes, their excessive pertness. A Turkish boy, however poor, is a perfect gentleman in comparison to them. Look again to the sons of the gentry. Unless the school-boys of this generation are prodigiously improved, much of the same story might be told of them. Indeed the accounts given of our youths on their way to India, while passing through Egypt, and of their behavior on reaching India, exhibit them as not only disgraceful to our country, but a grave political mischief, by their illegal violence and excessive insolence. What are called "practical jokes," which are anything but jokes to the sufferers, prevail, unless put down with a high hand. Everywhere English names are cut on wood and stone (by grown men also), damaging even historical or antique monuments, and ruining furniture. Even if every offence were itself small, yet the total mischief to the character and to society is very serious. But it is hard for any one to preach from the pulpit on such things; they should be taught in the school.

And they can be taught well in school,—so taught as to be instructive to well-bred young gentlemen and ladies. Mr. William Ellis so teaches in schools the elements of political economy, as to make it a profitable lecture on morals. Conversely, lectures on all the small duties and graces of life, opening their moral grounds, would at once inculcate gentleness, politeness, and honesty, and also explain the laws of the market and the rights of every cultivator to the fruits of his labor. Surely such lessons are far more profitable to children than a premature inculcation of religion, the learning of a catechism, or even instruction in reading, if it is to be never used and soon forgotten. To be contented with simple food and avoid greediness, and many other matters would also be taught.

So elevated and mighty an idea as that of God cannot be received by a young child. To a mother endeavoring to inculcate it, her little boy replied: "Mamma is Charley's God." Another boy, taken to church for the first time said on his return: "Papa, I have seen the LORD!" His father on inquiry found, that what the boy had seen was the minister in a white surplice. After a child has learned to feel and practice universal kindness, it is quite time enough to begin upon religion. Until he loves man, whom he has seen, he cannot love God, whom he has not seen, or get any profitable idea of him at all. Much less is there any use in indoctrinating him with a creed, though it be the soundest and surest creed in the world. Let the flower set well, and hope for the fruit in due time, under the blessing of God's sun; but to expect autumn in spring, is to waste labor, and damage your tree. In general, by teaching confession of sin, or thankfulness for its atonement, you do but teach hypocrisy.

The instruction of youth and older girls of course cannot be solely and always on the topics on account of which it is desirable to have the sexes apart. Experience, and the ability or genius of teachers, would regulate details. There would not be, and need not be, uniformity in different churches. But there are other topics, ill taught from the pulpit, but well taught when young people are the audience; such as faithfulness in all small matters, the wrong-

fulness of petty stealing to indulge the appetite, and of all such rudeness and damage to others as were named above; the duty of politeness and distance between young men and women; the sin of waste; the value of economy; the delight of generosity out of our savings; to the young women especially, the folly and wrong of expensive dress. The excessive stupidity of "fashion," which, by dressing all alike, whatever their physical aspect, necessarily makes a large number ugly. They should be taught that the beauty of dress does not depend on the costliness of the material, but on the elegance of the form and suitability to the wearer. I have heard a gentleman say that, if a shawl, however coarse and mean, is given to a Hindu girl, she has half-a-dozen ways of putting it on, all becoming. Then, also, lessons of cleanliness, tidiness, and conscientious work have to be taught. The numerous evils of smoking—to the purse, to health, to furniture, and to other people's comfort—might here be inculcated with the greatest advantage to youths. I need hardly add, the supreme importance of implanting in them a hatred of intoxicating drink; but to teach them not to indulge the lust of the flesh by needlessly expensive food, approaches to it in importance.

What length of time the philanthropic meeting would take, must depend on its nature, and the eagerness of interest which it might cause. If such meetings were adjourned from week to week, one hour might ordinarily suffice; but in all such matters a free church would secure for itself *flexibility*, and would adapt arrangements according to the materials before it. Moreover, instead of adhering to a single routine of what is called the Lord's Supper, would it not be far more reasonable to revert to the freedom of the original institution? I think, that if Christians get more manliness of mind, and insist that traditional routine shall not impede that spirit of liberty in which Paul glories, some such development will even yet happen.

What is the exact relation between the Love Feasts (Jude 12) of the early Christians, and the Lord's Supper as described by Paul (I. Cor. xi., 20), I do not mean dogmatically to pronounce. But it is clear, that the Supper to which Paul refers was a real and solid meal; and the original supper (according to the three first gospels) at which Jesus founded the institution, was a meal upon the Paschal Lamb. The obvious inference is that this was originally identical with the Love Feast; but that in consequence of the abuses denounced by Paul, and indeed later by Jude also, a modification took place. Some churches probably adopted Paul's advice early, and destroyed entirely the nature of the supper as a true meal, making it a mere shadow or pretence of a meal; this is the form which has come down to our day, since ultimately the influence of Paul predominated in all the Gentile churches. While it was a real supper, its name (Charity), I suppose, implies that the expense was defrayed by one or more of the richer members. When rich and poor partook of it in common, it was a pledge of religious union. The tea-meetings of our Dissenters aim at the same mark.

It is not likely that any British churches will consent to lay aside the element *wine*, which has been made a sacred emblem; but some of them already interpret it (as do very many American churches) to mean the *unfermented* juice of the grape (Matt. xxvi., 29), and treat the use of fermented wine as a pernicious deviation from the original practice. If this interpretation were to become general, it would enable them to revert without danger to what none can doubt to have been the primitive idea—that the supper was a true meal. In any case, the rise of tea-meetings displays the desire of recovering the Christian *agapé*.

If, from any cause, a meeting or meetings in the church were prolonged, the *agapé* would conveniently and beneficially reappear. Indeed, when I consider what a weariness (by frank avowal) are the modern *soirées* to multitudes who attend them, how unnatural the hour, how unwholesome the crowd, how elaborate the coming together, the belief sometimes comes over me, that sensible people will ask: "Why not hold an *agapé* in church, where we are all gathered for other purposes, instead of a *soirée*?" After the ordinances of religion and the business of philanthropy, what more reasonable than to unbend the mind and refresh the heart by pleasant conversation. In a country parish and in fine weather, the open field would be preferred to the inside of a building; but our weather does not often permit this. Surely the time will come when that superstition will vanish which forbids the use of churches for a meeting on which the blessing of God can be asked. If bread and wine remain the type of that extreme simplicity which reduces a meal to its fewest elements; if that horrid notion be set aside, that Sunday is the day for gormandizing and that without roast beef and plum pudding neither dinner nor life are worth having,—the *agapé* might itself initiate a sounder idea of what a devout man's eating ought to be. To learn practically that hunger may be satiated and strength sustained on figs and bread, or other simple viands, without hot dishes, flesh meats, laborious cookery, or fermented liquors, would be in itself a more profitable lesson than many a long sermon can impart. The friendliness between different ranks, which is cherished by the participation of a common meal, is totally lost in the modern Lord's Supper, where each recipient is isolated and dumb, and is a *communicant* in a solitary sense only.

Let it be carefully considered what has to be aimed at when a meal is held in a church. On Good Friday, the ancient Christians, in their long prayers, sustained themselves on mere *luns*, setting a cross on them, as a reminiscence of the day. That to which I here point is how such a relief to hunger gets rid of vexatious apparatus, so unseemly in a

church—cups, plates, knives, forks, spoons, salt-cellar and cruets, urns or kettles, change of plates, abundance of waiters passing to and fro. If each person brought his own spoon and cup, even various and very solid viands might be set on table in huge dishes only. "Those who dip their hands together in the dish," described the earliest communicants. A dozen Arabs sitting round a dish of rice *pillau*, need no other apparatus but the dish itself. Whenever the time comes, it will be found that there are plenty of viands, nutritious and pleasant, which can be eaten as simply. Some are now eaten only after a hearty meal, and are then called "indigestible," simply because they are nutritious. As to drink, if food be juicy and not high seasoned, very little is needed; but for those who must have drink, what is more delicious than the Oriental *sherbet*, of which the basis is barley water, and the flavor given by some exquisite fruit?

If then it be supposed that the congregation without dispersing took a simple meal of charity (call it *luncheon*, to appease elaborate and inveterate diners), another possibility would open. After they had sufficiently refreshed their heads from the tension of thought by the cheerful interchange of words, a lecture might be delivered by the minister on an instructive subject. Ecclesiastical history is the topic most pertinent to the churches, and most neglected. But if once larger views be taken, a wider survey of human nature will be seen to be appropriate, such as the history of human religion.—I mean in outline, not the tedious and repulsive groping into the details of human error, or any display of the airy fancies of theology, but a narrative of the efforts of the human mind towards truth, and its partial attainment; also the relation between religion in every age and the contemporaneous metaphysical or physical conceptions. It does not appear to me that metaphysics, any more than physical science, in its detailed or scholastic development is at all suited to the church, nor are church ministers likely to be competent to lecture upon it. But so far as these subjects are embraced in a concrete form, as embodied in this or that human religion, they are properly clerical. Another topic for lectures, also appropriate to the church, is scientific morals, which may be treated in various ways according to the knowledge and genius of the lecturer. Frequently the history of one particular branch of morals is highly instructive, or the treatment of specific questions of morals,—such as military service, war and its laws, pleading in law for fees; though, when these subjects admit much debate, it might be more satisfactory to discuss them in public meeting, with leave to speak on both sides. Another form of lecture is continuous exposition of sacred books, and other parts of what is called theological science, which, if expounded in the pulpit, are too argumentative to harmonize with acts of devotion. Minds unequal to receive such lectures would depart with the children before they began. This is but an outline of the developments which might make the Sunday less formal and more beneficial; the ministry more fruitful and more honored.

Certain dissenting churches, and probably (if I were well enough informed) some ministers of Anglican churches also, have lectures and popular teachings in their schools, where questions can be asked by members of the audience; but, as far as I ever heard, on week-days only. They do not take advantage of the fact that Sunday is the special day of leisure for such things, and that on Sunday the people are already assembled. In the suggestions here made, I have wished not to go beyond that which an educated and reasonable Puritan might approve. Philanthropic action, and debate concerning it, must, according to their strictest views, be appropriate to Sunday; so is an eminently simple meal, promotive of kind feeling between different ranks. The conversation during the meal would be in accordance with their own view of what Sunday conversation ought to be,—whether more strict, or less. The topics of lectures here named are such as harmonize with the ecclesiastical temperament Puritanically limited. Nevertheless, I see not how to doubt that the increased learning of the dissenting ministers through collegiate instruction cannot fail to open their eyes to the utter fatuity of identifying our first day with the Sabbath. The Italian language, the modern Greek and the Arabic, have no other word to denote Saturday but simply *Sabbath*. Thus is Baret's Italian Dictionary, you find: "*Sabbato, Sabbato, s. m., Saturday, the seventh day. Sabbato santo, holy Saturday.*" This is, in all three nations, an undeniably unbroken tradition, coming down from the earliest times, and even singly is enough to disprove the arbitrary fiction—of which the first Protestant reformers had never so much as heard,—that Sunday is the Sabbath. Even the obstinate ignorance of the Evangelicals will have to give way. But it may be added that learned Jews emphatically protest against the notion that intellectual cultivation was ever forbidden on their Sabbath.

The social history of England more and more manifests the deplorable evils which have arisen from the ever declining influence of religion upon the action of the State. Statesmen and generals cannot be chosen for their religious or moral character. Though Admiral Lord Nelson had a daughter born of adultery, he was not the less buried in Westminster Abbey. A prime minister however virtuous, cannot be a despot; hence his measures of legislation or of execution are controlled and almost moulded by the morality prevailing among political men, with whom ambition and avarice have predominant sway. Under every constitutional government, be it monarchical or republican, wealth has enormous power, not only by direct influence on dependents, but by its easy command of tools which enable

it to blind and pervert public opinion. However much a minister, or even a whole ministry, may desire to act for moral interests, these are almost always subordinated to political convenience, or the wishes of rich men. There is no one to moralize the action of the State, if the churches neglect it; hence the foul impurities, rank injustices, and besotted ignorances, equal to those of Paganism, which domineer among us. They never could have reached such a height but for the moral ruin of the Church which the restoration of Charles II. caused. We have not at all recovered from that deadly mischief. To go into the matter in detail, would carry me wide. Suffice it to say, that while Calvin, and perhaps the Puritans, wanted the State, in its care for public morality, to cripple individual freedom too much, since Charles II., the State has become reckless, and seldom takes cognizance of morality at all. Whether the churches can ever recover their social influence, so as to infuse morality into a State dominated by mammon, I cannot foresee; but obviously it is very much wanted; and no possibility of it opens, unless they will reorganize and regenerate their use of the Sunday.

THE INFLATION QUESTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In your issues of October 14, 21, and 28, R. P. H. published and reviewed certain financial statements which I have had printed on envelopes, for sale and circulation. I shall pass over what he says of the good results of being honest, as in this we agree; but in the rest of his article I find several points which demand a reply.

It seems to me that the principal assumption in his first article is answered in his second. The assumption is that the banks do not get \$370,000,000 from the government,—that they do not get anything, because the government has "parted with nothing." In the second article, he says he knows a "wool firm that borrows largely of the banks." What does the firm borrow? Just what the banks get from the government! I will not dispute with him as to whether, when the wool firm gives its note for \$100,000, it takes rags or money from the bank. Whatever the material, the firm pays interest for it, buys wool with it, and, to induce the bank to loan, leaves ten per cent. of the sum for the bank to retain. But I shall be surprised if R. P. H. does not reprimand that wool firm for promising to pay the bank \$100,000, and then only handing the bank the firm's check, which, at best, commands either greenbacks or the "nothings" the bank gets from the government.

I do not object to the banking business, or to individuals combining to receive deposits and discount paper; but I do object to a law by which certain corporations can get from the government, for nothing, a material which has a purchasing power equal to United States Notes, and nearly equal to gold coin, and which can be loaned on good commercial paper, at from four and one-half to seven per cent. interest, and on other securities, for double these rates. I say they get this capital for nothing, because the tax that the banks pay the government is not peculiar to them. What business does not pay tax? Indeed what business does not pay a greater tax than the national banking business?

But admitting that the banks have paid the government a large amount in taxes—R. P. H. says \$75,000,000; the comptroller of the currency reports less than \$58,000,000 (see last report, page 138),—have they not made a much larger sum, by loaning at interest to the people, the notes furnished by the government. And it must not be forgotten that the interest paid to the banks by the government is in gold coin, while the banks pay taxes to the government in currency.

The fostering care of the government has too long been extended to the National Banks. Acting under one law, having one object, controlling over a thousand million dollars, their power is to be dreaded rather than eulogized. Their accumulation of wealth is alarming. After building palaces for offices, paying salaries so high as to "encourage extravagance"; paying millions in taxes; paying their stockholders nearly ten per cent. dividends, in 1874 (see report of comptroller of the currency), they still have (see same authority, report, Nov. 12), in "surplus funds and undivided profits," over \$187,000,000!—\$21,000,000 more than "the stock of specie in the whole country."

As the National Bank Act now stands, any combination of persons who can control at least \$50,000 in United States Bonds can form a bank, and the Secretary of the Treasury will furnish them with about \$45,000 in National Bank Notes.

If the law were so changed that any one having a \$1000 or even a \$100 United States Bond could get from the United States Treasury ninety-five per cent., or the par value of the bond, in a circulating medium, the law would be more impartial. It would be still further improved if the government should charge, say four per cent., for the loan of these notes; but a greater improvement would be to repeal the National Bank Act, and replace the \$380,000,000 of National Bank Notes with United States Notes, made, not promises to pay, but full legal tenders, redeemable in bonds payable at the option of the government, as the "1881's" are.

In R. P. H.'s first article, he says, "The bonds are not placed with the government as a security for the notes." By referring to any National Bank Note, you will find printed upon it, "This note is secured by bonds of the United States, deposited with the United States Treasurer at Washington."

R. P. H. thinks the government dishonored because it does not pay the greenbacks on demand and in gold coin. Why does he overlook the National

Bank Notes? A greenback that lies before me has on its face, "The United States promises to pay the bearer ten dollars." Neither "coin" nor "time" are named. A Massachusetts National Bank Note that I have just looked at, has on its face, "The Milbury National Bank will pay to bearer on demand five dollars." Now if the greenback is a "lie," with no time fixed for payment, what is the National Bank Note which promises to pay "on demand"? When the greenbacks were issued, those to whom the government paid them had the right to fund them in six per cent. United State Bonds at par. The money power had a law passed in 1867, depriving the holder of that right, and now insults the people by talking of honesty, and calls those "inflationists" and "repudiators," who are trying to get Congress to pass a law by which the holders of United States Notes may redeem them in bonds bearing 3.65 per cent. interest.

One of R. P. H.'s school, a correspondent of yours, in his reply to Mr. Werner Boecklin's question, "How can you resume with \$800,000,000 of paper and only \$200,000,000 of gold?" said, "We can have our government repeal the law which makes the greenback a legal tender." To do this would be more dishonest than taking away the funding power of the greenback. This party reads us homilies on integrity and honor, and yet, after the government has paid to its citizens hundreds of millions of its debts in this money, and has it in full circulation all over the country, they would have Congress change the conditions of the bargain, and take away the quality that made the notes acceptable when they were issued.

Pass such a law, and the difference between the greenback and gold would be as great as during the war, and the banks would have the whole advantage.

To illustrate: The banks have a deposit line, that is, money due to their customers, of about \$665,000,000, and a discount line, or promises of their customers to pay certain sums at certain times, amounting to about \$980,000,000. Now as neither party can pay gold to the other, when the individual customer refuses, he can and will be protested and sued; but when the bank refuses, it will neither be protested nor sued. The one may be ruined; the other will flourish.

As proof of this, see the action of the banks toward individuals in 1873. Every customer who could not pay was protested, and many were ruined. Every bank in the country failed, and forfeited its charter. But who protested, who sued them? It would be an unequal contest.

R. P. H.'s last article treats of inflation and repudiation. What is "inflation"? It is any issue of paper beyond the quantity of gold on hand. Two paper dollars afloat, with only one gold dollar to redeem them, leave one dollar floating without gold security.

Secretary Bristow, in his last report, page 22, estimates the "stock of specie in the country to be about \$166,000,000," including not only the coin in the United States Treasury, but also all the specie and bullion in the country. The comptroller of the currency reports over \$766,000,000 of paper afloat. Here is \$600,000,000 without a gold basis, and this is admitting that the government can get possession of or control the \$166,000,000, which is, judging from the official statements made monthly, for the last ten years, about \$100,000,000 more than the government can control.

Now if R. P. H. proposes to withdraw these \$600,000,000, the taxes must be increased just that amount; for if the United States Treasurer is "to burn to ashes" any portion over and above what he wants to pay out, he must increase the taxes just so much. This cannot be done without crushing our already languishing industries; but if it is attempted, and our currency is reduced from \$766,000,000 to \$166,000,000, the government could no longer pay interest on its bonds, and thus practical repudiation would be brought about.

The contractionists are the real repudiators; they, like others who demand the pound of flesh, institute plans that may end in their own destruction.

The theory that our money must have an intrinsic value is false; it will not work. It is not practical, if gold coin of the present weight and fineness is to be our only money. To-day we have two standards of value; and, although theorists and learned professors, persons who know but little of the practical application of their plans to business life, have decided that money must have an intrinsic value, and that gold coin only is money, the logic of events, the public opinion that precedes law, have made the greenback dollar the standard by which everything home-grown and home-made is bought and sold. It is the natural growth toward commercial freedom; the liberation from a money which, being limited in amount, can be monopolized.

Astor and Stewart have more than enough real estate and other security to buy and pack away all the "stock of specie" in the country.

What a monstrous doctrine it is, that our money, the life-blood of our prosperity, should be of a material that two of our citizens can control.

An increase of paper money does not necessarily increase the premium on gold. Carl Schurz shows in a speech in Ohio—portions of which you copied with approbation—that our paper money has steadily increased for the last four or five years; yet in spite of that the premium on gold has steadily fallen. Within six months it fell, in the course of thirty days, some four to six per cent., with the volume of paper money unchanged.

There is some other cause than more or less paper money that puts gold up or down. Increase our exports, and gold will fall, even if at the same time we increase our paper money. To enable us to increase exports, we must supply those who

manufacture with plenty of money, and at a low rate of interest.

One other sentence. R. P. H. asks what would be thought of an individual who should refuse to pay a debt that is due, under the plea of saving interest. This is irrelevant, because it is a false assumption that the debt is due, and that a government should be bound as individuals are; for a government may do many things that individuals may not.

E. M. DAVIS.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov., 1875.

[Any one who reads the articles reviewed in the above letter will see that, so far from assuming that the banks "do not get anything" from the government, I state distinctly that they "get" authority to incorporate as banks of issue. I say "the banks . . . are authorized to issue currency." The inflationists construe this authorization by the government as a loan of money, and I simply correct their mistake. Mr. Davis must stick to his text, and not substitute another, and a very different one, unless he wishes to confuse the mind of the reader, as well as his own. The question is not, whether the banks "get anything," or whether they "get anything" worth acquiring. The question is, Is it true, as Mr. Davis asserts, that they "borrow of the nation . . . \$370,000,000, without interest, and are paid interest . . . on the securities deposited for the loan?" To a somewhat carefully prepared paper showing that they do not, and stating what their relation to the government really is, Mr. Davis replies with an irrelevant discussion of the value of bank-notes for banking purposes, a subject upon which there is probably but slight difference of opinion. Such discussion only serves to divert the reader's attention from the real question, and therefore I decline to join in it.

Mr. Davis says, "I do object to a law by which certain corporations can get from the government, for nothing, a material which has a purchasing power equal to United States notes." . . . So should I, if such a law existed. The fact is, the "law," by which a bank is authorized to issue currency, imposes "a duty of one-half of one per centum each half year upon the average amount of its notes in circulation" (sec. 5,214). Other taxes are imposed upon the banks, but this is a duty charged directly upon their notes, the "material" which Mr. Davis says they "can get . . . for nothing." He has entirely overlooked my reference to this "duty," in my article, October 21. I there say, "I do not approve the 'National Bank Act' in its entirety. Certain amendments, in my judgment, might be made with advantage to the government, and without injustice to the banks. I would, for example, advocate an increase of the present tax upon their circulation."

Mr. Davis asks the question, "If the greenback is a 'lie,' with no time fixed for payment, what is the National Bank Note which promises to pay 'on demand'?" The answer is, The greenback is a promise to pay in coin, which is broken as often as the greenback is presented for redemption. The National Bank Note is a promise to pay in greenbacks, which is performed whenever the note is presented for redemption.

If Mr. Davis had read with any care my statement of the amount paid by the banks to the government in taxes, he would have been saved the trouble of amending it. In estimating the amount at "more than \$75,000,000," I say, "this amount includes assessments for the current year." My estimate is based upon the last annual report of the comptroller of the currency (page 19), and is correct.

If, in the articles reviewed, I emphasize one fact more than another, it is the fact that bonds are placed with the government as a security for the notes. I say, "The banks purchase government bonds, . . . and are authorized to issue currency based upon them." And again, "the bonds upon which the bank currency is based are placed in the custody of the government, not as security for a loan to the banks, . . . but as a measure of protection to the people. Their deposit in the United States Treasury is a guarantee of the redemption of the bank currency, as agreed." In the face of these direct statements of mine, Mr. Davis attributes to me the following remarkable assertion: "The bonds are not placed with the government as a security for the notes." He actually quotes this sentence as one of mine, and gravely proceeds to refute it. Of course no such sentence or statement can be found in anything I have ever written, and I am at a loss to account for such a startling substitution of language for that of the text.

To so much of the above letter as covers a statement of Mr. Davis's views, I do not propose to reply. His theories, as presented by himself, have already been examined, and I am content to let this more elaborate restatement of them pass without comment; but having shown how careless he is in his construction of my statements, and in his quotation of my language, I trust the reader will see the importance of a reference to the articles themselves, reviewed by Mr. Davis, in order to understand fairly the value of his objections to them.

R. P. H.]

HOLYOAKE'S NEW BOOK.

A curious and very readable volume is the first of George Jacob Holyoake's *History of Coöperation*. Although a first volume, it has a completeness in itself, representing the "Pioneer Period." There is little to interest those who think of coöperation in a purely commercial light; but the work is extremely valuable to those who care more for the discoveries of a principle than for its mere mechanical expansion or multiplication. After all, a romance will cling to Watt—sitting in his mother's chimney-corner, more interested in the tea-kettle than the tea—which all the railway system does not possess. Columbus in

his little barque is a more picturesque figure than all the Cunard captains put together. Holyoake rightly sees that the power which coöperation has reached in Great Britain is less impressive than the moral enthusiasm out of which it grew. No man now living knows more of the men who pioneered this movement when it bore the various formidable names of Socialism, Communism, Heresy, and so forth. He was the friend and comrade of those brave, poetic seekers of a new moral world, and his friends will read on every page what he is too modest to write: *Quorum magna pars fui*. He dedicates his book as follows: "To Wendell Phillips, of America, a country where what is new is welcome; what is true expands: to him whose intrepid eloquence, confronting dangerous majorities, animating forlorn hopes, has ever been generously exerted on behalf of the slave, black or white, in bondage to planter or capitalist, this history of the Pioneer Period of Coöperation in England is inscribed, in gratitude and regard, by George Jacob Holyoake." There is a good deal of appropriateness in this association of radical social movements with America. There is in Bradford an old house, over the door of which is the Declaration of Independence cut in stone. It was put there early in this century by a radical Squire, Farrar, who built the house. The general impression was that the world recommenced about that time. But Mr. Holyoake dates the new-world makers farther back. He does homage to Sir Thomas More's "Utopia" (1516), and Harrington's agrarian "Oceana," dedicated to Cromwell (1656), who said that "what he had won by the sword he was not going to be scribbled out of by Mr. Harrington," though Hume said it was "the most valuable model of a commonwealth which had been offered to the public." Then came (1696) John Bellers, a Quaker, with his scheme for a College of Industry, which Robert Owen reprinted, regarding it as, in a large extent, an anticipation of his own aim. Then in the eighteenth century came Morelly, a Frenchman, trying "to find that state of things in which it should be impossible for any one to be deprived or poor." Mr. Holyoake gives a brief account too of Babeuf and his fellow conspirators in Paris (1796), who wished to establish equality by force, and found that the force was on the other side. They lost their heads, metaphorically and then literally. St. Simon and Fourier are also referred to. With the fourth chapter the author begins his real history with Robert Owen and New Lanark. Fifty pages are devoted to "The Enthusiastic Period" (1820 and 1830), when the mind of prosaic England was raised into glowing fantasy of dreams.

Besides Robert Owen, Francis Place, William Pare, William Thompson, the Combes (Abram, George, and Andrew), Allen Davenport, and many others, fairly bourgeoned out with theories and schemes, wise and otherwise. Among the notions is mentioned one which was to rectify the world by the science of "Somatopsychonologia," and I save the reader the trouble of looking into his Greek lexicon by saying that the compound refers to body, soul, and mind. The *Coöperative Magazine* in 1826 seems to have published many queer things, such as papers on the "Unhappiness of the Higher Orders," and the means of remedying the same. How close some of these enthusiasts were to fatuity is particularly shown by the fact that one Hamilton, a cunning satirist, wrote a burlesque of Robert Owen's marriage ideas, and sent it to the above organ, which printed it in simple faith as a serious scheme. Such caricatures as this would hardly have injured the Socialists had it not been for their religious radicalism. Many of the titled and wealthy were disposed at first to unite with Mr. Owen until offended by his infidelity, when one by one they forsook him.

The first London Coöperative Society was formed in 1824. In 1826 numbers of such societies were formed throughout the Kingdom. But it seems to have been a very long time before these men got out of their sentimental mist, and perceived that, if their idea was to prosper, it must be in coöperation with the great practical tendencies of the world that is, and that they could by no means evolve any other world. It is impossible to read such books as this of Holyoake's—and I may add the autobiographies of such men as Robert Dale Owen, Samuel Bamford, etc.—without feeling that the long agitation struck out a good deal of vigorous character, and stimulated much of the intellectual activity which the present inherits; but at the same time it is equally plain that a great deal of mental and money power was wasted. Coöperation was always the fundamental fact of human society; every stage-coach was, as every railway-train is, a coöperative institution. What these men had to do was to try and extend the existing plan, and that could be done only by showing that families could save money by uniting for other things than they now have in common. The coöperation movement as it is now spreading—and the London *Times* has this week devoted three columns to the subject, showing that it is the most growing principle in the country—really means the net result of all such dreams and enthusiasms, from Fourier and St. Simon to the fading glories of the Owens. It took so much on the long or poetic arm of the lever to lift the prosaic pounds which now begin to rise.—M. D. C., in *Cincinnati Commercial*.

MR. SPURGEON is credited with the following, which, if not true, is *ben trovato*. He is said to have been taken to task by some Sabbatarian since he has found it necessary to employ a brougham to take him to church: "But," he urged, "I only sit still in the carriage; I don't work." "Ah, yes, sir," said the other; "but your coachman—think of him!" "Oh, he is a Jew, and keeps the seventh day Sabbath." "But your horse?" "Oh," said Spurgeon, getting a little impatient, "he is a Jew, too!"

DERZHAVIN'S "ODE TO GOD."

[The author of this famous ode was a Russian, born in 1763. After serving some time in the army, he was made successively a Councillor of State, Ambassador of Senate, President of the College of Commerce, Public Cashier, and, in 1802, Minister of Justice. The poem has been translated into Japanese by order of the Emperor, and is hung up, embroidered with gold, in the Temple of Jeddo. It has been translated into the Chinese and Tartar languages, written on a piece of rich silk, and suspended in the Imperial Palace of Peking.]

O Thou Eternal One! whose presence bright
All space doth occupy—all motion guide;
Unchanged through Time's all-devastating flight,
Thou only God! There is no God beside.
Being above all beings! Mighty One!
Whom none can comprehend, and none explore;
Who fillest existence with Thyself alone;
Embracing all—supporting—ruling o'er—
Being whom we call God—and know no more!

In its sublime research, Philosophy
May measure out the ocean deep—may count
The sands, or the sun's rays; but God! for Thee
There is no weight nor measure; none can mount
Up to Thy mysteries. Reason's brightest spark,
Though kindled by Thy light, in vain would try
To trace Thy counsels, infinite and dark;
And thought is lost ere thought can soar so high,
E'en like past moments in eternity.

Thou, from primeval nothingness, didst call
First chaos, then existence. Lord, on Thee
Eternity had its foundation; all
Sprung forth from Thee; of light, joy, harmony,
Sole origin—all life, all beauty, Thine.
Thy word created all, and doth create;
Thy splendor fills all space with rays divine;
Thou art, and wert, and shalt be glorious, great!
Light-giving, life-sustaining Potentate.

Thy chains the unmeasured universe surround,
Upheld by Thee, by Thee inspired by breath!
Thou the beginning with the end hath bound,
And beautifully mingled Life and Death!
As sparks mount upward from the fiery blaze,
So suns are born, so worlds spring forth from Thee!
And as the spangles in the sunny rays
Shine round the silver snow, the pageantry
Of Heaven's bright army glitters in Thy praise!

A million torches, lighted by Thy hand,
Wander unwearied through the blue abyss;
They own Thy power, accomplish Thy command,
All gay with light, all eloquent with bliss.
What shall we call them? Piles of crystal light,
A glorious company of golden streams?
Lamps of celestial ether burning bright?
Suns, lighting systems with their joyous beams?
But Thou to these art as the moon to night.

Yet, as a drop of water in the sea,
All this magnificence in Thee is lost;
What are ten thousand worlds compared to Thee?
And what am I, then? Heaven's unnumbered host,
Though multiplied by myriads, and arrayed
In all the glory of sublimest thought,
Is but an atom in the balance, weighed
Against Thy greatness—is a cipher brought
Against infinity! What am I then? Naught.

Naught! but the effluence of Thy light divine,
Pervading worlds, hath reached my bosom, too;
Yes, in my spirit doth Thy Spirit shine,
As shines the sunbeam in a drop of dew.
Naught! but I live, and on hope's pinions fly
Eager toward Thy presence; for in Thee
I live, and breathe, and dwell; aspiring high,
Even to the Throne of Thy divinity!
I am, O God, and surely Thou must be!

Thou art; directing, guiding all, Thou art!
Direct my understanding, then, to Thee;
Control my spirit, guide my wandering heart;
Though but an atom 'midst immensity,
Still I am something fashioned by Thy hand,
I hold a middle rank, 'twixt Heaven and Earth,
On the last verge of mortal being stand,
Close to the realms where angels have their birth,
Just on the boundaries of the spirit land!

The chain of being is complete in me;
In me is matter's last gradation lost,
And the next step is Spirit-Deity!
I can command the lightning, and am dust;
A monarch and a slave; a worm, a God.
Whence came I here, and how? So marvellously
Constructed and conceived—unknown. This clod
Lives surely through some higher energy;
For from itself alone it could not be.

Creator! Yes! Thy wisdom and Thy word
Created me. Thou source of life and good;
Thou Spirit of my spirit, and my Lord;
Thy light, Thy love, in their bright plenitude,
Filled me with an immortal soul to spring
Over the abyss of death, and bade it wear
The garments of eternal day, and wing
Its heavenly flight beyond this little sphere—
Even to its source—to Thee, its Author—there.

O thought ineffable! O visions blest!
(Though worthless our conceptions all of Thee.)
Yet shall thy shadowed image fill our breast,
And wait its homage to Thy Deity.
God! thus alone my lowly thoughts can soar;
Thus seek Thy presence, Being wise and good!
'Midst Thy vast works, admire, obey, adore;
And when the tongue is eloquent no more,
The soul shall speak in tears of gratitude.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 13.

A. Loos, \$3.20; H. G. Spencer, \$3.20; S. Durell, \$10; E. H. Warbasse, \$3.20; A. A. Roberts, \$6.75; H. T. Wright, \$3; J. B. Stallo, \$8.60; Junkermann & Haas, \$3.20; F. H. Guivits, 30 cents; Geo. Iles, 50 cents; Mrs. H. E. Howe, 45 cents; Frederick Sargent, \$6; Geo. Lewis, \$3.20; A. J. Davis, 90 cents; Wm. Courtenay, \$1.45; Faltin Olsen, \$1; A. Darrow, \$3.20; G. K. Hulier, \$3.30; Geo. Iles, \$3.20; C. A. W. Crosby, \$3.20; Theo. Brown, \$10; M. B. Bryant, \$20; Jas. A. Dupee, \$10; Geo. A. Bourne, \$13.20; Chas. T. How, \$30; John W. Chadwick, \$13.20; J. W. D. Palmer, \$10; Alex. Fix, \$3.20; J. W. Braley, \$3.20; G. G. Briggs, \$9; F. W. Woodward, \$3.20; J. Farnsworth, \$3.20; H. S. Bancroft, \$4.70; J. Vila Blake, \$3.50; C. Hendee, \$1.60; S. W. Coburn, \$1; C. W. Story, \$3.20; E. T. Grosford, \$6; W. H. Rice, \$2.50; Josiah Wilson, \$1.90; H. S. Griggs, 75 cents; E. B. McKenzie, \$3; Jas. Davison, \$3.25; David Edwards, 50 cents; Chas. H. White, \$2; Thos. Tasker, \$2; New England News Co., \$14.77; J. R. Hawley, \$1.80; T. B. Skinner, \$1.10; H. K. Oliver, Jr., \$40; James Edly, \$20; Seth Hunt, \$10; John W. Bigelow, \$20; H. L. B. Bostwick, \$10; J. D. Zimmermann, \$10; Phoebe A. Zimmermann, \$10; Arthur M. Lee, \$10; Benj. Hollowell, \$10; Wm. Wiley, \$10; H. D. Bennett, \$5; F. Frothingham, \$3.20; C. K. Matthews, \$3.20; Leopold Goepfer, \$3.50; P. B. Sibley, 10 cents; E. J. Holmes, \$2.25; Carl H. Horsch, \$20; Eliz. S. Miller, \$10; G. Wolcott, \$3; G. Chatterton, \$1.50; Wm. Newman, \$3.20; L. P. Babb, \$2; R. H. Townsend, 75 cents; Mrs. M. M. Ballou, \$10; Mrs. Benj. Ireson, \$13.95; Cash, \$2.25.

The Index.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 18, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E.
D. CHENEY, Rev. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRAN-
CIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

WE ARE glad to report the contribution of one dollar to the "Holyoke Fund," sent by Mr. David Prince, of Jacksonville, Ill., and heartily wish we could report a thousand more.

ONE OF OUR subscribers, alluding to the declaration of the Orthodox clergyman at the funeral of Frederick Hudson that the dreadful accident by which Mr. Hudson had perished was a "dispensation of Providence," gently chides us as follows: "I read THE INDEX, and circulate after reading, and shall soon be able to send you some subscribers: my only fault is that you do not deal severely enough with such ideas as are spoken in just such cases as the one above referred to."

AN ANONYMOUS CORRESPONDENT informs us that the Mr. Chadwick "signalled" by Mr. Moody to "give the benediction" was "a good Methodist brother," and not Rev. John W. Chadwick of Brooklyn, as we had supposed. Our informant (whom we thank for his correction) adds of Mr. Moody: "Wouldn't the time be as wisely spent in imitating his zeal as in finding fault with his theology?" Yes! And we therefore hope to see a new Liberal League started forthwith by our zealous friend.

CANNOT you form a club of five new subscribers to THE INDEX, among your own friends and acquaintance? To clubs of five new subscribers the paper will be sent for a year at \$2.50 each; to clubs of ten new subscribers, at \$2.00 each. An extra copy will be sent free to the getter-up of the club. This reduction cannot be made to any whose names are now on our mail-list, as it is made in the hope that such new subscribers will renew at regular rates. Now is the time to help THE INDEX, if you really value its ideas and aims.

REV. T. B. FORBUSH, the Unitarian minister at Cleveland, Ohio, did excellent service in the late political campaign in the cause of secular schools; and he has just delivered a fine lecture on "Compulsory Education," on the invitation of twenty-five or thirty leading citizens, who also sent him a complimentary letter of acknowledgment. His county gave a thousand larger majority than Hayes had in the whole State; and it is said to have been due in great measure to Mr. Forbush's labors. Honor to all who are willing to join in the necessary work of explaining the secular principle to a nation which swamps justice in bibliolatry!

PROFESSOR JENNEY's report that gold in paying quantities is to be found in the Black Hills will provoke new attempts to violate our treaty with the Indians, who refuse to sell except at a fair price. The Boston Advertiser remarks with spiciness: "This report will cause a new impatience to arise in the breast of the hardy frontiersman, and the military authorities will find it more difficult to meet and turn back all the eager emigrants. But the negotiations for the purchase of the territory from the Indians, who hold it by treaty title, having proved ineffectual, the government is still bound to protect the legal owners in their wish to occupy the hills exclusively. Professor Jenney will probably have a report ready for submission to Congress when it meets, and that body will attempt to decide whether the necessity of pushing civilization into every region where money is to be made requires that the nation shall repudiate its solemn treaties with men who are not white, and who do not know the use of the table-fork. The perversity of the red men, as shown by their reluctance to give away gold mines for little or nothing, is calculated to make Christians grieve."

THE "LOVE OF NATURE."

For every one, however humble, the centre of the universe is his own soul. He must see and hear all things as they report themselves to his own eyes and ears; he must understand all things as they are cognized by his own mental faculties. Truth for him is what his own intellect discerns of the infinite multiplicity of existences and their relations; duty is for him what his own conscience commands to be done in the kaleidoscopic changes of situations and events. His perceptions are indeed limited and not unmingled with error; but they are *his* perceptions—he has and can have no others—he cannot possibly exchange them for the perceptions of another. His moral decisions are certainly fallible and dependent on the degree of his moral enlightenment; nevertheless, they are clothed for him with the supreme sanctity, and speak with an authority which overtops every other. To accept with blind submission the revelations or decrees of any other individual, or of any book or institution, is to unhinge his own intellectual and moral nature, and to extinguish his own individuality to that extent. How is it possible to evade the destiny which has made each one of us the centre of the universe?

The sea-shell which we have built out of our own being into determinate character receives the innumerable waves of air rolling in upon us from all quarters of the cosmos; and we give out from it exactly such resonant music as the structure we have made is fitted to render. The soul thus echoes back the multitudinous spiritual influences of the All, which have acquired audibility only by first becoming centralized and vivified, as it were, in the interior of some spiritual being. Universal Nature has for each of us its own centre in himself; it speaks through each of us an independent and original word to all the rest. This is the substantial truth which is contained in the theological statement that "God reveals himself in man."

These illimitable and confluent influences of the cosmos, when given a voice of music by being thus united and poured through a fine character, include a great deal more than the mere reciprocal influences exerted by one human character on another. What speaks to the world out of such an intellect as that of Shakspeare, or out of such an art-genius as that of Beethoven or Raphael, or out of such a life as that of Buddha, Jesus, or Socrates, is a great deal more than can be accounted for by the mere influence of man on man. Every great poet and artist, at least, has a susceptibility to spiritual impressions from external Nature which lies at the root of his divinest power to charm and to elevate; and the noblest triumph of his genius is not so much the poem, the picture, the statue, the symphony, as a heightened susceptibility to these same impressions in the minds of all who can appreciate him. It is his own profound communion with universal Nature, and his power to induce a profound communion with it in other minds, which really constitutes him a genius; and, since communion is impossible between two that are utterly unlike, the very existence of his art is a proof seemingly irrefutable of a certain spiritual likeness between Nature and Man which religion, in all its higher manifestations, has never ceased to affirm. The "love of Nature" which is vaguely recognized by the world at large as the indispensable mark of a great poetic or artistic mind is a veritable passion; it thrills, it exalts, it inspires, it masters; it is no figure of speech, but one of the surest and most wonderful facts in the history of the race; and it is a fact pregnant with great consequences which will inevitably come within the domain of science, when science herself shall have learned how vast her domain is yet to be. What is that in Nature which can excite such a passion? Is love possible where no spiritual likeness exists? If there is a spiritual likeness between Nature and Man, can Man boast wisely or truly that all spiritual being is circumscribed by the narrow limits of his own being? If spiritual being is vaster than human being, can it be any less vast than the universe itself? If the universe itself, in all its infinity, is kindred to the human spirit, can it be capable of exciting the "love of Nature," yet incapable of returning it? Such questions as these may seem bewildering or meaningless to many; yet none the less do we believe that, at some day not infinitely remote, they will be questions seriously and most thoughtfully pondered by those whose only path to truth is the path of science. We do not venture, even in our own mind, to answer them dogmatically; but we do think that the answers they suggest are corroborated by so many independent lines of thought that there is

little room for scornful or flippant denials. Art, no less than religion, craves a unity in the universe higher than that of mere mechanics or physics; and she offers a field of inquiry in this direction which will not always be left untrodden by the wise and great. The pearl is worth diving for, even at the cost of difficulty and pain.

THE HINDU "UNKNOWABLE."

On a re-reading recently of the old Hindu Vedic Ode to Creation, of which Max Müller furnishes such a fine metrical translation, I was so freshly struck by the power of it that I wanted to recall it to readers of THE INDEX already familiar with it, and perchance introduce it to some who have not seen it. This is the translation from the ancient Sanskrit, which Müller gives, aided, as he says, by a friend:—

"Nor Aught nor Naught existed; you bright sky
Was not, nor heaven's broad roof outstretched above.
What covered all? what sheltered? what concealed?
Was it the water's fathomless abyss?
There was not death—yet there was naught immortal;
There was no confine betwixt day and night;
The only One breathed breathless by itself,—
Other than It there nothing since has been.
Darkness there was, and all at first was veiled
In gloom profound—an ocean without light:
The germ that still lay covered in the husk
Burst forth, one nature, from the fervent heat.
Then first came love upon it, the new spring
Of mind,—yea, poets in their hearts discerned,
Pondering, this bond between created things
And uncreated. Comes this spark from earth,
Piercing and all-pervading, or from heaven?
Then seeds were sown, and mighty powers arose—
Nature below, and power and will above.
Who knows the secret? who proclaimed it here,
Whence, whence this manifold creation sprang?
The gods themselves came later into being—
Who knows from whence this great creation sprang?
He from whom all this great creation came,
Whether his will created or was mute,
The Most High Seer that is in highest heaven,
He knows it—or perchance even He knows not."

This hymn is believed to be among the oldest portions of the oldest Veda. Perhaps it was written two thousand years before the Christian era. Though this metrical version in thought and phrase be so sublime, it corresponds very closely with what are given as literal translations,—more closely than metrical renderings into another language usually do. Indeed, both the spirit and melody of the Vedic hymns would doubtless be much better given by good metrical versions than by the ordinary prose translations of them. In this Ode to Creation, however, finely as it is rendered in the main, I have noticed that on one or two points a delicate shade of thought that appears in the literal translation is sacrificed to the metre in the poetical version.

But the most wonderful thing about it is the mental grasp of the poem. It is full of seed-thoughts, and contains the kernels of nearly all the philosophies that have since existed. There is a foreshadowing of Hegel in the first line. Another line suggests Spinoza. Pantheism, Gnosticism, Mysticism, pervade the ode throughout. One line of it is thoroughly theistic. Yet there are portions of it in which modern Positivists and Materialists would recognize a kindred spirit to themselves. It touches the very heart of the problem which is agitating both the scientific and the religious world to-day—the relation of matter to intelligence, of nature to will, of atoms to forces and life. Here is the doctrine of the evolution of the world from a nebulous, chaotic mass; here is protoplasm; here is the problem dividing modern scientists (if we may use the big words) of *Biogenesis* or *Abiogenesis*. Here is Tyndall's statement, that matter contains "the promise and potency of all terrestrial life"; and here, too, is the question which Tyndall has also asked impliedly, but which neither he nor any other has answered in any better way than it is answered here,—the question, Whence the "promise" and the "potency"?

The unexpected turn of thought in the last line to some readers, perhaps, may seem to spoil the climax. But to my mind it carries the climax to the sublimest height, and reveals the grand simplicity of a true artist; for it is not the necessary nor the most rational interpretation to assume that the last clause was intended to question whether the "Most High Seer in highest heaven," regarded as creator of the world, was possessed of conscious intelligence; but rather does this clause give the profound hint that such creating Being, or any Deity, however wise and powerful, whom man could conceive as creating the world, might not reach back to the Supreme First Cause of all, nor know the great final secret whence he himself and all things came. Behind the known ever stretches the mysterious Unknown. Behind Him is It; behind Brahmā, Brahm.

If this bit of reference to an old Hindu poem were to be closed with a moral, let it be thus: a people who have in their Sacred Books such a gem of spiritual literature as is quoted above, have little need to be converted to any other religion than their own.

W. J. P.

WEST WISCONSIN NOTES.

At this writing, the Bible in the Schools question in Chicago is *in statu quo*. A week ago a committee, representing some of the legal and judicial talent of the city, presented a strong protest against the action of the School Board in excluding the Bible from the public schools of the city. They take the ground that "the civilization of this country is not that of Confucius, the Vedas, or of pagan Rome, nor is it the civilization of the philosophy of Greece, or of modern times. (?) It is a Christian civilization,—a civilization founded on the moral principles of the Bible. All we are, and all we boast of as a people, we owe to the moral teaching of the Bible, which embodies the only system of ethics calculated to elevate and purify a people. Whatever of civilization and culture the enemies of the Bible possess, they owe to and have acquired from its teaching and influence. . . . This is a Christian country; ours is a Christian civilization. Our institutions and system of morals are based upon the Bible and its teachings. Our democracy is founded on the teachings of Christ," etc. This protest was referred to the Committee on Rules and Regulations. We have looked in vain for a counter-protest from the free school, and free religion, and free government friends of Chicago. Why do not the German Rationalists, the Hebrews, Unitarians, Spiritualists, and all Liberals, join in a protest against the repeal of the rule of the Board? Perhaps they know the matter is in the hands of friends. We are too far from the scene of action to learn the *animus* of the Committee on Rules and Regulations.

So far the only counter-protest appears to come from the Jewish Rabbi Felsenthal. It is an excellent paper. He takes up the arguments of the Protestants *seriatim*, and demolishes them with perfect ease. He reminds his Christian friends that this is not a Christian country, and ours is not a Christian civilization. He explains to them that Christian ethics are not at the bottom of our institutions. The ethics of Christianity is largely meekness, a passive submission to wrong, turning the other cheek to the smiter, etc.; whereas our modern civilization believes in standing up manfully for rights, and battling for them if necessary, and resisting and resenting wrong. If any one smites thee on one cheek, smite back through the law, by having him properly punished, and thereby help maintain the virtues of justice and manhood in the world. A "Christian State," he tells us, means not only a State whose institutions and laws are permeated by the spirit of Christian ethics, but it means a State wherein the Christian Church, or a branch of it, is acknowledged as the ruling State Church. The Papal States and the Kingdom of Naples were "Christian States" as long as they existed, because they recognized only one branch of the Christian religion and the Christian Church; namely, the Roman Catholic Church, while Jews and Protestants could only live there by sufferance. So were Mecklenburg and Norway, until a few years ago, Christian States, because their Constitutions declared the Protestant religion the State religion, and non-Protestants were denied equal rights with Protestants. So was Maryland, forty or fifty years ago, still a Christian State, because her Constitution then in force contained the clause that only believers in the Trinity were eligible, or appointable, to State offices. So was North Carolina not long since a Christian State, because her Constitution insisted that State offices could be filled only by confessors of the Christian religion. So was England a Christian State before she emancipated the Catholics in 1829, and opened the gates of the Parliament to the Jews in 1858; and of her it may be even said to-day that she is a Christian State, because there is an Established State Church there, to whose support Jews, Dissenters, and Catholics, are forced to pay their contributions, and because some high clerical dignitaries of the State are *ex officio* sitting as members in the upper Parliament. But, says he, these United States have no such sectarian and exclusive laws. Church and State are separated in this country (we would remind the Rabbi that they are not quite separated, and will not be until we have secured "The Demands of Liberalism" through Legislative enactments); and yet there are people who insist that ours is a "Christian" State and a "Christian" government, and demand that the Christian Bible, the Protestant Bible, be

retained in our "Christian" schools, in order to "Christianize" our children. He appeals to the Board to stand firmly for the nineteenth century against the sixteenth—to exclude the Bible because our government is not Christian or Jewish or Pagan, but *republican*, and the Constitution provides that it shall favor no form of religion.

The Rabbi agrees with the Committee of Protestants that "the State has a right to train the future citizen in good morals." The school should be made an agent for elevating the nation to a higher plane of morality. Studies should be introduced which would have a tendency to ennoble the heart, to elevate the sentiment, to purify the affections, and strengthen the will to be good and do good, and to this end the Rabbi suggests rules and regulations for daily instruction in unsectarian ethics,—on the duties of children to themselves, to their parents, teachers, playmates, adults, and strangers. In higher grades lessons might be given on the duties of employers and employed, on the mutual relations of members of a family, in faithfulness in one's station in life, the duties of a citizen to the State, and the State to the citizen. In imparting such lessons, he thinks no one would object to some carefully selected passages from the Bible; and if there is no such text-book of unsectarian ethics extant, he suggests that the Board offer a prize for the best graded text-book in un denominational ethics.

The counter-protest of the Rabbi was referred, without discussion, to the Committee on rules and regulations, and thus the whole question hangs fire. If there is really danger that the late action of the Board be reconsidered and their rule rescinded, the silence of the radicals now proves a moral apathy which is not only stupid, but almost criminal. In a week or two we shall probably get the report of the sub-committee, and learn whether the liberals have been asleep or quietly reckoning with their host.

Yours fraternally,

W. H. S.

SPARTA, Wis., Nov. 8, 1875.

[I anticipate that in Chicago, as in Cincinnati in 1870, the Bible will be put back into the schools, simply because the *unorganized* liberals can exert no powerful influence on the Board of Education and the public at large. The liberals must either submit to oppression, or learn the lesson of effective organized resistance to it.—F. E. A.]

PERSONAL CRITICISM.

From a column of abuse of Mr. Wendell Phillips by the *Nation*, we select the following: "Mr. Phillips cannot be silenced; for his trade, in so far as he has one, is to talk, and he cannot be overthrown in argument, because he does not argue. He has never had much reasoning power, and now has almost none. He is probably more unscrupulous than he ever was, more reckless in his use of what he calls authorities, and in misquotation, and at the same time fully as fluent and abusive as he has ever been."

The value of personal criticism should be measured, in part at least, by the claims of the self-constituted critic upon public confidence. A leaf from the history of the *Nation* may enable us to judge of the competency of its editor in this direction.

The late Major Geo. L. Stearns, prominent for his life of devotion to the colored race, more than any other one man helped to establish the *Nation*. The paper was originally owned by a stock company. Major Stearns subscribed \$12,000 of his own money to the enterprise, and was influential in obtaining other large subscriptions. Prior to the appointment of Mr. E. L. Godkin as editor, Major Stearns had several interviews with him, and was satisfied that he was "eminently fit" for the position. It was well understood that the paper was not to be an "organ," and was not "to be pledged in any direction." In less than three weeks from the issue of the first number, it was discovered that Mr. Godkin had pledged himself in advance to some gentlemen on the tariff question. He said in a letter subsequently published:—

"The fact is, I am awkwardly situated as respects free trade. A large amount of stock was subscribed in Philadelphia, and some here (New York), in the understanding that the *Nation* was not to be a free trade paper. I pledged myself, in fact, to discuss the tariff for the present, as a question of revenue. . . . This, of course, leaves me free as far as the letter goes; still, although I could not be induced to say a word in favor of protection, I feel bound in honor to some of the gentlemen who subscribed, not to come out at present in favor of free trade. This is an unfortunate state of things, I admit; but this is better than no paper at all."

Major Stearns was, of course, astonished by this revelation, and immediately demanded Mr. Godkin's resignation. He said: "Mr. Godkin, in giving a

pledge not to discuss the tariff, violated the fundamental principle on which the *Nation* was established, and places himself in a false position to the stockholders." And again: "In future I could have no confidence in a man who could so deliberately violate his promise to me." In reply, with singular audacity, Mr. Godkin avowed that, had his letter "been intended for publication, it would have been more carefully worded"; and then to enable him to extricate himself from his "awkward" situation, he induced his protection friends to authorize him to state that his pledge was not considered a pledge by them. This was very considerate and magnanimous on the part of these gentlemen; but it did not relieve Mr. Godkin. To procure their subscription, he believed that it was necessary to pledge himself, and, no matter how they understood it, or were subsequently willing to construe it, his *intention* was to give them a pledge. Some of us were curious enough to ask how a man can feel "bound in honor," and not feel morally bound? Major Stearns pertinently asked, "Why," if he had not compromised himself, "was he awkwardly situated? He feels bound in honor to some gentlemen who subscribed not to come out, at present, in favor of free trade; but his honor does not extend to those gentlemen who subscribed on the express condition that the paper was not to be pledged in any direction."

Mr. Godkin's appreciation of moral responsibility, as shown in this affair, is the key to the subsequent career of the *Nation*. In less than one year from the publication of the first number, under Mr. Godkin's management, nearly \$80,000—more than one-half of the capital—was lost for the stockholders, and the assets of the association passed into the hands of a receiver. This \$80,000 constitutes the real financial basis of the *Nation* to-day; and though the original stockholders may have no legal interest, it is nevertheless true that the *Nation* now owned and conducted by Mr. Godkin and others, owes its existence largely to the liberality of Major Stearns and other gentlemen, who were grossly deceived by Mr. Godkin's professions.

The *Nation* was started as an independent paper. The editor was to have "autocratic" control of its columns. He was not to be pledged to any person, party, or policy; but of course the founders of the paper had an object in view, and that object was not a vague one. The *Nation* was established primarily to promote the interests of the freedmen. Mr. Garrison was so impressed with this belief that he recommended the paper as the legitimate successor of his renowned *Liberator*.

Gov. Andrew's committee for recruiting colored troops contributed \$15,000 (a large part of its surplus fund) to the capital stock of the *Nation*, when under the impression that the freedmen were to be a special object of the paper. When in subsequent years, the *Nation* having been diverted from its original objects, this fact was published, and the attitude of the paper toward the freedmen was criticised, Mr. Godkin denied that he "either solicited, or instigated, or was in any way instrumental in procuring, the vote" of the recruiting committee, by which the \$15,000 went into the *Nation's* treasury. This denial was simply evasion. No one had accused him of lobbying a job through the committee, but his moral responsibility for that vote was pointed out and abundantly proved. Finding himself again "awkwardly situated," he called upon his friends to extricate him. But it was to no purpose. They, unwittingly to be sure, appeared against him. One of them, Mr. W. P. Garrison, an assistant editor of the *Nation*, testified that, with Mr. Godkin's knowledge and approval, he appeared before the committee and had the original appropriation raised from \$15,000 to \$16,000. In a letter addressed to Mr. Godkin he says:—

"Early in July, 1865, being then assistant editor of the *Nation*, I went to Boston in the hope of completing there the capital stock of the paper, so far at least as to raise two thousand dollars. This journey was of my own motion, approved by you; and while I felt sanguine of raising the money among my personal friends, we had the recruiting committee in mind as a last resort. . . . I subsequently attended a meeting of the committee. . . . After hearing what I had to say, and putting some questions to me, the committee voted one thousand dollars to the *Nation*, and before returning to New York I had obtained the second."

This letter is conclusive evidence as to the direct responsibility of Mr. Godkin, for the appropriation by the committee of its funds to the establishment of the *Nation*.

Another witness, the late Mr. J. M. McKim, testified that Mr. Godkin himself drafted the prospectus setting forth the objects of the paper, "on which the

whole sum needed was raised for the establishment of the paper." That is, the recruiting committee was misled by Mr. Godkin's prospectus into believing that it was voting \$16,000 to the capital of a paper that would be especially devoted to the interests of the freedmen.

Mr. Godkin's verbal statements coincided with his written professions,—that is, when Boston radicals and not Philadelphia protectionists were approached. On his verbal professions to Major Stearns, one of the recruiting committee and chairman of the sub-committee appointed to make the investment,—on verbal statements to him and others, on printed professions prepared by himself, professions on which, Mr. McKim testified, "the whole sum needed was raised," and on the direct application made by Mr. W. P. Garrison, with Mr. Godkin's sanction, the money of the recruiting committee was contributed to the capital of the *Nation*. And yet this editor, when reminded of the fact, pretends to be indignant, and persists in his denial of all responsibility for the procurement of that money! He built the *Nation* upon a solid foundation of money largely contributed in the interests of the freedmen; and, when he had it fairly established and under his own control, repudiated his clients, the freedmen, and used his paper to discredit, abuse, and vilify the very men who helped it into existence.

Other illustrations of Mr. Godkin's nice sense of honor are reserved. Enough has been disclosed to demonstrate that personal criticism, especially of such gentlemen as Mr. Wendell Phillips, comes with bad grace from the editor of the *Nation*.

So much of the prospectus of the *Nation* as refers directly to the freedmen is herewith appended, that the reader may judge how far the recruiting committee was justified in making its appropriation.

R. P. H.

"The earnest and persistent consideration of the condition of the laboring class at the South, as a matter of vital interest to the nation at large, with a view to the removal of all artificial distinctions between them and the rest of the population, and the securing to them, as far as education and justice can do it, of an equal chance in the race of life.

"The enforcement and illustration of the doctrine that the whole community has the strongest interest, both moral, political, and material, in their elevation, and that there can be no real stability for the republic so long as they are left in ignorance and degradation.

"The fixing of public attention upon the political importance of popular education, and the dangers which a system like ours runs from the neglect of it in any portion of our territory.

"The collection and diffusion of trustworthy information as to the condition and prospects of the Southern States, the openings they offer to capital, the supply and kind of labor which can be obtained in them, and the progress made by the colored population in acquiring the habits and desires of civilized life."

FREETHOUGHT NOTES.

BY A VETERAN ENGLISH FREETHINKER.

ADVENTURES IN BLOWMOR.

Yes. The adventure I promised to relate explains the amusing primeval spiritual subjugation which parts of this little island seemed to be still under. I was wandering on a stormy sea-coast, whose ancient name I have no doubt was Blowmore (the name is now corrupted to Blowmor), since when the winds once began to blow, no one expected they would ever give over. The boisterous sea visible there was once covered by cliff and forest. Druidical temples, Aryan altars, villages and churches, had all been beaten down by the great, fierce, heretical waters which now roll over them. The noble church of lofty arches and majestic tower which now stands in Blowmor had been swept away ere now, had not a stout sea-wall been constructed a few years ago. The great ocean, being free, had no doubt suggested to the inhabitants round about that thought ought to be free also, and celebrated Quakers of that opinion have been allured to that district, and have put up halls and park-enclosed mansions there. I had never been in the place; but on the morning of my arrival it was noised abroad that I was the guest of the son of a Quaker, a man of high character in his day. On Sunday I attended church, as is my custom when not engaged in speaking myself. In a new town I take the first opportunity of hearing the most distinguished preacher in it. Many leading preachers of different denominations, whom I have the pleasure to know, I go to hear when I can, because I respect them. Christians often utter noble sentiments in a noble way, and hearing them enables one better to appreciate the eclecticism of piety. All Christianity is eclectic now. The narrow, dogmatic, angular, frozen creeds, formerly common among us, are

mostly softening and dissolving under the genial sun of science.

On my first Sunday in Blowmor, I found the preacher at the church was a gray-headed, dignified ecclesiastic, in the maturity of his powers. He holds the rank of Dean under an eminent prelate, who, when Bishop Colenso was inhibited lately from preaching in Oxford, honorably made known that if Dr. Colenso chanced to appear in his diocese he would not be inhibited. The Dean who preached in Blowmor Church had a fine voice, a fine manner, and nobler sentiments than common. He said that there was a class of persons of high character, of perfect intellectual probity, who had that living morality which bound society together. Yet they professed not the Christian name. Nevertheless it must be observed that, while morality bound man to the world, it was spiritual life which bound man to God. Not being able to see at the time, I could not take down the Dean's words; but their purport was to the effect I have said. The sentences were clearly cut, as though chiselled by the hand of Woolner; nor was the sentiment taken back again in any part of the discourse, which is often the case as the preacher proceeds. One often hears a fine concession at the beginning of a sermon, which is explained away at the conclusion. But this was not the case in the Blowmor sermon.

The next day it was represented to me that many inhabitants of the town, and especially the fishermen, would like to hear from me a lecture on the "Orators of the English Parliament." As I had not spoken publicly for a year, I was half afraid the sound of my own voice would disquiet me. However I consented. A messenger was sent miles away to the nearest printing-press; and early next morning, when I went down to the beach, I found neat little placards in every shop-window, announcing my lecture for the evening. In some windows which faced the town two ways, two placards were exhibited, announcing that I would speak in the evening; and outside the Bible Society's Dépôt one of the bills appeared. So amicable was everything that I thought I had alighted in an unknown corner of the millennium! The fishermen's room was readily granted by two of them who had authority over it. It was in that room that an eminent member of Parliament, with whom I had some intimacy, used to deliver annual summaries of Parliamentary proceedings, which ranked among the classics of political criticisms. He is dead now; and a memorial window of great beauty of color and design, which I was told cost a thousand guineas, had been put up in Blowmor Church in his memory. It seems to me a fitting memorial of him. The colored and chastened light which passed through the window recalled those fine sentiments he used to express, in which philosophy had softened and variegated the fierce light of politics of his day.

On the morning of my lecture all went merry as a marriage bell,—merrier, I should say, for I think a delicate ear can always discern the cries of children in those bells. Before noon a great change had come over Blowmor; there was consternation in the village. Muffled whisperings were heard behind every counter. The vicar had been in the town. The bill on the Bible Society's door had attracted his attention. He did not know me, but he knew I was not one of the apostles. Though my name is partly biblical, the vicar had it removed. There is reason to believe the reverend gentleman was acting chiefly on the instigation of a friend, and that he had been misinformed and misled. He went to the shopkeepers, and requested them to take the bills from their windows, and not to go to the lecture. He admitted my subject was not objectionable, but then I might say something else in speaking upon it. He was told that I was a person who regarded it as a breach of faith to announce one subject, and, after inveigling people to hear that, speaking upon another. Whether the vicar was convinced, I know not; but, as he did not call again at the places he visited to reverse his request, the bills were not replaced, and by the afternoon not a single bill was to be seen anywhere in the town.

In the meantime I amused myself by going down to the sea, and singing on the shore, with some variations, one of Byron's Hebrew Melodies,—beginning, as they say in chapel, at the second verse:—

"Like leaves of the forest when summer is green,
Placards in the windows at sunrise were seen;
Like leaves of the forest when autumn has blown,
The placards at sunset lay withered and strewn."

"The Vicar of Blowmor came in with the blast,
And spoke at the door of each shop as he passed;
The hearts of the keepers waxed deadly and chill;
Their souls but once heaved, and thenceforward grew still."

When I returned, I sent word to the fishermen who had let their rooms to me that if they thought anything would happen to their families through their act, they were quite at liberty to recall it. I thought it likely that the vicar might be the almoner of many kind-hearted and wealthy people in the neighborhood, and the poor people might fear being passed over when they wanted help in the hard seasons that befell them. "Tell the men," I said, "that I am no peddler of opinions; I do not hawk my principles about the country; and if Blowmor is unwilling I should speak in the town, I would rather see it in that place where the vicar is probably afraid you are all going, than speak to unwilling ears. I am proud and dainty in imparting my opinions; I never supplicated for an audience in my life; and I am not going to begin doing it in Blowmor." The stout fishermen probably reflected that they earned their bread in the tempest, by day and by night, holding their lives in their own brave hands, while the vicar passed his days secure from harm, and that they would get through my lecture as they had through other storms. Hence they answered that "they should light their best candles for Mr. Holyoake, and make their room as bright and cheerful as they could, if he chose to come."

When nightfall arrived, I marched through the village with my host (whose Quaker blood was a little stirred), and his young son, who wished to hear his friend's lecture. Not a soul was moving in Blowmor. Nearing the rooms, we observed a solitary man emerging from a cottage in the direction of the place. His back was made visible by a penny candle in the window. "There does not appear," I said to my friend, "any great stampede to the lecture; but I shall deliver it to you, and our friend whose back we have seen, should he arrive there." On entering the room I was astounded by an immense shout of welcome. The fishermen were there in force. A respectable inhabitant of the place was voted to the chair, and a gracious little speech of "introduction" was made by the gentleman whose guest I was.

I delivered my lecture. The audience was quite invisible to me. I spoke as into a cloud. It is a great disadvantage when you cannot see the responsive faces of those whom you address. However, I never spoke to a more intelligent audience. As I explained the difference between oratory and mere public speaking, and the characteristics of Bright, Gladstone, Disraeli, Lowe, Bernal Osborne, Sir Wilfred Lawson, and others, and pointed out the fine and laborious gradations of that art by which men climb on phrases to power, signs of discernment arose sufficient to satisfy any speaker, and I heard afterwards that the audience would have sat till twelve o'clock, if I had chosen to continue. The reverend gentleman, whose father is a great classic authority, made a neat little speech at the end. We said not a word about the vicar. I made no allusion to him, direct or indirect. It is a long time since those little peculiarities of the ecclesiastical mind which he had displayed affected or concerned me; and the audience imagined I did not notice them. This was what I intended. I never heard a word spoken by any one against the vicar. I doubt not he is a kind-hearted gentleman, to whom many have been indebted for words of counsel and acts of humanity. He is, perhaps, a little apt to forget that the people of Blowmor are citizens as well as Christians, and have a right to learn what affects them as Englishmen,—that they need to understand the secular merits of those great men who influenced their destinies, and make the English name distinguished on the earth. The Blowmor men had, no doubt, just reasons for respecting the vicar in removing the placards which were distasteful to him, and respected themselves by giving a courteous hearing to what a friendless stranger had to say to them. In any other town in England it is necessary to advertise a lecture two or three days; but my impression is that the people of Blowmor are so intelligent that it is sufficient there to advertise a lecture for three hours, and that this was the reason why they took the placards out of the window at midday. It was interesting to me to find that, the first time I resumed speaking after so long a silence, I should fall upon a bit of experience of twenty-five years ago, which we all thought was obsolete in England.

GEO. JACOB HOLYOAKE.

THEODORE HOOK was once asked for a contribution to the treasury of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews. He said he was quite unable to give any money, but if the society would send him a Jew he would do his best to convert him.

Communications.

"PROTESTANT AMERICA."

In our generation, the prejudice against what is popularly known as Vaticanism is perhaps stronger and more universal than ever before. True, this feeling does not take the violent form that it did under the maniacal bigotry of Lord George Gordon, or the gloomily intolerant Puritanism of Cromwell. But it nevertheless exists in every Protestant breast; it is the stock-in-trade of the Orthodox pulpits—the creed that binds them together in the army of Protestantism. To-day we may see a statesman—one of the foremost of his age—devoting his rare talents, his ripe scholastic attainments, his hard-earned leisure, to the exposure of its fallacies and the overthrow of its régime. On the Continent, we have witnessed a crusade of sword, dungeon, and pen, that has shaken Rome as she was never shaken before. Here in our own land the Protestant press, religious and secular, is waging desperate war upon the Romish Church in politics; a paper of twenty-five years' standing as "a journal of civilization" devotes, in each issue, both pen and pencil to this combat, and has done so for years. And in whose interest and for what ends is this crusade pushed? The interests of Orthodoxy; the ends of Protestantism.

Here Vaticanism, which in the European States is committed to many political cabals and dangerous doctrines, stands openly opposed only to our public school system, and more especially to the Bible-reading feature in that system. All Orthodoxy stands aghast at this impious proposal to take the Bible from the public schools. Why? Is it because a chapter from the Bible each day is necessary to the successful education of the child? Is it because without it his morals are endangered? Will the beautiful record of Judge Samson's chastity, of King David's famous stratagem, of Solomon's latter-day domestic felicity, help to make him a wise, true man, or strengthen him for the part he must play in life's great battle? Is it essential to the mastery of the rudiments of a business education that he should know what Timothy, and Peter, and their friends thought about the new dispensation? Not in the least. Why, then, is this made a great issue? Why is it thrust into prominence in every canvass—written and mouthed about in every town? Because, so long as the Bible is in our schools, Orthodoxy is recognized by the government, and its preachers are justified in talking about "Protestant America"; just so long they are in the ascendancy, and Liberals and Romanists are morally aliens.

History (and history is of use to us only as we profit by the experience of vanished millions) shows us all we can possibly desire to learn of the influence of religion (that is, "the Church") in the government of mankind. Wherever, in the night of the past, the lurid glare of war's torch is seen—wherever the clash of steel, the roar of guns, the hoarse yells of the combatants, the piteous moanings of the dying are heard,—look close, and through the sulphurous smoke you will see the shaven crown of the priest, the gleam of the cross above the flag. Pass rapidly over the story of the race for ten centuries past, and note some of those fearful deeds that may be found on any page, and at which men shudder, even now, in horror; the millions of lives destroyed in that amazing series of butcheries, the Crusades; the Sicilian Vespers; the wholesale slaughter of Jews throughout the Middle Ages; the massacre of the Knights Templar under the French Philip; St. Bartholomew's carnival of blood,—all, all promoted by monkish bigotry and intolerance; and so on, through the hideous barbecues of the Reformation, down to our modern Christian hero, Frederick the Great, in his march in a whirlwind of iron hail, over a hundred thousand crushed and mangled corpses, to steal Silesia from his benefactor's orphan daughter, for the glory of God and the aggrandizement of "Protestant Prussia." All history brands the Churchman, wears his mitre or shovel-hat, be he shaven or hirsute, as a mischief-maker, as an intolerant foe to all that repeat not his creed and bend not the knee at his altar.

None understood or appreciated this lesson of the past better than did the wise statesmen who framed our republic, and gave us the Constitution under which, as a nation, we exist to-day. It was their aim to found in this new world a government that should be free from the blighting influences that were the curse of the old; that should embody the principles of a true secular republic, a government for the people, by the people, that should be based upon perfect freedom of conscience and mind; a government under whose wise and impartial rulings there should be no chance for monkish meddling for the subordination of the public welfare to sectarian intrigues and schemes. It was through no inadvertence that God was left out of the Constitution; it was not by chance that no foothold was given to his professional worshippers by the framers of that instrument. They had no wish to build a house upon the sand, to found a government to be fought over by a dozen denominations with that acrimonious zeal which, strange to say, has through all ages characterized the followers of the Prince of Peace. This republic was to be built upon the ruins of the past, to be lifted far above sectarian bickerings and denominational quarrels; it was—to borrow one from the many beautiful similes of the Bible—to be founded upon a rock that no intolerance could stir, no sect could shake. When the time comes, if it ever does come, that the Bible is understood as it should be; when the race has learned to love that book for the gems of living truth that have lain hidden in it for ages, and has thrown down the towering, tottering fabric that has been reared upon ignorance, miscon-

ception, and fanaticism in its name; when humanity has learned that a tree should be known by its fruit, and that the fruit of *organized* Christianity has been, is, and forever will be, *death*, why then there will be no need of these safeguards against the "Church militant," no call for the precautions taken and bulwarks erected by our forefathers against that arch-enemy of true, free government, of mental and moral liberty. Until that millennial day dawns, we have need of them all—and more.

It is the fashion to profess reverence for the Constitution; upon every stump, in every political canvass in these United States, you may hear its eulogy; a million men would lay down their lives for its preservation to-morrow, as a million stood ready to die in its defence ten years ago. And yet to-day a Church, a combination of sects, is in possession of privileges that the Constitution was made to destroy; and you may hear from any pulpit in all Orthodoxy this country of Jefferson, of Franklin, of Paine, of Parker, stigmatized as "Protestant America!"

HAROLD FREDERIC.

UTICA, N. Y.

THREE CANON LAWS.

THE REVEREND CHURCHES-AND-STATE OF NEW YORK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Your correspondent, *, from Marathon, N. Y., in his most interesting letter contained in THE INDEX for Nov. 4, far from proving to me that "we have no Canon Law in New York," has clearly established that the State of New York actually enjoys the blessings of three Canon Laws, with this mitigation: that it possesses a judge who belongs more to the other than to this side of the centennial. In fact it is not the Pope that should wear the triple crown, now that the kingdoms of Rome and Sicily are no more added to his spiritual authority over one Church with one Canon Law. He should send it by Cardinal McCloskey to one who has a use for it; namely, to New York's Democratic governor, to whose pastoral care concerning the rings is added "the care of all the churches" under three politico-ecclesiastical legislations.

I am, dear sir, truly yours,

JULIUS FERRETTE.

CAMBRIDGE, NOV. 11, 1875.

WOMAN'S POSITION IN THE BIBLE.

I see many of the advocates of woman's rights endeavoring to prove the justice of their cause from the Bible, or at least to show that the reform and the teachings of the Scriptures are not antagonistic. This, of course, would be very favorable on the present and early future fortunes of the cause, since the Bible is still the popular standard of truth, and few have the courage publicly to deny the infallibility of this authority, however much they may disbelieve it in their own private minds, or disregard it in their actual lives.

But this cause must be founded on the truth of Nature before it can be permanently triumphant, and all efforts to establish it on the ideas of the past, however venerable and sacred such ideas may have become from their religious associations, must prove abortive. Woman's rights, as a political, social, and moral question, is a modern idea. It is one of the new tendencies toward a more perfect civilization which society in its natural course of evolution is ever developing. The present, if living and progressive, can never find authority for all of its thoughts and institutions in the past. Though the present is derived from the past, it is more than the past. It has a spirit and aim peculiar to itself, for which the past with all its ancient wisdom and voluminous records furnishes no authority or precedent. Nay, more: the present does not maintain its progress in obedience to the authority of the past, but in opposition to such authority. The world in its progress outgrows its former ideas and beliefs just as the individual outgrows the narrow thoughts of childhood and the premature and delusive views of youth before attaining manhood or womanhood.

Now that the Bible is not a book of infallible and everlasting truth, but that it teaches, among many other radical errors, the idea of woman's inferiority which was prevalent at the times when it was written, seems to me evident. If woman does not throughout both the old and the new Scriptures occupy a position inferior and secondary in all of her relations to man, I cannot interpret the language of those ancient writings. That the Bible is the source from which our opponents obtain their strongest arguments is proof to me that I do not misconstrue its teachings in regard to woman's position. It is the common idea that the Bible is opposed to what we advocate as woman's rights. I have been an earnest advocate of this cause for several years, speaking my views whenever an opportunity was available, and I have never encountered an opponent of any information who did not assail my position with the Bible as his proof. Many good persons of strong religious convictions have told me that they would be in favor of woman's rights, if they did not think the reform contrary to the teachings of the Bible. A former representative of this county, who a few years ago offered a bill in the Legislature to extend the political rights of the women of Missouri, is now opposed to their enfranchisement, and says his views were changed by reading the Bible.

If the Bible is to be taken as final authority on the subject of woman's position in society and her relation to man in all of the affairs of this world, I think Paul and Moses will forever prove formidable opponents to the cause of her enfranchisement.

When did freedom and progress find a true and consistent ally in the Bible? Let those advocates of

woman's rights who expect such championship from the Bible in their behalf remember how the "Word of God" was used in the antislavery struggle.

H. CLAY NEVILLE,

KENTON, Mo.

METHODISM HAS INDISPUTABLY become a subject of common interest to the whole religious world. It is one of the greatest religious phenomena of our age. The "Address" of its Bishops to the late Conference presents the following striking facts:—

"In 1867 there were 1,146,081 members; in 1871 there were 1,421,323, showing an increase of 275,242, being a gain of 52,535 over the additions of the four years preceding. The corporate wealth of the Church is being largely augmented by the Christian zeal and liberality of our members, acting under the wise guidance and earnest labors of their pastors. Four years ago we reported 11,121 churches, an increase of 1,691 for the four years preceding, valued at \$35,885,439. We then had 3,570 parsonages, valued at \$5,361,295, showing an aggregate value of churches and parsonages, in 1867, of \$41,246,734. We now report 13,440 churches, an increase of 2,319, valued at \$56,911,900, an increase of 21,026,461, exhibiting an average increase during the quadrennium just past of \$5,256,615. We now have 4,309 parsonages, an increase of 739, valued at \$7,786,804, an increase of \$2,425,509, showing an addition to the number of our churches and parsonages, from November, 1867, to November, 1871, of 3,058, and an increase in their value, during the same period, of \$23,451,970. Eight years ago we reported the aggregate value of churches and parsonages at \$20,883,076, showing an increase in value, from November, 1863, up to November, 1871, of \$37,815,628. Such facts furnish a crushing logic in favor of a free church, which the advocates of the union of Church and State, either in Europe or America, are not able to gainsay or refute."

It must be borne in mind that these are statistics of the Methodist Episcopal Church alone, which comprises but little more than half the denomination in this country. Besides it, are the large Methodist Episcopal Church South, the Protestant Methodist Church, etc., etc., including at least two African Methodist Episcopal Churches. So wonderful has been the growth of American Methodism that its people may well be devoutly solicitous for its future. Its agencies now belt the world; it is notable for its dogmatic liberality; and as notable for its practicality, its working energy. But it is growing dangerously rich; it is no longer distinguishable by its simplicity of life and church buildings; its ecclesiastical machinery is becoming immense and complicated, and presents ever increasing incentives to official ambition. Sad lamentations were uttered at the late session, by some of the gray-headed speakers, over the decline of "class meetings," and other primitive peculiarities. Its early history teaches it well where its strength lies.—*Christian Union*, June 12, 1872.

PLIMSOLL'S ELOQUENT OUTBURST IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—"I protest, in the name of God, against any further delay in proceeding with the shipping bill. The bill itself is an atrocious sham; but there is enough humanity and knowledge in the House of Commons to change it into a good measure. At this moment there are two thousand six hundred and fifty-four ships afloat which have run through their classes just like the *Bard of Avon*; and yet at this moment any of the owners, captains, mates, ships' husbands, and consignees of those ships may, without warrant, arrest British subjects who, having carelessly agreed to sail in them, find, when too late, that the only alternative before them is jail or death. I charge the government that they are, wittingly and unwittingly—for there are both,—playing into the hands of the maritime murderers, inside the House and outside the House, to secure a further continuance of the present murderous system. What is demanded by humanity is that rotten ships be broken up or repaired; that ships should not be overloaded; that grain cargoes should not be carried in bulk, so as to expose the lives of those on board to deadly peril; and deck cargoes, the source of unutterable agony to many, and death to so many more, should be put an end to. The government bill provides for none of these things. It provides only heavier penalties and severer punishments against our unfortunate fellow-subjects whose necessities take them to sea. I desire to unmask the villains who sit in the House, fit representatives of the more numerous but not greater villains who are outside the House. . . . In the name of the God of all justice and of all mercy I protest against any further delay. I demand that the merchant shipping bill be proceeded with from this hour, *de die in diem* until through committee, and, failing this, I lay upon the head of the prime minister and his fellows the blood of all men who shall perish next winter from preventable causes, and I denounce against him and against them the wrath of that God who hath said: 'Ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child. If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry, and my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword; your wives shall be widows and your children fatherless.' How much hotter then shall be his indignation and wrath against those who reduce unhappy women and children to that deplorable condition, and who leave their own fellow-creatures, guilty of no crime, to a violent and sudden death."

A MELTING SERMON being preached in a country church, all fell a-weeping but one man, who, when asked why he did not weep with the rest, said: "Oh! I belong to another parish."

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

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2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

"If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. Now, the centennial year of our national existence, I believe, is a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundations of the structure commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian schools. Resolve that neither State or Nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmixt with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and the State forever separate."—PRESIDENT GRANT, at Des Moines, Sept. 29, 1875.

GLIMPSES.

THE WAR-CLOUD seems drifting away, to the great relief of all lovers of peace. Spain and the United States can do better than to become rivals in needless butchery.

THE LONDON *Christian* published a balance-sheet of Moody and Sankey's revival expenses in that city. Total, £28,396, 19s., 6d. The advertising item alone was £3,762, 6s., 6d. How much will these gentlemen's revival cost this winter in America?

THE MONUMENT to Edgar A. Poe was dedicated at Baltimore on November 17 with very interesting ceremonies. Letters were read from the poets Bryant, Holmes, Longfellow, Whittier, Saxe, Tennyson, and others, and addresses delivered by Professors Elliot and Shepard, and Mr. Latrobe.

A CIRCULAR, it is said, has just been issued to the members of the Union League of America, signed by William A. Newell, chairman, and Thomas G. Baker, secretary, which declares that the common schools are in danger and calls for a rally in their defence. Does it state the real nature of the danger; namely, the sectarian Protestant character of the school system?

THE CHAMPIONS of the Christian Amendment of the United States Constitution, it should not be forgotten, have taken steps to incorporate themselves legally for the more efficient prosecution of their movement, and are to hold their next national convention at Philadelphia in the last week of June, 1876. That is about the same time fixed for the Liberal League Convention.

IN HALIFAX the inhabitants have to pay a "Vicar's Rate," which Mrs. Besant says is an admirable title, "as many of those who pay it only go to church vicariously, while the Vicar performs his duties in their respective locality in the same fashion." But, a poor man's goods being sold at auction to collect this tax, the town was placarded: "Wanted, an auctioneer who has lost all self-respect, to sell the poor man's goods for the support of the rich man's Church." A riot was feared.

THE EXTRAORDINARY precautions against rioting at Guibord's burial proved efficient, and no disturbance occurred. But, since the order of the Privy Council required that he should be buried in "consecrated" ground, and since the "consecration" depends wholly on the Bishop's blessing, the cursing of the grave is a complete defeat of the order. The case, therefore, is by no means settled, the State having undertaken to execute an order which it is powerless to enforce. Endless trouble results from such union of Church and State.

THE *Bombay Gazette* published this item in a late issue: "Certain friends and admirers of the Rev. Mr. Voysey have recently invited him to lecture in India, offering to guarantee him £3,000 for his trip. He has replied that even thrice as much would not tempt him away from home, where his work is daily

increasing in importance." That is the spirit which Mr. Voysey has displayed from the beginning, and it commands the respect of all who can appreciate a noble self-devotion to duty. Yet the Orthodox flip-pantly accuse radicals of "lack of moral earnestness"!

HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN, of Indiana, who was so conspicuous in Congress and elsewhere for fidelity to the cause of antislavery at a time when it most needed friends, requests us to announce that he is prepared to lecture during the coming winter either at the East or the West. His subjects are—"Evolution and Reform," and "The Slavery Yet to be Abolished"; and he may be addressed at Irvington, Indiana. Lecture committees cannot do better than to secure his services, for he is a thoroughly independent and sincere thinker whose word must command both attention and respect.

SPECIAL ATTENTION is due to the extremely interesting review, in this issue of THE INDEX, of Mr. Holyoake's *History of Coöperation* by General Henry K. Oliver, whose great knowledge and official experience in labor matters eminently fit him for the task. General Oliver desires us to supply an accidental omission by mentioning "in very complimentary terms" the excellent indexes which Mr. Holyoake has appended to his volume. To meet the demand for the book which cannot fail to arise, a considerable number of copies have been put on sale at this office, and will be promptly mailed on receipt of two dollars.

A LATE number of the *Independent* had this paragraph, which must have been a stone of stumbling to its prohibitionist readers: "A correspondent of the *Ohio State Journal*, who appears to have been in great straits for interesting news to put in his letter, makes some revelation about Boston poets which may or may not be altogether true. He says: 'Longfellow has the choicest vintages in his wine-cellar. James Russell Lowell is invincible as a wine-taster. Bayard Taylor and Dr. Holmes are both epicures and adjudicators on the choicest fruits of the vintage. Howells is a modest and dainty sipper of amber-colored fluids.' And then he adds that none of these distinguished authors ever wrote 'so much as one line under the inspiration of beer, ale, wine, cider, or spirituous liquors.' We should say not; and it may be further said that not one of them ever wrote a line in favor of drinking, though Bayard Taylor is the author of a song entitled 'Vin d'Oro,' and Doctor Holmes wrote a poem to 'An Old Punch Bowl.' They are all men of clean and sober lives, and their verses are wholly free from vinous influences."

WHEN MEN have anything to sell, they wish to sell at as high a price as they can; when they are obliged to buy, they wish to buy at as low a price as they can. These desires are permanent and universal factors in social economy, and just as noticeable among reformers as among the unreformed. What follows? That, whenever the market offers a surplus of any article above the actual wants of consumers, the sellers begin to compete with and underbid each other, and prices fall; but that, when there is a deficiency of the article, the buyers begin to compete with and overbid each other, and prices rise. In the former case, production is checked; in the latter case, it is stimulated. That is the law of "supply and demand," against which the railers rail in vain. They might just as well fight the law of gravitation, unless they can totally reconstruct human nature on a brand-new plan. Selfish capitalists chuckle, when workingmen attack this inexorable law of Nature, instead of demanding a fair percentage of the profits of the business. When laborers secure this, their labor will be recognized as capital; they will become themselves capitalists; and the antagonism between capital and labor will vanish in kindly and equitable coöperation.

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[FOR THE INDEX.]

Co-operation.

BY GEN. HENRY K. OLIVER,

LATE CHIEF OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BUREAU OF LABOR.

HISTORY OF CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE YEARS 1812 AND 1844. Vol. I. By George Jacob Holyoake, of London. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. 1875.

This work upon a subject but little known, and less understood, in this country, is a welcome contribution to the literature of labor reform, a literature the extent and amount of which would surprise both the advocates and opponents of that cause, which is as old as labor itself, and which will continue to exist, to struggle, and to advance, till mankind shall be so ripened in common sense and common humanity that, as John Bright (who has a mighty power of expressing great and good aims) once said, so shall they say: "Crowns, coronets, mitres, military displays, pomp of war, wide colonies, and a huge empire are, in my view, all trifles light as air, unless you can have with them a fair share of comfort, contentment, and happiness among the great body of the people." We even go farther than Mr. Bright, and say that the comfort, contentment, and happiness of the masses of mankind can never be dispensed with, if a nation expects a national existence of permanent prosperity, strength, and endurance,—while crowns, coronets, mitres, armies, and wide colonial possessions, may not only be put away to advantage, but ought and even must be put away to secure the greatest good of the greatest number; for most potent among the obstacles of human progress has been in all time, now is, and ever will be, the monopoly of power, rule, and riches in the hands of the few.

Mr. Holyoake, judging by his prefatory statements, and judging from what we know of his labors in the cause, a part of whose history he gives in this volume, has expended much time and effort in obtaining facts such as would serve to give a substantial idea of the adventures and vicissitudes of co-operators and their cause. We think, after a careful perusal of his work, he has achieved great success, so great, in truth, that to attempt to give even an analysis of his labor would take more room than we can spare in our columns. Our readers must study the whole book, and we unhesitatingly tell them that, whether they like or dislike the cause the author advocates, they will obtain a great deal of valuable information, and will be both interested and greatly instructed. It wins attention more than romance in poetry or prose.

The industrial movement known as Coöperation is wholly modern. In fact it may be said to be scarcely a century old, and we know of no enterprise that has survived the assaults and perils of so many enemies, the chilling of so much indifference and so much unwisdom, and even folly of real friends. Yet it has lived through all these adversities, and, as a succeeding volume will show, has attained system, method, vigor, and that strong and tenacious grasp upon public sentiment which is the best assurance of continued life and progress. The obstacles which have been, and yet are, its most retarding hindrances, are obviously to be found among those who are to derive from it its greatest benefits. And these hindrances are just those which, as the world goes, seem to be themselves the most difficult to remedy. For they grow out of that very imperfect development of the

faculties which is the result of the education, little in quantity and poor in quality, which is vouchsafed to the great bulk of youth, both abroad and at home, who are destined to recruit the ranks of the working-classes. A good deal of study and much intercourse with men of these classes, supplemented by their own outspoken testimony, has confirmed us in this opinion. Most of them leave school (and, leaving it, abandon all further educational appliances) to enter upon a life of labor before they are educationally ripened to encounter the possibilities of their after-lives. As Carlyle says, we are in our schools "working into the mental food of our children a yeast of frothy vocables, and littering the roots of their brains with etymological compost; words and not things, theoretical and not practical training, the former of which the age has outgrown, and the latter of which it needs and vainly strives after, are the main function of our school work." Hundreds of men fall in life in consequence of the very ignorance to cure which they were sent to school. There was with them, when school children, capacity enough, and with the great majority a desire to have their capacity developed, and a willingness to do their share of the necessary work. But "prescribed system" clogged and obstinate method fashioned them all after one rigid pattern. This has been for years persisted in, and to such extent that the newly promulgated and vastly better method of business, known as coöperation, fails to receive adequate support, and to be able to do its blessed and blessing work, because of the incapacities of the very parties whom it would benefit, had they but the knowledge, the will, and the courage to stand by their benefactor.

Mr. Holyoake's book discusses the nature of co-operation; the evils out of which it grew; its origin; its real discoverer, his efforts and appeals for aid; its enthusiastic and socialistic periods; coöperative communities in England and in America, their origin and decay, their principal adversaries, early advocates, and forgotten workers. Among the friends of a cause whose very nature and objects should have enlisted the best and strongest allies, were many of this last class, whose sympathies, zeal, and trust were stronger than their means; men who had an Abrahamic faith that better times and better means must come, for at times the worst seemed to have been reached; men of

"—Ungainly forms, inherited
 From toiling generations, daily bent
 At desk, or plough, or loom, or in the mine,
 In pioneering labors for the world."

(Geo. Elliot.)

Among early advocates was John Bellevue, a member of the Society of Friends, whose motto was "Industry brings plenty," and who made the philosophic remark that "the real interest of the rich is to take care of the poor," inasmuch as the mutations of fortune were constantly interchanging the places of the rich and the poor; and, in the language of a Lord Chief-Justice of England, "a prudent method of industrious education of the poor would be a better remedy against the troubles they caused by becoming malefactors, than all the gibbets and whipping-posts in the kingdom." His scheme, intended to be a State affair, was the fruit of a solid, clear-minded, and just man. It was to be governed by a despotism, because, as he truly alleged, the laborers in his day (1696) were not prepared to govern. Bellevue died in 1725.

But the originator of communistic coöperation, the method earliest devised, but now passed or passing away, was Robert Owen, born in the quadriennium including 1769 and 1772, which produced "Napoleon, Wellington, Goethe, Owen, and Fourier, all historic men,—bane and antidotes, war and art, men-killers and world-makers."

He was a Welshman, born May 14, 1771, and his career, guided by patience, industry, sagacity, kindness, truth, and fidelity, led to eminence and wealth. Of this wealth he spent thousands of pounds, while travelling thousands of miles in Europe and America, in propagating information upon the new system upon which he desired that society should be founded. His ideas dazzled the imaginations of men, and they who thought and the more who suffered imagined that their anxious ears heard the approaching, if distant, rumble of the wheels of labor's millennial chariot.

But the petrified methods of the world are not softened in a day, nor remoulded in a week. The mill of the gods grinds slow, though the grist may be fine. The world and society went on with its millions of sustaining influences, and the time is not even yet. The forms and ways of civilization were slow in their growth, and will be slower in their changes. His theory rested on the four considerations of truth, right, humanity, and utility; and to bring men and their actions into *aplomb* with these will require a good deal of time and a good deal of regeneration. Yet Mr. Owen's comprehensive views embraced the renovation of the world, the extirpation of evil, the abolition of punishment and of poverty, the prevalence of similar views, and the end of all antagonisms and hostilities. Of course, his opponents were many and fierce; for if poverty were abolished, where would be riches? If war were ended, where were armies, and glory, and heroes? Even some ill-judging labor-leaders were over-earnest to make allies of certain political leaders in the attainment of promised amelioration, seeming, as Mr. Holyoake says, to be willing to compound the leanest liberty for the fattest submission that could be gotten out of them.

But the ideas of Mr. Owen and his son Robert Dale, who followed up the theories and plans of his father, seem to have been directed to the establishment of coöperative communities rather than the methods of distributive and productive coöperation

to which modern reformers are looking, and experiments in which have already succeeded, especially in England. Here but little has been attempted. But these communities generally failed, and the index-finger of advance seemed to point in a new direction.

Of these early and zealous endeavors to meliorate the general condition of society, Mr. Holyoake says: "They have, like those of the railway, the telegraph, the cheap postage, been obscure, intermittent, gradual, and often ridiculous,"—having also "been misrepresented before a hearing, and assailed before they had force." Their agents were ignorant, though zealous, sometimes partially crazy, and sometimes wholly so." The causes of failure, he says, were the want of sufficient capital to maintain them, until their members could be trained to self-supporting efficiency. Furthermore, the members were not picked men and women pledged to obey the authority established over them, and readily removable in case of becoming intractable. These reasons are real and substantial, truly indicating the causes of failure of communistic coöperations, and will largely impede the later forms of the system. They suggest again what we have hereinbefore said, that prevalent methods of education fail in so developing the faculties of our youth that they can, after reasonable practice, become good administrative and executive officers, and good obeyers of such officers. As now released from their educational leading strings, the spirit of egotism, so characteristic of all imperfectly developed persons, has not been so subdued that over-confidence in one's own self, in one's own capability of deciding "what's the matter," and of applying remedy, ceases to be rampant and noisy. Suspicious, grudgings, and proscriptions neutralize manliness, justice, nobleness, and that true wisdom that insures success. Now there must indeed be among the managing officials a good deal of brain power, a peculiarly adapted training, a discretion of judgment, and an enlarged knowledge of general business methods, combined with an integrity above even the suspicion of spot or blemish; but there must also be an unwavering confidence from their associates, an abiding and intelligent subordination to those to whom power has been delegated to manage affairs. If it demands peculiar gifts and a peculiar training to manage with skill, and to assure success, it even more requires a rigid, personal discipline and command of oneself to become schooled in that self-sacrifice which renders obedience a willing and dutiful concession. To obey well is more difficult than to govern well. Trifles of the flimsiest texture may destroy the best-arranged and most successful enterprises, as a question about the violation of a mere by-law made hostile factions of the thriving community at Ambelakia (page 262). Lord Brougham justly said that "coöperation, which one day will do for the worst, must begin with picked men," inasmuch as, in the words of Horace Greeley, "the conceited, the crotchety, the selfish, the pugnacious, the idle, the played-out, and the generally good-for-nothing, are not the men exactly fitted to come together and remodel the world." Yet even picked men have not always succeeded in communizing, as was proved by the failure at Brook Farm, in Massachusetts, though of the inner causes of its non-success we know nothing.

The last of English attempts at community was at Queenwood, Hampshire. A wide-spread organization started it, and its failure, disastrous and complete, has "discouraged one generation, and seems likely to intimidate another" (page 204). Mr. Holyoake well says (page 318) that "a much more serious affair than electrotyping metals is the electrotyping turbulent and competitive man with pacific and coöperative principles."

It is not a little singular that among the most demonstrative enemies of the new system were found those, the function of whose office was the preaching of the gospel of peace—that very gospel of which coöperation, in fulfilling its duties of love and equality, would prove a most efficient ally; and no class of men in England so persistently and zealously set their faces against the whole movement. In some instances this opposition cropped out in violence, and it was only by the interference of a strong-minded and (well for the occasion) a strong-handed carpenter that Mr. Owen was saved from a mobbing. The new gospel of industry was forcibly prevented because at times preached on the Sabbath; and yet the disciples of the gospel of peace "plucked and ate corn on the Sabbath," and the great Preacher of preachers proclaimed that "the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." In some instances (page 341), clergymen refused to bury coöperators, and even a sexton refused to dig a grave for the dead child of a socialist!

"Had the showers of denunciation been material, like rain or hail, the pioneers would have lost the brims of their hats"; but it happened, in the long fray, that these verbal missiles became boomerangish, and their use was finally abandoned.

But we have hardly room for further comments, not even to notice the early advocates of whom Mr. Holyoake speaks,—Skene, Allsop, Combe, Morgan, Para, Rabone, Bronterre, O'Brien, Fleming, Lloyd Jones, Rigby, Southwell. Of this Southwell, it is observed (page 371) that he was the youngest of thirty-six children; and then, in that grim humor that appears in many a page of this most clever book, Mr. Holyoake adds that the Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Bathurst, being the youngest in a family of thirty-six brothers and sisters, "there is nothing heretical on Mr. Southwell's part in this peculiarity for which he could be held accountable"! Other names occur as actively aiding, such as Macintosh, Campbell, Jeffery, Napier, Bailey, Knight, Mrs. Wheeler, Mrs. Martin, Miss Reynolds—these ladies aiding mainly by their writings. A vast amount of missionary

work was done by the men above named; and of the opposition they encountered, generally of words, occasionally of fists, there are most amusing and instructive accounts given. Evidently Mr. Holyoake is a man of that uncommon quality of mind, common sense, with a wholesome mixture of the ability to see and the power to describe the absurd side of even "friendly" zealots, who fight not wisely but too well." Some of his pages are deliciously titillating in their grim humor. For instance, on page 389, he says that some men's minds are like matches, igniting by mere friction, and throwing a dim light on a dark argument; others merely flash and then go out; others are like fuses, fizzling and smouldering only; others are like tar, giving out more smoke and odor than flame; while others, like the old flint and tinder-box, yield more noise than sparks. Occasionally a steady, lustrous speech lighted up, and warmed, and inspired everybody; and then comes one whose intellect is in his throat, and whose wild, musical cadences please the ear, like a song, the words of which nobody can understand. Others spout as a steam-whistle shrieks, and give knowledge and the headache together. Some swelled the truth and some thinned it; some rough-handed and dislocated it.

Commending the book most earnestly, as at once historical and instructive in a new field, philosophical, impartial, and alluring beyond the wont of didactic treatises, we lay it down among those works to which we shall resort again and again, being sure that we shall learn something more on every re-reading, and awaiting its promised mate with strongest yearning. Some closing extracts, full of suggestive truth, we cannot resist giving (pages 391-396):—

"They who peruse history will not find it difficult to discover that ignorance has at all times been the bane of national prosperity; and he who employs his understanding aright will soon find that even reforms may come too soon to be permanent."

"No social advocate ever produced or attempted a description of that state of society for which he pleaded, which had the merit of arresting public attention, or of lingering in the public memory."

"In the case of new thoughts, two immense obstacles stare the propagandist in the face: (1) most people do not like to think at all; (2) they do not like the new thinking when they do think. People who have minds have mostly already made up their minds; and they who have no minds are still more difficult to deal with, because of their vacuity."

"Privation, the consequence of social exclusion, comes in so many ways that it must be painful for the propagandist to contemplate them. After he is dead, his opinions may be borne aloft like a brand by men less strong than he was. There is, indeed, high satisfaction which comes from the discharge of a difficult duty. There may come, when the peril and the labor are forgotten, both regard and honor; but these are happy accidents not to be counted upon."

To this we may add, that no good cause having for its object the exposure of evils and wrongs, and the advocacy and establishment of the assured good of the masses of his fellow-men, even though the object were to be gained without molesting the general peace of society, or injuring the interest of any person or community of persons,—no such cause ever succeeded without a certain amount of martyrdom among its preachers and defenders, a moral or social crucifixion, the nails being driven in by enemies, and sometimes the hole for the foot of the cross being dug by those who thought the preaching was good preaching of a good gospel, but that said preaching should have been preached in a different way. Massachusetts is not without examples of this sort.

So this cause of coöperation towards which thoughtful working-men are looking with yearnings that cannot be uttered, hath had and will yet have its martyrs. It has measurably come in its distributive form, and that meets the immediate bodily needs. It is yet to come, "long promised, much needed, long delayed," in its productive form, when, if it be wisely, justly and heroically carried out, the very faults of the old systems will be changed into virtues. Of the old motto was, "Every one for himself, and the foul fiend take the hindmost." Its beloved pronouns were "I and mine." Of the new, the motto is, "Every one for every other, and God for us all." Its beloved pronouns are, "you and we." Its methods change selfishness into a virtue, finding its highest gratification in the fact that every act which every one performs with a view to his own benefit benefits every one of his fellows. The highest inducements urge to the strongest efforts "for you and for us." It is the interdependence and the independence of labor, a marvellous school of pure morals and of human perfectibility, wherein hand, head and heart are in a harmonious companionship of production.

"Currite, talia secula."

Haste, happy age.

SALEM, Mass., Nov. 10, 1875.

ON THE DAY following the action of Congress on the report of the Poland Committee, the New York *Advertiser* perpetrated the following: "At a corner's inquest held in the House of Representatives, Washington, yesterday, the jury returned the following verdict: In consequence of the failure to find the corpse of the victim, and the total lack of evidence to show that any body is missing, we are of opinion that the deceased deserves to be censured for conduct unbecoming a dead man."

SYDNEY SMITH once rebuked a swearing visitor by saying, "Let us assume that everything and everybody are damned, and proceed with our subject."

THE CONVENTION AT WORCESTER.

SPECIALLY REPORTED FOR "THE INDEX."

No more successful convention has been held by the Free Religious Association than this at Worcester, in Horticultural Hall. Promptly at half-past seven o'clock, Tuesday evening, November 16, the convention was called to order by O. B. Frothingham. In spite of the storm that prevailed, a large and intelligent audience had gathered. The evening was principally occupied by Mr. Frothingham's opening address on "The Principles and Aims of the Free Religious Association." He said that the real occasion of the existence of the Association was the infidelity of the Unitarians to their principles. Unitarianism announced as its watchword freethought in religion, the independence of the human mind. It is easy to make such a declaration as this. Every sect, from the Roman Catholics down, has made such a declaration. The difficulty comes in adhering to it when a darling belief is attacked. Then reason is given up. Thus reason asked questions and raised doubts which made Unitarians unwilling to follow reason. We seceded; not, however, to set up another sect, to make another division, but to become more inclusive. We made efforts to get upon our platform persons who stood outside of Christianity. We invited a Jew to speak at our meetings. We should have seized a Turk or a Brahmin, could we have laid our hands on him. Then we took in atheists. We welcomed persons without regard to their theory of the universe. Come, we said, say what you have to say without fear of criticism. Was this action prompted by indifference in regard to opinions? By no means. We acted as we did, not from indifference, but because our faith was so great; because we believed so much more than our neighbors that we became inclusive. To make this truth plain we had to enlarge our generalizations. We had to say Christianity itself is a sect; that it is not only a religion with sects, but is itself one of a great family of religions, every one of which has a right to prove its worth. Every one who called himself a believer came to us on his own terms.

Mr. Frothingham then spoke of the necessity for a definition of religion that should include not only Christians, but those who were not Christians at all, and men who said, "We don't believe in a personal God or immortality." He quoted the various definitions familiar to the readers of THE INDEX, and said: "These are all more inclusive than any existing definitions. In England, religion is the Established Church. In France, it is the Roman Catholic Church. America gives us these larger definitions. Now we have come to the idea of the universal religion. Believers in universal religion have beliefs and rites, but do not impose them on other people. They are our forms of expression or impression. We can change them, and can pass from one to another without self-reproach or reproach from one another. Why do you not give up, say some persons, the name of religion, and fall back on that of philosophy or science? That is what Charles Bradlaugh says to us. You drop religion, he says, and yet claim to have it; you read from sacred books, and yet do not believe in their inspiration. Why, then, do we not give up the name of religion?"

"Mr. Bradlaugh is a very able, earnest, and honest man. He is an avowed atheist and materialist. This is nothing to me. But he is an Englishman, and his idea of religion is the Established Church. He is somewhat lacking in imagination, sentiment, hopefulness. He is more interested in politics than in religion. He deals with questions of religion in order to oppose them. Religion is a foe to him. Every kind of religion, said a physician lately, is bondage to me. This is Mr. Bradlaugh's idea. But science and philosophy are no substitutes for religion. Religion is something more than dry knowledge. Religion is philosophy and science infused with feeling. Religion, says Matthew Arnold, is morality suffused with emotion. You shall not lie, says morality. Let every man speak the truth to his neighbor, for you are members one of another, says religion. Not to tell the truth defrauds your brother. Be chaste, says morality. Know ye not ye are the temple of God? says religion. This lifts chastity into ideal realms."

"Religion appeals to sentiment, imagination, faith, hope, and love. Morality confines itself to law and custom. I believe in knowledge, but also in that which makes knowledge warm and persuasive. I pursue an ideal truth. What gives John Tyndall his power? There are other scientists as able as he; but he is a poet, an idealist. He believes in undiscovered truths. He not only measures the glaciers, but fixes his eye on truth undiscovered. Here he is as one with such a man as Ralph Waldo Emerson. I should say to Mr. Bradlaugh: My dear sir, I want a spirit of self-sacrifice, a simple willingness to give up everything to a feeling of enthusiasm for humanity. Mr. Bradlaugh does himself an injustice in calling himself without religion; for, if he is the man I think he is, he is a leader of religion in modern society. Again, religion is a thing of life, private conduct. A religious man is necessarily a good man, who makes goodness the end of his life. But many philosophers have failed to live nobly. How many men who care only for knowledge are unjust, ungenerous? We should see a sinking of the level of human character and virtue if we had not religion, but only science and philosophy."

Mr. Frothingham referred to the charge that believers in Free Religion lack moral earnestness. He said: "The imputation hurts; for, if it be true, then we are humbugs and hypocrites." But it was far from being true. He referred to Emerson, Higginson, Gerrit Smith, Sidney H. Morse, William Lloyd Garrison, and others. Moral earnestness may be devoted to much higher work than is ordinarily en-

gaged in. A man may be morally earnest without being a worker for prohibition or engaged in politics.

"When the idea of universal religion comes home to me, I am filled to overflowing with enthusiasm and earnestness. The idea is so thrilling that I look for the time when it will master young men as completely as did the crusading spirit in past ages. This idea is an intensely practical thing. Ours is a movement for the hour. Apply this idea to the question of education. It is everybody's interest to have our children educated, to have them grow up to take a wise and practical part in the duties of citizens. Nothing interferes so seriously as religion to prevent all from getting this education. The Church comes and says, Let me use my influence to draw these scholars into my church. We say we need all the time of children in school in order to make them good citizens, and you ask us to give a part of this time to teaching your theory of the universe. Children should have the best teachers; but it is of no consequence whether these teachers believe in a thousand gods or one God. Religion must hands off. But this cannot be, so long as one creed claims to be superior to all others,—claims to be a divine institution. If I believe that eternal salvation depends upon believing so and so, I must insist that children be taught these beliefs. The idea of universal religion overthrows the arrogant assumption that any religious creed is a divine institution, and keeps us from interfering with the work of the schools to make good citizens by making them take the time to teach religious dogmas."

Mr. Frothingham closed his long and eloquent address with these words: "The point of all I have said is simply this: We address ourselves to you as earnest, practical men, believing we have in our idea the seeds of social regeneration. We are not the enemy of any church. If only you lift up your souls, God bless you. But let your belief be as pure as it can be, still you may not intrude it on your neighbor."

At the close of Mr. Frothingham's address the secretary, W. J. Potter, remarked, in correction of the previous speaker, that Mr. Garrison, though deeply interested in the movement, and a speaker from their platform, was not a vice-president of the Association. He paid a tribute to the venerable Lucretia Mott, one of the vice-presidents, who, though over eighty years of age, comes regularly from Philadelphia to attend the annual meetings in Boston. She was an example of moral earnestness. He discussed briefly the province of Free Religion, and spoke of the great reforms in this country which have been effected outside the Church.

WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION.

The morning session of Wednesday was opened by David H. Clark, his subject being: "Is it to be Peace or War in Religion?" Mr. Clark began by saying that there is always a conflict in progress, and peace full and entire is never attained. We look at the past or the present, and find it marked with more or less distinctness by hostilities and collisions. It is by conflict that principles are established; and truth advances only by the overthrow and displacement of error. Wars, while they promote evil, are productive of good, and through all their barbarities, races enter into civilization. In religion, as well as in everything else, there is something always to attack and criticize. Free Religion is a recognition of this fact, and it can fulfill its mission only by pointing out what it discards as falsehood and error—in short, by clear and open aggression. The idea has been advanced that these errors and wrongs exist no longer; that the old terms have so slight a hold upon, and influence with, the people, that they need little attention.

In looking at the Roman Catholic Church, for instance, we see that which forbids a feeling of indifference. It is to-day what it ever has been. In spite of the shifting of times, it retains the same spirit and purpose. Like omnipotence, it moves on, true to its original design, without a shadow of swerving. Its aim is now, and ever has been, an increase of power, not merely spiritual, but temporal and political. It desires to see the whole world subdued to itself; and, to accomplish this, it has never hesitated at any treachery, trickery, artifice, or device, or the commission of any crime, when its prospects of success could be advanced. Its assumptions to-day are as arrogant and audacious as ever. It claims now even more than it has ever done before. Deprived of its temporal power, it has increased its spiritual power by dogmas and decrees. It is determined to crush out every uprising of freethought in individual and nation. Says Cardinal Manning, speaking for the Church and the Pope: "I acknowledge no civil power; I am the subject of no prince. I claim more: I claim to be the supreme controller of the consciences of men. I am the soul's supreme judge of what is right and wrong."

It is a common presumption among Protestants to-day that Protestantism will some day absorb Catholicism; but indications fail to substantiate this, and point the other way. Catholic churches and convents are constantly increasing. We cannot obscure the signs that point in this country, as in Europe, to an impending storm between ecclesiastical and political power. Here, at home, already the Catholics are striving by an alliance with political parties to control them. They are growing bolder in their attacks on our public schools. They are determined to secure a portion of the school fund for their own purposes. This in certain localities has been accomplished. In France we see this Church intriguing for political power; in Spain, demanding the punishment of all who do not profess Roman Catholic religion, and the control of the schools by the priests. All are familiar with the struggle in Ger-

many. Everywhere the Church has a foothold; it plans and plots for the subversion of all liberty, and seeks to be the one absolute authority.

Mr. Clark spoke of the peril to liberty that is to be seen in Protestantism. It has the same foundation as Catholicism; namely, the lordship of Jesus Christ over the human soul. Christianity does not, and never has, encouraged freethought; and if this is to be fostered, it must be outside its communion. Protestantism brought with it from Catholicism the basis on which it stands. It clings to an external authority and the union of Church and State. It has been said that Calvinism, could it have had the world under its feet, would have been as merciless as the Inquisition. Look at the different sects with their spirit of exclusiveness,—the Young Men's Christian Association, with its refusal to admit any who do not endorse the evangelical creed. The inconsistency of Protestantism in regard to the union of Church and State is obvious, insisting on Bible-reading in schools; chaplains in the army, in Congress, and in prisons; the Sunday laws, etc. Considering Christianity in all its phases, Catholic or Protestant, it must be regarded as a drag upon the civilization of to-day.

He then proceeded to say that such encroachments upon the liberties of citizens and of the State are to be combatted and resisted in every way the exigency shall demand. We must insist upon universal education, and Church and State must be made and kept separate. There is yet rough work to be done. It does not demand great culture and elegance; but sturdy, honest blows, positive convictions, and moral worth, to lead from the darkness that surrounds us to the light of the perfect day. Mr. Clark was listened to with marked attention.

Rev. Edwin S. Elder, of Lexington, spoke at some length, saying that, while all that had been said of the designs of Catholicism was undeniably true, in his judgment, the true way for liberals to conduct the conflict was to advance positive, affirmative convictions of their own, and do all in their power to increase and establish *faith in man*. The details of the Church's conduct might safely be let alone, provided we everywhere insisted on trusting and believing in humanity. The Church believed in an external authority; it based everything on that. Liberals believed in just the opposite,—in the authority of reason in the individual soul. Whatever developed this faith made headway against the pretensions of Rome. This was the thought suggested by this Centennial period. Faith in Humanity—has it not been largely justified in these one hundred years of American history? The same faith represented in the political institutions of the country needs to be carried into religion. Reason in religion was as much demanded as reason in politics. Seventy-five years ago the Unitarian movement represented this faith. That was a great movement—how great we, perhaps, do not as yet realize. It was the sublime affirmation of this principle of faith in man. The influence of Channing and Emerson in its behalf could not be measured. Now, the Free Religious Association stands for that principle. Let us rely upon it, and seek redress in education, not war. Instead of acting against something, let us devote ourselves to the creation of this faith. If war comes, let it come from those who would undermine our liberty.

W. C. Gannett said that he looked on Protestantism in a more favorable light than the first speaker. He would not say that, where Mr. Clark saw black, he saw white; but he saw gray. He spoke of the tendency among Protestant sects toward union among themselves, the breaking down of their narrow sectarianisms, and a general drawing together on the basis of God's incarnation in Jesus Christ and his atonement. He thought Protestantism showed marked tendencies towards freethought and free religion, while Roman Catholicism had done its utmost to suppress both. In regard to peace or war, he said there were three planes on which the battle could be fought,—the plane of discussion, the plane of politics, and the battle-field.

The conflict of discussion must, of course, go on. There were three parties: the Catholic, Protestant, and Liberal. The Catholic in itself is a unit; the Protestant is more or less divided; the Liberals are divided more than Protestants. The great questions of religion are by no means settled. If we are to set aside the old faiths, there are many questions to be answered which as yet we have been unable to answer.

Will the discussion enter the plane of politics? The Catholics have already brought it there. Will Protestants bring it? They have already done so. They bring it in their religious amendment. Let that be made a part of the Constitution; and the three men who drafted the Declaration of Independence—Franklin, Jefferson, and Adams,—if living now, would be disfranchised. If Catholic and Protestant bring the discussion into the plane of politics, he did not see how Liberal or Radical could avoid meeting it there.

Mr. Gannett did not believe there would be a conflict on the battle-field. He believed in the American people, in their good sense, and would not hastily think they would not end the conflict before it should reach the arbitrament of the sword. Because he saw this conflict, he believed in the Free Religious Association, and in its discussions. Discussion will tend to keep the conflict where it belongs, and realize at length for all freedom and fellowship in religion. In conclusion, he said the Association did not stand against creeds, but against limitations; not against sects, but sectarian dogmas.

The morning discussion was closed with a few remarks by C. A. Bartol. He said that, if it be peace or war on any plane, no doubt the scale will turn for the truth, instead of authority. The mere majority of numbers never prevails. If the Church

pushes the conflict to the war plane, it will go down like slavery.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

The afternoon session was opened with an address by F. E. Abbot, on "The Secularization of the State and the Public Schools."

Mr. Abbot began by saying that he believed the American people capable of grasping an idea. He believed in the logic of events, which was nothing more nor less than the history of ideas written out, the logic of ideas dictating events. Two principles can not be acted on, if they conflict. One or the other in the final issue must give way. In discussing the question of the secularization of the State, it was first necessary to get a proper definition of the State. What do we mean by the State? The State is nothing but a political corporation, formed for a political purpose, and handed down from father to son. It is formed for mutual protection of natural human rights, and begins and ends with the people themselves. It is a strictly natural corporation, designed for the attainment of secular ends and objects. It relates wholly to the present life, and has nothing to do with any world but this.

Now what is the Church? It is claimed to be a divine institution founded by God for the salvation of all souls. It is both secular and spiritual. It includes all of this world, and stretches on into eternity. It is supernatural, and claims supernatural authority over all human interests.

The one vital question for us to settle is, Can the Church and State be in fact made and kept separate? In Europe the States have grown up under the constant influence of the Church, and have never gained a complete independence. In this country the founders of our government took particular pains to keep out any reference to the Church, and our whole basis of government is arranged with a view to separate Church from State. The Catholic Church is the most consistent of any Church ever formed; and according to their idea, as embodied in the Papal States before the triumph of Italian unity, the State is swallowed up in the Church. According to the Catholic idea, any liberty granted the State is nothing but a delegated power to carry out the wishes of the Church; its liberty is that of a slave in a limited sphere of action. Our fathers thought that they could establish a government free from all ecclesiastical trammels, leaving the individual free to have his own religion.

It may be said that religion, in the free religious sense, must enter into all that concerns us, and so it cannot be excluded from the State. Very well: so much of religion as consists in freedom, justice, and equal rights, and so much only, should enter into political institutions; but that is not the Church. That is what our fathers admitted; but the Church was not in any form recognized. Carry into politics all that concerns universal justice, equal rights, and liberty; leave the private conscience to its own affairs. The State has to do with natural morality; but the Church is based on theological tenets. From the side of the State, no objection to the total separation of Church and State can proceed. But the Church is never satisfied; it always claims to control the State by divine right, either directly or indirectly; it is always grasping for power.

This, then, is still our problem in America,—how to make and keep the State independent of, and totally separate from, the Church. We have to defend the principle of the State's independence as affirmed by the founders of the republic. We cannot ret where we are, but must carry out the idea more widely and in greater detail. In this contrast, as has already been indicated, we have the Catholic party, the Protestant party, and the Liberal party, including in the latter all who, in any sect or any party, stand faithfully by the secular principle. The Catholics are completely organized, with a recognized head, with an army of priests and bishops to carry on the work. The Protestants are slowly coming together, and organizing for a bold and decided stand. The Liberals are without organization, relying on the purity of their motives, and appealing to reason for support. The Catholics have one purpose to accomplish: it is to gain control of the government and establish the Pope as the virtual ruler of this nation, politically as well as spiritually. To this end have they begun their attack on our school system. They demand to govern us. Rome makes this her conscience. Shall we have a conscience to defend liberty? If we are unwilling to submit, there must be a conflict. Humanity has a right to be free. If Rome triumphs, it must be through the blood of millions of slain freemen, and the last vestige of liberty must first be blotted out.

The battle-field is now the schools. The Protestants are at work in their way; they concede that the State must not recognize the Church, but insist that it shall recognize *Christianity*, the religion of the Church. Protestants and Catholics alike claim to make the State Christian and education Christian: their principle is the same. But Liberals demand to make the State secular and education secular. They refuse to yield to the demands of either of the other parties. They deny the right of either to make the State or the schools Christian at all. They protest against Sabbath laws and non-taxation of churches. If the Protestant Christian Amendment should prevail, it would carry the nation back to the Middle Ages. This Protestant plan points to Rome, and Rome means a state of affairs of which we of to-day can have no conception. To counteract these tendencies, Liberals should organize in every town and city of the land, and educate the people in the secular principle, which demands schools free from all Christian control whatever. Mr. Abbot did not believe in taxing Catholics for the Protestant religion, or Protestants for the Catholic religion, or Liberals

for the religion of either. He desired all schools secularized so as to make good citizens, each man free to think and act for himself in profound respect for the equal rights of his neighbor.

Dr. Bartol said that he took great pleasure in listening to one whose words came from as great enthusiasm in his heart as clearness in his head. But to him it was a tragic speech. It seemed that there was no escape from being pierced to death. There had been three alternatives presented. The Catholic must have his way; or the Protestant his way; or the Liberal his way. He thought there was a fourth alternative. There was a possibility that both Catholic and Protestant ought and would yield, and the Liberal would yield his demand for a merely secular education. He himself believed that religion could not be excluded anywhere. Education cannot be, and be secular in the sense of being irreligious or unreligious. The religious element cannot be left out. There is a common religion that should be expressed. Our children should be taught in the schools that there is a power, an inner, upper, higher power, which is religion in its true sense; and every man, atheist included, is conscious of its presence. Certain inevitable laws exist, and it matters not what name we call them. Catholic and Protestant have been taught to believe that certain forms belong to religion, but that does not make it so; and they can be made to see and yield this point. He did not believe the churches would carry their point so far as Mr. Abbot had represented. There was an old saying, "Take the things of God, and show them unto the men." Natural rights cannot be maintained without this sense of the infinite. We must teach the real religion of the facts and constitution of human nature. Thus assailing the Protestants, we should put them in a bad box of logic; and it would be a bad box for Romanists. They could no longer cry, "Godless," or "irreligious," and yet no man's conscience would be invaded. We would have religion in its highest sense, in school and in government. No paper religion, no religion of forms and symbols; but a religion that comes from the heart pure and simple, and means *hard-money morals*.

Mrs. Cheney remarked that Dr. Bartol's natural religion had nothing to do with the subject practically. Both Catholic and Protestant deny and decry it. We were obliged to meet them on their own ground, and insist that they should not bring their religion into the concerns of the State. The common ground on which all could stand was the secular principle. If religion is as Dr. Bartol describes it, it will find its way. The State can no more usurp the functions of the Church than the Church can those of the State. Mrs. Cheney thought that through Free Religion the various points now at issue between creeds would be amicably settled before the close of the nineteenth century. Ground must be maintained where the various religions and beliefs of all the nations of the earth can meet on equality. No distinctions should be made that would exclude good teachers from the schools. She referred to cases where they had been excluded, because they conscientiously refused to read the Bible or make a prayer in school. Her experience in the freedmen's schools was that the liberal teachers were the most successful, and the light of their characters were shed so buoyantly over the poor scholars in their charge that the pupils were lifted up to a higher level of morality and usefulness. In regard to the near approach of danger from an irrepressible conflict between the religious factions, Mrs. Cheney did not take quite the position of Mr. Abbot, although she believed danger did exist, and should be prepared for. No one could have foretold ten years previous to 1865 that the liberation of the slaves was so near at hand. Yet the crisis came and was met; and what Mr. Abbot has described may come, yet not so soon as to cause immediate alarm.

Mr. Frothingham closed the meeting by summing up the remarks of the other speakers, indicating the completeness of the range the discussion had taken.

The evening session was devoted to an essay by John Weiss, on "The Work of Religion," after which the convention adjourned. Many of those who were present remained for a time enjoying themselves in a social manner. A more complete report of Mr. Weiss' address than there is room for in this issue will, if possible, be given next week, copied from the Worcester *Daily Spy*. It should be said that this journal gave excellent, full, and very fair reports of the whole proceedings.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

AN APPEAL.

INDUSTRIAL TEMPORARY HOME, {
375 Tremont St., Boston, Nov. 12, 1875. }

MR. EDITOR:

Sir,—Will you permit me, as Superintendent of the "Industrial Temporary Home," to state a few facts in reference to our institution? It was opened about eight weeks ago, and during that time we have received two hundred persons who have paid for their food and lodging in work. During the same period we have turned from our doors a much larger number, probably five hundred persons, or an average of about ten a day. We have constantly about thirty-five persons lodging and eating in our Home, and about forty-five eating and not lodging. The labor performed has been principally making baskets, reseating cane chairs, preparing kindling wood, repairing boots and shoes, renovating mattresses, repairing furniture, and doing jobs by the hour for outside parties. By far the larger part of the persons received have been of American parentage. They are principally young men, in the prime of life, and of good general appearance; and many of them are very intelligent. We have no difficulty in getting them to work, and scarcely ever find one who refuses

to perform any task allotted him. So far from witnessing this refusal, as evil prognosticators assured us would be the case, we find it one of the hardest tasks we have ever known to refuse so many every day who beg and entreat earnestly for the privilege of labor. We are thus endeavoring to solve on a small scale "what shall be done with the tramps." We say, send all applicants for charity to our institution, and along with them send a liberal order for kindling wood, which we will deliver at your doors. In this way the difficult problem will be easily solved, and, in the words of Chief Savage, we shall have "provided some way by which the applicants for relief and shelter could, if not sick or physically incapacitated, be made to give a return of some kind, even if the work done gives no proper equivalent for what he has received." Let those who really wish to see this experiment fully tested give us the means of doing it, instead of theorizing on the subject, while hundreds of hungry persons are begging for the privilege of entering such an institution. There is wealth enough expended every day in charity in our city to sustain a number of institutions like ours. If the means are furnished us, we can employ and board all the time one hundred persons, and gradually prepare them for a permanent residence on farms or in the country. We rejoice to perceive that our views concerning the propriety of providing work for the most needy of the unemployed are spreading so fast, and being adopted by intelligent philanthropists everywhere, and especially that an institution so blessed with wealth and influence as the Industrial Aid Society has recently resolved to enlarge its sphere of action, and adopt in part this method of operation, and so "provide for the prevention of the dangers and evils which are entailed by the presence and acts of the vagrant class."

It is idle to assert that because people are poor they will not work. If the gentleman who experienced so much difficulty in having his fires lighted at Deer Island will call at our Home, we will show him nearly forty persons who will spring with alacrity to light a fire, or do any other kind of work required of them. Many of our men begin work at sawing wood by six o'clock in the morning, and fifty men would at once take their places, or work by candle-light until nine at night, if we would let them. These are the men who want to work.

We have public meetings, for our inmates and others, twice on Sunday and three evenings during the week; and any one who doubts the intellectual character of some of these persons would do well to visit our "Literary Society and Debating Club," which meets every Friday evening for debates, essays, readings, declamations, etc. We ask the public to assist us in every possible way, and not wait for the city to do the work which is already being done without the aid of the city.

We are glad to see that so many good men and women in the city approve of our efforts and are ready to help us. We return our sincere and heartfelt thanks to the large number of persons who have so liberally aided us, and would commend to their confidence our agents, Mrs. Dr. Lula Mulliken, Mr. H. Noble, Mr. G. Gay, and Mr. D. Sargent, who together with Rev. Wm. Bradley, our treasurer Rev. H. C. Dunham, and our superintendent C. Stearns, are the only persons at present authorized to collect funds for our institution. We are happy to state that Rev. Wm. Bradley, of Jamaica Plain, has been invited to become the lecturing agent of the association, and it is hoped that he will accept.

Per order of Executive Committee.
C. STEARNS, Sec'y and Sup't of the Home.

[We have no doubt whatever of the high usefulness of this young institution, which needs no words of ours to commend it to the rich and charitable. It tells its own story in the above practical and earnest words.—ED.]

THE JESUITS IN CHINA.

In a letter sent from Canton, mention was made of the Cathedral going up there, which is to cost three million dollars. We learn that another, quite as magnificent and costly, is being erected at Peking; also, that in nearly every important city of the empire churches are being erected. The Jesuits are in China in great force. Here comes one of their priests, a Frenchman, wearing Chinese clothing, with a pigtail hanging down his back. He has become a Chinaman, following to the letter the apostolic example and precept—becoming all things to all men, to accomplish the end in view. The Jesuits throughout the empire have adopted the dress, the habits and customs of the Chinese—eating as they eat, sleeping as they sleep, shaving the forehead and not the crown, just as the Chinese have theirs.

Your readers will remember that two hundred years ago the Jesuits were numerous throughout the empire, but upon the accession of a new dynasty they were driven from the kingdom, and their property confiscated. But through all these long years Rome has had her eyes open. When the French brought forward the treaty lately signed between France and China, one article stipulated that all the property confiscated two hundred years ago should be restored to the Jesuits.

"It is impossible," said the Emperor's ministers. "It must be done," was the reply of the French commission.

"Who can tell where it was situated? How can it be identified? There have been great commotions—a great many changes since then. We cannot find it," said the ministers.

"Of course there may be some difficulty; but if the Fathers of the Church can identify the property, your Highnesses will restore it," said the bland commissioners.

"Oh, yes; if they can show that it was once owned by the Church," was the reply, and the article went into the treaty.

A few months later the Fathers appeared at Peking with a great bundle of title-deeds and documents, yellowed by the time and mouldy from their long repose in the archives of the Propaganda at Rome.

The Emperor's ministers were confounded, but there was no help for it; and so the Church to-day is in possession of immense estates in nearly every city of the empire.

The other day, while walking through the streets of the old city of Shanghai, Rev. Mr. Yates pointed out long ranges of buildings which had been restored to the Jesuits under that article of the treaty. The income from these estates is enormous. No estimate can be made of the amount, which is known only to the Fathers, who keep their own counsel.

The Jesuits are having great success in this empire. The forms and ceremonies of the Buddhist religion are so much like those of the Roman Catholic that one can hardly tell the difference. A Chinaman entering a Protestant Church sees no gods, images, nor pictures, and he comes to the conclusion that the Protestants are altogether godless; but he enters a Jesuit Church, and sees a better class of images than he is accustomed to worship, pictures more pleasing than those upon the walls of his own temples. He sees the priests of the altar in gorgeous robes, inhales sweeter incense than that ascending from the joss-sticks. The music of the choir, the deep-toned organ, is more than the rub-a-dub of the drums. Is it any wonder that the churches are thronged at morning mass, or at the hour for vespers?

Rome takes long looks ahead. She is educating for the future. Foundlings are picked up by the hundred and thousand; poor parents sell their children for a trifle, parting with them that they may be educated by the priest. A few years hence these foundlings will be traversing the hills and valleys, stopping at all the villages, setting up schools, and carrying on the work of the Church.

A gentleman of Shanghai, one who has been long in the country, who can speak the language, who has travelled through several of the provinces dressed as a Chinaman, in search of coal, and iron, and other materials, has had excellent opportunities for observation, and his opinion is worthy of consideration. He says:—

"Of the missionary effort put forth in China, at least ninety per cent. is by the Catholics."

The restoration of the confiscated property has given the Church of Rome great vantage ground. The priests have been pressing the Imperial Government in another direction. The French Minister has obtained an imperial decree permitting the priests to decide all questions of law between Chinese Catholics and those who still adhere to the Chinese religion. Secretly and persistently, constantly they are laboring to obtain possession of China. So high a personage as Sir John Bowring, who was here for a long while, and whom I had the pleasure of meeting last August at the meeting of the British Association, expresses the opinion that Romanism stands a fair chance of obtaining possession of this vast empire. Certainly Rome is working with a zeal, energy, singleness of purpose, and far-sightedness which may challenge admiration.—*Cor. Boston Journal.*

REV. GEORGE DAWSON, of Birmingham, Eng., does not think highly of shams, and mentions several varieties. One is the requests for prayers, sent up to preachers by members of the congregation. Mr. Dawson said: One was for two sisters, "that the Lord would now appear for them, and find them a home; they are wholly cast on the Lord." Forbid it that he should not think they were sincere. He did not blame the sisters for sending the prayer, but he blamed the theological teachers who could teach them to do so. "They were wholly cast on the Lord." Why did they need prayer from ten thousand people when the Lord knew that? Why did they require the noisy spirit, the ostentation, and the vulgar attempt to augment forces, and get ten thousand women in a cattle-market to pray for two sisters who had wholly cast themselves on the Lord? Again: "Prayers requested for a young Christian in great difficulties that appear to be insurmountable." If all the humorists that had ever lived had clubbed together to write something, they could not have equalled in absurdity the next request: "Prayers are requested for a gentleman purchasing an estate, that he may not make it an idol." He asked them to suspect him not. He did not make this—he had not genius enough. "Prayers requested for a gentleman purchasing an estate, that he may not make it an idol!" If he knew that gentleman, he might be of use to him. He should have said to him, Don't purchase it; then you won't run any risk. He must say that a piece of more fulsome, egregious cant was never turned out before God and man than the unctuous, greasy, vulgar ostentatiousness of that fellow when he informed an assembly that he was purchasing an estate. Then prayers were requested "for a dear father, who has been a chapel-goer for many years, and is still an unsaved sinner." Was not this a delicious picture of humility on the part of some pious son or daughter? But what a fine touch for the preacher at the chapel, and how ineffectual had been the means of grace!—*Golden Age.*

IN SPRINGFIELD there is a store that makes a practice of having a sort of bulletin hung out with a funny cartoon. On Monday there was a picture full length of Tilton, easily recognized, and over it. "This man had a suit that cost him \$75,000, and lasted him only six months. We will sell one for \$7.50 that will last twelve months." Mr. Tilton saw it, and had a hearty laugh as he stopped and read it.

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

LITANIES.

BY S. H. MORSE.

I.

Thy God is wise
There in the skies.
Oh! call him hither, quickly, do,
That we may know if this be black or blue.
II.
The God all-wise
Hath loaned thee eyes:
Why call on him to come to thee
Who never from his throne didst deign to flee?

Go thee up and help the God;
Naught can he do without thy aid.
He may mould him flowers from sod,
But, moulding thee, waits for thy nod.

Who shall tell me? None; not one.
Wiseest wit hath nothing done.
Never beats my heart surprise;
Nothing new beneath the sun;
Sense doth naught but show me lies.

Free I am to see behind
Shows that count on me as blind.
Soul-lit eyes peer on the blank—
Nothing there? They nothing find;
Yet abides the All I thank.

Good we draw from devious ways;
Wisdom for all hearts that long
Rest to find in knowing all:
Yet is heard the pauper's call.

GUIBORD AT THE GATE.

Scene: Parapet of Paradise; principal gate. Time: Morning.

(Enter Joseph Guibord, c. o.)

JOSEPH GUIBORD SPEAKS:

Hail, holy father, gladly I salute you!
Painfully have I sought your sacred presence;
Hoist your portcullis, warder; don't mind my
Incomplete apparel.

ST. PETER SPEAKS:

Joseph, you ghost, you! tell me where your bones are;
No harbor here for people without bodies!
Why have you left your skeleton behind you?
Who's got your baggage?

Didst thou forget it, suddenly awaking?
Didst, impecunious, sell it to the devil?
Or, in desperation, lend it to your uncle?
Speak, wretched mollusk!

GUIBORD SPEAKS:

Father, I've neither spouted it nor sold it;
Yet had to leave it on my native planet;
They mobbed my widow when she tried to put it
In the cemetery.

Good, pious people fought around my body,—
Fought six years, with curses, fire, and axes;
Finally one set buried it and piled ten
Tons of rock upon it.

Other set one night prowled around and got it;
Filled up the hole; turfed it over nicely;
Carried off the bones to a mill adjacent—
Ground them into phosphates.

ST. PETER SPEAKS:

Come in, Joseph! You are one of our folks!
Victim of folly and of superstition!
Joseph, pardon my keeping you a-standing
Out in the cold there.

Earth seems just as full of fools as ever!
Poor creed-mongers couldn't let your bones rest;
I'll make it sultry if they come around here
Fooling with the knocker.

W. A. C.

—Daily Graphic, Nov. 13.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 20.

Henry A. Dean, \$10; S. S. Wemott, \$10; Alphonso Taft, \$10; Benj. R. Tucker, \$10; G. F. Matthes, \$10; A. G. Booth, \$4.15; T. L. Kimball, \$5.50; Chas. Coventry, \$3.25; J. C. Klotz, \$5; T. H. Knowles, \$10; T. D. James, \$16.80; J. M. Martin, \$3.20; J. E. Haynes, \$3.20; H. N. Winslow, \$3.50; W. A. Potter, 25 cents; Chas. A. Marks, 60 cents; D. Y. Kilgore, \$5; Edwin Brown, \$10; Nathaniel Little, \$10; Adolph Werner, \$10; Morris Einstein, \$10; J. G. Richardson, \$10; W. J. Potter, \$70; A. Folsom, \$50; Mrs. O. W. Bird, \$3.20; B. C. Ward, \$3.20; O. A. Farwell, \$3.20; W. Kennedy, \$2; W. H. Morris, \$3.20; A. J. Warner, \$3.20; Pulaski Carter, \$1; A. Elliott, \$3.25; S. Wilkinson, \$3.50; C. A. Miller, 10 cents; Geo. A. Denison, 20 cents; Peter Sidebotham, \$10; George E. Francis, \$4; Henry W. Brown, \$3; Wm. H. Hunt, \$3.20; Geo. W. Julian, \$3.20; F. Egbert, \$3.20; D. Créhanne, \$3.20; B. A. Ballou, \$1.20; S. W. Sample, \$2; J. P. Cooke, 10 cents; Ira W. Castle, 10 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 25, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E.
D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRANCIS
W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE
(England), DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

SAYS a kind correspondent: "I travel in the car to Boston every morning from my place, and below me is —; and from that place there are several likely young fellows on the same train who were brought up under the cruel system of Orthodoxy. But such hungry fellows for THE INDEX you never saw!"

MR. VOYSEY's friends in this country will be interested to learn that he is about to start a new magazine in London, with the assistance of Prof. Newman, Miss Cobbe, and other distinguished contributors. Further information will be given when received; but it is pleasant to know that Mr. Voysey will be "backed up by a rich friend."

CANNOT you form a club of five new subscribers to THE INDEX, among your own friends and acquaintance? To clubs of five new subscribers the paper will be sent for a year at \$2.50 each; to clubs of ten new subscribers, at \$2.00 each. An extra copy will be sent free to the getter-up of the club. This reduction cannot be made to any whose names are now on our mail-list, as it is made in the hope that such new subscribers will renew at regular rates. Now is the time to help THE INDEX, if you really value its ideas and aims.

RUMORS having been set in circulation that THE INDEX is to suspend publication very soon, it is necessary to say that such rumors are untrue. It has struggled through great difficulties more than once; it has seen days much darker than these; and, although the "hard times" have proved especially "hard" to daily and weekly journals of all descriptions, we deny emphatically that there is now any necessity or intention of suspending the publication of THE INDEX, or of transferring the editorial management of it to other hands. So far as anything human can be considered certain, subscribers may be certain that they will receive the equivalent of their subscriptions as heretofore. But we could make the paper a great deal better than it is, if we had the necessary means at command; and we still hope to make it as good as its cause deserves. With the return of general prosperity, we cannot but believe that the friends of THE INDEX will enable it to do more than merely sustain the high reputation it already enjoys both in America and Europe.

A SUBSCRIBER, writing from New York city, inquires: "Have you any Free Religious Catechism, or do you think of getting up anything in that way, by which we radicals may teach our children what we do believe regarding creation, evolution, sacred literature (Hebrew, Buddhist, etc.)? The simple denial of Orthodoxy is a very negative and unsatisfactory style of information for the children. While continuing the work of destruction in the field of discussion, cannot we be doing a satisfactory constructive work with the children? Have you given any thought to such a production in popular form, tract or otherwise? Will not our theology prove as *not-ty* as a pine plank sawed from a small log, unless something of the sort be done?" Our correspondent points out a great lack in our literature which ought to be supplied by some qualified person who has the requisite leisure—not for the purpose of making a new creed, but of condensing positive knowledge of this order in a form adapted to the minds of children. Clodd's *Childhood of the World* (price 75 cents), and Frothingham's *Child's Book of Religion* (price \$1.00) are each very excellent of their kind, and may partially meet the special want pointed out, though the field is too vast to be covered by anything yet published. Oral instruction by parents cannot be dispensed with; and the need of radical Sunday-schools is felt more keenly every day.

THE WORK OF FREE RELIGION.

The extended (though not *verbatim*) report of the convention of the Free Religious Association at Worcester which is published in a previous part of this issue will doubtless be read by all who are interested in the free religious movement. We do not remember a pleasanter, more enjoyable, or more successful gathering of the kind. The Association's friends in Worcester were exceedingly hospitable and cordial, and have the sincere thanks of all who received their generous attentions; the audiences, which were very good in point of numbers and attention, contributed more than enough to defray all necessary local expenses (the speakers defraying all their personal expenses, as usual); and the local papers, particularly the *Spy*, gave full and impartial reports of the proceedings. The opening address of Mr. Frothingham, notwithstanding the fact that he had been all day and was still suffering from a severe headache, was in our judgment the best extempore speech we ever heard him deliver, being strong, direct, and earnest in a remarkable degree, and commanding great sympathy and admiration; and the essays and addresses of the other speakers were animated by the same spirit. Everybody regretted the absence of Col. Higginson, who was unable to attend, and whose eloquence at such meetings can ill be spared. Altogether, the occasion was one to strengthen our faith in the essential value and necessity of the Association's work.

What is this work? What is the work of Free Religion? It is worth while honestly to ask ourselves this question, when some ignorantly or wilfully belittle Free Religion as merely one of many special reforms, while others deny that it is reform in any sense or contemplates anything but a total destruction of all things true, elevating, and sacred.

This, then, is the work of Free Religion—to deepen human consciousness of a commanding IDEAL of human nature, and to stimulate human effort to realize this ideal, both in the individual and in society, through the attainment of larger truth than the world has yet known, grander virtue than men have ever practised, wiser and purer and freer social conditions than have ever yet existed. In other words, its work is to elevate the personal and social character of the race, partly by inducing a stronger personal endeavor in the direction of symmetrical development and noble use of all our faculties, and partly by improving or changing all institutions, laws, and customs just as rapidly as a possible amelioration of them can be clearly made manifest. The inward self-consecration of our entire being to the pursuit of all ideal excellence is *Religion*; the social state which always helps and never hinders this pursuit is *Freedom*; the securing of them both is the work of *Free Religion*, which concentrates all its energies on the higher evolution of humanity in accordance with the laws of universal Nature.

If this is an intelligible statement, it will be seen that the special objects immediately aimed at by Free Religion are—(1) the increase of the knowledge of truth, and (2) the direct application of this knowledge to personal and social advancement. Nothing, therefore, could be more foolish than to treat Free Religion as a "special reform," on the one hand, or to deny that it is the very essence of all reform, on the other. Without knowledge, all blind efforts at reform degenerate into some new species of tyranny, fanaticism, or folly; with knowledge, all reforms become possible. By making the discovery of truth, the advancement of science, the increase of human knowledge in each and every direction its first and all-important object, Free Religion proves itself to be absolutely universal, and not "special"; while, by making the practical application of truth to our imperfect human conditions a sacred religious duty, it proves itself to be the pervading spirit and presiding genius of all real reforms. This is the Free Religion which THE INDEX was founded to advocate,—which it has advocated from the start with all its mind and all its soul and all its heart and all its strength,—and which it means to advocate so long as the staunch adherence of its friends shall give it power to do so.

Two dangers, however, beset Free Religion on opposite sides.

On the one hand is the tendency to elevate what we have once concluded to be truth into a fixed standard or unchangeable creed, and to hold it as sacred from all criticism. This is the danger of dogmatism, to which many who think themselves free fall victims. The truly free mind holds nothing sacred from criticism, discussion, examination, and (if possible) refutation; his most precious convictions he cherishes solely on the warrant of reason,

and he knows that reason throws open all questions to those that can open them; and he suspects himself at once of profound infidelity to truth, if he finds himself dreading or refusing or shrinking from the application of critical inquiry to his dearest beliefs. No man can be loyal to the spirit or ideas of Free Religion who thus exempts from examination any of his conclusions, no matter how closely twined about them may be his affections, his hopes, his aspirations; for he knows that truth, which is so much vaster than his own imperfect thought, is the only infinitely precious possession which the universe offers to him. Hence he will unhesitatingly go and sell all that he hath to purchase this one pearl of great price. The danger of grasping too wilfully and doggedly the convictions he has already reached is, therefore, a danger against which he will guard himself most conscientiously.

On the other hand is the tendency, after repeated experiences of change of opinion, to lose all tenacity of grasp on our convictions, to come to consider truth in itself as merely a series of dissolving views without objective reality, and to become so confused by subjective changes as to forget that truth is never absolutely attained, but approached only by successive approximations. This is the danger of general mental flabbiness, disintegration of the intellectual fibres, reduction to the state of hopeless vacillation and imbecility. That through a great variety of successive stages a conviction may be gradually evolving itself into a purer and truer form, and that its essential truth survives them all, is something not understood by such minds, which, being themselves without convictions, feel a profound distaste for those who have them, and confound all tenacious cherishing of them with dogmatism or intolerance. If to this intellectual indecisiveness and feebleness be added a decided tendency to sentimentalism, a general gush of enthusiasm without specific direction, a vast, vague, and effusive aspiration towards nothing in particular, then there is presented the spectacle of what might be described as the religious jelly-fish, floating on a flood of mere emotion at the mercy of the tide, and getting a precarious spiritual livelihood by dangling its tentacles in all directions.

Against these two dangers—the one of grasping convictions so strongly as to become rigid and dogmatic, the other of grasping them so feebly as to become flabby and sentimental—it is the work of Free Religion to guard men, to inspire them with an intense hunger for positive knowledge as the necessary antecedent of all true reform, and to brace their minds and wills for the application of it to the elevation of mankind. Is it not the object of all search for truth to *attain* it, and, when attained, to *use* it? Men without conclusions respecting truth are of little positive value in promoting social evolution; men with conclusions are socially and evolutionally of value precisely in proportion to the truth of their conclusions and to the degree of their influence in getting them practically applied. Free Religion, then, aims primarily at the truth; next, at its incorporation in individual character and conduct, and in the social institutions of all kinds which so largely influence these. If there is anything better than Free Religion to live for or to work for, we hope the wise will not neglect to instruct us in it; but if there is not, may the cause of Free Religion become dearer and dearer to the souls of men!

REMINISCENCES.

When THE INDEX was started about six years ago, it did not think it necessary to make a place for itself by indulging in misrepresentation and detraction of other journals. It was satisfied to state its own objects and aims in a dignified manner, leaving the public to institute their own comparisons, and making no false and ungenerous insinuations of any sort. How far it has been faithful to its original purpose, and whether this purpose is intrinsically narrow or partisan, the public, reading the subjoined extract from the Prospectus issued in November, 1869, will be able to judge for themselves without our aid:—

THE INDEX will aim at a two-fold object, positive and negative.

It will aim, above all things, to increase pure and genuine RELIGION in the world,—to develop a nobler spirit and higher purpose both in society and the individual. It will aim, at the same time, to increase FREEDOM in the world,—to destroy every species of spiritual slavery, to expose every form of superstition, to encourage independence of thought and action in all matters that concern belief, character, or conduct. It will, in short, be devoted to the cause of FREE RELIGION, which it proposes to advocate with the utmost ability and moral earnestness it can command.

Without limiting itself to any of the great reformatory movements of the time, it proposes to work for them all in the most efficient way, by fostering the *spirit of reform*, and by uprooting every conservative prejudice by which reform is checked. Uncompromising, fearless, radical, it will put faith in ideas, and work for them openly, regardless of all consequences. Its only policy will be strong thought and plain speech. It will neither seek nor shun to "shock" the religious nerve. Standing squarely outside of Christianity, it will yet aim to be just to it, recognizing its excellences, noting its defects. It will pay no deference to the authority of the Bible, the Church, or the Christ, but rest solely on the authority of right reason and good conscience. It will trust no revelation but that of universal human faculties. It will accept every certified result of science, philosophy, and historical criticism, asking no question what it proves. Briefly, it will seek the truth and work for humanity, believing that man, who makes all institutions, can remake or unmake them as well, and that he is abundantly able to take care of himself, without the help of kingcraft or priestcraft.

THE INDEX will be the organ of no party in politics and no sect in religion. The editor will speak for himself alone, and so will each contributor; neither will commit the other. The only tests in the acceptance of articles will be ability, fairness, courtesy, and pure moral tone; in the application of these tests, the editor will take all responsibility. No article will be rejected because of its opinions as such. Theism and Atheism, Spiritualism and Materialism, Transcendentalism and Positivism, Free Religion and Christianity—in short, every phase of earnest thought—shall have a fair chance to be heard, and on equal terms.

It is a cause for satisfaction to remember that THE INDEX had only appreciative and admiring words to utter with respect to Mr. Morse's *Radical*, the only other publication at that time which could possibly be considered its rival, and the discontinuance of which a few years later was a public loss regretted by none more sincerely than by THE INDEX and its supporters. The very first issue of THE INDEX, which contained the above Prospectus, contained also this paragraph:—

We would call especial attention to the "RADICAL EXTRA," which we received with the December number of this very able periodical, and the larger part of which we print on our last page. THE RADICAL and THE INDEX will be co-workers in the same general movement,—the one as a monthly magazine, the other as a weekly paper. Five years of admirable service have proved the worth of THE RADICAL in the estimation of the liberal public; and now, when it enters on its sixth year, we sincerely hope that it will be with a doubled subscription list. Whoever takes and intelligently reads it cannot fail to be instructed by it; and we recommend it to every thoughtful person as worth ten times the money it costs.

ON WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE AND MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—At first I thought the matter was too small between Mrs. Besant and the (English) Woman's Suffrage Society to trouble you by my interference; but the renewed mention seems to give it importance. What I desire to call attention to is this: that that is being treated as a religious controversy which is not properly such; whence an entire confusion results.

I agree with Mrs. Besant that the Hebrew and the Christian Scriptures alike fail of giving to the female sex its due rights and rank. I have more than once urged this in print, without any relation at all to political questions. Nevertheless, I would on no account at an English meeting for Woman's Suffrage bring this topic forward, simply because I believe it would do harm to the cause; and if I thought otherwise, I should still justify a committee, who believed it could only promote division and controversy, in overruling and forbidding me; not on account of the argument being religious, but on a much wider principle, which applies to nearly all our voluntary societies, whose business is, not to diffuse truth in general, but to effect some definite, very limited result.

When five hundred or one thousand persons combine for some sharply defined purpose—say, the abolition of some noxious law,—and they have to overcome the vast inertia of an overworked Parliament, which represents thirty-two millions persons, and is responsible for two hundred and forty millions more in India, they can have truly little chance of success if they quarrel among themselves. A religious quarrel is only one of many possible; but not the mildest. It is not at all rare for a person to fancy that the very best argument for the end sought by a society is one which the majority of his allies think to be not only bad as argument, but suggestive of evil; or to be setting up a totally new controversy, which can only divert discussion from the matter in hand. It would be easy to illustrate this in detail. Those

who are responsible for the best use of moneys entrusted to them ought not to allow the expenses of a meeting to be wasted by some would-be friend, who, by his advocacy (ever so well meant), raises indignation in their most valuable speakers, and sets the whole audience into uproar.

I know nothing of the facts concerning Mrs. Besant but what I read in THE INDEX. Presuming their correctness, I unhesitatingly say that, while I agree with her that the Bible (Old and New) sustains and has sustained ancient error concerning the rank of women, yet if I had been on the committee of the Woman's Suffrage Society, I should have absolutely objected to Mrs. Besant introducing this topic, which I regard as irrelevant and even mischievous. Many Christians favorable to Woman's Suffrage deny that the New Testament teaches what both Mrs. Besant and I say it does. To undeceive them would only damage the cause of Woman's Suffrage. If we undertake that task, it must be on some other platform. No one must be allowed to work for some favorite purpose of his own, under the color of working for the specific and avowed purpose, while, in fact, he throws an apple of discord into the Society, to the delight of adversaries.

F. W. NEWMAN.

WESTON SUPER MARE.

THE REVIVAL AGAIN.

The fortunes of Moody and Sankey are not so swelling as their enthusiastic friends might desire. The reports of them are not unanimous, nor are anticipations from them equally sanguine even among "Evangelicals" themselves. The *Tribune*, steadily in these latter days, on the side of Orthodoxy versus Rationalism, and the popular faith versus the unpopular, daily prints glowing accounts of the meetings, declares that interest in them is spreading and deepening, and predicts bountiful harvests of godliness in the future from the multitudinous bushels of seed. The *Herald* and *Sun* are less confident. The cause of wonder to them is that nothing more is accomplished. It is hinted in their columns that the assemblages are less numerous and less enthusiastic than they were; that Mr. Moody's sermons lack variety and point; that Mr. Sankey is obliged to exert his artifices to an extent that betrays their poverty, and that the signs of spiritual renovation are not conspicuous. Which to believe, the outside observer cannot determine; neither, and both, perhaps. The *Sun* is perhaps the most independent, and therefore the most trustworthy, of the three; but the *Sun* carries its independence to the point of viciousness, and is as cross-grained in its bluntness of honesty as others may be in their Orthodoxy of prejudice.

Until recently the complaint was made, and by Mr. Moody himself, that none but comfortable Christians in good church standing came to his meetings. (If he did not want such, why were the meetings appointed at hours when the churches were closed?) The *Herald* remarked on the well-to-do aspect of the crowds; the display of silk and jewelry; the first-class character of the bonnets. It was somewhat too evident that the byways and hedges had not sent their fair share of candidates for the supper. The Evangelists were tickling ears that much pulpiting had made thick, the drum-heads whereof beat no roll call to the slumbering souls.

The sinners were therefore separately invited; not as sinners, that would have been discourteous; not as unbelievers, that might have given offence; but as men and women who had not availed themselves of the privilege of church-membership, as non-churchgoers. The meetings were crowded again; but how largely by the same audience that made them respectable before has not been estimated. Nor has the effect of this appeal to the ungodly been recorded. It is too soon as yet to measure the results in the decrease of gambling, prostitution, or drunkenness. But "the time is short." The campaign on Long Island is nearly ended, and solicitude is felt in regard to the progress of the revival when the Evangelists shall have left the city.

There is naturally much speculation on the attitude, present and future, of Mr. Beecher. The *Ædipus* who is to read the riddle of that sphinx has not appeared. Mr. Beecher professes a deep interest in the movement, looks into the meetings as a spectator, makes them the subject of his lecture-room talk, and advises that the churches—his church in particular—should wait till the Evangelists are gone, before taking up the movement on their own account. In one sentence he thanks God that there is no theology in the business; in the next he lauds the performers because they do Christ's work in the good

old Puritan way, which was through and through theological, ignoring the fact that the theology is not spoken of simply because it is so profoundly taken for granted. Scratch the surface of Mr. Moody's harangues at any sentence, and the blood of the vicarious atonement spurts to the ceiling. The turmoil of conflicting emotions does not subside in gospel bosoms; for intelligence, and culture, and science, and knowledge of the social laws, have been quietly doing their work.

"Not poppy, nor mandragora,
Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world
Shall ever medicine them to that sweet sleep,
Which they ow'd yesterday."

Mr. Chadwick wrote a brave note to the *Sun* which had represented him as having assisted at one of the meetings. The editor was apparently rejoiced to get it, and has been more than willing to open his columns to more of the same sort from the same source. But at present there seems to be little need of more. Mr. Chadwick spoke the secret thought of many minds, and the thought will find expression in other ways. It still looks as if the efforts to raise a storm that must prove dangerous to radicalism were not likely to be successful. The gale may scatter the wrong fleet.

O. B. F.

[Mr. Frothingham desires me to add that, since the above was written, Mr. Beecher has shown a still more marked favor to the revivalists.—F. E. A.]

"NOT A DATE."

"Not one unripe date!" was Mohammed's reply to a powerful Christian tribe that offered to submit, if he would leave their chief some remnant of power. "Not one Bible in the public schools of Chicago!" is the reply of the School Board to the Christian petitioners to have that sacred volume reinstated. The vote stood ten against three. Henceforth the public schools of Chicago are to be unsectarian.

But how inexpressibly sad it is, when we think of those teachers whose feelings were so hurt by the exclusion of the Bible,—who can never more enjoy the blissful privilege of reading that holy book at the opening of the schools, and can only read it at home, at church, at Sunday-school, at the theatre, concert, exposition, and everywhere else! And those children who used to listen with such awe, eager attention, and supreme devotion, how they will sink into ungodliness, dissipation, and crime! And that woman who canvassed for names on the petition-list at two cents a name,—may the Christian clergy of the city see that she is rewarded for her pious zeal! And those little children and servant-girls, who signed that petition of the "prominent citizens of Chicago," how they deserve to be rewarded in the next world, if not in this, for their conscientious discharge of a sacred duty! But, sad as it is to reflect on these things, we will try to be reconciled to the will of Providence as manifest through the Chicago School Board. May God elsewhere thus manifest himself in the flesh!

W. H. S.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—What are you all doing in America, and whither is the stream of thought tending? It seems to me either that Orthodoxy is again in the ascendant, or else a miserable and unmanly indifference is taking its place.

THE INDEX now, after all these years of certainly honest, if not quite temperate, speech, is not having the run which might have been fairly expected of it, considering the immense amount of cant talked about "freedom of thought" and outspokenness in general. Had the paper been narrow and one-sided, expressing only and exclusively ultra-radical principles, there would have been reason enough for its being accepted only by a small and narrow circle of readers. But the editorial staff was surely a sufficient guarantee against any such narrowness, embracing as it does, not only yourself, but also several who differ widely from some of your own views. Further still in the direction of liberality and comprehensiveness, you have admitted letters by the score disputing your own and our propositions in turn, and presenting, if ever a paper could do so, an infinite variety of opinion—and all in the hope of eliciting the truth!

Then, again, when have you or your assistants been dogmatic? I know it is an unworthy but common trick of disputants to accuse each other of "dogmatizing," whenever they rise to a tone of earnestness in expressing their respective convictions; but this tone is not dogmatic, unless the speaker adds to his own convictions some claim of external authority to which he has no right. Personal

assurance of the truth of any statement is not dogmatism. Trying to force that statement on other people by authority is dogmatism.

Your INDEX may be dull to the thoughtless, and dry to the unintelligent; but to men and women who boast of their powers of reflection, and brag much of their right to think for themselves, there is ample food in your columns, both digestible and savory. If there be any fault, it lies perhaps in the discussion of topics which, for the masses, are still premature; we are possibly agitating too soon, before previous questions are properly settled. But this fault, if it be a fault, would only affect the circulation of THE INDEX among those who made but little claim to be accounted freethinkers. It ought to be a recommendation to those who regard themselves as the pioneers of enlightenment, and as heroic explorers of the untried and the unknown. Those who are just beginning to be unsettled in their views, and those, on the other hand, who have settled down in atheism, may alike object to the freedom of THE INDEX; the former because it presents a diversity and an extreme simply shocking to the Orthodox mind; the latter because it is still free, and maintains the devout attitude of an inquirer into religious truth.

The conditions of thought in America take me wholly by surprise. I declare to you that we are better off in Europe, even in England and Scotland; and I wish you would write yourself and tell us all about it. Has THE INDEX any rival? Is there any weekly paper which even pretends to occupy the same platform or collection of platforms?

The other day I learned with deep regret of the death of the *Golden Age*, a paper which seemed to come nearer to my idea of a religious journal than any other I know of, not excepting THE INDEX; and yet New York itself could not keep it going. Since Mr. Tilton's retirement, the paper had dropped its political virulence, and, better still, had banished free love-ism with all its nastiness. Under the late editor, Mr. Clarke, it was full of "sweetness and light," and as broad as any heart could wish. But no; the Americans do not like that kind of religion. It is not narrow enough for some; it is too religious for others. What are you coming to next?

I dare say my good friends over there will be extremely indignant with me for taking the country thus to task; but I write much more for my own enlightenment than to upbraid them. I really want to know how the land lies—whether you are all going back into Orthodoxy, or have already plunged beneath the waves of infidelity or (to give it its right name) atheism.

You, sir, cannot be accused of any personal motives in the course you have pursued in your connection with THE INDEX. If you desire it to spread and to succeed, it is for the benefit it may confer on others and not upon yourself. Is this an element of failure or of success? On the answer given by your countrymen hangs their own condemnation. If it be an element of failure to be reckless of temporal losses through a courageous honesty, all the worse for your would-be subscribers; if, on the other hand, honesty be the best policy, why on earth do not your countrymen give proof of it?

I have time for only one more reflection on the present unsatisfactory state of things. I look upon the indifference and the atheism which prevail as the direct fruits of the so-called religious training of the present generation. Insincerity and atheism were cradled in the Christian churches. Fathers and mothers have allowed their children to be taught as divine truth what they themselves disbelieved,—have trained them to conform outwardly to religious observances which they themselves secretly despised; and the result is only what one might have expected,—a worldly indifference to anything so troublesome as religious inquiry, or a profound disgust at, and denial of, all religious thought and associations. Will THE INDEX help to cure it? Can it possibly do so? I think it can do much, if only it avoids unfair and extravagant accusation on one side, and does not allow philosophical grubs to eat away the roots of religion on the other.

I am, sir, very truly yours,
CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMPDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S.E., Nov. 6, 1875.

IT IS SO EASY to love a child. What can one not pardon in a child? One forgives him for being a lord, a prince, a king. The innocence of his age makes one forget the crime of race; the feebleness of the creature causes one to overlook the exaggeration of rank. He is so little that one forgives him for being great. The slave forgives him for being his master. The old negro idolizes the white nursing.—*Victor Hugo.*

Communications.

CATHOLICISM IN AMERICA.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I had thought that our amicable discussion of the "Catholic question" was closed; but the issue seems so much befogged by recent publications in your paper, and your comments thereon, that I hope you will permit me another brief statement of the case as I understand it.

On the main question we do not differ. The public schools are to be maintained at all hazards; the school fund is everywhere to be protected from division or sectarian appropriation, and the schools are to be rendered strictly secular, by removing all Bible-reading and religious instruction therefrom.

Our only difference is this: I deprecate the forced discussion of the first two articles of the above platform, by means of indiscriminate assaults on the Democratic party, or the Catholics as a whole, as unjust, unnecessary, and calculated to postpone the very ends we have in view.

My reason for deprecating this discussion is that these unjust assaults on Democrats and Catholics, indiscriminately, will tend to unite in opposition to our fair demands those who are not now so united, and thus to defeat or greatly postpone the success of the effort we are making for the absolute secularization of our public schools.

In proof that neither Democrats nor Catholics are now united against us, I present the facts that nowhere has the Democratic party taken ground in favor of a division of the school fund or the abrogation of the public school system; but, on the contrary, in Ohio and elsewhere, it has taken emphatic ground for the complete secularization of the schools; that Senator Kernan and other representative men who are Catholics as well as Democrats, whose honesty and good faith are undoubted, place themselves also squarely on this ground; that many Catholics in New Jersey and elsewhere, where the question has come before the people in a definite form, have resisted the influence of their priests, and worked and voted for constitutional amendments which forever prohibit sectarian appropriations and a division of the school fund.

To this THE INDEX replies: first, that "Mr. Kernan stands in marked opposition to the Catholic clergy and Catholic press"; which is exactly what I have claimed. There are thousands of Catholics in this country besides Senator Kernan who are patriotic and intelligent enough to take the same stand, as has been abundantly demonstrated whenever this question has taken definite form before the people. Hence the injustice and unwisdom of assailing Catholics as a whole, and forcing a union against us where now there is division in our favor.

THE INDEX also replies that Mr. Kernan "is not a representative Catholic." I answer, He is a Catholic, and a representative man, and on this question undoubtedly represents an intelligent and influential minority of his own faith; else why the labored efforts of the *Catholic World* and other organs to convert these recalcitrant members of the Church? He as certainly "represents," in his opposition to a division of the school fund, an immense majority of the Democratic party, as has been demonstrated in every distinct issue that has been raised.

To this latter position, and in general opposition to my views, THE INDEX replies by calling attention to the "subjoined authentic record, with facts and figures"; the same being a history of sectarian (mainly Catholic) appropriations in this State, four or five years ago, under the rule of the "Tweed Ring," detailed in a partisan electioneering article from the *New York Times*.

When the *Times* published that editorial just before the election, it knew perfectly well that it was raising a false issue, as the following facts will show:—

In the first place, the "Tweed Ring" was thoroughly "wiped out" several years ago—routed, horse, foot, and dragons. There isn't enough left of it to make a respectable funeral. All honor to the *Times*, and no less to Governor Tilden and Senator Kernan, for their labors in destroying that monstrous combination! The Democratic party in this State is now controlled by the very men whose influence destroyed the "Tweed Ring"; and to hold them responsible for its deeds is the grossest injustice.

In the second place, when the people of New York, by more than fifty thousand majority, elected Tilden Governor, and sent Mr. Kernan to the United States Senate, they likewise, by enormous majorities, so amended our State Constitution as forever to prohibit sectarian appropriations like those displayed in the *Times'* article; and since the adoption of these amendments, though the Democrats have had control of our legislature, and for the first time in our history sent a Catholic to the United States Senate, no such appropriations have been made.

So the "facts and figures" of the *Times* prove to be facts and figures of an overwhelmed and disgraced political cabal; and the recurrence of such appropriations has been forever prohibited by the people, while the Democrats were in power. And many Catholics united in this prohibition.

Whenever any question affecting the integrity of our school system or school fund comes legitimately before the people of any State in the Union, the schools will be emphatically and overwhelmingly sustained. Our danger and labor do not lie in that direction. Rather is it to be feared that this unjust and uncalled for clamor will arouse bigots of every sect and party to active and successful opposition to our just and reasonable demands for the complete secularization of the public school system.

To secure this result demands our earnest and

undivided effort. Let us be deterred from it by no side issues, unfairly raised, for the low end of partisan success; but rally around us our friends—the liberal men of every party and sect.

If we work wisely to this end, our success is certain and not distant. If we permit ourselves to be deceived by false issues, we shall fight against unnecessary odds, and the conflict will be indefinitely prolonged.

Desiring only a fair field and the speediest possible success, I remain,

Yours faithfully,
LEWIS G. JANES.

NEW YORK, Nov. 12, 1875.

[It is not an "indiscriminate" attack upon any party to treat as its party action what the majority have done, though a minority opposed the doing of it. Mr. Janes seems not to have noticed in the *Times'* article the proofs that the same policy of sectarian appropriations to Catholic institutions was continued down to the beginning of the present year; that, in 1872, 1873, and 1874, after the downfall of the Ring, the Catholics still secured immense grants of money out of the public treasury; that, in the words of the *Times*, "even after the Ring's downfall, under this apparently fair distribution, the Romanist schools have got about fifteen dollars to every one dollar for all other church schools." These facts show that the destruction of the Ring did not dissolve the coalition of Catholicism and Democracy in New York city.

Whatever Catholics refuse to follow the lead of the Catholic clergy in the school question will simply be forced out of the church; they will not be able to direct or even modify its settled policy. We heartily welcome all deserters from the hostile army, but we cannot applaud the wisdom of treating their desertion as a capitulation of that army. The country is now beginning, not ending, the great controversy over universal State education; and the first condition of success is to understand the nature of the forces arrayed against the school system. The enemy's centre is the Catholic Church; its right wing in some localities is the Democratic party; its left wing is composed of those liberals who, like the lamented Gerrit Smith and (we fear) our esteemed correspondent, are in danger of paralyzing the necessary opposition through an excess of generous feeling and an amiable unsuspiciousness of evil intents in the enemy's head-quarters (evil, we mean, as viewed from the patriotic standpoint). Most certainly would we "rally around us our friends, the liberal men of every party and sect"; but it can only be as individuals, not as "representatives" of a Church whose record in this issue is a thoroughly bad one, or of a party which in some localities has aided and abetted this Church's wicked raids on the public treasury. We are no "partisan," and it is quite idle to raise that cry. But THE INDEX must not sleep at its post, and its warning is: "Beware of all churches, all parties, all men, that have been or are capable of tampering with the system of universal secular education."—ED.]

EXAMPLE.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

"Example for the sake of example, I do not hesitate to pronounce as vicious. It is one of the fatal delusions into which the desire to help others may lead us. If we do what we think good and wise in and of itself, for its own sake, the example inheres in the act, and is healthful; otherwise not."—*S. H. Morse, in THE INDEX, Oct. 28.*

Since the only discussion of the "doctrine" of Example which I have heretofore noticed in THE INDEX grew out of that in which I took part concerning total abstinence from alcohol, I cannot help referring the above "loc" to the same stem, and feeling challenged to pluck and analyze it; knowing, of course, that nothing may have been further from the thought of our charming journalist; (long may he continue to journalize!) So, if you think THE INDEX can afford room, I will remark briefly on the subject.

1. "The human mind is equally skillful in confirming itself in that which is true, or that which is false, according to affection." The beneficent necessity which conscience imposes of reaching confirmation before we can rest, leads to the adoption of sundry short cuts and "ready methods." Among these, the most available for the common mind is the common proverb, the "brilliant aphorism." But proverbial philosophy is often superficial, and the most gifted aphoristic genius, in his praiseworthy endeavor to make the "many-sided truth" stand forth in stereoscopic boldness of relief, too often sacrifices fidelity in detail, and, while presenting it under the highest direct illumination, cuts off too much of that reflected light in which the truths of Nature always stand. Hence, he who thinks it worth while endeavoring to prevent or destroy false confirmations must often appeal from proverb and aphorism to deeper principles and more faithful representations of truth.

2. "Example for the sake of example is pernicious." Unquestionably true! No one save a moral coxcomb would think of "setting" such examples,

and he had better sell himself at once for a "wax figger" in a "moral show." But who does not see the difference between this and "abstaining from meat lest I cause a brother to offend"? The former is an insufferable impertinence; the latter the most delicate possible form of kindness, whereof the recipient need never suspect the motive—would never suspect if it were constantly and uniformly practised. The one is to set oneself up conceitedly as a model to be gazed at; the other to considerately refrain from exhibiting oneself in an attitude not to be safely copied. The latter principle is fully recognized in the presence of those whose power of resisting the force of imitation and suggestion has been weakened by habit or disease; why ignore it in the face of a world whose powers are not yet developed?

"If we do what we think good and wise in and of itself for its own sake, the example inheres in the act, and is healthful; otherwise not."

Aye! But example inheres in every not secret act; is a property inseparable save in imagination, wholly inseparable in practice, and has its specific effect usually quite independent of motive. or what the actor may think about the innate wisdom or goodness of his action. In the absence of higher and more positive properties, this one, surely, may determine a sensible man's opinion as to what is "wise and good," and fit to be done "for its own sake." In morals, as in law, known effects, as well as motive causes, are efficient in fixing blame or praise for acts done. For that matter, no act is "wise and good in and of itself." Divorced from effect, intended or actual, all acts are alike in moral quality.

3. And now, if you will pardon me for recurring to a former discussion, I will take this opportunity for saying that what appeared to me to be a perversion on your part of the "argument from example," in the question of total abstinence from alcohol, lay in your emphasizing "example" in the case of the abstainer, where it is merely negative, and fixing upon him the pretensions of a moral strut, instead of acknowledging the full force of *imitation* in the case of the moderate drinker, and making him shoulder the load of an example which is positive without being positively good. You ought to remember that, in talking about example, the teetotaler is not boasting of his own, but complaining of that of the moderate drinker, which he regards as evil because it is at once unnecessary, attractive, and dangerous to follow. "But the example of abstinence is also dangerous," said you. Granted; there is danger in every step we take or do not take on earth. But when I inferred that, in urging this and then choosing against abstinence, you must regard the other as less dangerous, you cry, "No." (*Vide INDEX of July 1st.*) I do not ask an explanation, because it may be obvious to everybody, and interesting to nobody except

Yours, teetotally,

T. H. EVERTS.

THE GOVERNMENT TO BLAME.

WARREN, Ohio, Oct. 17, 1875.

MR. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—In THE INDEX of October 14, under the head of "Inflation," R. P. H. makes some remarks on Mr. Davis' tract, calculated, I think, to mislead the readers in regard to the National Banks.

"The commercial integrity of the people of this country" may have been to some extent "undermined during the last decade by the financial policy of our government." If so, I maintain that the government is justly chargeable for the same.

Our government in 1862, in order to meet the large expenses of the civil war, found it necessary to resort to paper money. Congress enacted the law of Feb. 25 of that year, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to issue one hundred and fifty millions of notes not bearing interest, payable to bearer at the treasury, of such denominations as deemed expedient, not less than five dollars each, and provided that such notes should be a legal tender, "receivable for all taxes, internal duties, excises, debts, except duties on imports, and demands of every kind due to the United States, and of all claims and demands against the United States of every kind whatsoever, except for interest upon bonds and notes, which shall be paid in coin, and shall also be lawful money and a legal tender in payment of all debts public and private within the United States, except duties on imports, and interest as aforesaid; and any holder of said United States notes depositing any sum not less than fifty dollars or some multiple of fifty dollars with the Treasurer of the United States, or either of the assistant treasurers, shall receive in exchange therefor duplicate certificates of deposit, one of which may be transmitted to the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall thereupon issue to the holders an equal amount of bonds of the United States, coupons or registered, as may by said holders be desired, bearing interest at the rate of six per centum per annum, payable semi-annually, and redeemable at the pleasure of the United States, after five years, and payable twenty years from the date thereof; and such United States notes shall be received the same as coin, at their par value, in payment of any loans that may be hereafter sold or negotiated by the Secretary of the Treasury, and may be reissued from time to time as the exigency of the public interest may require." And that, "To enable the Secretary of the Treasury to fund the treasury notes and the floating debt of the United States, he is hereby authorized to issue on the credit of the United States, coupon bonds or registered bonds, to an amount not exceeding \$500,000,000, and redeemable at the pleasure of the United States after five years, and payable twenty years from date, and bearing interest at the rate of six per centum per annum, payable semi-annually. And the Secretary of the Treasury may

dispose of such bonds at the market value thereof for (lawful money) the coin of the United States, or for any of the treasury notes, that have been or may hereafter be issued under any former act of Congress, or for the United States notes that may be issued under the provisions of this act; and all stocks, bonds, and other securities of the United States held by individuals, corporations, or associations within the United States, shall be exempt from taxation by order, or under State authority."

The next July Congress issued another one hundred and fifty millions of the legal tenders, and afterward one hundred and fifty-seven millions of legal tenders; and of 5.20 bonds about nine hundred millions, and of 7.30's as called more than eight millions.

By the terms of the law under which issued, the principal of these bonds was made redeemable in the same currency, legal tender notes, by which purchased at par, and many of them so purchased when gold was at a premium of more than one hundred per cent. above the legal tenders. By the letter of the law under which the legal tenders and the bonds were issued, the 5.20 bonds purchasable with the legal tender notes, except the accruing interest, were made redeemable after five years, in the same money; and Senator Sherman in 1868 said truly, that justice and equity would be fully satisfied by paying the bonds in the same currency with which bought. Senator Morton said: "We should do foul injustice to the government and to the people of the United States, after we have sold these bonds on an average for not more than sixty cents on the dollar, now to propose to make a new contract for the benefit of the holders." Senator Sherman also used this strong expression: "If the bond-holder refuses to take the same kind of money with which he bought the bonds, he is an extortioner and a repudiator."

Thaddeus Stevens, in the House, said: "When the bill was on its final passage, the question was expressly asked of the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, and as expressly answered by him, that only the interest was payable in coin." "I would vote for no such swindle on the tax-payers of the country; if I knew there was such a platform and such a determination on the part of my own party, I would, with Frank Blair and all, vote for the other party."

And yet with the law and pledge of government indorsed on every legal tender note of the United States in hands of the people and the Republican State platforms of Ohio, and other Western State platforms of 1868, that the bonds should be paid in legal tenders, pursuant to the law under which issued, upon the statement made by Grant in his Inaugural of March 4, 1869, that every dollar of the national debt must be paid in gold, and that no one opposed to that might expect any favors under his administration, Congress within a few days thereafter, actually passed a law requiring both principal and interest of the debt paid in gold—and this in contravention of the law of the contract as so indorsed on every legal tender note.

This financial policy of our government may well be regarded by R. P. H. as having upon commercial integrity an undermining tendency.

The foregoing I have hastily written, as indicating the views entertained by a large majority of the Republicans in this place intelligent upon the subject. I always understood Mr. Chase's policy to have been to return to specie payment by first retiring all the bonds bought by legal tenders and redeemable by them; to come in at that door, rather than "climb up some other way."

Very truly,

MILTON SUTLIFF.

THE "BATTLE OF SYRACUSE" CRITICISED.

BOSTON, Oct. 10, 1875.

MR. FRANCIS E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—Some days ago a friend of mine handed me a tract to read. It was called "The Battle of Syracuse," and consisted of two essays,—one by the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, taking up and commenting upon certain statements of yours, and another by yourself in answer to it, and in defence of your assertions. Now I beg of you to pardon the liberty I take in writing to you, a person I know only by reputation. But, though quite a young man, I am exceedingly interested in all the great religious, social, and other questions of our day. As an earnest seeker after truth and advocate of its advancement, I would like to call your attention to certain ideas that presented themselves to me upon the reading of that book. I do not intend this as a criticism of the work as a whole, or especially of the portion written by Dr. Clarke, where I might find much to criticise; but merely as the expression of a few ideas suggested to me by it.

The matter under discussion consists, as I found it, in this: you were brought up in the atmosphere of early Unitarianism in all its purity, and were taught to believe that Unitarianism was a part of Christianity, a most necessary part, in fact the very essence and spirit of it. You were also led to believe that the principles of Christianity, and especially of Christianity as viewed from the Unitarian standpoint, were a universal Spirit of Love, Righteousness, Truth, and Freedom, unbound by any tie of creed. This you were brought up to consider as Christianity, and you did so consider it; though you knew that, at that time, an almost incalculable majority of Christians were Orthodox, and believed differently from you. You knew that Catholicism, Trinitarianism, Orthodoxy, etc., were not a part of real Christianity, but were, as Dr. Clarke says, introduced at various times.

Still, in vindication of your belief, and in spite of this great majority who defined Christianity differently from you, you boldly stood forth and proclaimed

yourself a Christian, a follower of Christ, a believer in Jesus, not as an infallible God, but as the great and kind Master whose teachings you studied and admired, even as Dr. Clarke says, not for the errors but for the great truths they contain; and, while discriminating, yet seeing even in the errors, not error, but the same glorious character dimly shining through the thick veil of temptation, bitterness of spirit, and often despair. You then called yourself a Christian, and you were one.

Then came the Syracuse Convention. The resolutions embodying your principles were defeated; and another set, covering a single article of faith, was reaffirmed in their stead. You then bolted from your party, started a new sect [!], and established a paper. Your principles did not change, for you say that, had it not been for the convention, you might still be a Unitarian minister. The great truth of Christianity, which you so firmly believed in, certainly has not changed. But, in spite of the great principles of freedom you advocated, you humbly gave up your belief in Christianity, and adopted the definition of the majority (which was no larger than before) in deference to their opinions. In other words, Christianity did not change, but you changed your definition of it.

Dr. Clarke, in another and different sort of convention, inculcated the right to bolt. In this convention, when you found the majority of its members entertained a different idea of Christianity from your own, you had a right to bolt from its decisions. But had you the right to bolt from the Christian party? You knew before that the majority of Christians differed from you in belief; but that did not alter your convictions as to what Christianity was, or its objects, or its spirit. Now, when you merely found a few more Christians differing from you, even though they were in your own camp, or still better, when you merely found yourself one of the minority of a minority, did that give you the right, or even the pretext, to change your definition of Christianity or your ideas of its use? No. Why, the very existence of the present almost endless variety of sects is the very confirmation of the principle that the absolute freedom of thought which you, in changing your definition, so resolutely "go back on," is the very essence of Christianity. Merely because you had a few more opponents, you should not have deserted your cause, but have fought all the harder for it. For Christianity is not the work of a day, but the glory of eighteen centuries, a great and good institution which has been terribly imposed upon, and burdened with all sorts of monstrous loads, and pulled and twisted in every direction, and yet still lives. What it needs is brave hearts and minds, not to pull it to pieces and oppose it, but to fight for it, to rid it of its burdens, and restore to it a new life and spirit of Love, Truth, and Freedom.

So I think it is our duty to remain Christians. But, aside from mere duty, there are other considerations which, though they should be far, very far, from altering our convictions or preventing the expression of them, yet, when in sympathy with this duty, add greatly to the pleasure of its performance and to the profitableness of the result. Christianity is an old and beautiful structure, and carries with it a feeling of love and reverence. Its devotees are often blindly devoted to it; within the security of its walls are to be met many to reform who would never be found outside of them; and, therefore, as a measure of economy, respect, love, and right, I believe we should not pull down the old building, but do our best to rebuild it, and to remodel it inside and out.

Yours respectfully,

FRANK B. M.—

[As the tract here criticised contains in itself what seems to us a sufficient reply to the criticisms urged above, we will now simply express our cordial appreciation of the earnestness and fine, truth-loving spirit manifest throughout our correspondent's letter, and assure him that it is very welcome to these pages. We do not think he has fully understood the force of the reasoning he controverts; but if others think otherwise, they have a right to their opinion, and would probably not be influenced by a reiteration of our already clearly expressed views.—ED.]

WHO CAN READ without tears this picture of the suffering to which a Ritualistic curate of the Church in one of the towns of England was lately exposed? "I was recommended by the rector to lodge with a Dissenter, as being the most eligible place to be had. Well, they were very good people in their way, and showed me much kindness. By-and-by they asked me if I should object to a fellow-lodger being in the same house. Poor innocent I said 'No,' little thinking who the said fellow-lodger was to be. It turned out to my dismay that he was a Dissenting minister. A clergy house with a vengeance! Of course, however, I gave notice that I would leave. But before the notice had expired, there had already been two or three instances of parishioners, who had called to see me, being told, 'Mr. F. is not in, but the other clergyman is, if he will do.'"

Paul has told us how, for Christ's sake, he endured scourging, stoning, shipwreck, perils of robbers, hunger and thirst, cold and nakedness; but what was all this compared with the sufferings of a Ritualistic preacher, compelled to lodge in the same house with—how can we write the words?—a Dissenting minister? We can only recommend him for consolation in his sore trouble to the familiar stanza:—

"Must I be carried to the skies,
On flowery beds of ease,
While others fought to win the prize,
And sailed through bloody seas?"

—Christian Union.

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age," an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India," also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

Proceedings of Fifth Annual Meeting, 1872. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by J. W. Chadwick on "Liberty and the Church in America," by C. D. B. Mills on "Religion as the Expression of a Permanent Sentiment of the Human Mind," and by O. B. Frothingham on "The Religion of Humanity," with addresses by Rowland Connor, Celia Burleigh, Lucretia Mott, A. B. Alcott, C. A. Bartol, Horace Seaver, Alexander Loos, and others.

Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1873. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. S. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains verbatim reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Sonnenschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Calthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity,—as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"—together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Keshub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. Wasson.

Proceedings of Eighth Annual Meeting, 1875. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains Essays by Wm. C. Gannett, on "The Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. P. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

Religions of China, by Wm. H. Channing. 25 cents.

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being.

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VOLUME 6.

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THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

"If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. Now, the centennial year of our national existence, I believe, is a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundations of the structure commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needed guarantees for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian schools. Resolve that neither State or Nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmingled with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and the State forever separate."—PRESIDENT GRANT, at Des Moines, Sept. 29, 1875.

GLIMPSSES.

THE NEW YORK *World* says of a modern pianist: "Man wants but little Herr Bülow."

A CORRESPONDENT of the New York *Journal of Commerce* whispers that the President is expected to touch on the Catholic question in his forthcoming message.

EVERYBODY competent to appreciate the masterly qualities of Chauncey Wright's mind will be delighted to learn that it is in contemplation to publish a collection of his writings.

IT WAS agreed at a late conference of Evangelicals at Fisk University, in Nashville, Tenn., that the Roman Catholics are winning the freedmen over to themselves by a total disregard of color distinctions.

THE JEWISH RABBIS of Philadelphia have sent to the Board of Education a formal protest against the use of Wayland's *Elements of Moral Science* in the public schools, on the ground that it teaches explicitly the Deity of Jesus.

THE ANNUAL REPORT of the Massachusetts State Prison Inspectors is just out. It states that for the first time public worship after the Roman Catholic ritual has been introduced into the prison, and kept up every Sunday. One-half of the convicts attend, and one-quarter go to "confession."

THE *Nation* declares that "it is impossible to enter the Brooklyn Rink, or any church in the city except the Catholic, without being struck by the fact that Christianity seems among us to have lost its original character, as *par excellence* the religion of the lowly and miserable, and to have become the religion of the comfortable and well-to-do. . . . The congregational system of church maintenance, which is really the system of all Protestant denominations, is incurably unfit for the needs of modern society."

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THE NEW YORK *Sun* has sharply criticised the Moody and Sankey revival. One of its correspondents writes this brief note: "TO THE EDITOR OF THE *SUN*: Sir,—What in the deuce did the *Sun* expect Moody and Sankey to do, more than they have done, in Brooklyn? I tell you we have had a glorious revival. G. W.—BROOKLYN, Nov. 20, 1875." Whereupon the editor gravely reads him a lesson on good manners, and adds: "We must tell G. W. that we did not expect or desire Moody and Sankey to do

anything at all 'in the deuce.' A 'deuced' revival would be something we should not like to see in Brooklyn or anywhere else." Nevertheless, the irreverent think it was there to be seen.

ON THANKSGIVING DAY, Henry Ward Beecher preached against the Bible in the schools, and made this shocking accusation, which should be at once investigated with the strictest impartiality: "The public should see that proper Commissioners of Education are appointed. I know of cases near here where Commissioners have hired female teachers, and have made their employment depend upon their willingness to surrender their bodies to gratify the lust of their employers; and in some cases the teachers themselves were foul-mouthed and foul-handed." Such charges should not be allowed to pass unchallenged for a day. They should be at once brought to the notice of the proper authorities, and any parties found guilty should suffer the severest penalties of the laws.

DR. GEO. B. LORING, whose gubernatorial aspirations in this State have been so frequently nipped in the bud, is one of the Commissioners of the Centennial Exposition of 1876. At a late meeting in Worcester he stated, in reply to a question whether the buildings were to be open on Sunday, that this question had been brought up before the Commissioners by two Christian Associations, and that, on his own motion not to have the buildings open on Sunday, the idea of opening them was totally disowned. He added that he would sever his connection with the Commission, were such an idea entertained. On this a correspondent remarks: "Isn't it rich to see this old weather-beaten politician rise to this highly sensitive moral tone?" Yes, it is enough to make a lamp-post laugh; but the tremendous strength of Evangelical influence in this country is nowhere more evidently betrayed than in the uniform truckling to it of all those who court popularity. Whatever the churches make up their minds to ask, they get. What will happen, when the Catholic attack on the school system drives them to ask for the Christian Amendment?

A BOSTON daily paper of November 30 contained this surprising despatch from Washington: "It is said, upon apparently good authority, that President Grant has determined to remove E. F. Dunne, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Arizona, on account of the position he has assumed in his public speeches on the school fund question. He is an ardent Catholic, and has indicated his desire that his co-religionists shall have a share of the common school fund set apart for their special control. This places him in open opposition to the President's Iowa speech on the school question." Against any such proscriptive action as this we hasten to make a strong, decided, and energetic protest. Chief-Justice Dunne has taken public ground as an individual against the public school system; and President Grant has taken public ground also as an individual in its favor. The one has just as much right to do this as the other, and it would be simply outrageous for the President to remove the Chief-Justice for a reason which would require his own removal forthwith. In no such wild and wicked way as this would THE INDEX meet the Catholic attack on the public schools; it does not believe in persecution of any man for opinion's sake, however mischievous his opinion may be; it would conquer opposition to universal State education by no weapons but those of reason, justice, and impartial reverence for the rights of all. If the President resorts to any such action as is here (we trust very unjustly) attributed to him, he will deserve a swift and hotly indignant rebuke from the whole nation, in the name of the very same principles which will immortalize his Des Moines speech. The Great Republic cannot afford to "fight the devil with fire."

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The Work of Religion.

REPORT OF THE ESSAY READ AT THE FREE RELIGIOUS CONVENTION IN WORCESTER, NOV. 17, 1875.

BY JOHN WEISS.

The essay opened with a brief allusion to the conditions of modern intelligence, which were considered as so changed from those of any previous period with which the sentiment of religion has dealt, that it is obliged to take a new departure, to include and use the new conveniences. There never was such an extension of mental ability, and never so many objects furnished to keep it constantly stimulated. Cheap publications of every kind spread the moods of the period far and wide. Their range passes through all the speculative powers and all the emotions of which the soul is capable. The very richness of material is a cause of distinction, for the mind grows embarrassed as so many departments throw wide their doors and display their collections, and there is no statement too scientific to resist the intentions of popular treatment. It is macerated, dissected, canned, as it were, for the use of emigrants and travellers. It is put up in neat packages, like the national yeast powder, and left at every door. The trouble is that people of little knowledge get too strong a dose of it. People who are afflicted with imperfect intuition snatch, at every railway station, a hasty gulp of the latest ideas—spectrum analysis, primal man, the correlation of forces, spontaneous generation, social statics, materialism, Darwinian views, Huxley's protoplasm, and the last message which our Spiritualist friends receive by pneumatic express from the summer land.

The scientific mind is making the whole world at once its laboratory and lecture-room, and among the hearers there is no distinction of person, sex, or previous preparation. It is not at all wonderful that religion finds herself ill at ease in this assembly of notions, especially when she is obliged to sit in the pauper's gallery, as far as possible from the stage of brilliant analysis. The experimenter is astonished to find her there at all, but he explains her away, though she seems to be present. She listens while he tells his audience that she is a case of a polyp which has neglected to shed its tail. So here she is, a useless and obsolete appendage of the human mind. All the new facts and all the latest conjectures, like the fall of the outraged sceptre when the Gauls took Rome, penetrate into the solemn presence of our primitive beliefs, and when one of the intruders, bolder than the rest, stretches forth his hand towards the Ancient of Days, the slaughter of his colleagues of the soul is easy. Thus materialism twitches the First Cause from its throne. It is the signal for a general massacre of ideas. There are great numbers of honest men to whom the phrase "invisible world" has no meaning. They have learned to consider that the universe is occupied with the functions of eternal matter, and that whatever these cannot account for must be superfluous. There are more things in heaven and earth than we dream of. Yes; but as fast as they are discovered we find they are only—things.

A great many men are disposed to derive the moral law from the combinations of birth and physical organization, and to reduce accountability to a table of statistics, which exhibits the recurrences of vice and virtue, independent of the human will, by physical laws of their own. A great many men cannot conceive of a personal continuance after the bodily functions are exhausted; they cannot even suppose that

the elemental force may be transposed back into force again. They conclude that the emotions of the friend, the lover, the poet, and musician, the gladness that rises from the heart's meadow and sings its path deep into the sky, the profound regret of self-dissatisfaction, the eager scent of the imagination upon some trail, her music as the prey bursts cover, are moods that are nothing but the *plus* or *minus* of red blood in the brain cells, that the straining outward toward some depth and down through some perspective to overtake some fulfilment, is nothing but surplus of health and good condition, or, as some say, the very opposite of this, being only bad health and morbid condition; that all our mental action results from molecular distribution and arrangement, as the nimble atoms of the organism cling or fly apart, muster in various ratios to various feelings. Whatever a man thinks that he feels is nothing but the gambolling of these microscopic spheres. His most sanguine aspirations have been only the lifting of his brain as the increased action of the heart sends blood to make it fit more closely to the skull. When it shrinks again, the man desponds, regrets, is mortified, shirks for want of circulation. And when he is flush with well assimilated food, it makes him manly, and prompts him to sacrifice his stimulated atoms upon the bed of honor. All these gracious, stately words that we use, beauty, honor, love, duty, are only Cinderellas at the ball. When midnight strikes they shrink away in rags to cower again in ashes. It may be, but these Cinderellas, as they escape, drop behind them a delicate shape that fits nothing else in the world, not one fleshly foot; and thus they are identified.

People who are profoundly materialistic may have a general health and cleanliness which preserves them in moral relations with society, and secures many a noble action for them. But fine behavior does not pacify the heart when scientific facts encamp before our great natural reliances, besiege and undermine them. At the very moment when the naturalist plunges the world into the dead era of mere sequence, and holds it under, waiting till it drown, there is a natural revulsion at the deed. He drags it forth again to listen if the heart yet beats. We are hungry to regard ourselves as not persons of fate, but entitled to consideration by virtue of some moral and spiritual freedom which has a casting vote, or at least some influence in framing us. We see a man's soul entirely disappear under pressure upon the brain; and its qualities are modified by a removal of portions of the cerebral material. A youth living in Chicago whose mind was very dull and showed no aptness for anything, became a great lover of music and a player upon the flute, after an accident to the head, by which he lost a portion of the brain. Can talent, then, be scooped in or out of a person, or is the head a kaleidoscope, which needs only to be well shaken to vary its combinations? Prof. Loudat, of Montpelier, suffered from a typhoid fever, which destroyed the memory of five or six laborious years, so that he was obliged to recommence his medical studies from the beginning. What and where, then, was the substance of his person? If his knowledge lay minutely packed in brain cells, was the soul merely a force to start and move them? He either had, or did not have, a soul that shared this knowledge. If he did, the total wreck of memory is inexplicable. Death might wipe him out in the same way. If he did not have an independent soul that shared his knowledge, then there is no person; there's nothing but brain function.

And there was George Nickson, of New Orleans, nearly killed by a fall from a platform, who lay unconscious several weeks. He recovered his health and powers of mind, excepting memory. His new memory only dated from his recovery. Everything previous to that had been obliterated, and he was forced to learn his English and German again like a child. What relation, then, has memory to personal identity? We read in a foreign periodical the well-attested case of a working man, well advanced in years, who had a violent attack of cholera in 1865. Up to that time he was coarse-grained and stolid, and had manifested no spark of literary feeling or ability; but he emerged from the crisis with a lively fancy, and a strong capacity for literary expression, and has published a book of poems. It would be fortunate if cholera could also create a general collapse among bad scribblers, whose garbage makes literature unwholesome. There was a time that when brains were out the man would die. Now-a-days great numbers of people flourish best because the brains are out; and their case is more puzzling to the ideal philosopher than any other that the materialist can allege.

But what is this arbitrament of change in the blood corpuscles which mounts with new spiritual expressions to the brain? A man asks these questions with fear and wonder. He watches nourishment as it results in intellectual action, and narcotics as they exhale in fantasy. On a pill of opium Coleridge composes Kubla Khan in his sleep; with another pill of the same drug De Quincy stimulates his wonderful dreams and visions. Does the opium merely clarify the brain for the soul to see through, as we wipe our glasses when we desire to use them? The physician traces melancholy and self-distrust to scrofulous conditions of the blood, or to a clogged bile-duct; hysteria breeds temper and irregularity; chronic dyspepsia suggests criminal ideas; the vices of forgotten ancestors decide the bias of their posterity. The children do not set their own teeth on edge; that job of dentistry was done before they cut their first one. What, then, is the extent of moral responsibility? The question returns to us echoed with emphasis from every region of research. The animals are revenging themselves for our denial to them of the gift of languages by the most speaking pantomime of acts which involve mental qualities. They no longer

pace stolidly to and fro behind the bars of instinct, and books and newspapers are now crowded with illustrations of animal foresight and adaptation to originate actions which correspond to exigencies.

Thus a mob of facts assails our instinct of independent and responsible existence. There is no undertaker who can shovel them out of sight. We see them springing out of all the graves upon the planets, the only things left, apparently, vital enough to use there, and mark those pits of nothingness. But let a grave open near to us, and the old heart of mankind looks down through a bottomless depth of personal continuance. Are we deceived? Do we mistake our shallow tears for unfathomable wells? So facts conspire against us, and we long against rage, against the facts; we glory in science and yet accuse her. We give back her level and unmistakable look to-day; but to-morrow we cannot see it for the blinding mist in our eyes. What a country is this that appears to smile from Atlantic to Pacific with strenuous satisfaction, as if all minds only cared to orient themselves through the golden gate, and overtake and out-time the light itself with their enlightenment? But there is not one commonwealth on the whole varied surface over which the tracks of science are laid that does not ache with the secret suspicion that we can only know what we perceive, and cannot touch higher than the arms can reach. Enterprise and competition divert us, and blind the instinctive dread. But we may count upon it as a prevailing quality of the age that needs the disinfectant of religion.

It is her work to sift the primitive instincts and expectations of mankind, and see which of them can have a place in the critical intelligence,—a work which cannot be accomplished in skating rinks to the tune of "Ninety and Nine." America is not wasting for clerical fervor, volubility, or denominational activity. Her most dangerous and subtle intelligence, grown sick of that child's play, has left the pews to those for whom texts are still authorities. She is waiting to have her ears tingle with the retort of a faith that is as great as her intelligence; to hear proclaimed an atonement that washes the head in the blood of the heart, and effaces the whole discrepancy. He here referred to the conflict between the pulpit and science, claiming that religion need not wait for science to make the necessary advances toward a unity of all real tendencies. Let her take the next step. Let her appropriate the subsidies of science because there is a method, and a purpose, and a divine drift through all creation. He also referred at some length to the discrepancies between science and religion, saying the theologians ought to be reminded in making their analysis that apparent discrepancies are made real by their own mystical and abject submission to notions of the supernatural. Speaking of the unity of science and religion, he said it gets a great emphasis from the anxiety which has been engendered in millions of minds when they discover that laws are invariable, and that Nature instead of being exorable is inexorable.

In conclusion he asked the question, What is the moral power which offers an opportunity to religion? We call it the ideal, the soul's natural turn to take after God. After analyzing his answer, he said, We have the good-will for the perfect; it is the human side of God's perfections. We should not have any ill-will for the imperfect, if we had travelled further away along the ideal road to a point upon it where prospect and retrospect lie on the same level, and the whole plain is viewed. But what point is that? It is God himself, the justifier of everything he did not think it beneath him to tolerate. At present we can only imagine that impartiality; but as often as we do it we imagine Deity, and we adore. Now this ideal is a prisoner, like those in medieval times, who were condemned by a refined sentiment of cruelty to be awakened every fifteen minutes, day and night, till Nature sank exhausted. Our temperament is the jailor that is detailed to do the shaking. But when the prisoner is immortal, the oftener you wake him up the wider open do you set your eyes, till in that width there is liberty, and religion breaks out of the jail of all the sects, and escapes into the fellowship of mankind.—*Worcester Daily Spy*, Nov. 18.

THE GREEK CHURCH.—The *Moscow Gazette* publishes a long statistical report on the Orthodox Greek Church for 1873. It would appear that there are 59 dioceses in the Russian empire, besides one in North America. They were administered by 3 metropolitans, 19 archbishops, and 35 bishops. The number of coadjutors amounted to 27. There were 397 monasteries, containing 4,678 monks and 4,212 lay brethren; also 130 convents, inhabited by 3,061 regular nuns and 10,519 temporary inmates. There were, in 1873, within the limits of the empire, 37,630 churches and 13,282 chapels; 404 new churches and 131 new chapels were constructed during the year. The clergy was composed of 1,075 archpriests, 35,919 priests, 12,372 deacons, and 54,708 unordained clerks and readers. The collections made during the year by the clergy for charitable and religious purposes produced the sum of 10,728,546 roubles, or nearly £1,400,000. The "Orthodox" population at the end of 1872 amounted to 54,062,063; out of this number 26,702,576 belonged to the male sex and 27,759,492 to the female sex. Notwithstanding the excess of the latter, however, it is remarked that very few women remain unmarried, widowers invariably getting married again among the peasantry in order to "have somebody to keep the house," while the remarriage of widows is comparatively rare. The "Orthodox" Church is proud of having to record the conversion of 9,549 individuals from other religions, and among these of 3,199 Buddhist pagans. The missionaries are actively and zealously at work among them as well as among the Mohammedans, and the results are by no means insignificant.

RABBI FELSENTHAL'S PROTEST AGAINST THE BIBLE IN THE CHICAGO SCHOOLS.

CHICAGO, Oct. 31, 1875.

TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION:

Gentlemen,—A report of the proceedings of our honorable body in your meeting of Oct. 29, as published in the daily papers of the city, has come to my notice; and from the report I have learned that several of our fellow-citizens have protested against our late action concerning the abolition of Bible-reading in our public schools, and that you have referred this protest to the proper committee. As the discussion of the question whether the Bible should be retained in the public schools or not has thus again to be re-opened, I feel myself induced to appear before you with a counter-protest, and to submit to your honorable body the following *pro-memoria*. I am a citizen of Chicago, and send my children to the public schools, and therefore I am directly interested in this matter:—

1. First of all let me, as one among many, thank you for your recent action. In passing the resolution in question, you were animated by a spirit of genuine justice and fairness. Even if we should admit (which we, however, do not) that it is but a minority who favor the exclusion of the Bible from the schools, while a majority are for the retention of the Bible, would it not be an inexcusable, an undemocratic, an un-American tyrannizing of the minority by an accidental majority, to force their religious views and practices upon an unwilling minority? Would it not be a disregard of the conscientious scruples and honest convictions of others, a contempt for, and disregarding of, the inalienable rights of the minority? To illustrate by an example: What right and what justification have our fellow-citizens who would force the theology of the fourth gospel, or of the Paulinian epistles, upon the children of Israelites? Israelites, as you are aware, are strict monotheists, and to such Jewish monotheists, the theology of some of the so-called New Testament books must almost appear as polytheistic, and therefore decidedly repulsive. Now would it not be an outrageous proceeding thus to apply the barbaric "*loi de plus fort*," and to place might before right?

2. But it seems that, in the eyes of our protesting fellow-citizens, Jews, Catholics, liberal Christians, members of Free Religious associations, and so forth, have no rights which good puritan Christians are bound to respect. "This is a Christian country"—so say the signers of the protest,—and ours is a Christian civilization." They emphasize this sentence, and repeat it several times in different variations. It is indeed astonishing that the Protestants (among whom are some of our most profound jurists and lawyers) should have given vent to such a monstrous assertion. Neither in fact nor in law has this assertion the least foundation. On the contrary, this is *not* a Christian country, and ours is *not* a Christian civilization. If the expressions "Christian country" and "Christian civilization" shall not be considered meaningless, hollow phrases, but if a sense is to be connected therewith, then these expressions have no other meaning than the following, *viz.*: The distinguishing features of Christianity are characterizing all our public and private life, and the superstructure of our polity is based upon the foundation of this peculiar Christianity. What are the distinguishing features of Christianity said to give character to our country and our civilization? I suppose that our protesting fellow-citizens will not claim that Christian dogmatism is thus all-prevailing. For this would be such a flagrant contradiction of the existing state of things that even the dimmest eye would perceive it as such. But they will probably insist that the Christian ethics are at the bottom of all modern civilization, and that their spirit is permeating all the public life of our country, and of our American institutions. Let us examine this assertion for a moment. The distinguishing features of Christian ethics, whereby the same differ from other ethical systems, is love, meekness, submission even to wrong (Matthew v., 39-41; Luke vi., 20; I. Corinth. vi., 7). As sublime and idealistic as this principle of "love" and of submission to wrong appears upon first sight, it is nevertheless a fact that in our sublimary world and in real life it is not carried out, and cannot be carried out, and ought not to be carried out. Not submission to wrong, not meek suffering to injustice, but standing up manfully for his rights, and battling for the same, if necessary, with all energy and all courage, resisting and resenting wrong with all might and means, that is it, and not Christian "love" that characterizes our modern civilization.

The modern world regards it even as a moral duty for every man thus to battle for his rights; for in standing up for his own rights the individual assists in better securing for human society right and justice *in abstracto*. Instead of the Christian doctrine, "Suffer injustice," the modern unchristian, or perhaps anti-Christian, civilization teaches: "Do not suffer injustice; resent it; and if any one smites you upon your right cheek, do not turn to him your left cheek, but strike back; have him properly punished, and help thereby to maintain the virtues of justice and manhood in the world." Such are the unchristian ideas permeating the politics in all Christendom, and the codes of all modern States; and in no State of the Union, nor anywhere else, is there a law-book which is characterized by Christian "love," and which therefore could be designated Christian.

It is true that in these latter days attempts have been made to pervert the spirit of our public institution, and to "Christianize" our constitutions and institutions. Would these dangerous attempts be crowned by success, then hundreds of thousands of American citizens would be outlawed, as once Roger Williams was, at a time when Massachusetts was yet

a "Christian State"; and even a Socrates, a Seneca, a Marcus Aurelius, a Spinoza, would not be allowed to enjoy equal rights with the "Christians." These dangerous attempts, engendered by ignorance, bigotry, and fanaticisms (and the protest submitted to you, which so boldly proclaims the ominous Christian State idea, belongs to that category of dangerous onslaughts),—these dangerous attempts must therefore be withstood; they must be crushed; they must be killed off in the beginning; our country, our constitutions, our courts, our laws, our literature, our whole civilization must remain by all means what they are—un-Christian.

3. The signers of the protest and their friends cannot complain that they are robbed of the Bible in consequence of your late resolution prohibiting the reading of the Protestant Bible in the schools. For they can have all the Bible-reading they desire in their families, in their churches, in their Sabbath-school, and none will hinder them.

4. But we go further, and maintain that the Bible in its integrity, is no fit text-book at all for our schools. Much of its contents is of very little value, or of no value at all, for educational purposes. There are stories in the Bible of such a character that no father would select them for the edification of his family. There is much in it which can only be of interest to the antiquarian, or to the specialist in Israel's history, but which can hardly be expected to be of great moral influence upon the children, and upon men in general. There are whole chapters, and whole books, which are beyond comprehension of the unlearned, and which can only be correctly understood by the aid of special historical, archaeological, and linguistic studies; and if the Bible is read unaided by such auxiliary studies, such reading can and does but fill the minds of the majority with misconceptions and totally erroneous ideas. It is for all these reasons, therefore, not to be wondered at that there is scarcely a head of a household who does not, whilst reading from the Bible in his family, wish that there were expurgated editions of the book, as there are of Shakspeare. And if we would have such editions of a Bible for the people, there would still remain enough of the sublime moral laws, of inspired orations, of the prophets, of divine hymns or the Psalmists, of proverbs, full of true wisdom, etc., that would in reality be edifying, and of most wholesome influence upon the formation of character in men. To edit such a people's Bible, which would give satisfaction to all concerned, is, however, a very difficult task, the solution of which can hardly be expected in our days.

5. This is not the proper place to enter into an argument with the pious "Christians," whether such selections from the Bible, whether sacred anthologies are admissible or desirable, or not. To the one fact, however, I would call attention: that the Jewish redactors of the Hebrew text, and the oldest translators of the original into other languages, when recognizing offensive anthropomorphisms in the biblical accounts of the Almighty, have frequently and purposely tried to soften them down, or to obliterate them altogether. Every biblical scholar knows this, and those who do not know it may be referred to Geiger's *Urschrift der Bibel*, or to the more accessible article of the Orthodox Anglican minister, C. D. Gensburg, on "Versions of the Bible," in Kitzo's *Cyclopadia*. Surely, the simple statement of facts like these should serve to wean us from that blind bibliolatry, in which so many have been brought up, without endangering in the least the true veneration for the Scriptures which every one will foster in his heart who really understands and appreciates the divine contents of Israel's literature. The statement of such facts like these should also serve to demonstrate the admissibility of a people's Bible, of a revision of the Bible such as took place among the Jews after the return from Babylonia.

But why should I continue to speak on this topic? I do not flatter myself to be able to convert those who, like heathens, worship the letter of the Bible, but to whom, notwithstanding this, the Bible is a book with seven seals. No argument will be powerful enough to stop them in their cry: "The Bible for our public schools! The entire Bible! King James' Bible, with all its errors, and with all its false headings and summaries over chapters!" Let them go on in their unjustifiable demands, in their unholy endeavors to nullify freedom of conscience, in their mediæval attempts to "Christianize" our Constitution, and to disfranchise one-half or three-fourths of the United States. Let them go on; but of you, gentlemen of the Board of Education, it is expected that you will do your duty as true Americans, and act in fairness and justice toward all.

6. While we most decidedly dissent from the main course of ideas in the protest laid before you, we do not hesitate to say that to some thoughts of the same we subscribe most heartily, and declare our full assent. The protest says that "mere intellectual culture, unless controlled by moral principle, is liable to become a curse instead of a blessing." This is most certainly true. "The State has a right"—so the protest says in another place—"to train the future citizen in good morals." We assent and add: The State has not only a right, it has more than this; it has the duty to provide for the moral training of the rising generation. The American States and local communities do greatly neglect their duty in this respect. Our schools suffer under the great fault that they pay too little attention to the education of the children, and lay all stress upon instruction,—instruction in practical branches of studies. Utility—this is the guiding-star in American school-dom. But ought this to be the chief aim and object of our schools? Have they fulfilled their great and holy task when they produce good arithmeticians, efficient bookkeepers, smart business men? Is it

the main end of our American schools to bring up our youth that they may successfully run along in the race after riches? Certainly not. Our schools ought to strive after higher ideals. They should be among the most mighty factors for elevating the nation to a higher plane of morality. The too realistic and materialistic character of American schools should be counterbalanced by introducing into the same a number of such studies which would, if of no measurable value in practical life, have the tendency to ennoble the heart, to better the sentiments, to purify the will, and to give to the whole mind a higher turn.

To bring forth such a result, I would respectfully suggest that your honorable body pass rules and regulations of the following contents:—

The classes shall be opened every morning with appropriate songs. To this singing ten minutes shall be devoted. The next thirty minutes in the first morning hour shall be devoted to instruction in unsectarian ethics, and—in the two highest grades—to empirical psychology.

It is not difficult to grade properly the rich material of undenominational ethics. In the lower grades instructions might be given on the duties of children to themselves, to their parents, teachers, playmates, to grown people in general, etc. In a higher grade their hearts might be impressed with the duties of masters toward servants, and servants toward masters, with the mutual relations of members of a family, with the idea of faithfulness in one's station in life, with the duties of the citizen toward the State and the government, etc. In the next grade a systematized course of ethics might be gone through; and here would be the proper place to define such conceptions as virtue and vice, good and evil, truth and untruth; egotism as the root of all evil might be analyzed, and so forth. For the highest grades, as we have indicated above, empirical psychology might be instructed in, to the greatest advantage of the moral elevation of the children.

In the imparting of such lessons we would deem it proper (and we believe none would object to this) to quote carefully selected verses from the Bible, and to have them memorized by the children; or to relate stories from sacred history as well as from profane history, in illustration of the lesson given, which thereby must be made highly interesting and captivating to the children.

I do not know whether there are such text-books of unsectarian ethics extant. If there should none such exist which you could consider suitable for your purpose, it might be a wise action if the honorable Board would offer a prize of seven hundred dollars for the best graded text-book in undenominational ethics. Respectfully submitted,

R. FELSENTHAL.

POSTSCRIPT.

In perusing the foregoing document once more, I find that I have given a very deficient and incomplete definition of the "Christian State," in whose behalf the signers of the protest have entered the arena so defiantly, and also, now, presuming the "Christian State" to exist with us, draw from this presumption their remarkable conclusion in regard to the Bible in the public schools. Desirous that the present counter-protest be brought before the honorable Board of Education without delay, and, therefore, not having time for copying it once more and inserting what I wish to add in its proper place, I ask respectfully to be pardoned when I offer some additional remarks in the form of a postscript.

"A Christian State" means not only a State whose institutions and laws are permeated by the spirit of Christian ethics, but it means a State wherein the Christian Church, or a branch of it, is acknowledged as the ruling State Church. So were the Papal States and the kingdom of Naples "Christian States" as long as they existed, because they recognized only one branch of the Christian religion, and the Christian Church; *viz.*, the Roman Catholic Church; and Jews, Protestants, etc., could live there by sufferance only. So were Mecklenburg and Norway, until a short number of years ago, Christian States, because their Constitutions declared the Protestant religion as the State religion, and non-Protestants were denied equal rights with Protestants. So was Maryland, forty or fifty years ago, still a Christian State, because her Constitution then in force contained the clause that only believers in the Trinity were eligible or appointable to State offices. So was North Carolina, not long since, still a Christian State, because her Constitution insisted that State offices could be filled only by confessors of the Christian religion. So was England a Christian State before she emancipated the Catholics in 1829, and opened the gates of the Parliament to the Jews in 1858; and of her it may even to-day be said that she is a Christian State, because there is an established State Church there, to whose support Jews, Dissenters, and Catholics are forced to pay their contributions; and because, if I am not mistaken, some high clerical dignitaries of the State Church are *ex officio* sitting as members in the upper House of Parliament.

But, happily, our Union, and the States in our Union, have now all refuted the obsolete Christian State idea. They have broken the chains which the Christian State had riveted. God be praised that Church and State are separated in our country! God be praised that the Constitution of the United States and of the single States are now all freed from this danger-breeding ideal! God be praised that they are "atheistical," as they have been accused to be by some over-zealous, dark warriors who desire to overcome the nineteenth century, and to restore again the fourteenth century! God be praised that this has been accomplished in our Union; and may now our Constitutions and State institutions remain "atheis-

tical" just as well as our manufactories, our banks, and our commerce are.

And in the face of this clear fact, in the face of the fact that everywhere in the civilized world where still some remnants of the mediæval Christian State are remaining, the nations are striving to throw off that yoke, and to throw it to the rubbish of past ages,—in the face of these facts, our protesting fellow-citizens maintain that ours is a Christian State and a Christian government! It is strange, indeed, that prominent and well-educated gentlemen, and particularly that lawyers who certainly should have known better, should sign their names under such a wild, unfounded, and untrue statement, and that upon the basis of this bottomless statement they should come forward and demand that the Christian Bible, the Protestant Bible, the Old Testament, and the New Testament, should be text-books in our schools, and that Christian dogmas and views should be instilled into the hearts of all the children in the land, the children of non-Christians included.

Gentlemen of the Board of Education! It would no doubt be an insult to you were we to express the fear that you would give countenance and support to the views of the protest. We are, on the contrary, confident that you will side firmly and unshakably with the nineteenth century, and make front against the fourteenth century; and that you will not undo your former action in regard to the Bible in the public schools.

Very respectfully, B. FELSENTHAL.
—N. Y. Jewish Times, Nov. 12.

MR. BRADLAUGH'S VIEWS OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL, {
NEW YORK, Sept. 27. }

I went yesterday to hear O. B. Frothingham, the President of the Free Religious Association, preach to his Independent Church in the handsome Masonic Temple, at the corner of Twenty-third Street. Mr. Frothingham took for his subject, "The Liberal's Allegiance to Faith." The word "Liberal" is used by our friends of the Boston *Investigator*, and of THE INDEX, much as the word "Freethinker" is used in England. In Mr. Frothingham's sermon there was indeed much that was in the highest degree noble and true; but some phrases occurred here and there that, to my mind, clashed very awkwardly with his more thorough utterances. To understand the standpoint from which Mr. Frothingham preached, it is necessary to recall to our readers the principles of the Free Religious Association. To quote the words of its last official report: "Its members may be members of churches and sects, and adherents of some special form of religion, or they may not be. In the membership of this Association, no one is asked what are his religious connections elsewhere. Each member is responsible for himself, and no one for another." Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who was appointed by the President to deliver the opening address at the last annual conference of the Free Religious Association, affirmed that its members are not even asked to agree on what they mean by the word religion, and added that "it was the best compliment ever paid to the Free Religious Association," when some one wrote that he had been present at a previous "convention, where half-a-dozen persons talked about religion, and each of the half-dozen put a different definition on the word." "Thank God," says Colonel Higginson, "that each man or woman here can define religion in his or her own way. If there is a man to whom all religion is concentrated in the Roman Catholic Church, and in the Jesuit order of that Church, and he can come here and confer with us, let him come. And if, on the other hand, there is an Atheist, who elevates Atheism into a religion, putting his own sense of the word, and his convictions of truth, into honest life, obedient to the laws of God and man, whether he calls them by that name or not, let him come here and take a seat—take the highest seat among us. I will say 'the highest,' for if a man is consistent with his own ideal of right, who is entitled to take a seat above him?"

I cannot, I avow, understand this position. The honest Roman Catholic, the sincere disciple of the Society of Jesus, recognizes the duty of complete submission to authority in all matters of religious opinion. But the Roman Catholic doctrine of submission to authority is, or ought to be, the very antithesis of the views of the Free Religionists, for it negates all possible freethought. And, either consciously or unconsciously, Mr. Higginson himself, by speaking of the Atheist possibly elevating Atheism into a religion, affirms his own conviction, at any rate, of the inferiority of Atheism as compared with this undefined religion. Mr. Frothingham, in his sermon, affirmed that the "negative" campaign by the Freethought party against superstition had proved a failure. Yet if it had not been for that negative campaign, conducted by brave men and women, against overwhelming odds, and through many generations of apparently hopeless struggle, how would it have been possible to-day for Mr. Frothingham to address a congregation in sermons, ignoring prayer, rejecting the doctrine of natural depravity, discussing the atonement, turning indignantly from the dogma of eternal torment, denying special providence, repudiating the divine inspiration of the Old and New Testaments, and generally affirming heretical views on the most religious questions?

Martyr Bruno did not fail; the Encyclopædists did not lose every battle they fought; Paine, Kneeland, and Carille did achieve some success, even if they only won for Mr. Frothingham a safe standing-place for the utterance of his teachings. The New York *Herald* to-day gives a fair summary of Mr. Froth-

ingham's sermon, and I select a few extracts, not as doing justice to the whole, but to give my readers some notion of the teachings. The preacher said:—

"The possession of faith is one of the ennobling attributes of man. To be without it is to be without imagination or higher instincts. To have such a feeling and to allow it to dwindle into nothingness is most reprehensible in a life like this."

This is misleading; "faith" in the unknowable is not an ennobling attribute. Confidence in the improbability of humanity; faith in the ultimate enfranchisement of the human mind from the trammels of superstition; earnest belief in the redemption of the masses from the bondage of poverty and ignorance; all these are ennobling; but the "faith" in an impenetrable to-morrow, the faith in an unknowable Deity; this faith—strong only in proportion to the superstition of the faithful—has in it only deteriorating elements. Mr. Frothingham would probably reply that he does not mean religious faith, but unfortunately many will so understand him. Defending the Freethinker's position, Mr. Frothingham said:—

"It is common to exclaim that the Orthodox outnumber the Liberals so greatly, that the first occupy the largest place in the chart of Christendom. However, enthusiasm is not dependent upon numbers. As we have seen in Alexander's campaign in Persia, and in many other wars, how often does a small handful of people vanquish a great horde! It is said also that wealth is on the side of the Orthodox. This is true. Somehow or other, Conservatism does get hold of the money, while Radicalism either spends its money or does not get it to spend. Here is a Church, almost world-wide, which says, 'Come in; you shall be able to move in the best society.' But every church is only weakened by these slipshod, smirking people. If Liberalism makes no such appeal to mankind, it is all the stronger for being unable to make one."

Mr. Frothingham urged that—

"The sectarian spirit also accounts for the wealth and extension of the Orthodox bodies. It is the sectarian spirit that will build two churches where there was only one; that will found newspapers and missions and colleges. Is it desire for the truth that impels these doings? No; it is the desire to advance the prosperity and glory of your sect. This sectarian spirit is made up of some of the ugliest qualities of which human nature is composed. Liberalism offers nothing like this as inducement to people to establish their own platform. If the Liberal has any passion, it is for good-will, for kindness, for charity. It is unreasonable to suppose that these people will have the same strength of enthusiasm as those whose fanaticism is born of their sectarianism. Men will always fight harder and spend more money to put people down than to lift them up."

Taking affirmative ground, Mr. Frothingham says:—

"It is in preaching that the Liberal religion makes its strongest appeal to mankind for support. To make it manifest that this life is really a worthy, beautiful, profound thing, is an imperative task, and this is the task to which Liberalism sets itself—to teach men to revere it, to love its beauty; so that they, for the mere love of it, will practice the noblest virtues. It requires the devotion of any people to make this manifest, to reveal the duty of practical holiness in man's daily relations. Liberalism speaks to its own: 'If you feel deeply the importance of character, put your shoulders to the wheel, and teach this gospel of character until it is fairly established in the hearts of men!'"

It was when Mr. Frothingham spoke of God that he seemed to me to convey what must either be the opposite of his own convictions, or must be fatally contradictory of his other teachings. He described "God" as a "conscious," "willing" Being, and only complained of the Orthodox interpretation of the name. He said:—

"Think that the word 'God' has stood for all that is awful and miserable, and yet lose this word and you lose all. Liberalism would fain re-read it, would cast the demons all out of it, would fill it with such sweetness and holiness that even the most enthusiastic materialist would breathe it with reverence. The word 'immortality,' that glorious word—how it has been cribbed, confined, clipped, perverted to the uses of particular sects, till it has come to be interpreted as the very reverse of its real and original meaning. The Spiritualist, the Pantheist, the Theist, the Catholic, and the Protestant all attach to it different meanings. Liberalism does not appear with a horoscope of the future. It leaves all questions of private pain or pleasure out of all regard. It says: 'Think of your power to leave something to mankind that will be immortal, that will be deathless!'"

He concluded:—

"In order that I may emphasize again the advantages of the Liberal spirit, I would say that it keeps open all the doors and windows of the truth. It fixes nothing, so that it cannot be moved. Every other church claims to have a monopoly of certain beliefs, and says that there are certain questions which must never be asked, certain doctrines which must never be disturbed. Liberals alone take the ground that the whole domain of thought and faith is free. At the same time Liberalism tries its hand again and again at the solution of the infinite problem of life in the universe of matter and mind. It is a great thing to live believing that nothing is unknowable, that we can—with time, effort, and ability, or at any rate that others may—know everything. Simply to stand in that attitude is already to stand with the head in the light. Granted there are problems which we shall never solve; but should we not do what we can to con-

tribute toward that result? Liberals stand in that position, and claim the allegiance of all men who hope that light may come where now there is darkness; that sweetness, tranquillity, and hope shall reign in the place of fear, superstition, and dogmatism."

Right or wrong, preachers like Mr. Frothingham do the world good service. For the grand truths uttered we thank them, and we listen attentively and reverently even where we differ.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.
—National Reformer, Oct. 2.

THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOL QUESTION.

EDITOR COURIER:—

I am grieved and surprised at the course you have taken in the discussion of the school question. You seem to forget the important truth that ours is a Christian country—a Protestant country. A few days ago you quoted an extract from a speech made by Dr. Butler at the recent session of the Episcopalian Church Congress in Philadelphia, condemning the practice of reading the Bible in the public schools. You seemed to quote this with approval. I am one of those who believe in the daily reading of the Holy Scriptures in the public schools. Who among the people of this country oppose this? First come the Jews, who are taught to hate Christianity. They don't want the Christian Bible read in our schools, and they would like to banish Christian literature therefrom. Indeed, in Philadelphia they are now demanding that *Wayland's Moral Philosophy* shall not be used as a text-book, because it teaches the doctrine of the trinity. Next come the infidels, who deny the great and sublime truths of Christianity. This class comprises those who have no religion at all, and transcendentalists who have been led away by that will-o'-the-wisp called Spiritualism. These are for banishing from our public schools that grand Christian literature which has been the slow, healthy growth of centuries. This infidel class is largely recruited by German freethinkers, who come to our shores by thousands every year. These German infidels are by far the most dangerous. Although Germany was the land that gave birth to the Reformation, she has since given birth to a whole brood of freethinking, irreligious, and immoral writers, whose works have poisoned the minds of millions. The growth of infidelity here in this land which was dedicated by our fathers to Christ is truly alarming. Lastly, the Catholic Church, or rather its bishops and priests, are opposed to the Protestant Bible in the public schools; but probably would not object to the reading of the Douay or Catholic version. The Jews, the Infidels—German and American,—and the Catholics, are all striving to drive out the Bible from the common schools. Shall we, the descendants of those who built up Protestant Christianity on this continent, submit to this? The point has, I am informed, been yielded in many parts of the country, and there are thousands of our schools in which the blessed truths of the Bible are no longer heard. There should be an awakening on this subject. We don't want our common schools to be secularized. They are, or should be, Protestant Christian schools. We tolerate here the Jew, the Infidel, and the Catholic; they are allowed to follow their own course only by our free institutions. They must not undertake to drive religion from our public schools. If I had my own way about the matter, I would not allow a man or woman to teach in the public schools unless he or she should be a member in good standing in some one of our evangelical churches. Christianity is our only hope as a people. To it we must look for our preservation as a nation in the future. The early settlers of New England understood this, and acted upon this principle. To the sturdy men who landed on that rock-bound and desolate coast we owe a debt of gratitude for establishing pure Christianity on this continent. It must not be destroyed by Jews, Infidels, or Catholics. We must teach these people that the common school system is ours—that we intend it shall be a Christian system of teaching. For the toleration which we have afforded them, they must share the burden of supporting it, whether they are pleased with it or not. Pure Christianity and education based upon it should be the platform on which every American is to stand. German freethinkers are endeavoring to destroy our Christian Sabbath, and break down all respect for it; the Jewish people in our large cities persist in keeping open their places of business on Sunday in violation of law; the infidel has no respect for one day over another, and talks his disbelief in Christ in an open and blatant manner; and the Catholic clergy are striving by all means to carry out their Popish programme. All these elements are trying to override that system of Christianity worshipped by our fathers, and which through their trials and sufferings took firm root on this continent. I have been a constant reader of your paper since it started, and have often noticed that you have been very partial in your comments upon fairs, festivals, or meetings held by Catholics, Spiritualists, Jews, anti-Christian secret societies, and Free-thinkers; but I have noticed that you rarely take the pains to afford an opportunity to read in your columns an occasional sermon preached by any one of our evangelical clergymen. This partiality shows on which side you stand. All this I could endure with patience; but now that you are in favor of banishing morality and Christianity from our public schools I feel called on to protest, and, if you persist in your course, to cut loose from you.

A READER.

COMMENTS. The author of the above communication is at liberty to "cut loose" from us at his earliest convenience. Personally, we have respect for him, and regret to have been the occasion of injury

to his feelings. But for his frank avowal that the above are his honest sentiments, we could have hardly believed that there is in our midst a man of ordinary intelligence who is such an inordinate bigot as the writer of the above proves himself to be. We repeat, if he wishes to discontinue his reading of the *Courier*, we know of no law to prevent him from so doing. And if he wishes his name given to the public, he shall be gratified. If he thinks he can intimidate us, he may take his lifetime to find out his mistake. So far as this paper is concerned, we aim to treat all religious sects alike. Religious persecution has always been hateful to us.

Now, a word concerning the Bible in our public schools. American citizens of the Hebrew faith are not believers in the New Testament Scriptures. They help support our schools, and they should have the same privileges in the schools that Christians possess. Again, the Catholics do not accept King James' version of the Bible as authentic. There are other citizens who utterly reject the Bible as a book of inspired teachings. The whole difficulty can be got over by discontinuing the reading of the Bible entirely in the common schools. Let it be settled that our public schools are not for religious instruction. The highest order of morals, without touching upon religious faith, should be inculcated. Let every man have the largest liberty of conscience possible. Let not the Jew attempt to force his creed upon the Christian, nor the Christian, by the aid of our public institutions, seek to impose his faith upon the Jew. Our friend is an earnest Protestant Christian. He will hardly consent to have it said that the truths of Christianity require the aid of civil law for their proper spread and growth. We tell our friend that if the Jews should ever try to deprive him of his religious liberty, he would find us arrayed with him in resisting the attempted usurpation. Or, if he should ever seek to interfere with the religious privileges of the Jews, he would find us resisting him. Our government is neither Hebrew nor Christian, neither Catholic nor Protestant. We have not yet gone so far in blasphemy as to place God in the Constitution, as some over-zealous people would have done. The preservation of our free institutions may depend upon the prevalence of pure Christianity, but they do not depend upon any sectarian system.

Our friend, if allowed his way, would connect Church and State in this country. The whole drift of his letter shows it. But he should know that German freethinkers have just as good religious rights in the United States as he possesses, and no better.—*Titusville (Pa.) Courier*, Nov. 19.

CHAUNCEY WRIGHT.

The sudden and untimely death of Mr. Chauncey Wright should be mourned not only by the few whose privilege it has been to enjoy the friendship of so wise and amiable a man, but by all those to whom sound philosophy is a matter of real concern. None, however, save the friends who knew the rich treasures of his mind as shown in familiar conversation, are likely to realize how great is the loss which philosophy has sustained in his death. For not only was he wanting in the mere literary knack of expressing his thoughts in language generally intelligible and interesting, but he was also singularly devoid of the literary ambition which leads one to seek to influence the public by written exposition. Indeed, had he possessed more of this kind of ambition, perhaps the requisite knack would not have been wanting; for Mr. Wright was not deficient in clearness of thought or in command of language. The difficulty—or, if we prefer so to call it, the esoteric character—of his writings was due rather to the sheer extent of their richness and originality. His essays and review articles were pregnant with valuable suggestions, which he was wont to emphasize so slightly that their significance might easily pass unheeded; and such subtle suggestions made so large a part of his style that, if any of them were lost sight of by the way, the point and bearing of the entire argument was liable to be misapprehended. Consider, for instance, the richness of his last article in the *Nation*, on "German Darwinism," which, incidental to the notice of a not very important book, contains one of the most profound expositions of Baconian philosophy that has ever been given to the world. Here, as in most of Mr. Wright's most recent papers, there is little difficulty in following his train of thought; but it is this same compact suggestiveness, so to speak, which makes his elaborate essay on "The Evolution of Self-Consciousness" (*North American Review*, April, 1873,) so hard to understand, and the exuberance of which half tempted him to give this paper the very esoteric title of "The Cognition of *Cogito*." A writer who kept the public in his mind would not work in this way, but would more often give pages loaded with concrete illustrations where Mr. Wright only gave sentences almost epigrammatic in their terseness. If Mr. Wright did not keep the public in his mind while writing, it was not from the pride of knowledge, for no feeling could have been more foreign to him, and there was something almost touching in the endless patience with which he would strive in conversation to make abstruse matter clear to ordinary minds; it was because he was a writer who did not regard himself as in the presence of a public, who though in soliloquy, and whose favorite expressions were fraught with connotations too numerous and too far-reaching to be quickly apprehended.

It was only some such circumstance as these, joined to a kind of mental inertness which made some unusually strong incentive needful to any prolonged attempt at literary self-exposition, that prevented Chauncey Wright from taking rank among the foremost philosophers of the nineteenth century.

An intellect more powerful for its union of acuteness with sobriety has not yet been seen in our country. In these respects he reminds one of Mr. Mill whom he so warmly admired. But, while hardly inferior to Mill in penetrating and fertile ingenuity, we think he unquestionably surpassed the latter in native soberness or balance of mind. A thinker more rigidly loyal to Baconian principles we do not know where to seek; and the paper on "German Darwinism," where he points out the kind of philosophizing most congenial to his temperament, reads now like a parting reminder to show us what we have lost in losing such a mind.

It is indeed a bitter thing to lose a thinker of this mould, just in the prime vigor of life, and at a time when the growing habit of writing seemed to be making authorship easier and pleasanter, so that in years to come we were likely to have had even richer and brighter thoughts from the pen that must now forever lie idle. The general character of the philosophy—"unsystematic" perhaps, but fruitful in hints—that might have been by and by more fully illustrated, is well enough outlined in the scattered papers which ought now to be gathered together for convenient study. In these are to be found suggestions of a scheme of thought such as has already been wrought into shape by Mill and Bain, but perhaps even more severely scientific, even more freed from the "teleologisches Gefühl" (I do not say therefore necessarily more true), than any other yet propounded. And along with this there are solutions of special points in the economy of Nature which well deserve attention for their own sake, as in the paper on Phylloxera contributed to the *Memoirs of the American Academy*. But all that could now be done in the way of editing would give but an inadequate impression of Chauncey Wright to those who have not listened to his wise and pleasant talk. To have known such a man is an experience one cannot forget or outlive. To have had him pass away, leaving so scanty a record of what he had in him to utter, is nothing less than a great public calamity.—*John Fiske, in the Harvard Advocate*.

A JEWISH PROTEST.

This afternoon President Stanton, of the Board of Education, transmitted to the board, in regular meeting, the following letter from the Jewish ministers of this city:—

HON. M. H. STANTON, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION:

Dear Sir,—The Board of Hebrew Ministers beg to submit the accompanying article in the *Jewish Record* to the consideration of the body over whom you preside. They, and the congregations they represent, confidently believe that the sense of justice by which you are animated, and your perfect knowledge of the principles which govern our institutions of learning, will secure an early removal of the cause of their complaint.

Yours respectfully, S. MORAIS.

The article referred to is headed "Sectarianism in Schools," and says: "The objectionable book is entitled *Elements of Moral Science*, by Francis Wayland, D.D., and while admirably adapted for those who are to be instructed in Christianity, and the doctrines of a Trinity, yet as our public schools are established and paid for out of the purses of all denominations, they are intended to implant in the rising generation secular knowledge, leaving to the Church the duty and the obligation of instilling peculiar tenets.

"After a cursory glance through the book in question, we see enough to make it the imperative duty of Jewish parents to require its use discontinued, and some other, free from sectarian bias, substituted." It then goes on to cite the objectionable passages to the Jewish community, which refer to Jesus Christ as one of the Godhead.—*Philadelphia Evening Telegraph*, Nov. 9, 1875.

THE PARIS CORRESPONDENT of the *London Times* telegraphs the principal passages in the speech of His Holiness to a company of pilgrims from Franche Comté. In the course of this speech the Pope took occasion to attribute the commercial strength of France and her possession of a sound currency to the piety of her people, and more than hinted that the soft paper currency of Italy was a curse upon her for the sins of her rulers. This passage in the speech runs as follows:—

"I admire, I repeat, that transformation of France, and I rejoice at it. I admire her edifying pilgrimages, the assiduity with which her people approach the sacraments, and the works of charity which multiply in her. I, lastly, admire every great work done in her in favor of religion. But I admire much more the pity and goodness of God toward us. God has wished to show by his favors that your works of justice and holiness have ascended to his throne like balmy incense. Is it not true that at the present time trade is flourishing in France, that the harvest is rich and luxuriant in several provinces, that sounding money circulates abundantly in your country, while elsewhere, and especially here in Italy, it disappears, to give place to another currency which gives no sound save that produced by a great mass of paper thrown violently on to a hard table or on to the pavement? I will say, then, and you will say with me, that these public acts of piety and charity, and these religious practices, so far from deserving the sarcasm of wicked men and the disapprobation of weak individuals, touch the heart of God in our favor, and induce him to console us by spiritual peace, and even by the abundance of earthly riches."

A MILKMAN said he never saw a pail of water but he had an unconquerable desire to put a bit of milk into it.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE PANTHEIST.

Weary of familiar faces,
Nature hides them in her bosom,
While a fresher throng emerges,
Radiant with unwrinkled beauty.

Persons, races, generations,
Fleeting organs of the spirit,
Fuller swells its diapason
Through the slow-evolving ages.

Leaf-like bloom they, leaf-like wither;
But the soul of man forever
Through them climbs to wider vision,
Its ideal seeth clearer.

For, re-born, re-youthed forever,
Spirit, Nature, keep their vigor,
Into fairer blossoms bursting,
And dispensing richer odors.

Ray of rays and fount of brightness,
Kindling suns with life and splendor!
Heart of hearts, forever beating!
Boundless sea, us inlets filling!

Force of forces, never weary!
Cloudless azure of the spirit,
Raying justice, truth, and beauty!
Thou art round us, thou art in us,

Welling at the roots of being,
Wearing Nature as a garment;
Why repine we, wherefore murmur,
That illusions swiftly vanish,
Melting into changeless substance?

B. W. BALL.

IN MEMORY OF JOSEPH GUIBORD.

The storm of six long years is past,
And peacefully he rests at last;
Thrice hearsed, thrice cursed, let honest fame
Blow treble honor to his name;
If thrice six years of praise ensue
'Tis but the hero's earthly due.

The humble printer's mighty art,
Though banned, will vindicate her son,
And tell to every truthful heart—

While woods are green, and waters run—
That he who braves a despot's frown
Will wear at length the victor's crown;
Even when slain, and torn asunder,
And scattered piecemeal, trodden under
The brutal feet of frenzied foes,
His deeds will rise as Christ's arose,
And borne upon the chainless air
Will plead for freedom everywhere.

Let curses from their rookery fly,
And flap their foul wings o'er his bones,
The autumn wind that round him moans
Will mock them, while in vain they try
To penetrate those friendly stones.

Come what might come, from man or elf,
He dared not quarrel with himself,
Nor stab the Truth that in his breast
Had found a warm and welcome nest.
No terrors of the burning lake,
Fancied or real, beyond the grave,
Nor purgatorial flames could shake
His manly soul, so firm and brave,
For he was neither fool nor slave.
True to himself, he lived and died,
Not wilful, nor elate with pride,
But steadfast in his honest thought,
Self-justified, self-ruled, self-taught.

Our Brother! wheresoever now
Thy spirit lifts its free-born brow,
Behold thy kindred! Not alone
In Canada will thousands own
Relationship; throughout all lands—
Wherever freedom shines or dawns,—
An army with uplifted hands,
Impelled by glowing links that bind
Nobility of mind to mind,
Will crown thee with their benisons.

Thus, Guibord! shall the commonwealth
Of truth's and reason's fearless sons—
Scorners of men who think by stealth,—
Now hold thee in fraternal trust,
And consecrate thine injured dust,
While woods grow green, and water runs.

G. MARTIN.

—*Montreal Witness*.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 27.

L. G. Felch, \$10; Geo. L. Clarke, \$20; E. M. Waddell, \$3.20; S. B. Scofield, \$2; W. F. Padelford, \$3.20; L. Coellis, 75 cents; H. J. Young, \$1; W. J. Potter, \$2; S. H. Morse, \$2; Jas. Davison, 80 cents; L. O. Bass, \$10; H. Colt, \$10; Chas. Richardson, \$10; C. D. B. Mills, \$12.50; O. F. Mason, \$5; C. E. Gager, \$1; L. P. Babb, \$1; W. L. Ormsby, 25 cents; G. W. Park, 10 cents; James W. Bartlett, \$20; Mrs. C. A. Tucker, \$10; Thos. Mumford, \$13; E. L. Saxon, 75 cents; C. H. Greene, \$1.60; G. A. Atwood, \$1.60; P. B. Dean, \$3; Chas. Ochs, \$3; A. C. Edmunds, \$1; C. A. Greenleaf, \$1.50; Leonard Church, \$7.55; American News Co., \$2.60; C. L. Wait, 25 cents; R. P. Halliwell, \$10; John Weiss, \$10; John Wilson, \$20; E. P. Wilder, \$1.60; J. Finlayson, \$4; H. K. Oliver, Jr., \$1.20; R. H. Ranney, \$1.20; Frank M. Reed, \$1.50; Cash, \$2.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 2, 1875.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRANCIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

THE FIRST number of the *Pacific Liberal*, a little eight-page monthly paper just started by Mr. A. J. Boyer at San Francisco, has been issued. Taking for its motto—"The Absolute Secularization of the State is the Hope of the Nation: Mental Liberty is its Chief Corner-Stone," and adopting as its platform the "Demands of Liberalism," it of course commands our hearty sympathy. It comprehends the crisis, stands unflinchingly for secular schools, and cannot fail to be very useful. Let such voices be heard everywhere.

CANNOT you form a club of five new subscribers to THE INDEX, among your own friends and acquaintance? To clubs of five new subscribers the paper will be sent for a year at \$2.50 each; to clubs of ten new subscribers, at \$2.00 each. An extra copy will be sent free to the getter-up of the club. This reduction cannot be made to any whose names are now on our mail-list, as it is made in the hope that such new subscribers will renew at regular rates. Now is the time to help THE INDEX, if you really value its ideas and aims.

THE EVANGELICAL reaction against the assaults of the Roman Catholic Church on the public school system has expressed itself in the establishment of a new sixteen-page monthly journal, called the *National Protestant*. The first number has been already issued, for November, 1875, at New York. The ground it takes is that of the overwhelming majority of Evangelical churches. Starting with the premise that "everywhere the foreign-born papistical priesthood make war upon the use of the Bible in the public schools," it proposes to defend the existing practice. But to do this, it must go further; and thus the way is paved for the advent of a powerful Christian Amendment party.

THE SPRINGFIELD *Republican* takes a jovial view of the religious situation: "Mr. Grant is too brave a man to be letting on to be 'scairt' of the Pope. We are not likely to see any closer union of Church and State in this country than the small one for a cent which has been brought about by our Methodist cardinal, Brother Newman. Nor is the administration called upon to borrow trouble about the public schools. We shall have to completely secularize them sooner or later; the sooner, the better. This once done,—and the justice and good policy of it are so obvious that the Protestant clerical mind is becoming reconciled to it,—Trustee Grant of the Metropolitan church need not lie awake nights worrying about the public schools. There is a real hardship and injustice in compelling the Catholic, or Hebrew, or Buddhist citizen to pay taxes for the support of schools in which the Protestant Bible is read, Protestant hymns sung, and Protestant prayers offered. Correct this, and all danger is at an end. The priests may feel themselves compelled by the *Syllabus* to go on with their complaints and demands for a division of the school-funds; but with many of them it will be very perfunctory and distasteful business, and the intelligent laity will not take any stock in it, even though, for peace's sake, they contribute to the support of the parochial schools. The fact is, that America is at once bigger and more vital than Rome; the Catholic Church can never become strong enough in this country to be a danger until it Americanizes itself; and then it will have ceased to be dangerous. The attempt to manufacture an artificial 'religious issue' for use next year is foredoomed to failure. The American people cannot be induced to look at the Pope's toe through a magnifying glass."

CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

For years THE INDEX has been warning the people of the United States that the Constitutional safeguards of their religious liberty are insufficient, and likely to be subjected to a severe and perilous strain in the not distant future. These warnings have been received with indifference, with doubt, with incredulity, even with derision, by the majority of the liberals of the country, although some of them have had sufficient keenness and sweep of vision to comprehend the true state of the case. The cool reception given to these warnings, instead of convincing us of their inutility or superfluity, has only deepened our conviction of the necessity of arousing the people to take in season such precautions as may be effectual in preventing the sudden outbreak of a bitter religious strife in politics—which every patriotic citizen must deprecate as a terrible evil. With this conviction, we proposed, in THE INDEX of January 1, 1874, a form of amendment to the United States Constitution which would secure the desired object, and which has since been published every week on the first page of the paper. Recognizing, however, the fact that the time had not yet come when such a measure would seem to the people to be necessary, we have said very little on the subject directly, preferring to let the weekly publication of the Religious Freedom Amendment produce its natural effect, and to wait till events should prove the necessity of the measure. But last winter we made a private attempt to bring the matter before our countrymen in a way to command their serious attention, as explained by the following letter:—

BOSTON, Jan. 8, 1875.

HON. CARL SCHURZ, U. S. SENATE:

Dear Sir,—I had the great privilege of hearing your noble oration in memory of Charles Sumner, as first delivered in Boston; and still more recently I listened to your lecture on "Educational Problems" in Cambridgeport. The hearing of these earnest words has somehow convinced me that you would sympathize with a wish very near my heart—to secure some Constitutional guarantee of the rights of absolutely free thought and speech. The persistent efforts to secure a recognition of God and Christianity in the United States Constitution, and my own conviction that this movement is only just beginning a very dangerous career, have led me to perceive the fact that, although the Constitution is today wholly free from theology, it very imperfectly protects religious liberty in the separate States, which are not prohibited, as States, from establishing Christianity by law. The first Amendment of the United States Constitution is not broad enough to protect the rights of freethinkers from many kinds of practical violation; and I enclose a printed copy of an amendment of this Amendment, which I have published in THE INDEX for a year. May I hope that you will kindly give me your opinion of it? If it can be improved, I should be very glad to receive your suggestions and to follow them. It is too much, perhaps, to hope that you would propose such an amendment to the Constitution in the Senate; yet I cannot but think that it would be a memorable act in your most honorable Senatorial career to be the first to propose so just, wise, and liberal a measure. Mr. Sumner was so kind as to present in the Senate a remonstrance of over 35,000 names which I had collected in opposition to the "God in the Constitution" movement. Since his death, I know no man in public life to whom I feel drawn to propose such a step as I have ventured to indicate, except yourself; for we have no other statesman worthy, by personal character and public fidelity, to wear his mantle. I cannot repress a hope that you will be willing to propose in some such form an amendment which shall put an end forever to reactionary, bigoted, and illiberal schemes. If I were only in the Senate myself, I should have no object so dear to me as this; and I cannot help believing that you would most nobly signalize your closing term by sending forth this measure to the people. Pardon my enthusiasm in this cause, and believe me

Yours with profound respect,

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

On the last day of his Senatorial term, March 4, 1875, Mr. Schurz returned a very kind reply to the above, of which the following passage (all that is germane to the subject) may be quoted without impropriety:—

"The fate of Mr. Morton's Constitutional Amendment concerning the election of the President may have suggested to you that, during this short session, overcrowded as it was with business, Constitutional Amendments had no chance of even being fairly discussed. The minds of all were filled up with other matters. As to the measure you propose, I am not quite sure whether the cause of religious liberty will at the present time not be better served by the defensive attitude occupied by most of its friends."

It was evident that the time for a bold defence of religious liberty had not yet come.

But during the last summer and autumn the political campaign in Ohio has had the effect of opening many hitherto sealed eyes to the necessity of defensive action, as well as of a "defensive attitude." It

is now more than probable that the Presidential campaign of next year will involve a general discussion on the relations of Church and State never yet paralleled in our national history; and, even sooner than we anticipated, the public mind bids fair to be occupied with political issues affecting profoundly the future of religious liberty on this continent. The persistent attack of the Catholic Church on our public school system and the strong Protestant Evangelical reaction against it, the evident coalition of Catholicism and Democracy (confessed by the former and not denied by the latter) in some of the States, the President's speech at Des Moines, and now (last but not least) the just published letter of Hon. James G. Blaine, ex-Speaker of the House of Representatives and a prominent candidate for the Presidency, who proposes a Constitutional Amendment expressly for the defence of an "unsectarian" school system, are so many very significant indications of the novel and grave character of the approaching Presidential campaign. Mr. Blaine's letter, addressed to a prominent Ohio gentleman, is too important not to be here reproduced in full:—

AUGUSTA, Me., Oct. 20, 1875.

My dear Sir,—The public school agitation in your late campaign is liable to break out elsewhere, and, occurring first in one State and then in another, may keep the whole country in a ferment for years to come. This inevitably arouses sectarian feeling, and leads to that bitterest and most deplorable of all strifes—the strife between religious denominations. It seems to me that this question ought to be settled in some definite and comprehensive way—and the only settlement that can be final is the complete victory for non-sectarian schools. I am sure this will be demanded by the American people at all hazards, and at any cost.

The dread of sectarian legislation in this country has been felt many times in the past. It began very early. The first amendment of the Constitution, the joint product of Jefferson and Madison, proposed in 1789, declared that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, nor prohibiting the free exercise thereof." At that time, when the powers of the Federal Government were untried and undeveloped, the fear was that Congress might be the source of danger to perfect religious liberty, and hence all power was taken from it. At the same time the States were left free to do as they pleased in regard to "an establishment of religion," for the tenth amendment, proposed by that eminent jurist, Theophilus Parsons, and adopted contemporaneously with the first, declared that "all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

A majority of the people in any State in this Union can therefore, if they desire it, have an established church—under which the minority may be taxed for the erection of church-edifices which they never enter, and for the support of creeds which they do not believe. This power was actually exercised in some of the States long after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and, although there may be no positive danger of its revival in the future, the possibility of it should not be permitted. The auspicious time to guard against an evil is when all will unite in preventing it.

And in curing this Constitutional defect, all possibility of hurtful agitation on the school question should be ended also. Just let the old Jefferson-Madison Amendment be applied to the States by adding the following to the inhibitory clauses in Section 10, Article 1, of the Federal Constitution, viz.:—

"No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect; nor shall any money so raised ever be divided between religious sects or denominations."

This, you will observe, does not interfere with any State having just such a school system as its citizens may prefer, subject to the single and simple restriction that the schools shall not be made the arena for sectarian controversy or theological disputation. This adjustment, it seems to me, would be comprehensive and conclusive, and would be fair alike to Protestant and Catholic, to Jew and Gentile—leaving the religious faith and the conscience of every man free and unmolested.

Very sincerely yours,

J. G. BLAINE.

We shall have something to say hereafter respecting this notable letter and the proposition it embodies; but at present, wishing merely to call attention to the rapidly growing demand for some additional Constitutional guarantees of religious liberty, we conclude this article with the following communication and editorial reply, extracted from the *New York Journal of Commerce*, of November 23:—

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 13, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE:—In your issue of the 10th inst., in reply to a correspondent, you say: "As the Constitution of the United States guarantees perfect religious liberty to all the people, no State can restrict this legally by any power." I think for once you are at fault. The Constitution merely prescribes that Congress shall

make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. Our religious liberty rests on State Constitutions, and the people of any State can adopt what provisions they please in their Constitutions, and restrict religions at their will. Papists are not absolutely free in New Hampshire, unless by a recent enactment.

WHO IS RIGHT?

REPLY.—We are quite aware that, as the Constitution of the United States stood up to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, this question of religious liberty as between the State and its inhabitants was left to local authority. The general government had tied its hands, not only in the clause quoted above, but also (in the Fourth Article) as to test-oaths; but had left the States at liberty to do as they pleased. Hence many bigoted and unwholesome tests were adopted by State legislatures. We may quote that of Missouri concerning the oath to be taken by priests, which was thought to be within the province of the State, but was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in *ex parte Garland*, 4 Wallace, 393. The Fourteenth Amendment, it is believed by many, puts an end to this sort of legislation. It declares that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." And it declares "all persons born or naturalized in the United States" to be such citizens. Under this, therefore, they claim perfect religious liberty for all persons born or naturalized in the United States. This claim may not be conceded, but we present it as it is made by those who engineered the Amendment.

It is only necessary to add that the Fourteenth Amendment was as little designed to secure religious liberty as it was to secure woman suffrage; and the Supreme Court would undoubtedly so decide in a test case, following its own precedents. Mr. Blaine's view of the matter is much more practical.

A NOTE FROM DR. BARTOL.

There travels through the newspapers, under sharp commentary, a phrase attributed to "Dr. Bartol," that "the hand of a writer for the daily press joins to the shoulder, but not to the brain,—belonging to some buyer." He really said that it is *not unfrequently* so. He might add that the voices of pulpits, on platforms, and in judicial courts, are often *ventriloquial*—not issuing from the seeming places. He wishes not to make needless hits, either to draw the enemy's blood or the enemy's fire. He commends to editors and writers, many of whom he counts among his best friends and benefactors, the grain or two of truth in his remark. It will be a happy day, not far from the millennium, when the pen traces, and the mouth utters, and the types print, not a policy or purchased opinion, but a personal faith, proof against any retaining fee.

O. A. B.

LIBERAL BIGOTRY.

It was the remark of a liberal leader that what he most dreaded now was not the despotism of the conservatives, but the despotism of the radicals. The conservatives, in his judgment, are disposed to make concessions,—at all events, seem willing to do justice to the motives of their opponents; while the radicals, taking advantage of this attitude, showed an inclination to sharpen definitions, erect barriers, raise assumptions to the dignity of dogmas, and condemn the unbelievers in their creed, by the wholesale, to the only perdition they acknowledge,—contempt. It would be pleasant to think there was no truth in such an opinion; probably there is less truth than the giver of the opinion himself imagined. Still, facts, whereon such a judgment might be grounded, are too conspicuous to be put out of sight. The *Investigator* of the 24th inst. contained an article calculated to confirm the worst apprehensions in this regard; and as the *Investigator* holds the first place among "infidel" papers, on account of its ability and its frankness, it is worth while to make note of its utterances.

A correspondent writes a communication entitled "Free Religion—Faith," in which, after calling Free Religion "a kind of whitewashed infidelity," "infidelity in a Christian disguise," he accuses one of the professors of Free Religion of "timidity or inconsistency, which leads him to disguise his real opinions in order that he may curry favor with Christians, and make a covert attack upon infidels." The letter contains other things that betray the writer's ignorance; but the language quoted is evidence of precisely the same spirit of bigotry that has been made fairly chargeable with the worst crimes and the saddest woes of the religious world. The Orthodox Christians associated heresy with sin, and consigned the unbeliever to the fires of hell. The "infidel" associates what is heresy to him with meanness, and consigns the unbeliever in his creed of materialism to the limbo of fools and deceivers. To disagree with him is to be a simpleton; to speak

of religion while discarding theology is hypocritical; and to recommend faith while discrediting the objects which technical Christians put faith in is to put on wolf's clothing in order to frighten the sheep.

The editor accepts the view of his correspondent. Instead of throwing the letter into the wastebasket as unworthy of attention, or printing it with corrective comments, he adds an emphasis to the insulting passages, by confessing his inability to understand how Mr. — can use the word faith, "unless it be in accordance with the sage advice that Hamlet gave his mother—'Assume a virtue if you have it not.'" This is a precise repetition of the error committed by the Orthodox Christians, without a shred of the Christian's excuse. For the "infidel" traces the sufferings and wrongs of ages to this very fault which a bitter experience should teach him to avoid; and he cannot pretend to the infallibility which was the Christian's justification. The Christian judged, as he believed, according to supernatural dictation. The "infidel" scorns the notion of such dictation, disavows all faith in supernatural power, yet pronounces a harsher doom; for to be classed with fools and hypocrites is a harsher doom than to be classed with theological sinners; to be branded with contempt among the living is worse than being sent to perdition among the dead.

The radicals, from policy if from no worthier principle, should try to do full justice to one another, in order that they may coöperate together in the immensely difficult labor of overthrowing superstition, defeating dogmatism, and making reason supreme in the domain of religion. They are few in numbers, poor in material goods, weak in organization, unsettled in opinion, greatly divided on the details of belief. Wisdom should suggest to them the practice of a generous confidence in each other. A prime necessity with them is an acknowledgment of the breadth of reason, the height and depth of knowledge. The difficulty of arriving at truth, and the value of every human faculty in the endeavor to reach it; the pretension to knowledge, the claim to a monopoly in the method of securing knowledge,—must be exceedingly injurious, must in the end be absolutely fatal, to the radical cause. If the spiritualists or idealists bear with the materialists or naturalists in spite of their crudeness, their literalness, their want of imagination, the latter should bear with the former, notwithstanding their sentiments and intuitions. The soldiers of the same army should not quarrel about weapons and uniforms.

The need of the Free Religious Association is felt to be a real one in view of such articles as this in the *Investigator*. As long as radicals fail to comprehend the principle, not of toleration, though that is not understood yet, but of rational liberty and justice, there will be call and work for an association organized for the purpose, and active in the task, of teaching different beliefs and believers how they may comprehend and help one another. The ancient unreasoning antagonism of beliefs must be completely overcome and wholly outgrown, before intelligent classifications based on fairly drawn distinctions can be made.

O. B. F.

FREETHOUGHT NOTES.

BY A VETERAN ENGLISH FREETHINKER.

Number Nine.

MR. EDITOR:—

Here am I writing letters month after month, and nobody knowing what I am except by your courtesy in describing me as a "freethinker"; an honorable term, if it was understood as meaning pure independence of thought. As you never can be sure what some people do understand, a few words of explanation as to what directions their thoughts should take may not be ill-timed. I belong to the advanced party, as it is conventionally called. "Advanced" party is a better term than extreme party; for "extreme" party is taken by foolish people (and you cannot prevent people in England being foolish—it is one of our constitutional privileges guaranteed us by State and Church, and especially by the Church) to mean something violent, as well as something projecting far beyond the verge of the practicable; whereas it only means that when a principle is proved good and found to be generally desirable, the extreme party think it good and desirable to carry it out. An advanced party is imagined, by persons who never think, to be a party quite out of sight. A more appropriate term for myself would be that of a member of the thorough party; that is, a party who intend to do, not violently, or extremely, or remotely,

but actually, reasonably, and completely, what ought to be done.

The longer I live, the more I am persuaded that fairness of statement and friendliness of act are indispensable means of advancing any cause. Paul, who had the most secular discrimination of all the apostles, said that "cleanliness was next to godliness." In such distant and humbler way as belongs to me, I should say that fairness of statement and respectful consideration towards others are next to principle. The cruel hand and calumnious tongue of Rome do more than all its adversaries to make it the terror and detestation of men of thought and humanity. To this day I do not reflect without some feeling upon the whole clerical party in England, Established and Nonconformist, who caused my imprisonment thirty-five years ago. At no time in my life did I undertake to speak upon one subject and introduce another. I had a theological mind, and I had a secular mind; but I never had a mixed mind. I always kept distinct things which are separate. My imprisonment arose, not out of the lecture I delivered, but out of an answer I gave in the discussion which followed it. A Wesleyan local preacher put a question concerning my opinions upon Deity, not because I had introduced that subject in my lecture on "Home Colonies," but because I had not. But upon this subject I need say no more, as I have related the whole in my *History of the Last Trial for Atheism in England*. All that is relevant here is that I was indicted for blasphemy for that answer, which Mr. Justice Erskine admitted was an honest one.

By attaching to me the disagreeable epithet of blasphemer, the Church imposed upon me an uncomfortable stigma for the future. In saying what I did, I had no meaning in my heart to blaspheme. The idea never entered my mind. I felt resentment against the Church, against the judge, against the jury, against the statute, against everybody and everything concerned in imputing so hateful an offence to me without taking the trouble to ascertain whether I could possibly intend it. It would have been as reasonable to have indicted the railway whistle for drowning the services of the Church, as to indict me for what I said. I merely uttered a cry of danger to warn honest people against those who put them to excessive expense in the name of spiritual service which might be rendered at a moderate charge. True, nobler men than I could hope to become had been branded with that hateful name. Even then I foresaw it boded mischief to me in all my days.

Some few years ago I entered a town during a contested election with the view of assisting a friend of mine (Mr. Bradlaugh) who was a candidate. He had enough himself to answer for in the way of heresy, and was not likely to be assisted on the platform by one who might be recognized as a more distinguished offender in the same way. A Freethought Society in the place asked me to deliver a lecture to them. I always agree to this, and I chose subjects which I thought might diminish theological prejudice in the borough. When the placards appeared on the walls, they announced my lecture as being by "the Mr. Holyoake who was imprisoned in 1841 in Gloucester jail," and so forth. It did not prove any political recommendation for the object which brought me to the town, that I was introduced to the notice of the electors as the Last of the Blasphemers.

A thousand times this inconvenient fact has confronted me, preventing me from obtaining engagements which otherwise would have been given me; sometimes preventing me from fulfilling engagements which had been given me; often obliging me to work in a nameless way, at a far lower rate than another person would be paid for the work I did. Not infrequently other persons obtained both the credit and the payment for the work they could not do, because I could not be recognized in the matter. I might give names of persons and journals where this has occurred; but this is of no moment. My purpose is to say it has occurred, and that I do not feel exactly grateful to those who occasioned it. I no more repine about it than a soldier does about his scars. Nevertheless a scar, if broad and deep, may imply disablement, and disablement is a disadvantage. I doubt not I have many times sharpened the edge of some sentences against theology in remembrance of that Cheltenham and Gloucester affair. It is pretty much all passed by now; but it has been a long time in passing, and I have had many opportunities of thinking of it.

The judges say that, though Christ prayed his Father might forgive his enemies, there is no proof which would be considered legal that he forgave

them himself. Certainly judges make this distinction; they often pray that a culprit before them may find mercy at the bar of God, without thinking themselves called upon to show it; and forthwith sentence the culprit to be hanged, and despatch him to heaven with a halter round his neck, which must be a bad letter of recommendation to St. Peter. What I mean chiefly to represent is that injustice is wrong, and that no party can commit it without danger of being disliked so long as the remembrance of it remains. Not even Christ should have forgiven, or asked forgiveness for, his enemies, except upon the conditions of their being better informed, and showing regret for their error, and making what restitution they could. It was not quite true that they "knew not what they did." They knew quite well that they were putting a man to death because they disliked his opinions; and, as he never advanced his pretensions by force, their cruelty was inexcusable. It is a crime to visit the errors of the ancient Jews upon their race; but it is justice to humanity to hold in detestation whoever imitates them, in the Christian or any other name. I say this because I would have all who hold secular opinions to be animated by noble principles and distinguished among men for noble conduct.

We have sustained a great loss in England; the *Church Herald* is reported to be dead. It was one of the most scandalous, virulent, unpleasant, defamatory clerical journals we had among us. When a journal on the side of what is regarded as that of truth and progress is imputative and offensive, or is systematically wanting in that consideration for the conviction of others which every sincere man likes to be shown to his own, its existence is to be deplored. When a paper representing Orthodoxy has these vices, its cessation is a misfortune, because its offensive activity kept people from feeling any respect for the errors it represented.

We have established a Church Congress at Stoke-upon-Trent, where the Athanasian Creed made no way. Mr. Beresford Hope, the single saint of the *Saturday Review*, promised English support for the Irish Church, if it would stand fast by the damnable clauses of that unpleasant and vindictive saint, Athanasius. He was told by a prelate of the Irish Church that two-thirds of the bishops, and two-thirds of the clergy, had declared against that calamitous creed, and preferred to take their stand by the side of the American clergy in this matter. But I leave all these things to your eminent contributor, Mr. Voysey, who can treat these subjects with an art and authority to which I do not pretend.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

22 ESSEX ST., TEMPLE BAR, LONDON, W.C.

Communications.

WHY SECTARIANISM IS WRONG.

MR. EDITOR:—

In your "Open Letter" to the President, you do well, I think, to call attention to the fact that the full value of his Des Moines speech can be better determined by a clear understanding as to whether his condemnation of "sectarian schools" is to be considered as applying to *all* religious worship and teaching in the public schools, or only to the teaching of such special doctrines as separate the Christian sects.

That it is wrong to maintain religious sectarianism in institutions supported by the public seems to be now pretty generally conceded.

It costs but very little to denounce a *word*, and so long as the word sectarianism is used in the *abstract*, there is rarely a bigot or sectary so bold as to openly claim for it a place in the public schools. But, as you have said, when we come to a practical test, and find that making the schools unsectarian means to many merely to waive the few points of difference between certain Christian sects, and that the maintaining of distinctive Protestant teaching and worship against the wishes of the Catholic, or of Christian teaching against the wishes of the Jew and freethinker, is by them considered unsectarian, and therefore right and proper, are not such persons actually advocating the sectarianism they pretend to denounce? If they are not, I am curious to know what they can discover in the "sectarianism" they do denounce that is objectionable.

This brings me to the question I had in mind when I took my pen: WHY is it wrong to have sectarianism in our public schools?

The failure to ask themselves this question accounts for the fact, I believe, that so many well-meaning persons, who would not intentionally sanction injustice, take the position above referred to. To my mind the answer is that sectarianism is wrong in that it gives supremacy to certain classes and sects over others entitled to equal rights and privileges. For instance: if teaching the truthfulness of Unitarian doctrines be wrong in public schools, it is because by so doing the scholars are taught that Trini-

tarian doctrines are false; and, since Trinitarians as well as Unitarians have to support the schools, such teaching is an infringement of the Trinitarian rights of conscience, and a denial of their equality as citizens. If this be not the real objection to sectarian teaching, I am at loss to know what is. We find, then, that religious class supremacy, by whatever name it may be called, is essentially sectarianism in its only objectionable sense.

Now, Protestant ideas are no less repugnant to the Catholic-Christian ideas no less repugnant to the Jew, Freethinker, or Confucian, and *vice versa*,—than Unitarianism is to Orthodoxy; in fact, they are still more so, their difference being greater. Unless, instead of this being "a government of the people, for the people, by the people," it is to be an acknowledged hierarchy, I am unable to see why Christian worship and the reading of the Christian Bible in the schools of "the people" is not as great a violation of the rights of the non-Christian, as teaching in them the adequacy of "sprinkling" or "pouring" would be a violation of the rights of the Baptist, and as truly sectarian.

Whenever we hear any one speak of resisting all attempts to make the public schools sectarian, let us remind him that they are in fact so *already*; and that we have no grounds in justice for asking the Catholics to refrain from attempting to force their *ism* into the schools, unless we resolutely determine to banish from them forever *all* religious *isms*, and remand them "to the family altar, the church, and the private school, supported entirely by private contributions," and thus take another step towards the complete separation of Church and State—the ideal of the founders of this republic.

There is yet plenty and to spare of religious party supremacy in this country. People are taxed in various ways for the support of a religion not their own; compelled to observe religious customs not their own; and denied equal rights and privileges for the non-acceptance of a religion not their own. But the eyes of many, including the Chief-Magistrate of this country, are getting opened to some phases of this injustice; and let us hope the eyes of all may be opened to the justice of the demand that the State be made purely secular, until at last truth and error may stand or fall on their own respective merits, unsupported by the strong arm of the law.

Q.

BOSTON, Nov.

PRESBYTERIANISM FIFTY YEARS AGO.

It may be a matter of interest, as showing the change which is going on in the character of the preaching of the present day in contrast with what was taught in doctrinal sermons fifty years ago, to quote an extract from one of those old discourses.

In 1819, the Rev. Wm. R. Weeks published nine sermons in Providence, R.I. Mr. Weeks was the pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Plattsburg, N.Y.

His text was Ephesians i., 11: "Who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will."

"In discoursing from these words, it is proposed to show that God has decreed or foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, and that he executes his decree by his own agency."

That God has decreed whatsoever comes to pass, this learned divine says, is evident from the fact that he possesses infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; and in answer to the objection that, "if God causes a man to sin, he ought not to be punished for it," he says: "When God causes us to choose, does that prevent our choosing?" "When God works in us to will and to do, does that prevent our own willing and doing?"

"God evidently decrees who shall accept and who shall reject the offers of salvation," and in these offers of salvation he evidently desires the salvation of only a part, notwithstanding the offers are to all. "Is it then best, on the whole, that every sinner should be saved? And does God, on the whole, taking into view all the consequences, upon the whole desire the salvation of every sinner? And is this the desire which is expressed in the offers of life? No; this cannot be the case. For if God did on the whole desire the salvation of every sinner, he would save every sinner. It is God that saves sinners, and he is able to save all as he is to save a part. If he did, on the whole, desire that every sinner should comply with the offers of salvation, he would change their hearts, and cause them to comply."

"It is he that takes away the stony heart, and gives a new heart; and he is able to do it in every instance, if he chooses. If he does not do it, then, in any instance, it is because he does not, on the whole, choose that that particular sinner should be saved. If God does, on the whole, desire the salvation of every sinner, why does he not do all he can to save them? Why does he not use with them all the means he can? He could raise up more preachers; he could pour out his spirit; he could awaken the careless and secure; he could place before every sinner a lively view of the glories of heaven and the torments of the damned; he could send his gospel to all nations; he could furnish his preachers with all those miraculous gifts which were so instrumental in spreading the gospel at first; he could do a thousand things he does not do for the promotion of the salvation of all men. It is evident, then, that he does not, on the whole, desire the salvation of all men, but chooses for some wise reason that a part should perish, and, according to his own word, 'sends them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie, that they might be damned.' Since, therefore, God does not, on the whole, desire the salvation of all men, the offers of life which are made to all do not express a desire on the whole for the salvation of all."

"But God does desire the salvation of all men, in

itself considered. He views it as exceedingly desirable. And the offers of life, the invitations, warnings, threatenings, expostulations, and commands, express this desire, and they express what God sincerely feels. But they do not express any other desire, and God does not feel any other desire for the salvation of those he does not save."

"The salvation of a particular sinner may be exceedingly desirable in itself, while, on the whole, for some wise reason, it may be best he should not be saved. God, therefore, may, without any inconsistency, sincerely desire his salvation in itself considered, while, on the whole, all things considered, he desires his destruction. He may, therefore, express his desire for his salvation, in itself considered, by offering him life, and exhorting him to choose it, and be very sincere in it; while at the same time, since his damnation is best, on the whole, he may decree his damnation, and harden his heart, and 'send him strong delusion that he might be damned.'"

The above is a fair specimen of the logic and doctrine taught in the volume of sermons on the text named. A comparison with what may now be listened to from the average Evangelical pulpit will reveal a most astonishing change, showing that even the theological world moves.

SKYLIGHT.

THE SPHERE OF GOVERNMENT.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In *THE INDEX* of November 11, under the caption of "The Function of Government," I notice an article by S. P. Putnam which in my opinion properly defines the general principle on which a truly democratic government must rest; and I agree with him that its complexity must increase, and its authority be extended, with the growth of civilization.

With every word of the first part of this article I cordially agree, but must differ from him when he proceeds to point out some "directions in which this increased function of government must find play." He maintains that "a democratic form of government [and no other form of government is worth considering in relation to human rights] has a right to make democracy the method in every organization throughout the land." This position is not based on any principle, but rests solely on motives of expediency—the supposed necessity of defending ourselves from the power of Romanism. It seems to me unnecessary to dissect his argument, or to show the consequences to which the adoption of such a doctrine would lead. Nor is it necessary to point out that his analogy between a despotic Church and the public schools does not hold; the Church must be a public institution, as the school is, to make it complete.

Nor is his illustration with regard to Mexico, or any other independent nation, more successful. Monroe doctrine or no Monroe doctrine, we have no right to dictate what form of government its people shall elect to live under. It is none of our business.

It seems to me that Mr. Putnam's mistake is in mistaking the *sphere of government*. He rightly describes its *functions* in the first part of his article, but has overlooked the fact that its proper sphere of action is limited. What he describes as conscience is more clearly described by the phrase *mental freedom*, over which government should not have, and in reality cannot have, any power.

The proper function of government being to secure to each of its citizens "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," its sphere is confined to the full protection of each and every individual in the means of attaining and enjoying those rights. If any citizen thinks his happiness here or hereafter can be increased or made sure by voluntarily placing himself under the control of a despotic Church organization, it would be clearly an infringement on his right to "the pursuit of happiness" in his own way to prevent him; unless, of course, it can be clearly shown that by so doing he invades the similar rights of others.

W. G. H. SMART.

RELIGIOUS RAVINGS.

NEW YORK, Nov., 1875.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I write to say that I think Moody is insane, and a dangerous man to run at large. Here is one of his recent utterances. He says:—

"I have a son, and no one but God knows how I love him; but I would see those beautiful eyes dug out of his head to-night rather than see him grow up to manhood and go down to the grave without Christ and without hope."

Now, if this is not the raving of a diseased mind, what is? How can such shocking language be anything but that of a man who can do but little good and a great deal of harm? There will be born children of sensitive, ignorant, superstitious mothers, during this revival of superstition, who will be cursed with nervous disorders having their origin in the fear awakened in their minds by Moody. I have known such cases. The revival of religion, that is, of a sincere desire of the masses to perfect their lives and character as men and women, would do good; but Moody has failed in this,—he is not equal to it. He knows nothing of what religion is. Deluded man!

Truly,

M. L. H.

"HELL OR THE HALTER."

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Nov. 22, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Rev. George Thomas Dowling, pastor of the Central Baptist Church of this city, is opposed to capital punishment. Pity his Maker was not as far advanced! Which is most "capital," hell or the halter?

W. T.

Residence.	Name.	Assessments Total.	Assessments Paid.	Assessments Outpaid.
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Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Owen on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India;" also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

Proceedings of Fifth Annual Meeting, 1872. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by J. W. Chadwick on "Liberty and the Church in America," by C. D. B. Mills on "Religion as the Expression of a Permanent Sentiment of the Human Mind," and by O. B. Frothingham on "The Religion of Humanity," with addresses by Rowland Connor, Celia Burleigh, Lucretia Mott, A. B. Alcott, C. A. Bartol, Horace Seaver, Alexander Loos, and others.

Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1873. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. S. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains verbatim reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Sonnenschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Calthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity,—as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"—together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Keshub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. Wasson.

Proceedings of Eighth Annual Meeting, 1875. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains Essays by Wm. C. Gannett, on "The Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. P. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

Religions of China, by Wm. H. Channing. 25 cents.

Reason and Revelation, by William J. Potter. 10 cents.

Taxation of Church Property, by Jas. Parton. 10 cents, singly; package of ten, 60 cents; of one hundred, \$3.

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PUBLISHED BY THE

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AT

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EDITOR:

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

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THE INDEX aims—

To increase general intelligence with respect to religion:

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

"Should any readers wish to know more of such an Association, the first of these selections may meet their desire.—W. J. P."

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1875.

WHOLE No. 311.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to coöperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

"If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. Now, the centennial year of our national existence, I believe, is a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundations of the structure commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Lexington. Let us all labor to add all the useful guarantees for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian schools. Resolve that neither State or Nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmingled with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and the State forever separate."—PRESIDENT GRANT, at Des Moines, Sept. 29, 1875.

GLIMPSES.

WILLIAM M. TWEED, the "ring thief," has escaped from custody in New York.

MRS. SARGENT gave a delightful reception in honor of Professor Proctor last Sunday evening, at which many prominent scientific and literary gentlemen were present.

MESSRS. WHITTLE AND BLISS are following the revival business in the West. Why don't they come to Yankeeeland, where whittling has been bliss from time immemorial?

MR. BRADLAUGH, we regret to say, has been prostrated by the effects of overwork in New York city, but at last reports was slowly recovering. He will hardly be able to keep his lecture engagements, however.

SECTARIANISM is stiffening again out West. The General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church has lately adopted at Galesburg, Illinois, this principle: "Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers only; Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only."

THE "COMMON SCHOOL LEAGUE," recently formed in New York city, is circulating a petition throughout the State for the repeal of the act of May 15, 1875, by which the Catholic Gray Nuns were enabled to issue certificates of qualification for public school teachers. Will some New York friend be so kind as to send us a copy of this petition, and also of the Constitution of the "Common School League"?

IS NOT this a delicious morsel from the Sunday-school column of the New York Independent? "A Bible drill at the breakfast-table is a good thing in a Christian family. It may precede the eating, or the two may proceed together. A good substitute for useless conversation or for uninteresting silence may thus be found. Let the head of the family say 'Genesis,' the next follow with 'Exodus,' and so run through the books. Topics, golden texts, dates, facts from the lessons, etc., may all be polished up in this way."

THE CATHOLICS of Boston are demanding representation on the new School Committee as Catholics, and the Democratic Boston Post of Dec. 3 concedes the justice of the demand! But the moment the people begin to elect Catholics, or Protestants, or Jews, or members of any other sect, avowedly to represent some religious creed in the administration of our public schools, and not to act as honest citizens with a single eye to the universal welfare, the decay of the public schools has begun. Are the Democrats of Boston to become allies of the Catholic Church in its secret and open warfare on the school system?

THE Harvard Advocate of November 19 had a remarkable article against compulsory attendance by the students at public worship. The Faculty has voted, we understand, to make such attendance for all the classes optional, as it is now for the Senior class; but the Overseers refuse to sanction the arrangement. By-and-by some student, willing to

bear the penalties of a manly non-conformity, will refuse to submit, and the college will be forced either to yield to the demands of justice or resort to religious persecution. Here is a noble opportunity for some young Arnold von Winkelried to render a service of self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of religious liberty. The custom of "signing names to an open falsehood" should be broken, even at the cost of expulsion; and whoever is expelled for refusal to belie himself in this matter will be the conqueror, after all.

IN THE preface to the edition of his collected pamphlets on the Catholic question, Mr. Gladstone indicts the Church of Rome with consummate ability and clearness, summing up the case as follows: "Nearly the entire hierarchical power in this great communion, together with a faction everywhere spread and everywhere active among its laity, are now deliberately set upon a design distinguished by the following characteristics: Internally it aims at the total destruction of right; not of right as opposed to wrong, but of right as opposed to arbitrary will. Such right there shall be none, if the conspiracy succeeds, in the bishops against the Pope, in the clergy against the bishops or the Pope, in the laity against any of the three. Externally it maintains the right and duty of the spirituality, thus organized, to override at will, in respect of right and wrong, the entire action of the civil power; and likewise to employ force, as and when it may think fit, for the fulfilment of its purpose."

IN ONE of his recent letters, Arsène Houssaye writes: "Mérimée has described himself in his letters, but still more faithfully in speaking of his master Stendhal, the author of *Rouge et Noir*, a sceptic who was beyond scepticism: 'He was impious, an outrageous materialist, a personal enemy of Providence. He denied the existence of God, and yet he hated him like a master.' All atheists are like this. They deny God because they do not love him, rather than because they do not believe in him. But I preferred the scepticism of Stendhal to that of Mérimée. As Henry Blaze happily said, 'Stendhal, a man of imagination and originality, had that ideal scepticism which takes on all the iris hues and prismatic fires of the rainbow'; while Mérimée had the cold scepticism of a gray sky. You perceive no sun and no blue heaven in his spirit." When will the world of believers do justice to atheists? Without sharing their opinions or accepting their philosophy, we owe it to justice to say that the atheists we have met (and they are not a few) have nearly always impressed us with the conviction that they were pre-eminently lovers of truth for its own sake.

MR. MOODY is said by Mr. Beecher to hold the most dismal notions of this world: "Mr. Moody is a believer in the second advent. He continually wants to die, and says there is no use in attempting to work for this world; that it is a thing blasted; that there is no help for it so far as human institutions are concerned; that you are never going to build the old thing up. He says it is a wreck, and is bound to sink, and the only thing to be done is to get off as many of the passengers as you can and let her go; and that, therefore, the business of every Christian is to wait for the Master, for he believes that, when the Master comes, there shall be a destruction of the wicked, and the earth shall be filled with righteousness, and the devil will have a good time, and that up to that time it's no use to attempt any of those large recreations of society, as they are useless before Christ comes." What possible good to mankind can proceed from such dreary drivel as this? It is the religion of despair, not of hope or courage—of mental and moral darkness dense enough to cut with a knife, not of mental and moral illumination. It is a credit to Brooklyn that her "converts" have proved few and sparse.

LIST OF LIBERAL LEAGUES.

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[For THE INDEX.]

Centennial Thanksgivings:

1675—1775—1875.

A DISCOURSE DELIVERED BEFORE THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY, BOSTON, NOV. 21, 1875.

BY W. C. GANNETT.

Not long since a friend sent me an account of Framingham as it was two hundred thousand years ago. It was very cold there then, for an ice-sheet several hundred, or possibly several thousand, feet thick moved southwards over the town about that time, grinding its rock to sand, grooving and polishing its ledges, sowing it broadcast with boulders, and ploughing out its valleys. Then, perhaps half way down to our day, came the thaw and the retreat of the great glacier, when the rushing waters filled the hollows with gravel, soaked the clay, and spread it into Sudbury meadows, pushed up the ridges, and scooped out the bed of Lake Cochituate. My friend was a geologist whose eyes were trained to read signs in the trail of the boulders and the trend of the hills; and he wrote as if he were the "special correspondent on the spot" sent by the enterprise of some primeval *Herald* to watch the manufacture of that town; and the straight-ahead science of his story became a grand, unconscious humor, as it told how "Baker's Corner," and "Rice's Ridge," and "Emily Warren's gravel-pit" were made a hundred thousand years ago!

It was pleasant reading, even if one did not understand it altogether; for at this Centennial season an American, after all, feels his youthfulness rather than his age, and it reminded me that age is only a question of the eyes you see with. The land is old enough! Geological eyes give us not one centennial but *millennials* to celebrate, and *millennials* that glorify our "New World," so-called by Europeans, as the antiques corner of the planet, in virtue of those great rock-beds north of the St. Lawrence which were among the very earliest, they say, to peep above the seethe of waters and become dry land. The people, too, is old enough, when we think of it. Why so proud if we can trace our ancestry back to Mayflower days? Eyes properly historical would see our blood, our blood, running in Saxon grandfathers when Iceland was settled her thousand years ago,—running somewhere when Jesus was born,—running somewhere when Moses came from Egypt. The river in our veins is just as ancient as the river that flows in any other human veins, although so short a winding of it bears our national name and allows us national memories.

Thinking of this brought into mind the fact that the anniversary which Thanksgiving week renews is, at least, *doubly* a centennial to New England. Not once, but twice, before—not by the day, indeed, but by the season,—Thanksgiving time has marked a crisis in her history. And this thought brought another,—that our Sunday words, though not at all a sermon in their sound, might be no less fit to-day if used to recall what befell our ancestors at this time in 1775 and 1675. For in November, 1775, when the patriot army was lying on the hills round Boston, and beginning to feel that its being there dated a nation's birth, doubtless the oft-told stories of "grandfathers' fights" were told again over the new camp-fires; and if no copy of old Hubbard's *Indian Wars*, just put to print again that very spring—a centennial edition,—had strayed across the lines from Boston, yet

some readers must have seen the "Proposals to Subscribers" in the January newspapers, and the thoughtful ones must have remembered that, that autumn, just a hundred years before, the anxious farmers of New England had rallied, as they themselves were rallying now, to defend the colonies against a foe more deadly than the British regulars.

June of 1675 began the "year of trouble" called King Philip's War. New England was still essentially New England of the Pilgrims and the Wilderness. The four colonies probably held some sixty thousand whites, perhaps not more than half as many Indians. But the whites were only to be found in clusters towards the sea-coast and here and there in a lonely river-settlement islanded in the deep forest. All else was Indian roaming-ground, and no outlying village was complete unless it had its block house,—although there had not been war for forty years, so firmly just were all dealings with the savage neighbors. Thirteen of the Mayflower's company were still living. It was still an age of quaint dress, and solemn face, and strict morals, of faith in prayer and fastings, in "remarkable Providences," in portents, and in witches. The minister was still chief man in every settlement, the voting "Freemen" were almost all church-members, and everybody was expected to attend public worship. True, the gray heads, remembering the earlier godliness, already talked of the decline of piety: "How is New England in danger to be lost! How is the good grain diminished and the chaff increased! How is our wine mixed with water! Ah, the unsoundness, the rottenness, the hypocrisy! Have we not in good measure forgot our errand into the wilderness?" A cry like that was oft repeated in the Election Sermons of the second generation. Yet nothing shows better the might of religious faith that still existed than the way in which the fathers met the danger threatening them. There was no thought of looking to the mother-land for aid. "Poor and yet proud," said the English lords. Their help lay in their own right arms, and in the Lord from whom in truth they expected much. For were they not "His people"? "The wars of the Lord," Cotton Mather styles the conflict with these New England "heathen"; and his father's annals, written at the time, sound like chapters out of Joshua and Judges, so full are they of the divine deliverances and judgments,—judgments, too, for the whole great woe, and each reverse in it, was regarded as the retribution of the Lord for sin.

The attack began in June, and before the leaves fell it had flashed from town to town along the inland border. Save in Connecticut no settlement seemed safe. If not to-day, it might be to-morrow, that the whoop would sound from the wilderness close by, or some little band returning home from meeting, on Sabbath afternoon, would find itself waylaid. The farmer in his field, the wife at the house-door, the child at the spring, were shot down till they listened all the night and peered all the day. By mid-autumn the villages by Taunton way were burnt; the meadow-towns in the extreme west—Deerfield, Hadley, Northfield, Hatfield—had been furiously assailed; the tragedy of Bloody Brook had cut off the "Flower of Essex," a "black and fatal day"; and, more startling yet as witness to the wrath of God against the froward people, He had permitted His own sanctuary to be burnt, "a Candlestick had been removed,"—the meeting-house at Springfield! The farmers, meanwhile, did their best; but the stout fight through the loop-holes of the garrison-house, the sudden march, the bold hunt, only revenged the attacks, not lessened them; and as they pushed through the morasses to the Indian hiding-places, sometimes it was to fall into an ambuscade themselves, sometimes to find the wigwams empty, but for half a dozen English heads left behind to tell the fate of friends. More than this must somehow be accomplished. Unless the Indians were daunted, another June might see all the "candlesticks" removed, and the Church of the Wilderness well-nigh blotted out. The Commissioners of the United Colonies called out an army of a thousand men, and soon another thousand, while the Governor and Council of Massachusetts Bay, acting in character, appointed "a Day of public Humiliation with Fasting and Prayer throughout this whole Colony, that we may set ourselves sincerely to seek the Lord, rending our hearts and not our garments before Him, and pursue the same with a thorough Reformation of whatever hath been or is an Image of jealousy before the Lord to offend the eyes of his Glory; if so be the Lord may turn from his fierce anger that we perish not." So ran the reverent proclamation. The prayer with which it closed did not avail. That very day at evening the sad tidings of Springfield's calamity reached Boston, "Surely," says Increase Mather, noting the coincidence, "surely, the solemn voice of God to New England is still, as formerly, *Praying without Reforming will not do.*"

So in a few days a committee was appointed to determine the particulars of the "Reformation" needed. We read them with some amusement at the Boston notions of 1675, some reverence for the high morality when such was the list of crimes, some shame for ourselves, perhaps, in contrast, and yet with a feeling, too, that in our sins we are the Fathers' true descendants. These are the public sins that needed cure two centuries ago in Boston:—

First and foremost: "That some effectual course should be taken for the Suppression of those proud Excesses in Apparel, hair, &c., which many (yea and the poorer sorte as well as others) are shamefully guilty of."

"A due testimony should be borne against false Worshippers, especially Idolatrous Quakers."

"That whereas Swearing hath been frequently heard, they that hear another Swear profanely, and

do not complain of it to Authority shall be punished for that concealment."

"That the fourth and fifth Commandments' about Sabbath-keeping and honoring parents, 'be better observed than formerly.'"

"That more care should be taken respecting the *Rising Generation* that they might be brought under the discipline of Christ."

The other items suggest reforms that would still be timely in this day of Strikes, and License-laws, and Indian Rings:—

"That whereas excess in drinking is become a common Sin, means should be used to prevent an unnecessary multiplication of Ordinaries, and to keep Town dwellers from frequenting taverns."

"That there may be no more such Oppression, either by Merchants or Day Labourers, as heretofore hath been."

"And that the *Indian* Trading-houses, whereby the Heathen have been debauched and scandalized against Religion, be suppressed."

These resolves were unanimously consented to, and a committee was appointed to draw up laws accordingly.

This was in the middle of October. That year no public Thanksgiving was celebrated. It was a time of gloom too deep, of heart-rending too sincere, for worship to take other form than prayer and fast. The perils of a winter campaign in the New England forest of that day were only less dreadful than the thought of the next spring with the Indians lurking in every thicket. At Thanksgiving-time the army was gathering more than a thousand strong—among them "a meet number of able ministers and chirurgeons,"—and Governor Winslow of Plymouth Colony was appointed General to lead them against the great stronghold in the Narragansett country, there "to execute the vengeance of the Lord upon the perfidious and bloody Heathen," says Mather. But again, "before they set out," he continues, "the churches were all upon their knees before the God of Armies, entreating his favor and gracious success in that undertaking wherein the welfare of his people was so greatly concerned."

The bold stroke was successful. On a Sunday in the middle of December the Indians were found, defeated, burnt up, scattered; but the success was dearly bought by the loss of six brave captains and many men. It was the great blow of the war. Through the whole winter and the spring the Indians were everywhere, striking here, burning there, dashing in even on Plymouth, and winning some of their most grievous victories within twenty-five miles of Boston. Once, at Weymouth, they were only a dozen miles away. But everywhere, too, they wasted away. Pestilence, cold, famine, besides the Englishman, chased them. They were found starved and frozen in the woods. They came to believe that the spell of the Englishman's God was upon them; and, at last, but not until far into the summer, Philip himself, deserted by his followers, hunted from spot to spot like a wild beast, was brought to bay, and shot in his old home, whither he had come back to die, Mount Hope. Many of the captives were tried and hung; many more were sold into slavery in the West Indies; and Philip's head, set upon a pole at Plymouth, graced the public Thanksgiving of the grim victors, who remembered well such Bible passages as that where "Samuel hewed Agag to pieces before the Lord in Gilgal." In the Maine district to the northward the muskets were kept busy for nearly a two-years longer; but all real danger from the natives to the settlers of New England was forever over.

That danger had been great, and the loss in quenching it was very heavy. One man in ten or twelve, it is said, of all able to bear arms, lay dead. This must be exaggeration, or else the census-estimate must be all wrong; but it is certain that of the eighty or ninety towns in Plymouth and Massachusetts, a dozen had been utterly, and thrice as many more in part, destroyed. "If only the interior towns had been wholly devastated, the result," thinks our New England historian, "could scarcely have been other than the total abandonment of New England by the portion of its civilized people that should be left alive." Both the colonies, moreover, were left staggering under heavy debts. Massachusetts in 1676 laid a tax of seven per cent. on her total valuation; and for years Plymouth pinched and saved up money, like an honest bankrupt, to pay off what she owed,—which at last she did, principal and interest.

Long Indian wars and many an Indian tragedy remained for the different colonies to face in after years; but in that Thanksgiving muster of the New England farmers in 1675, the seal was set to the Doom which since that day has hunted the Indian far beyond the Mississippi, and even there has left him no sure abiding-place save in his grave. The spell of the Englishman's God has been indeed upon him,—that Fate which moderns phrase "The Struggle for Existence with Survival of the Fittest." There is another phrase as true for all man's higher life, "We are members one of another." May it be one of the nation's deeds within its second century to interpret that, and, before it be too late, to gather the relics of the fated race under a guardianship that shall save us from the burden of a curse in the nobler centuries to come!

A hundred years pass by, and again New England farmers are mustering on the hills near Boston. In a semicircle of several miles they lie around the town, one camp at Roxbury, one at Cambridge, others on the slopes of Somerville. For six months they have been there, some fifteen thousand men in motley garb, armed, most of them, with the guns that used to hang over the chimney-piece at home. Washington is in command, and his letter to Congress in July still holds largely true; he had reported

want of engineers, want of tools, want of men to man the works against attack, want of tents, want of clothing, want of a military chest, want of a commissariat, and, above all, want of ammunition. "Materials for a good army," that is all,—men "whose spirit has exceeded their strength."

Since July, indeed, much has been done in the way of discipline and fortifying; but Powder! Powder! is the constant cry. The general cannot attack, he can only dread attack, for lack of it. Only now and then a shot is fired back, and the men save all the British balls that come rolling in. Not much happens in the camp-life, yet all is stir and eagerness, because at any moment much may happen. The men are still unused to soldiers' discipline, and occasionally one stands in the pillory or rides the wooden horse. Night alarms are frequent. Now and then a few regulars are killed or captured in some little island-skirmish down the harbor, or a sentinel on guard at the Neck deserts to the American lines. The men are busied digging and on guard. But there is time for wrestling-matches between the regiments, and for hearing sermons at least once on Sundays, and for welcoming the friends from home who bring with them, perhaps, a new flag for their boys, inscribed with the words, "Appeal to Heaven." The Massachusetts Committees are doing their utmost to provide the army with supplies. For ten miles around the axes are sounding in the woods; from fifty miles away the teams are moving with provision. There is probably a liberty pole in every village. The papers of the day appear with mottoes like those upon the flags—"Unite or Die," "Liberty or Death." And in the meeting-houses the ministers, by recommendation of the Provincial Congress, have been preaching "on the nature of civil and religious liberty, and the duties of magistrates and rulers."

Meanwhile the union between the colonies, and the feeling for independence, are growing stronger every day. Georgia at last has joined the rest, and the thirteen colonies now stand shoulder to shoulder. But the other feeling, for independence, has grown somewhat slowly. After Lexington and Concord, the Massachusetts Congress still held firm allegiance to the King. When Washington took command of the army, he "abhorred" the idea of independence. The general hope was still to wrest from Parliament a colonial Bill of Rights, embodying constitutional conditions, at once of liberty and loyalty. But already in October Dr. Belknap, down from Dover on a visit, and preaching for the Cambridge minister, got a whisper from the chaplain after his loyal prayer that "it was disagreeable to the generals to pray for the King." "I answered that the same authority that appointed the generals ordered the King to be prayed for at the late Continental Fast." All through the next month, both in the camp and in the Philadelphia Congress, the talk ran more fiercely every day for genuine revolution, so that by January most minds were ready for Tom Paine's *Common Sense*.

And in Boston, what was the November month? A season of gloom both to the British and to the natives, cabined with the British in the small peninsula. There were some six thousand of the latter, twice that number of the former; and food and fuel enough for the soldiers, but so very scant for the others that the suffering was great. Add to this, small-pox broke out. Prices rose high. There was no milk. Eggs were half a guinea a dozen, bread was four times its former value before the siege was over, and fresh meat was hard to get even for rich Tory aristocrats. Faneuil Hall was a soldiers' theatre; the Old South was a riding-school for the dragoons; Hollis and Brattle Street churches were barracks; the famous Liberty Tree had been cut down (it gave the British fourteen cords of wood; but the green tree had fired a brighter flame already in the spirit of Boston men); and besides the trees many old buildings had been torn down for fuel. The Tories had volunteered, and were drilling. A dozen men-of-war were lying at anchor in the harbor. All the letters from England came crazy with threats against the American traitors, and the soldiers themselves were still proud and braggart; but Gage had been recalled to tell what he knew about Bunker Hill, and the tone of Lord Howe's despatches was getting solemn as he faced the more than possibility of flight. The homespun fellows who had chased Lord Percy home through Cambridge Farms, and had twice repulsed himself upon the Charlestown Hill, were no cowards to be despised.

Such was the general scene within and without the town. And as Thanksgiving week approached, the situation outside seemed to darken. Cold weather set in, and the barracks were not finished; fuel was far to bring; supplies were scant; already army contractors were at their work shortening the cords, and army officers were among the speculators. Washington's anxiety grew intense. With the end of the month the time of the Connecticut troops was to expire, and they, half-frozen, threatened to desert him on the day. Only a little later the other troops must be set free. And not only were the new recruits most slow in coming in, but he had been obliged to attempt and carry out an entire reorganization of the army right across the jealousies of the transferred officers and the loud grumbling of the men. And all this reorganizing and disbanding went on, without powder, in the very face of the enemy. His letters frankly told his fears and his disgust. The last week of November and the first days of December held his lowest dip of hope. "Our situation is truly alarming, and of this Gen. Howe is well apprised. I tremble at the prospect. Such a dearth of public spirit and want of virtue, such stock jobbing and fertility in all the low arts, to obtain advantages of one kind or another in this great change of military arrangement, I never saw, and pray God I never may be witness to again. Could

I have foreseen what I have and am like to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command."

That was written on Nov. 28th. "Thanksgiving" came on the 23d. It was a pleasant day, with ice in the road from an early snow-fall,—"so I did not go to meeting," says a diary of the time; but the churches were open as usual by order of the Provincial Congress, and we can imagine what was preached and prayed in them, what war-resounding texts the parsons chose from the Old Testament arsenal. All was quiet on the lines that day, although Gen. Putnam threw up some works the night before on what is now McLean Asylum Hill, and Washington could only explain the British silence by supposing Howe was planning some important enterprise. The next day, for cheer's sake, the General Officers made a long, encouraging address to the soldiers. Three days later some three hundred of the Boston poor were boated off, and landed, half-starved and sick, at Point Shirley. Then came good news that Montreal was captured by the expedition sent to Canada. And then, best news of all—and still within a week from the Thanksgiving,—word that Captain Manly, out privateering, had brought in an English brig loaded with military stores. At that the Cambridge army brightened visibly, and the recruiting started up more briskly.

The anxious fortnight wore by. It was the crisis of the siege of Boston; and that was in a sense the early crisis of the war; for if Washington's Thanksgiving fears had been realized, and this first deliberate operation by the Provincial troops had fallen through, the disaster would have affected greatly the whole after-history. The colonies needed that success; the British ministry needed that cooping up and that retreat. By the middle of December the new militia had come in, and the prospect looked more favorable,—and kept that look until the happy day in March when the new flag with thirteen stripes waved over Dorchester Heights, and signalled the British General that the time had come for him to quit Boston. Our Centennial glimpse must end with that gray November Thanksgiving—blue without, but gray enough within—in the camp.

But now what was it all for? Why were they encamped upon these hills a hundred years ago this week?

The reason why, what for, had shifted somewhat even during the six months of the siege; but the reason, whatever form it took, was rooted in the whole long century of discipline that lay between the old crisis of 1675 and the year that now was passing. The Fathers had learned well the lessons of independence in three schools,—in that hundred years of self-reliant combat with the Indians and French within the wilderness, in the town-meeting at which they had been wont to self-reliantly conduct their civil interests, and in the congregational church meeting, at which, unbishoped, they had so long practised ecclesiastical republicanism. Underneath all these, and underlying all their citizenship, lay their common-school system. And besides this training, ten years of special preparation had been accorded them since the Stamp Act roused their cry, "No Taxation without Representation." That cry was merely their concrete way of claiming that the people were the source of political power; was merely that day's way of uttering what Lincoln uttered in his world-famous phrase at Gettysburg, "The Government of the People, by the People, for the People." That was, first and last, the essence of the stand the Fathers took. But as England pushed through those ten years her foolish thought to conquer a supremacy by the Tea-Tax, the Boston Port-Bill, and, finally, by the "Regulating Acts," which struck clear through the charter government, from the right to elect the council to the very summoning of juries and the calling of town-meetings, the Americans grew more deeply conscious of their own intent, and the necessity laid on them. They had aimed at no revolution, at no independence, at nothing new, indeed. "They asked for the old paths; they claimed for the town its ancient rights, for the colony its ancient liberties," says Frothingham. The caucus-clubs, the liberty-trees, the patriotic pulpits, the Boston donations, and the intimidation of the royal appointees meant only this; the Committees of Correspondence, even the drilling of the Minute-men, and the assembling of Provincial and Continental Congresses, and the military stores collected at Concord and Worcester, only looked to this. But the English Parliament was struck with blindness; the king was deaf with stubbornness; and there came the day to which the century and the whole ten years of steady preparation led, "from which hundreds of the muster-rolls of the Revolution date,"—the day of Lexington. That placed the farmers on the hills, and held them there until the dawn of Revolution rose and broadened in their hearts, and they felt that they were born to be a Nation!

Another hundred years have passed. It will take all next year's eloquence to tell the thousand things for which we have occasion, as a people, to be reverently grateful. For nothing need we feel a deeper gratitude in 1875, than that the Thanksgiving season brings no crisis as it did a hundred years ago, as it did two hundred years ago, as it might have done for us had not the martyr of Harpers Ferry hastened the inevitable conflict. Yet a chronic danger disregarded holds worse peril for a people than a crisis known and bravely met. Over and over next year we shall hear that the best gratitude to the Fathers will be our imitation of them; the best centennial revival will be re-baptism in their spirit. A stirring voice in Virginia has just told Virginians what should be laid to mind by all the land to save centennialism from being a vulgar braggadocio and a fruit-

less sentimentality: "No spur to good deeds should be so sharp as the consciousness of descent from an honorable stock; but the man is beggarly who boasts of it without having himself added to its lustre."

Through this first century, the nation has been depending largely on an inherited capital of Moral Force, funded in the institutions which the fathers gave us. That capital sufficed to compact the government in its infancy, to gain us place among the other nations, to solve the early problems of State and Central Sovereignty; it bore us nearly down to the great, sad Civil War, which has left us with our unity secure, our freedom—in the sense in which other people use the term—secure, and our national life cleaner by at least one source of evil closed forever. But so greatly has that life expanded during the century that the institutions are submitted now to strains such as the Fathers never felt nor planned for; and the Moral Force of old infused does not suffice to keep them longer stable. With the thirteen colonies grown to eight and thirty States; with the Pacific for our boundary instead of the Alleghenies; with the people of three become a people of forty millions, and with nearly twice as many foreigners among them as there were natives then; with a mercantile marine larger than that of any nation save Great Britain, the agricultural centre lying in States which white men then had barely visited, and manufactures, then almost unborn, adding four thousand million dollars yearly to the land's production; with a national debt of over half that sum; with a yearly revenue of three hundred millions, and a Civil Service whose officials constitute an army by themselves; with all these vastly changed conditions of the nation's life, the nation needs a new supply of Moral Force. No material development, no intellectual culture, no refining of the sense of beauty, can take its place to keep us safe. Rather, each and every growth without it is ominous of danger.

Almost untouched, the hardest problem and by far the most momentous of a republic lies now in our immediate future; else, "after us, the deluge!" It has hardly been approached as yet save by attempts that mark its difficulty,—by the public attempt, and failure, to reform our Civil Service, by the spam in which New York threw off for a moment its Tyranny of Thieves, by the ache with which the South slowly strains towards social reconstruction. That problem is, *How, under the people's government, to keep the best men at the front*,—men such as those who led a hundred years ago, whose names are shining in our history. That not to keep the best men at the front condemns us to the universal mediocrity for which the European sneers at us,—this is of moment; but in a republic not to keep the best men there is to let the strong, bad men go forward; and that is a matter beyond all others in its consequence. In Plato, who will can read the theory of a republic's ruin sketched at length by one who had experience of the decay in his country's history. May it be long a thing for us to read, not watch! But for primary lessons in the theory we need hardly go to Plato. The best things turned to curses make the sorest curses. That ideal of which all the nations dream, towards which they strive—"the people's government,"—in its very nature holds the deadliest dangers for the people careless of the trust. To give up universal suffrage is what we cannot, would not, do; it is our corner-stone. But with the bulk to which our nation now has grown, universal suffrage involves masses of utterly ignorant suffrage; involves the "Boss Rule" of the large cities where immigration centres; involves the "Rings" with which each public money-chest is beset at all the capitals; involves the "Spoils System" on which our later politics are based; involves the "Catholic Danger" rising here amid the opportunities of freedom as it subsides under more arbitrary governments. These perils, and such as these, go with the people's government.

For us in 1875 they are no longer omens; they have passed into the stage of burdens. To bear them safely, and to throw them off, we need a new supply of the old Moral Force. Many people have aspired before us to be self-governed,—and have failed. Many spurred by our success have since tried,—and failed. And there is no power in heaven or on earth pledged to save us from failure if, in the children's heart, to day's "Thus saith the Lord!"—that word which the fathers by the light of their day so loyally obeyed,—dies out. *The chronic danger disregarded holds worse peril for a people than a crisis known and bravely met.*

But it is Thanksgiving time. And more, not less, shall these words "danger," "crisis," make us thankful for what we are to-day,—ay, and, amid all omens, trustful. In high courage as well as in humble thankfulness, in that courage which is highest when it springs from reverence, it becomes us to fulfil our century. Let centennialism stand for no young folly of a braggart nation, but again for self-reliance based on moral loyalty; and then—when still another century shall have tried "the people's government," and in 1975 the children, whom we shall never see, praise God for homes and friends, and the constant bounty of the seasons, and the pleasant places that they love then as we love now—they will not forget to add as fervently as we do now, Good Lord, we thank thee for our Fathers!

A COLORED BROTHER rose to pray in a conference meeting, the other day, but before that exercise he indulged in brief preliminary remarks as follows: "Brethren and sisters, it don't do me a bit of good to hear any of you speak or pray; I feel as though I must do it for myself; for, you know, as our Lord and Savior said, 'Every tub must stand on its own bottom!'" As may be imagined, the effect of the quotation did not add materially to the serious aspect of the meeting.

[OF THE INDEX.]

LEAVES FROM MY JOURNAL.

BY S. H. MORSE.

"WE ARE ALL CHILDREN of the State," said one whose whole nature and life refutes the slander. "Children of the State" we may be; but 'twere far better were we the children of God.

"OUR LIBERTY is in God," is, I believe, a quotation from somebody. But this God, we are told again, has not liberty in the sense of escape from law; he, at least, is bound by the law of his being. Most true; unite us all to that liberty, O Statesman! and we shall be satisfied.

"WE OUGHT TO OBEY GOD rather than man," is a saying I have often heard quoted, and that by liberal-minded people as frequently as by others. But latterly I find my radical friends, some of them, preaching obedience to men as the highest duty. When one says he has a conscience, a God, in him, he cannot well turn his back upon, they say, "Whim," and smile a derisive smile. It is bad business for them. I have as much right to my "whim," friend, as you to your "wisdom." I'll not pelt you with it—if you can keep out of my door-yard.

I SHOULD LIKE to hear Mr. Conway's lecture on the Devil, and see the illustrations of his Infernal Majesty which accompany the lecture. I suppose, however, they all have heads with horns, or their equivalents, and forked tails. It sometimes occurs to me whether the universe is not a dual concern run by a God and a Devil, the problem being which shall die. If it be a question as to the "survival of the fittest," I, for my part, shall never think it safe to bet on the Devil. And yet, "how long, oh Lord, how long!"

WHAT IS IT to have faith in ideas? I ask the question of myself, and answer: It is to believe in them as being in and of themselves most potent and powerful to persuade, command, and sway the destinies of mankind. But a friend at my elbow will not allow me this response. He says, "I mean that I have more faith in the leadership of an idea than in a personal leadership; but of course the idea must be put through." Exactly. This is where he always brings up. The idea, in his judgment, never sprouts and comes to any practical potency save in the hot-bed of legislation, or in soil saturated with human gore. The ballot and the bayonet, or no civilization; but a backward plunge into midnight. In vain that I point out that his faith, by this very confession, is in persons—for how otherwise ballot or bayonet?—and not in ideas.

THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATIONS are in duty bound to state the case prosperously, for the faith of man is scarcely up to giving thanks for famine. Though famines fall within the providential order, 'tis hard for mortals to confess it. And it may be supposed, too, that the Almighty would have a poor opinion of a people who should thank him for "distinguished benefits" of that description. Yet were a famine actually present in the land, it would hardly be the thing for a great people to announce to the Lord of hosts in the person of their chief-magistrate that "plenty reigns within our borders." The Heavenly King who bestowed the famine would be apt to think his earthly children were mocking the wisdom of the bestowment; for he would not like to think them fools or liars. In view of these remarks, I would ask just what our President means when he says, "Labor and enterprise have produced their merited rewards." He, in all probability, did not mean much of anything. "We have been accustomed," he says, "to express our thanks." The custom holds—though 'twould be "more honored in the breach than in the observance"—that we must, as I said, state the case prosperously. The fact, in regard to "labor and enterprise," as everybody knows, is quite the contrary. Even our well-to-do business men, we are informed, are "unable to keep a horse." And the day-laborer, he, though he toil ten hours, can barely keep the wolf from his door. Why not tell the Lord, Mr. President, the exact truth of the matter? It might be of some advantage to us as a people.

"DO YOU LOCK YOUR DOOR?" quoth a friend to me. "Why, yes, I do; why not?" "Why, then you have not faith in man." This he said ironically, believing he had placed my logic in a very uncomfortable fix. But his wit is dull; and I know not that I can "mend its pace by beating." Nevertheless I will try. I never say mankind are perfect. I know there are those who might steal from me—they have done so; there are those who might take my life, as the experience of others assures me. That I should not defend myself against such as these is no part of my philosophy. But that such defence should be conducted with as little resort to violence as is possible, I fully believe. Locking my door has no violence in it. If some one burst through, why, I will act in that emergency as I am capable of acting. On such an occasion a man will act out what he is, not his theory, nor even his principle, unless it flows in his blood. Locking my door is my business, and argues nothing. But now, the man who would steal from, or slay me, how shall I treat him? One thing: I will not unlock my door to pursue him with my vengeance, nor give aid or countenance to society in doing so. My faith is that this bad spirit in this universe of man can be starved out. It is to be disposed of; but how? For the time this; it flourisheth, it has a wholly natural and beneficent function. It is the representative in our race of life, and it announces

the spiritual deadness that prevails. The universe is so constituted that in self-defence it says, "A live devil is better than a dead god." Now if the god be asleep, or impotent, the devil will rage, and the wit of man will be put to it to say why he should not. But what constitutes life in the god? Not a hand-to-hand scuffle with the imp of darkness, each raging for the throat of the other. That would be a descent of the god into hell, which he can ill afford. No; let him be divinely alive, and he will cease to furnish his diabolical majesty with the food that enableth him to wax in strength. For as maggots spawn in cheese, so is the devil spawned from and preserved by the deadness of the god. I say this with reference to the two characters that have their abode in most mortals.

Turn the key? Yes; the god has a right to his own ground. Key-turning is Life!

THE DOCTRINE OF THE second birth has received the cold shoulder from rational or liberal thinkers. It is put aside in various ways. Some say they prefer the doctrine of being born well at the start. Others would like to be born anew any number of times; as Paul said, "I die daily," so would they like to say, "I am born daily." But the drift of all this opposition to the second birth is an indisposition to in-dorse the idea of a supernatural somersault. We of this modern time like very much to hold fast the thought that all progress or growth is natural, and under the certain guidance of uniform law. I do not propose to controvert this theory. If I did not suspect it was entirely true, I should doubt very much where we were any of us going to arrive. In other words, if there was a Supreme Will in the universe with any variableness or shadow of turning as its prerogative, I should feel that human dependence on the nature of things was not merely a more foolish thing than we are all accustomed to regard it, but a thing absolutely impossible. Not to accumulate words, is not the idea of a second birth—not to speculate about succeeding births—in the order of things? In individual cases, something equivalent thereto has undoubtedly often occurred. The disposition of men, their first hunger, thirst, has been wholly changed. Whereas, up to a certain time—or movement of time—they faced one way; after that they faced precisely the opposite way, and with equal delight. From doing what they condemned because they loved to, they changed to doing what they approved because they loved to: a change of loves. Well, say new birth, or say what you will; there is the fact. I do not call it miraculous, nor contrary, to natural. I call it natural; as natural as anything else is natural. I could proceed to say more particularly what I mean, but rest with stating the fact, which answers my present purpose.

I am told that Fourier looked for a new birth of the race. Whereas now, let us suppose, nine-tenths indulge in strife, war, annihilation of each other's life or property,—indulge in this because, as at present enlightened, it is the way their natures must express themselves,—and one-tenth is disposed to peace, brotherhood, harmony; the time shall come when these conditions shall be reversed: the peace party become nine tenths, the war party be reduced to one-tenth. This will be the new birth of the planet. But it will come suddenly as the sun-burst from a terrible world-conflict. Are there any signs in the heavens of a birth so auspicious?

IT WOULD seem that Mr. Tucker has been at work upon the "foundations," "strengthening" them; but not as the President would approve, I suppose. Nevertheless, the President has referred us to Lexington, and so furnished the text for a better gospel than is much preached by the great majority of his countrymen, or, for that matter, by himself. Even the Lexington farmers were not as wise as their words: "No taxation without representation." That was where they stood. And to their side came all the colonies. The war over, they commenced the "structure" we are now invoked to make secure by "adding all needful guarantees." Let us agree that "taxation without representation is tyranny." There arises the question, What constitutes representation? When may one say that he is represented? A few questions of this nature will bring our present system of representation before the judgment seat, and it will appear there with no very valid defence.

The principle involved is clear enough to many minds in affairs of religion, and cannot be stated better than the editor of THE INDEX has done in these words: "That no man shall be taxed for the support of a religion which is not his own." He cannot be so taxed, because that would be "taxation without representation." It follows, then, in matters of religion, that a man cannot be taxed. Religion, as the President says, must be "supported entirely by private contributions." No tax for a "religion not his own"; no, nor for the religion that is his own, either. The support he shall give even his own religion must be voluntary. The whole thing is brought down to a business transaction. What religious help a man wants, as far as he is able, he will buy and pay for. If he does not want any, it cannot be forced upon him, and a tax levied in payment thereof. It will not do to say, "Religion is a good thing, a necessary thing; and, if you live in our community, you are benefited thereby; and so you must bear your share of the expense. Either do that, or bid us good-by and go to Africa." No; we have, it is presumed, passed by all that. And yet, suppose a man is unable to divorce his religion from his life; suppose all the religion he has consists in righteous dealing with his neighbors. That is the religion he believes in; it is his own, and not another's. Now, is he left in freedom to support his own religion? or shall he be taxed to defray the cost of institutions that will deal

with his fellowmen after a manner he can with no good conscience approve? This is the attitude of the world; it separates religion from all social human relations, and says religion has to do only with one's relation to his God, if he have one. But the man I have been speaking of says, "The relation I sustain to my God determines my relations with my fellowmen."

"HELP US SUPPORT the institutions of the country, or leave the country." This is the polite notice which modern, free civilization posts on every man's door. Then comes a friend and explains: "If you avail yourself of the benefits of society, society has a right to bring in its bill. You were not consulted as to being born; you cannot have your way after you are born; born of society, you are the creature of society, and it may dispose of you." This last clause the friend would immediately interpret so that it should mean that society must not in any way wrong or injure the individual. Thus we reach the turning point of the dispute. It seems, then, that society may not dispose of the individual as it pleases; but that the individual has some rights society is bound to respect. I will call upon the individual to make a short address. Thus he speaks:—

"I came from God to abide awhile on this planet called earth. As I departed, the God said to me: 'You will find matters there much confused. The greed of those I have sent before you has high everywhere o'ershot the mark. There is a vast monopoly of the earth by the most powerful of the inhabitants. I seek to overcome it. Into their midst I continually send my messengers. I now send you. As soon as you are there long enough to get acclimated, and to understand their tongue, they will begin to tell you of the indebtedness you are under to their fostering care and continued protection. Well, for all they have done, and done well, be grateful. Seek to repay them by a like service. But bear ever in mind that they are first under obligation to me; and that I have sent you thither to judge the earth, not to acquit it. I never sent a soul thither whose mission it was to forestall you in your advent, and deny you a due inheritance of earth, air, and sky. But you will find the earth all claimed by titles the strong enforce. True, there has been much improvement of its condition; but I send you to change the manner of this improvement. I send you to represent the true dignity of the individual. So shall you turn the wheel of time to my purpose. This be your service to your fellowmen.' What now shall I do? Shall I remember this my commission, or join you who are rebels and deserters of the Most High? I think I will abide among you, and put you ever to the test of the justice you proclaim, yet deny. I was sent here. I cannot abandon you. In the words of one, who a century gone by, sought to reclaim mankind to the common sense of God, 'Where liberty is not, there is my country.' To this my country am I wedded, not with free choice to forsake it, but bound with it to abide, and win it upward, by non-conformity to its erring ways. I claim this right from the owner of both heaven and earth, and do hurl this my gentle but unalterable defiance at all who contest it."

WHEN SOCIETY RESPECTS individual conscience, society is born. Now strip the word of its misleading import. What is society? It is a meeting of individuals. So, then, what have we? Where no individual has a conscience that invades or overrides the conscience of another, there can be no oppression. In other words, liberty demands one conscience on the question of respect for conscience. Thus vanishes Thug, Christian, or invading Liberal.

A DOMINGO NEGRO in the French colonies is reported to have said: "There was a time when I knew nothing of God or the devil; but now I know and love them both."

A FRIEND OF MINE dropped in upon me this morning and, while I was at work, produced and left with me the following:—

THE SOUL.

Rippling on sands of time,
Toying with weeds and shells,
Pulsing in inlets dim,
Chafing with sun-beat wild
'Gainst barriers of sense,
The soul no more is found;
But, inward far withdrawn,
Regains the immortal sea;
Its native ocean vast
Rolling on brighter shores,
On other strands of dream,
Where surf Elysian pours,
And isles Elysian gleam.

B. W. Ball.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Daily Telegraph* writes from Cardiff to the effect that the Marquis of Bute has leased to Monsignor Capel his ancient family seat at that town, which has served as a residence for his ancestors for centuries; also that the extensive picturesque park and grounds, comprising several hundreds of acres, have been made over to the same eminent ecclesiastic for the purpose of the Roman Catholic Church. The length of time for which the grounds are to be given up to Monsignor Capel—whether it is to be in perpetuity or only for a short period of years—has not yet transpired; but it is supposed that the new Catholic College, which is said to be only temporarily established at Westminster, will be transferred to this ancient seat of the Bute family.—*Galignani's Messenger*, Oct. 2.

A LOQUACIOUS BLOCKHEAD, after babbling some time to Lord Erskine, observed he was afraid he was obtruding on his lordship's ear. "Oh, not at all," said Erskine; "I have not been listening."

MR. BLAINE ON THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

The letter [published in last week's INDEX] written by Mr. Blaine over a month ago, vindicates his sagacity as an interpreter of the tendencies of the times. At the date of the letter, just after the election in Ohio, it was generally said that the designs of the Roman Catholic priesthood in that State had not only been defeated, but had been abandoned, and that the school question was but little more than a transient flurry on the surface of public opinion. Mr. Blaine, however, like all thoughtful and far-seeing minds, is not of this view. He sees that, whatever reasonable disposition may be felt by the great body of our Catholic population, the priesthood are pushed on by the spirit and the direst instigations of Rome to demand either a control of our public schools or a division of the school money, and that they will never cease in this agitation. In this respect they are not unlike the pro-slavery leaders in the generation before the war; no matter what compromises were made, or how well satisfied the better portion of slaveholders might be with the position of the institution, these leaders felt a ceaseless impulse to play the part of propagandists, until they involved the whole country in the results of their madness.

Mr. Blaine, therefore, thinks it best to meet this new menace in season, by proposing that the American people shall make a just establishment of our public school system on the ground that has often been advocated in these columns; namely, on the non-sectarian principle. He suggests the adoption of a constitutional amendment prohibiting to the States any interference with the freedom of religion, or any control of money raised by taxation for the support of schools, by any religious sect, or its division among such sects. The object thus aimed at is the right one, and the method proposed is substantially sound. As Mr. Blaine remarks, it would not interfere with the right of every State to have just such a school system as its citizens may prefer, subject to the simple restriction that the schools shall not be made the arena for sectarian controversy or theological disputation. In case the Roman Catholics should get a majority in any State, either by their own strength or through partisan influences, this amendment would undoubtedly prevent the carrying out of the designs adverse to the schools, now harbored by the priests. Their ecclesiastical training and spirit impel them to rest satisfied with nothing short of getting an absolute control of all public education, if they can; of the education of Catholic children at least; and this amendment, if adopted, would effectually debar them.

Whether its terms as expressed by Mr. Blaine are those best calculated to render harmless this priestly agitation, by arraying the great body of patriotic citizens of all denominations and religions in an invincible phalanx in support of our public school system, will require further consideration. The subject, as one for definite legislation, is a delicate and many-sided, if not a new, one; and we have had experience enough already with our last three constitutional amendments to feel the need of extreme caution and the most dispassionate deliberation in recurring to any similar undertaking. That, however, only renders conspicuous the obligations which the people are under to Mr. Blaine for calling their attention to the whole subject now, when there is a lull in political movements and the whole subject can be considered more fairly, and its treatment—if anything is to be done nationally—can be entered upon more wisely and effectually than at any time hereafter.—*Boston Journal*, Nov. 27.

HOSPITALS AND CHRISTIANITY.

Last week we drew attention in these columns to the denial given by Mr. Green, minister of the Central Synagogue, to the statement of Canon Lightfoot, that "hospitals were the creation of Christianity." On Thursday, the 23d instant, the following letter upon the same subject appeared in the *Daily News*: Sir,—Mr. Green is quite right to call in question Canon Lightfoot's assertion that hospitals are a "creation of Christianity"; because, although among the Jews they seem to have been confined to "separate houses" for the use of lepers, yet they existed in India long before Christianity appeared in the world. Among the edicts of King Asoka (4th Cent. B.C.), which still exist, inscribed on pillars and graven in the living rock, there occurs one which commands that "medical aid" should be established throughout his kingdom, together with "medicaments of all sorts which are suitable." Nearly seven hundred years after Asoka's death the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian visited India, and found hospitals flourishing at Asoka's city of Patna: "The nobles and landowners of this country have founded hospitals in the city, to which the poor of all countries, the destitute, the cripples, and the diseased may repair for shelter. They receive every kind of requisite help gratuitously. Physicians inspect their diseases, and according to their cases order them food and drink, decoctions, and medicine—everything, in fact, which may contribute to their ease. When cured, they depart at their own convenience." (*Travels of Fa-Hian* Beal's Ed., p. 107.) In the toleration which opened the hospitals to the "poor of all countries," in the liberality which gave "help to all gratuitously," we recognize the practical working of that catholic charity which knows no distinction of race or creed in the presence of suffering humanity, and which formed so striking an illustration in the story of the Good Samaritan—"Take care of him; and when I come again I will repay thee." I am, sir, your obedient servant, John N. Hoare, M.A., Rector of Killiskey, Chaplain to Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Mr. Thomas B. Henderson, M.B., Barnard Castle, writes in the *Daily News* of Monday last: "In reading Mr. Hoare's letter on the 'Existence of

Hospitals in India before the Christian Era,' I was reminded of the following passage in Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico*. Speaking of the civilization of the Ancient Mexicans, who were certainly anything but Christians, Prescott says: 'I must not omit to notice here an institution, the introduction of which, in the old world, is ranked among the beneficent fruits of Christianity. Hospitals were established in the principal cities for the cure of the sick and the permanent refuge of the disabled soldier; and surgeons were placed over them, who were so far better than those in Europe, says an old chronicler, that they did not protract the cure in order to increase the pay.' When I read this for the first time, I was very much astonished to find evidence of such an institution among a ferocious people like the Aztecs, especially as I had previously been of Dr. Lightfoot's opinion that hospitals are the creation of Christianity."—*National Reformer*, Oct. 3.

THE BERLIN correspondent of the *London Times* draws a somewhat dismal picture of the commercial outlook in Prussia during the coming winter. Prices are high, business dull and declining, failures numerous, and money under the new banking law very tight, and the number of the unemployed large and increasing. As this comes close on the receipt of \$400,000,000 in hard cash from France, it furnishes one of the happiest illustrations on record of one of the truths which sensible men are just now trying to hammer into the heads of the inflationists; viz., that supplies of money which are not drawn to a country by the legitimate demands of trade are sure, sooner or later, to work mischief. The money of the world has been well compared to a great ocean, with the various civilized nations lying along its borders, and with tides which ebb and flow in any particular place under the influence of an increase or diminution of business. If a particular community wishes greatly to sell, in it rushes to enable them to do so; if they greatly wish to buy, off it goes to the place where they desire to make their purchases; and the whole process, if not interfered with by crazy legislation, goes on with as much certainty as the rise and fall of the sea under the attraction of the moon. But the minute, through any agency whatever, money is forced on a community in which trade has not called for it, or in greater quantity than trade has called for it—whether it be gold, or silver, or greenbacks, or three-sixty-fives,—a state of disease is established which sooner or later brings on a collapse. When an inflationist therefore says that specie has not prevented trouble in Prussia, he furnishes a new proof of his folly or ignorance; but he is very angry when you call him foolish or ignorant, just as the Chinaman is if you laugh when he is beating a gong to get the dragon to stop eclipsing the sun. When you tell the Chinaman that he can't interfere with an eclipse, he replies, as the inflationist does, that this is *your* opinion, but that many thinkers of his acquaintance hold a different one; that there are astronomers in China as well as in Europe or America; that a little more modesty would well become you; and that your arrogance is intolerable; your astronomical notions have probably been put into your head by persons anxious to injure the gong business; and that there is not a province in the country in which the people would not give heavy majorities in favor of the gong theory of eclipses.—*Nation*, Nov. 25, 1875.

THE BALTIMORE *Katholische Volks-Zeitung*, a German newspaper published under the sanction of the Archbishop and other ecclesiastical authorities, recently, by way of showing up the iniquity of the Falk Laws, gave its readers a glimpse of court life in Berlin, for which we trust the editor is doing heavy penance. He says that "unbelievers" in all states are the most immoral, dishonorable, shameless, filthy, and depraved persons, and declares that "the most terrible immorality and frightfully vicious life have assumed shocking dimensions among non-Catholic people." Of this the pious rascal gives the following horrid examples: In Berlin there are one hundred and fifty thousand depraved women, many of whom assail passers-by in broad daylight in a state of Nature, and, if a policeman interfered, he would be murdered. The Crown Princess, Queen Victoria's daughter, has no more faith than a horse, was an intimate friend of the infidel Strauss, and gave a masked ball not long ago at which drunken military officers appeared as monks and nuns, and "indulged in offensive, immoral gestures and movements." The Princess' character is notoriously bad, and she has many illegitimate children, while her husband has at least thirty; in fact, all the officers of the guard are illegitimate sons of high personages, and there is a special department in the Cabinet whose duty it is to provide names and coats-of-arms for this class of the population. The morals of the local bodies are no better, and, in fact, the rest of the exposures of these German Protestants are so grossly indecent that they will not bear reproduction in any form. Now, we should greatly like to know what Archbishop Bayley and Bishop Wood, who allow themselves to be advertised as patrons of this journal, think of the foregoing account of Prussian manners, and what they think of a religious paper which feeds the faithful in this manner. Their fellow-citizens have a right to know whether it really goes into Catholic families with the stamp of their approval.—*Nation*, June 10, 1875.

ARSENE HOUSSEY says: "Chivac, the Duke of Orleans' physician, was an original, clever to the last word. He never noticed that he was ill, being so anxious about the health of others; but one day he felt his pulse and said: 'The devil! He's a dead man! I have been called in too late.'"

Poetry.

AMSTERDAM STATION, ILL.

THE SKIPPER'S STORY OF THREE SAINTS.

They sat on the steps of the station,
And waited for trains to connect—
A colporteur eating his ration,
And a skipper who twice had been wrecked,—
And the strangers began conversation.

The skipper was wrinkled and hoary,
His skin was the color of leather;
The other looked hungry and sorry;
And after discussing the weather,
The skipper struck into his story:

"I'll tell ye of three saints I've know'd of,
That giv' up their lives for their brothers—
A sort you may not hev allowed of,
But folks that'll die to save others
Is bein's for God to be proud of.

"The ship *Swallow*, Cap'n James Bee,
In a fog off the Hatteras coast,
Was wrecked on a ledge to the lee;
Jim stood like a rock at his post,
And went down in a gulp of the sea.

"He showed us how to build a raft,
And crowded her full as she'd float;
He sprung to the davits abaft,
And lowered and loaded each boat,
Then stuck to the battered old craft.

"He saved every life but his own—
Women, children, the men, and the crew,—
Cheered when the last dory was gone,
No room for him in her, he knew;
And he went to the bottom alone!"

"My friend," asked the colporteur grim,
"Had Bee made his peace with the Lord?"
And he laid down his cracker. "What, Jim?"
Said the skipper; "I shouldn't s'pose God
'D be mad at a feller like him!"

"Another was young Andy Bell,
Who worked in the Cumberland coal;
He stood at the mouth of the well,
The mine was afire, and the hole
Blazed up like the furnace of hell!"

"The men was imprisoned below;
The women was screamin' above;
The boss shouted, 'Who'll face the foe,
And fly to the rescue for love?'
And Andy remarked, 'I will go;

"I kin die in the shaft, for I hain't
Nary father, ner mother, ner wife!"
And down in the bucket he went;
Saved fifty by losin' his life;—
I say Andy Bell was a saint."

"Did he pray God," the colporteur cries,
"To help him to fight with the flame?"
"Now I think on't," the skipper replies,
"I've heard Andy mention his name—
More frekent than some would advise!"

"The third one, Newt. Evans, my friend,
Took his engine to Prairie du Chien;
Saw a speck on the track at the Bend,
And cried to the stoker, 'Eugene!
Ef that a'nt a brat I'll be dinned!'

"A baby—an' makin' mud pies!
Mind the train, To the shriek of the bell
He ran forward; sprang out for the prize;
Saved the girl? Yes; but, parson, he fell—
Both his legs was cut off at the thighs."

"Was he washed in the blood of the Lamb,"
Asked the preacher, "and cleansed from his sin?"
The skipper arose—"Am-ster-dam!—
Let me jest get my bearings agin,
An' sorter make out where I am."

He walked to the office—was mute;
When the agent asked what he desired,
He tapped on his pate in salute,
Then turned out his thumb, and inquired,
"Who—is—this 'ere crazy—galute?"

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 4.

Cash, 28 cents; Morris Einstein, \$10; John Gillies, \$1; Harry Hoover, \$3.20; William Wiswell, \$3.50; M. P. Hanchett, \$1.50; H. T. Appleby, \$1.20; Daniel Cony, \$1.60; Frank M. Reed, \$1; Cash, 45 cents; T. Lees, \$3; Gorham Blake, \$3.20; Mrs. S. F. Russell, \$50; Sam'l Warbasse, \$10; Jos. Warbasse, \$10; F. H. Giddings, 10 cents; C. E. Hewes, 10 cents; M. A. Kimball, 10 cents; T. W. Davis, 35 cents; Cash, \$3; W. A. Thurston, \$10; Gabriel Crane, \$3.20; Sarah Emerson, \$13.20; Lizzie E. Dorr, \$10; Mrs. J. G. Kinley, \$13; Warren Emerson, \$13.20; J. H. Emerson, \$3.20; C. A. Day, \$3.20; Thos. Ranney, \$3.20; Sam'l Sewall, \$3.20; W. C. Gannett, \$3.20; A. E. Giles, \$3.20; A. M. Howland, \$3.20; John Verity, \$3.20; Jos. Singer, \$3.20; Theo. Brown, \$3.20; J. E. Cass, \$4; H. R. Plimpton, \$3.20; A. Folsom, \$3.20; E. F. Blaisdell, \$3.20; John Adams, \$3.20; Harvey Brown, \$3.20; Edwin Brown, \$3.20; C. A. Bartol, \$3.20; H. E. Stevenson, \$3.20; W. I. Bowditch, \$4; P. D. Moore, \$10; Wm. Wiswell, 50 cents; A. H. Raymond, \$6.20; Mrs. G. F. Thayer, \$3.20; Mrs. Horace Stone, \$3.20; Victor Bishop, \$2; D. M. Bennett, \$2.45; A. S. Briggs, 80 cents; E. D. Kingman, 10 cents; W. B. Williams, 10 cents; A. J. Rich, 10 cents; Cash, 25 cents; G. F. Ransom, 50 cents; W. L. Heberling, 90 cents; L. G. Jones, 25 cents; B. M. Smith, \$1; Jas. T. Dickinson, \$140; J. L. Whiting, \$13.20; E. Wigglesworth, Jr., \$3.20; E. H. Warren, \$3.20; W. H. Crocker, \$3.20; E. Z. Penfield, \$8.25; Mrs. J. E. Judd, \$3.20; C. A. Miller, \$1; Miss. C. G. Tallman, \$3.20; P. G. Greagh, \$3.20; F. O. Dorr, \$3.20; A. M. Wright, \$3.20; A. T. Linley, \$3.20; A. Morrison, \$3.20; C. H. Shepard, \$3.25; J. H. Clark, \$3.20; M. B. Bryant, \$3.20; J. F. Bradley, \$3.20; Lewis Hunt, \$3.20; J. L. Patrick, \$5; Watson Gill, \$3.20; F. M. Vaughan, \$3.80; L. P. Babb, \$1; Cash, 10 cents.

The Index.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 9, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
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RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYSEY (England), Prof. FRANCIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

MR. GANNETT's very interesting essay on "Centennial Thanksgivings," which occupies the leading place in THE INDEX this week, is a timely word. "Moral force" is preëminently the need of the nation to-day.

MR. B. R. TUCKER's translation of Proudhon's works, of which the first volume will soon be issued, is sure to be in great demand. If we can judge by what we have seen, the translation will prove to be of unusual excellence. Together with Mr. Holyoake's incomparable book, this new volume will greatly enrich the literature of the labor reform.

MR. BABCOCK says: "On the point of 'advocacy' it seems we have silenced THE INDEX." O no; he silenced himself in his third number by coming out as a strong "advocate" of Woman Suffrage! We should not have referred to this but for the above remark. It does not always do to mistake the "last word" for victory—especially when one's last word is an amusing contradiction of his first one.

CANNOT you form a club of five new subscribers to THE INDEX, among your own friends and acquaintance? To clubs of five new subscribers the paper will be sent for a year at \$2.50 each; to clubs of ten new subscribers, at \$2.00 each. An extra copy will be sent free to the getter-up of the club. This reduction cannot be made to any whose names are now on our mail-list, as it is made in the hope that such new subscribers will renew at regular rates. Now is the time to help THE INDEX, if you really value its ideas and aims.

WHETHER the spirit of persecution is dead, or only repressed by our secular system of government, may be gathered from this paragraph, published in the Lebanon (New York) *Shaker and Shakeress*: "The Rev. Mr. Wells, Secretary of the Ohio State Y. M. C. A., made the statement to an audience of several hundred people that 'the time is coming when Christians will love God so intensely that they will put to death even their own children who may be found holding and teaching heretical opinions.' Has the doctrine of vicarious atonement begun to bear such fruit as this in these latter days of 'boasted civilization?'"

THE *Christian Union*, quoting approvingly Zion's *Herald's* noble declaration in favor of secular schools, lately said: "To this complexion the school question is fast coming with all but a fraction of Protestants, and to this complexion it must come at last with all Catholics save those who hate the Republic and would subject it to the authority of the Pope." To what purpose does the ostrich bury its eyes in the sand? Whoever notes the action of Protestant ecclesiastical bodies sees that they are massing themselves in determined defence of the Bible in the schools; and whoever reads the Catholic papers sees that their unanimous voice is against State schools altogether. If the Republic is to be under the control of educated voters, it must yet fight a desperate battle for the very existence of its schools, over which the Protestants and Catholics are beginning a great battle for power. It is folly unprecedented to ignore the issue or underrate the necessity of herculean exertions to make the school system just by making it secular. The *Independent* says truly that "the comments of the religious press upon the action of the Chicago Board of Education are positively mortifying." Friends of justice and freedom, continued inactivity must prove fatal to our noble system of public schools, which cannot be perpetuated on its present sectarian basis. It must grow just, or die.

A GOOD RECORD BEGUN.

The Philadelphia Liberal League is earning the gratitude of the whole country by being the first to take active measures for the complete secularization of the public schools. The following preamble and resolution, having been under debate for several weeks, were adopted on Nov. 14:—

Whereas,—The use of the Bible in the public schools is a violation of the recognized American principle that the Church and the State ought to be absolutely separate; and

Whereas,—It is a practice which gives a distinctively Protestant character to the public school system, is grossly unjust to all non-Protestants taxed to support it, and thereby dangerously aids the Roman Catholic Church in its openly avowed warfare upon it; therefore

Resolved,—That the Liberal League of Philadelphia hereby respectfully petition the Board of Education to prohibit the use of the Bible in the public schools of this city; and that the officers of the League are hereby instructed to carry this resolution into effect.

Although aware that the above resolution was the subject of discussion by the Philadelphia League, we forbore to mention the fact until we could also report the action taken upon it; and of this we have only just been apprised. It appears that the meetings of the League have been very numerous attended; and Sunday before last, as we are informed, "several hundred persons had to go away without finding room." The resolution was adopted by a "pretty decisive majority." We congratulate the League on having bravely taken the necessary steps to arrest public attention to the injustice of the present sectarian character of the school system, and on having come forward publicly as advocates of the only measure which can establish justice in this most important matter. The day will come when the public service thus rendered by the Philadelphia League will be publicly acknowledged and appreciated; nor are those altogether wanting who will acknowledge and appreciate it to-day.

In order the more effectually to make their appeal to public opinion, the League, in addition to holding their meetings, have published in pamphlet form the able and admirable address of Mr. Damon Y. Kilgore, on "The Bible in Public Schools," delivered before the League on October 17. This pamphlet of twenty pages is a very powerful plea for the great reform now absolutely necessary to put the school system on an impregnable basis, and will be of great service to other communities where the same question may be raised. The price of a single copy is ten cents; for one hundred copies, five dollars. Address Mr. John S. Dye, Secretary of the League, 2527 Brown Street, Philadelphia. We hope that every reader of THE INDEX will send his ten cents to Mr. Dye for the pamphlet, and thus encourage our Philadelphia friends in the noble task they have undertaken.

Mr. Kilgore has urged the exclusion of the Bible from the schools both on general and on special grounds,—both because the genius of our political institutions requires them to be absolutely secular, and also because the Bible in itself is in many respects an unfit book to be used in historical, scientific, or moral instruction. On both grounds we entirely agree with him. At the same time it should be distinctly understood and constantly remembered that, were the Bible faultless in all these respects (as a great many people believe that it is), none the less ought it to be excluded from the public schools, just so long as it is used for the religious purposes of only a part of the people. It is solely on the ground of the *equal rights of all* that the Liberal League can appeal to the whole country for support, or expect the vast Protestant majority to carry out the reform it proposes. Now in perfect good faith, and with none but most friendly feelings, we do appeal to this Protestant majority to look at the matter calmly and candidly, and to prohibit the use of the Bible in the schools, not because it is a bad or imperfect book (which most of them strenuously deny), but simply because their own Golden Rule requires them to treat the Catholics, the Jews, the Buddhists, the free-thinkers of all kinds, with the same fairness and equity which they would wish to receive, in case they themselves should become a minority of the population. Unless we can succeed in keeping the Liberal League movement as broad as American citizenship,—unless it shall be seen to contemplate nothing but the better establishment of that universal justice and equality of rights without which American citizenship is only a delusive name,—our labor will be all wasted. Nothing will be able to defeat the ultimate success of the Liberal League movement, except a wide-spread and well-grounded

belief that the secret animus of this movement is a bitter and indiscriminating hostility to the Bible *per se*. That is not the fact, at least so far as THE INDEX is concerned; and it is not the fact with Mr. Kilgore's address, which carefully discriminates between that which is "true and elevating in the Bible," and that which is the reverse of this. It would be an unfortunate thing for the movement, however, if it should degenerate into an endless controversy about the true value of the Bible, and lose sight of the great general principles which are alone really involved. Opinions about the Bible may vary without limit, as they do. But the Liberal League asks that the Bible be excluded from the schools because equal rights require this course, not because the Bible is either this, that, or the other; it asks for the cooperation of all citizens, of whatever private belief about the Bible, in making the public schools a place for that exclusively secular instruction which *all may be justly taxed to support*. While the League adheres to this self-evident principle, it can properly ask and properly receive the support of all classes of citizens; in comparison with this principle, the actual character of the Bible is of no practical importance; and, whatever may be said on this side issue, we trust that the main principle will always be kept distinctly in the foreground, as the real point at issue between those who favor and those who oppose the exclusion of the Bible from the public schools.

"GODLESS."

In the controversy now waging with reference to our public school system, it is common for Roman Catholics to apply to it the epithets "godless," "atheistic," "immoral." Protestantism is denounced as "godlessness." It is thus implied, of course, that their peculiar forms of religion and education are the opposite.

Now, without stopping to consider this position, let it be admitted, for the moment, that it is strictly fair and tenable. The two systems are properly designated, then, by the terms applied to them; and as "a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit," nor "a corrupt tree good fruit," the product of each must correspond to that from which it proceeds. According to such a view, Roman Catholicism, and especially its distinctive mode of education, ought always to present very palpable signs of its superior results, in a higher type of character, in better citizens, better men and women. What are the facts? Is there really a greater degree of genuine morality among those who have been bred and nurtured under Roman Catholic influences than among those reared under Protestant influences, or even outside of both?

For several hundred years Roman Catholicism was the supreme power of the Christian world. It was "monarch of all it surveyed, from the centre all round to the sea." Not only the education of the time, if it was entitled to the name, but government and society in all their forms were under its complete control; and yet these ages are the darkest of modern history. The lamp of moral and intellectual progress seemed quenched, and the human mind seemed to recede rather than to advance. Hume declares that men did not hesitate to take the most solemn oaths and break them on the simplest provocation. All historians bear evidence to the corruption of the times; wars civil and national, robberies, murders, persecutions of the most cruel and merciless sort, and the grossest vices even among the official representatives of religion (the clergy) from the Popes downward, and intense ignorance pervading all grades of society, were their chief distinction. "That Europe," it has been said, "should have ever emerged from such a state is the most decisive proof of the extraordinary energy of man, since we cannot even conceive a condition of society more unfavorable to his progress." A similar picture is presented in those countries to-day where Roman Catholicism prevails, as in Ireland, Spain, South America. "The activity and prosperity of the Pope's subjects," says Edmund About, "are in direct ratio to the square of the distance which separates them from the capital."

But to look nearer home. Does Roman Catholicism substantiate its claims in our American life? Are theft, drunkenness, quarrelsomeness, wife-beating, and criminality generally less common among its adherents than others? Are they more truthful and honest? Have they a finer sense of honor or a better development of conscience? Are they more successful in subduing and controlling the animal part of their natures? Have they as a whole broader human sympathies, more of the real spirit of brotherhood, a truer spiritual culture? All these things

ought to follow, if their position is a true one. Unfortunately there is no such evidence. It is plain to every one that Roman Catholicism, notwithstanding its assumptions, has but little cause for boasting in these respects. It needs but to consult our station-houses, police-courts, and prison records, if there is any question as to this. Therefore, not until Roman Catholicism can present a better showing in respect to its practical results, will the epithets with which it assails our school system have much weight or influence. Will non-Catholic citizens be likely to look to its system with special confidence or sympathy, even though their own mode of education be "godless," "immoral," or whatever else it may be called?

And now to return to the charge itself. If it is intended to be understood that the supporters of our school system are "godless" and "atheistic" in the sense of belonging to the class these words ordinarily designate, the representation is untrue. Among those devoted to the support of our school system, the number of avowed disbelievers in a Supreme Being is unquestionably very small, and their influence is virtually nothing in determining its character or policy. The fact that such an insinuation as that referred to should be made so generally as it has been by Roman Catholic teachers, and should be allowed to remain uncorrected by their own authorities, is in itself conclusive testimony to the immorality of the Church itself, to its inability to quicken the conscience, and render clear the perception of even the most obvious principles of right and justice.

D. H. C.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—Your readers will, I am sure, be interested in hearing of my progress in thought, and will welcome any fresh token of the scientific spirit on the part of our ecclesiastical leaders.

At the opening of the session of the Edinburgh University Philosophical Society, the Rev. Professor Wallace (author of that wonderfully fine lecture on the poet Burns) delivered an address on the relations between philosophy and faith, which, with two or three exceptions, stands far in advance of any clerical utterances we have heard for a long time past from the other side of the Tweed.

The Rev. Principal Caird had quite recently given at Glasgow a most encouraging account of the progress of the scientific spirit, and this was alluded to by Sir Alexander Grant on the occasion of Professor Wallace's address, and the allusion was heartily welcomed by the audience. It is worthy of note that Principal Tullock of St. Andrews, Principal Caird of Glasgow, and Professor Wallace of Edinburgh, are the three most eminent divines in Scotland, and will before long carry all before them. There can be no doubt that our Scotch kinsmen are better gifted by nature and better prepared by education for the pursuit of truth than we Englishmen generally are; and therefore it is to be expected that when they once break away from their old moorings they will sail with greater speed and courage over the boundless sea of inquiry. Professor Wallace drew a very happy distinction between faith and philosophy. "Faith," he thought, "might be defined as the mind in a state of conviction merely, while philosophy might be said to be the mind in a state of reasoned conviction. Faith was the mind in a state of conviction regarding supersensible things, no matter whether philosophical or not, and philosophy was the mind convinced one way or another, after a thorough sounding into the profoundest principles concerned."

Having laid down this distinction between faith and philosophy, the professor proceeded to inquire how far these two conditions of mind could be made harmonious. He illustrated in the best manner possible how faith had been sometimes master, sometimes servant, to philosophy, and finally reached the conclusion that instead of occupying these relations alternately, faith and philosophy should be the nearest of friends and the most staunch allies. He unflinchingly repudiated the notion that faith could reasonably subsist without a substratum of philosophical truth:—

"In reference to that view which would represent faith and philosophy as having nothing to do with one another," he said "that to speak of faith in an unknown and unknowable God was really just as meaningless as to speak of faith in abracadabra. If there be no knowledge of God before the mind, how can we stand in any conscious relation to the matter. If the object of faith be utterly incognitable, then Comte and Spencer and the Positivists are right, and we had better attend to things that are actually be-

fore our minds, instead of wasting our energies in a vain attempt to draw riches out of emptiness."

The professor admitted that "some philosophies were inimical to true faith, but that was just because those systems were wrong in their conclusions."

He went on to define the limits of the two claimants for supremacy, asserting that faith held a promise into which philosophy could not be allowed to intrude except as a friend and ally, while philosophy was empowered to eject from the presence of faith all those "intellectual squatters" who had no right or title to be there.

"A period arrived when reflective thought was born and asserted its natural prerogative. Then commenced a process of clearance. Philosophy turned adrift those baseless convictions which too long had played the part of impostors. Only those against whom no rational indictment could be established remained. In the case of the false, the mastery of philosophy was made abundantly clear; but it was not less so in the case of the true."

"If convictions remained within the mind, exercising the power of impelling the will to action, it was simply because their title-deeds had been examined and found to be regular and valid."

The professor then turned to the question of revealed religion, stating that, whether it was real or not, it rested on the primary truths of natural religion, and that these could only be tested by philosophy.

"Natural theology was simply and entirely a department of philosophy."

So much more was the subject of revealed religion under the absolute control of philosophical inquiry and research. The harmony between faith and philosophy is thus pithily expressed:—

"Faith existed before philosophy, and furnished the latter with materials; philosophy revised faith, and legitimized its position. In these circumstances, the proper relation was rightly set forth neither by the figure of the servant, nor by that of the master. The right conception was that of a relationship of alliance and friendship."

"The highest acts of friendship were service, correction, and defence; and genuine philosophy did all these things for faith."

No wonder that the address was listened to with profound attention, and only interrupted by bursts of applause. The professor wound up by saying:—

"Let simple love of truth be your animating motive; let courageous, yet wise, circumspect, and many-sided reflection be your guide; remember that dashing speculation is not philosophy; that it is only by cautious, laborious, steady searching and groping that wisdom is to be found."

From such philosophy neither faith, nor aught else, has anything to fear. It is not philosophy, but "vain philosophy," that is forbidden; not science, but "science falsely so-called." I only wish there were more of such religious, believing, philosophical minds in our country and in yours, to disarm philosophy of its terrors, and to redeem religion from the "intellectual squatters" which infest the realm of faith. I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S.E., Nov. 20, 1875.

ON ONE OCCASION, Charles Dickens was upholding the theory that whatever trials and difficulties might stand in a man's path, there is always something to be thankful for. "Let me, in proof thereof," said Dickens, "relate a story: Two men were to be hanged at Newgate for murder. The morning arrived; the hour approached; the bell of St. Sepulchre's began to toll; the convicts were pinioned; the procession was formed; it advanced to the fatal beam; the ropes were adjusted round the poor men's necks; there were thousands of motley sight-seers of both sexes, of all ages, men, women, and children, in front of the scaffold—when, just at that second of time, a bull, which was being driven to Smithfield, broke its rope, and charged the mob right and left, scattering people everywhere with its horns. Whereupon one of the condemned men turned to his equally unfortunate companion, and quietly observed, 'I say, Jack, its a good thing we ain't in that crowd!'"

A VERY OLD STORY is extant of a Presbyterian divine, the incumbent of two barren rocks in the Frith of Clyde, with a scanty population of some hundred souls, who, in offering up a prayer for the prosperity of the rocks in question, was wont to beseech the Almighty at the same time and in his great mercy not to overlook the adjacent islands of Great Britain and Ireland.

IT IS SAID that the trouble with the prohibitory law is that it is ahead of public sentiment. That's what's the matter with the ten commandments, too. —Boston News.

Communications.

A NOTE FROM MR. DAVIS.

I do not care to prolong the discussion of the finance question in your paper; but the fact that I have apparently misquoted "R. P. H." requires me to say a few words. I admit that I should not have added quotation marks to the sentence he objects to—it was done inadvertently; but I do not admit that I misrepresented the spirit of his statement. In his last comments he says that the bonds are "not as a security for a loan to the banks." In my article I quoted him as saying that the bonds are not as a security for the notes. Now as the notes were what were loaned, I do not misquote him, nor is the statement on my envelopes false. That the notes are a loan, and not a gift, is proved by the fact that the government, by the 73d Act of the law creating the banks, can recall them at any time it wishes to, upon handing back to the banks the security: namely, the bonds. "R. P. H." weakens his position by the false assumption in his first article that the banks do not borrow of the nation the National Bank-notes.

"R. P. H." says the greenback is a promise to pay "coin." Read the first greenback you see. The word coin is not there. The promise to pay is dollars, and the Supreme Court has decided that the greenbacks are dollars.

"R. P. H." also says that the National Bank-notes are payable in greenbacks (admitted), and that they are paid whenever presented. They were not in the crisis of 1873, and cannot be to-day, because the banks have only one dollar of greenbacks on hand for four dollars of National Bank-notes afloat.

E. M. DAVIS.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 2, 1875.

THE MORAL GUIDE OF HUMAN LIFE.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—It is a common opinion among Orthodox believers in Christianity, that it not only brings peace and salvation to their souls, but that it also furnishes laws for their guidance in daily life. In proof of this they quote the numerous moral precepts scattered through the New Testament, few of them being aware that the greater part of this morality was held in common by the ancient Pagan religions and philosophies which preceded Christianity. For the wisest men in all ages had found by experience that temperance, chastity, and cleanliness, were for man's best interests individually, and that truth-speaking and honesty lay at the very foundations of social well-being. It is somewhat amusing to hear the confident way in which religious persons affirm that only people with bad hearts can reject the Christian dogmas. They cannot seemingly conceive of any rules for guidance in life being found elsewhere than in the Bible, and come to the conclusion that unbelievers will give a loose rein to all their passions and propensities, saying, "Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die."

It is, therefore, a very interesting and highly important branch of inquiry how far it is possible to found a code of laws for the guidance of conduct on the laws of Nature. Morality may be divided into two great branches: the duties which man owes to himself and his family, and the duties he owes to the community of which he is a member.

Every organ in the human frame has received a definite constitution; that is to say, its structure is adapted to the functions which it performs for the organism. This is equally true, whatever view we may entertain as to the origin of things,—whether we believe that all orders of animals, including man, were created at once by an Almighty Creator, or that they were evolved from simple types by the processes of evolution, of natural selection, and the survival of the fittest. On the latter hypothesis, Nature has been engaged through countless ages in developing species from the simpler forms by contact with the external world, and by the growing correspondences between the organism and the physical laws.

For it must be observed that, through all these developments, Nature has been working in conformity with the physical laws. Gravitation is a physical law, and limbs, wings, muscles, and bones have been developed in conformity with it. Another physical law is, that heat tends to diffuse itself. In harmony with this law Nature has protected all animals with an external covering, to retain the internal heat, either in the shape of layers of fat, or coats of feathers, or fur, or hair, which are increased in amount on the approach of winter, and lessened during the heat of summer. Man, also, by the use of his reasoning faculties, is capable of discovering this law, and adapts himself to it by wearing next his sensitive skin a covering of some non-conducting material, by which he retains his internal heat, and guards himself against sudden changes of temperature. If he disregards this law, the consequences will be loss of the internal heat on which life depends; the blood which should circulate to the surface will be driven inwards on the internal organs; inflammation and other diseases, with pain and suffering, and possibly premature death, will follow.

An examination of the structure of any organ and its relationship to the other organs, shows us that there are certain conditions necessary to the healthy discharge of its function. Some of these conditions, with regard to the stomach, for instance, are,—that it should be supplied with nutritious and digestible food; that it should have alternate intervals of activity and rest; and that the supply of food should be moderate in quantity. If these and the other necessary conditions are complied with, healthy

digestion will be the consequence. If they are disregarded, if we do not take sufficient time to chew our food, if we eat to excess for the mere brute pleasure of eating, disordered action and impaired health will be the results. Such is the intimate relationship between the different organs, that the consequences are not limited to the bodily functions, but extend to the mental functions as well. It is a common experience with many people that dyspepsia leads to great wretchedness of mind, and not unfrequently to suicide or insanity. When we examine the structure and relationship of the lungs also, we find that there are certain conditions necessary to their healthy action, such as that they shall be supplied with pure air, and that their due inflation shall not be impeded by external pressure. Flagrant disregard of these conditions is visited by the most deplorable results; the whole system suffers from the presence of impure blood; protracted suffering, consumption, and premature death are the frequent accompaniments; and families are thus often left a burden upon the community; so that disobedience to these simple, natural laws leads to a breach, not only of the duties we owe to ourselves and families, but also of the duties we owe to the community.

Similar illustrations might be given of the working of other organs, such as the skin, the reproductive organs, the muscles, and bones. The point which I wish to insist on is: that these conditions of healthy action in our organs constitute laws to us for the guidance of our lives; obedience to which will be rewarded by health, a fitness for the discharge of our duties, and long life; disobedience to which will be punished by misery and premature death. These laws, being founded in the very nature of things, have the highest sanction which it is possible for laws to have. If we believe the world to have come directly from the hands of an Almighty Creator, these laws will be an expression of his will towards us. If we believe the world and all the organisms on it to be the product of evolution, the sanction will be equally strong; for when we consider that these organs and the condition necessary to their healthy action are the results of that long process by which Nature has accumulated modifications upon modifications on animal structures, and of the ever-growing series of correspondences between the organisms and the external world, obedience to these laws will appear in the character of a religious duty.

With regard to the duties which man owes to the community of which he is a member, Herbert Spencer in his *Social Statics* attempts to show that they are all included in the one great law that man has a right to pursue his happiness in his own way, subject to the one limitation that he shall not infringe on the same right in his neighbor. Without saying that he succeeds in this, we may go on to inquire whether there is anything in the structure of civilized society which will lead to a discovery of the laws which lie at the foundation of its well-being.

It is evident that, before society could adhere together to any extent, there must be a certain amount of reliance to be placed on each other by the different members of it. Honesty and truth-speaking must prevail to a considerable extent among them. If all men were to turn thieves, there would soon be an end of industry, and there would soon be nothing to steal. If all men were liars, there could not be a beginning made towards that vast system of credit and trustworthiness on which our commerce and manufactures are based. When we read of the cases of fraud and embezzlement which make so much noise in the public prints, we are apt to forget the great substratum of honesty and fair dealing which lie at the foundation of our modern civilization, and without which it never could have been built up. So also in political organization. Although there may be much bribery and corruption among certain classes, there must be a general desire to place the best men at the head of affairs; otherwise it will fare ill with the State, and dissolution will not be far distant. These and the other conditions of well-being of communities constitute the social laws. Obedience to them is rewarded by national prosperity and strength; disobedience to them is punished by national weakness, poverty, and ultimate dissolution or conquest.

It may not be uninteresting to compare the system of moral laws which might be founded on the laws of Nature with that which is drawn from the New Testament precepts, as far as individual morality is concerned. Where they prescribe the same line of conduct, it is noticeable that the former gives the reasons why obedience is required; the latter demands obedience dogmatically, on the authority of the lawgiver. The former has its rewards and penalties in this world, where they can be tested by experience; the latter defers its rewards and penalties to another and an unknown state of existence. In other respects the differences are very great. Many transgressions of the natural laws, such as neglect of exercise, breathing of foul air, etc., are not regarded as sins at all by the New Testament morality, although the penalties for these offences are so severe. Any code of rules for life drawn from the Scriptures must of necessity be very incomplete, when we consider the gross ignorance of the age in which these books were written. There is no evidence of any knowledge at that time of the existence of a brain and nervous system in man, or of the lungs and their function of respiration, or of most of the other organs of the human frame, on the well-being of which so much of our happiness depends. The ideas of morality current in such an age will, therefore, fall far short of what is required in the stage of civilization which we have now reached.

Those readers of THE INDEX who have read Mr. Mill's *Essays on Religion*, will perceive a great incongruity between the ideas here advanced and the

"Essay on Nature" in that work. One has only to glance over that essay to see that a complete misconception existed in the writer's mind as to what is meant by a law of Nature being a guide to human conduct. A very good instance of this occurs on page 16, where he says: "When, for example, a person is crossing a river by a narrow bridge to which there is no parapet, he will do well to regulate his proceedings by the laws of equilibrium in moving bodies, instead of conforming only to the law of gravitation, and falling into the river." Now when a person regulates his proceedings by the laws of equilibrium in such circumstances, he calls into action those powers of mental faculty, nerve, and muscle, with which Nature has fitted him to live in a world where gravitation prevails. All these powers have been developed by contact between the organism and the external world, one of the laws of which is gravitation; and by the use of his faculties he places himself in harmony with the law. The same misconception prevails throughout the essay. Mr. Mill speaks of the forces of Nature as being the laws of Nature, and holds up to ridicule the idea of yielding obedience to them; whereas it is the conditions under which these forces operate in relation to the human organism which constitute the laws of Nature, in the sense in which the term is used by all writers on the subject.

Mr. Mill speaks of the confusion of ideas which pervades the works of George Combe—an author who is singularly free from confusion of ideas,—because he enjoins obedience to the physical laws as being equally obligatory with obedience to the moral law. The confusion of ideas is with himself, in confounding physical forces with physical laws. If there are any of the natural laws to which obedience is more obligatory than to others, it must be those to the infringement of which the greatest penalties are attached. In that sense obedience to the physical laws is more obligatory than obedience to the moral law, because disregard of them often leads to the forfeiture of life itself. That Mr. Mill had a very imperfect idea of the natural laws is shown by his own example; he left his own country and took up his abode in what is notoriously an unhealthy district in France, where his wife died, and where afterwards he himself died at an age when he should have been in the full maturity of his powers. If we had not been told to the contrary in the Preface to these essays, we might well have supposed that the "Essay on Nature" was written shortly after his wife's death, the language is so harsh and severe. In all likelihood it was not the institutions of Nature that were at fault, so much as his own failure to comprehend and conform to them.

Whatever opinion may be formed on this subject, it seems to me to be one of great importance. If we can succeed in making the laws of Nature "a light to our feet and a lamp to our path," instead of the old revelation in which so many of us have been educated, but which has become no longer tenable, a great point will be gained.

J. G. W.

OTTAWA Canada, Oct. 15, 1875.

DEMOCRATS AND CATHOLICISM.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In your reply to the articles of Lewis G. Janes on the "Catholic Question," you quote from the *New York Times* a "record of facts and figures" to prove that in four or five years past the Democratic party has been responsible for large sectarian appropriations mainly absorbed by Catholic schools.

It is true that New York city is, and has been, largely a Democratic city,—and has been unfortunately governed by a ring of politicians of both parties with Tweed as their leader. But, in making the Democrats alone responsible for these sectarian appropriations, I think you must have overlooked the fact that the Legislature of New York for more than fifteen years, and until this year, has been Republican by a good working majority, and in that time the Governor, except for one term, has always been Republican also. Neither do you state a fact which is not easily apprehended in New England, where every city raises and expends its own revenues; namely, that the appropriations in New York city for city and county purposes are not made by the city government, but by the legislature of the State; and that in that period of fifteen years, with a Democratic city and a Republican State, the expressed wishes of the city as to appropriations have often been overlooked and set aside. Would it not then be simple justice rather to hold the Republican party responsible for sectarian appropriations, which, to say the least, they were at any moment able to prevent, than the Democratic party for what it had no power, if it had had the desire, to exact?

J. S. P.

PORTLAND, Me., Nov. 26, 1875.

[We have no special knowledge of New York State politics, and can of course only suggest that all the light obtainable should be thrown upon the secret history of the sectarian appropriations which have disgraced that State. If the Republicans deserve any share of the blame, let them receive it unsparingly; we are no champion of theirs, but speak independently for the purification of American politics from all sectarian influences, no matter by what party introduced. If the Democrats, however, are able to throw the responsibility of the sectarian appropriations in New York city upon the Republican party, they had better bring forward documentary evidence of the most conclusive character; for in that case they have a wide-spread and powerful prejudice to overcome. Personally we care not a whit

more for the Republican than for the Democratic party, as such; we are one of the "independent voters," and vote without acknowledging the slightest allegiance to either party; but we believe that a desire to secure the Catholic vote has in some places made the Democratic party dangerously subservient to priestly masters. Let the lash be for the guilty back: whether Democratic or Republican, is of no sort of consequence. We ask for further, fuller, and more specific information on the subject from any one who has it to furnish. What was the reason of the anomalous arrangement by which the city appropriations of New York are made by the State Legislature? What "expressed wishes of the city as to appropriations" are referred to, and were they against sectarian appropriations? The above statements are too general to be satisfactory; and we can only promise absolute impartiality in publishing facts on this subject, regardless of the tender toes of any political party.—Ed.]

SPIRITUAL BUMMING.

Society seems to be greatly in need of a new science, which, when it is born, will perhaps be called intellectual economy. Our scientific journals are full of ingenious contributions, looking to the conservation of matter and force, and the avoidance of waste. How to save steam, fuel, corn, and general wear and tear, is among the great questions of this material age. It will be gratifying to many who believe that truth and social justice are as important as steam, railroads, stocks, and *per cents.*, when men begin to inquire how cerebation may be carried on with least waste, and contribute most to intellectual production.

A society is now being started in New York to revive the study of the occult sciences, which have unfortunately been left in more or less neglect since the Middle Ages. Mouldy parchments of magic lore are to be taken down and brushed up. The Rosicrucians are to be summoned and interviewed. Men and women are determined with a vengeance that we shall know more of Gnomes, Pucks, and Calibans. The nature and origin of elementary spirits are to be investigated, with all the ardor that characterized the momentous discussions of the schoolmen.

Now every species of sincere intellectual effort must result in some possible good; but it is difficult to think of the thousands of elementary stomachs in this country that are crying for more bread, while capital with wolfish cupidity must have its profits at all hazards, and not be persuaded that much intelligence is to be expended in this matter with lamentable waste. If there be demons on the other side, they are fortified behind their own elements, which we cannot dissolve; but what say you, Col. Olcott, of the demon of poverty, which Peter Cooper says is growing ten times faster than population, and thrusting his claws deeper and deeper every year, into the vitals of the producing class? Your elementary demons may be summoned up or beckoned away, and become the plaything of the skilled oculist; but the avarice and presumption of capital is nurturing a demon which one of these days will be dangerous to play with, and will drive your elementary spirits, if not some of the primary ones, to the shades, when it gets thoroughly at work.

Though much of interest and curiosity may be involved in other spheres and conditions of life, the only thing tangibly certain is that we do live here, after a fashion, and that there are certain wrongs in this human society that cry most wofully for redress. It is the Spiritualists themselves who claim to be the most explicit asserters of the fact that the next life is what it is here fashioned to be, that this life is the primary school of the coming one, and that we commence there just where we leave off here. If so, then Spiritualists have the most vital motives for being reformers. We do not say that they, as a class, are not earnest and interested in reform. The spiritual journals are uniformly found on the right side, when religious liberty is assailed by dogmatism and bigotry. What we would suggest is that the feeling out into the dark chambers of mystery for fantastic geni is an occupation too unsatisfying and transcendental for minds which have climbed out of the old grooves, and might be so usefully employed in the urgent problems of social reform.

We hope the Spiritualists are not to follow in the footsteps of the clergy, diving after mysteries and leaving the stern facts of society untouched. At a *séance*, one was heard to say: "I must believe in a future life, since I have had the proofs palpable; although personally I should prefer annihilation." Well, why not go to work, then, for the good of your fellows here, and leave the business of the future to take care of itself? If the spirit world is to be made up of the materials which are furnished here, it will eventually be overrun with stock-jobbers, unless something be inaugurated to shame and tame down business greed. We may well cry annihilation, when the contagion of "profit" gets into heaven, and, instead of angels and affinities, we find nothing there but earthy spirits clamoring for ten *per cent.*

No man with his eyes open can fail to be interested in modern Spiritualism. The fact that the majority of popular scientists have not the moral courage to look the phenomena squarely in the face and investigate them shows that hypocrisy has permeated science as well as theology. Men like Crookes, Varley, and Wallace are not supposed to jump at conclusions at random. We have nothing against Spiritualism, but simply hope it may not get to flying off into chaotic regions of goblins, and that many a good Spirit-

ualist may disagree with Dr. Faust, thinking it more becoming a man to leave this world a little better than he found it than to be "bumming around" in search of witches' festivals.

HENRY APPLETON.

PROVIDENCE, R.I.

UNMERITED TRIBUTE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

No one can read the language of the selection of Gen. Grant's speech at Des Moines with more quickened feelings than the writer; and no one could be more anxious that those sentiments should prove to be an expression of his honest convictions, having once been his strong admirer, and having once (and only once) earnestly supported him for the highest honors in the gift of the people. If these are his candid sentiments, is it true that he did in September utter them, and in October issue a proclamation recommending the people *officially* to go to church, and perform their religious rites on a certain day? Is it true that he signed two separate "Acts" during the last Congress, appropriating sums of the people's money for two sectarian institutions in the city of Washington? Is it true that he was one of the signers for the call of the "God-in-the-Constitutional convention"? [No, we believe not.—Ed.] Is it true that he has portioned out the different Indian tribes to the different religious denominations for sectarian purposes? Is it not true that, because of these and like official acts, the entire sectarian power was exerted to elect him President for a second term in opposition to the true and noble Horace Greeley? And is it not to be feared that, because of these and similar acts, the same power will be exerted to return him for a third term, that it may farther carry out its sectarian schemes? If not, are there other reasons to recommend him to their support? Did he, or did he not, as is charged, during some of the greatest battles, lie beastly intoxicated under a tree? Was he not one of a few who entered into a real estate speculation, and, to carry it out, made an attempt at the San Domingo outrage? When the great Charles Sumner uttered the warning voice, did he not cause him to be dropped from the Chairmanship of the Committee of Foreign Relations, and still further dishonor him by placing Simon Cameron in his stead in the same position? Has he not been guilty of the most glaring nepotism, appointing every one of the least relationship to himself to important official positions? Has he not received on many occasions, while acting President of these United States, presents of small and great value, and from those persons who afterwards were appointed to important official positions? Did he not appoint A. T. Stewart, the dry-goods merchant of New York city, to one of the most important positions in the government, in opposition to the express provisions of the Constitution of the United States? Has he, or has he not, made his administration a mere jobbery to a large extent, from the lowest to the highest offices in the government? Has he not all along outraged the Southern people by appointing and holding in office the most corrupt officials on record, and thereby keeping up a sectional strife and hatred that ought long ago to have been forgotten? Did he not sign an "Act" doubling his salary? Have we ever had another President who would have been guilty of such an official act? God forbid we should ever have another! Has he not, instead of keeping up a careful and faithful watch of the interest of the government, spent his long summer seasons at Long Branch associated with jockeys and fast men? Has his administration not tended towards a centralized and extravagant government? Has he, or has he not, when on his Western trips, at frequent times and places become so numbed by intoxication that his friends had to secrete and take care of him? Has he not, in almost every manner that can be named, dishonored his office and disgraced the American people? Is it true that even now old saloon bills of his in Galena and Missouri are held up and exhibited as curiosities? If these, and a hundred more of his official and private acts, are true, as has been charged, or the half of them, can there be any faith in the man, even though he did utter language that ought to be written in gold, and accepted as the guiding rule of every true lover of freedom of thought, of the press, of religion,—equal rights and exact justice to all men, without regard to color, nationality, or religion? It is because I believe that the charges stated, and many more, are true, that I could not help feeling that undue prominence has been given to General Grant by placing a selection of his almost only speech in the most conspicuous place in THE INDEX. While I believe in giving even the "devil his due," can it be a fact that such noble sentiments come as honest convictions from such a man? Would it not be more reasonable to suppose that they were uttered in a Jesuitical spirit, as a move to dupe the American people into electing him for a third term? Does any doubt that, if he had exerted his powers at the proper time, the Civil Rights Bill, as it came from the hand of Charles Sumner, would have been passed? Yet the colored people were duped to give him their support, when its failure must be traced to him alone. Is it not true that they, as well as the entire nation, were duped to sacrifice their greatest friends, and slaughter, as it were, in cold blood, the greatest lover of humanity the nation ever produced, and place in prominence a man who is not worthy to untie his shoe? As a lover of THE INDEX I speak, and I hope that its editor will receive it in the spirit in which it is written, and not take it as intending to exercise any dictation whatever.

I am, sir, yours very truly,

B. M. SMITH.

ST. PAUL, Minn., Nov. 14, 1875.

[Our friendly correspondent may be assured that

his article is received in no other spirit than that of fairness and willingness that all shall be heard without favoritism or prejudice. But we believe many, if not most, of the specifications in his long indictment are untrue and unjust; and, while we acknowledge the propriety of closely watching all public officials, we also acknowledge the propriety of forbearing to heap up all the unproved accusations of political and personal enmity as if they were proved crimes. It is at least not unworthy of American citizens to refuse credence to such extravagant stories until conclusive evidence of their truth is adduced; they owe too much to Ulysses S. Grant to lend a credulous ear to his honest or dishonest detractors. Some of these charges are, we regret to say, true; most of them we disbelieve. But be this as it may, is it not the boast of liberals to "welcome truth from whatever quarter it may come"? We have paid no "tribute," whether "merited" or unmerited, that has not been strictly deserved; for the Des Moines speech is not to be surpassed as a statement of true Americanism, if its phraseology is generously interpreted. Possibly the President spoke better than he meant; but we incline to believe not. At any rate, we have not praised his consistency or his motives, but his words, and we cannot honestly unsay a syllable of that praise.—Ed.]

A QUESTION TO MRS. CHENEY.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I was quite pleased, in reading the last INDEX, to find an article from the pen of Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Higher Education of Women"; and I write now to ask her opinion, if she will be so kind as to give it, in regard to the now all-important question of the ballot for women.

Although I am extremely anxious for the time when women can be united with men in helping to make the laws under which they live, I feel pretty certain that the policy of giving them the right to vote, until they are prepared for it by higher and less sectarian education would be suicidal to free government; and for one, I am glad that the power lies in State instead of National government to give them this right.

The principal influence and power that woman has ever possessed has been given by the Church (poor as it has been), and she would vote for any amendment to Christianize the Constitution, simply from affectionate reverence for life-long teachings. No opinion is more firmly grounded in my mind than that the Bible has done more to lower man's estimate of woman than anything else in the world; and it is the one weight that will hold her down, until educated above some of the time-honored nonsense therein taught regarding her place and influence.

I firmly believe that woman's power of affection and motherly instincts, united with man's in governmental affairs, will largely promote the general welfare. But, so long as she is the slave of superstition, she can never become a serviceable citizen.

MRS. E. L. SAXON.

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 20, 1875.

"PROTESTS AND SUITS."

EDITOR INDEX:—

In Mr. E. M. Davis' letter in THE INDEX of Nov. 18, reviewing the position of R. P. H. on the inflation question, the writer takes occasion to notice a remark of mine that the repeal of the Legal Tender Act, after a process of gradual contraction of the currency to the point of its appreciation to the value of gold, is the only feasible and safe means of reaching resumption, and says that the effect of such action would be to ruin the individual and enrich the banks, inasmuch as the inability of the former to pay gold would be followed by protest and suit, but not so in the case of the latter. To which I reply that, if the repeal of the Legal Tender Act carried with it the necessity that only specie should be paid or received for the cancellation of debt, his argument would have force; but, as under the given circumstances nobody wants gold, its purchasing power being no greater than that of paper, and consequently purchasable at par, I can't for the life of me see where the protests and suits are to come from.

Mr. Davis should keep in mind that the circumstances under which I would repeal the law making greenbacks a legal tender include this, that resumption shall then have been practically accomplished; the object to be attained thereafter by repeal being to keep the country on the path of convertibility, by which the constant tendency of the currency would be to self-adjustment in respect to the wants of traffic.

The basis, however, of what I deem the erroneous views of Mr. Davis upon this question is indicated by his definition of inflation. He says: "It is any issue of paper beyond the quantity of gold on hand." If this definition is correct, there can be no such thing as an inflation of a specie currency, or (consequently) of a convertible paper currency, provided there is as much gold "on hand" as paper. Now Mr. Davis will excuse us if, instead of his definition of inflation, we accept that of Adam Smith, John Locke, J. Stuart Mill, Prof. Cairnes, Amasa Walker, and nearly every other generally accepted authority on political economy,—that the inflation of a currency, whether of specie, or paper, or both, is its

superabundance for the needs of trade. It is inflation as thus defined that arises during periods of unusual speculation; after which, if the currency be specie or convertible paper, the process of contraction commences by the withdrawal of coin from the currency to be used for other and more profitable purposes; or, if (as in this country now) the currency be of inconvertible paper, its superabundance will continue, and will be shown by the deficiency of its purchasing power.

Mr. Davis says that "the theory that our money must have an intrinsic value is false." Well, possibly "intrinsic" is a little too exact; but the fact that a paper dollar of a Nova Scotia bank will buy as much as \$1.15 of our paper money can scarcely fail to give the impression that "intrinsic" serves a good turn in this connection.

Of course, I do not recommend, as a practical measure, under the present circumstances of our financial affairs, the immediate repeal of the Legal Tender Law. I simply wished to show the logical results of it in the few hints I gave of the natural workings of a convertible currency. Contraction will save us from all such "heroic" remedies. Z.

ZEAL WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE.

NEW YORK, Nov. 20, 1875.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Dear Sir,—You quote an anonymous correspondent as saying, referring to Mr. Moody: "Wouldn't the time be as well spent in imitating his zeal as in finding fault with his theology?"

No doubt Mr. Moody's earnestness is commendable, but it is unfortunate that it takes the direction it does. All that he says in commendation of honest, pure ways to his hearers is to be praised; but his theology and the advice he gives are so incompatible, that it will not do to overlook the theological side of his work. I quote from a recent report of one of his sermons the following story:—

"Mr. Moody closed his sermon with this story: 'Several years ago a young man, the son of worthy parents living on a quiet Illinois farm, left his home to seek a fortune in Chicago. He entered that city a strict moralist, but not a Christian, and a few months later a farmer neighbor visiting the city, saw him reeling drunk through the streets. The old neighbor returned home, but for days his courage failed him when he endeavored to tell the pitiful story to the Christian father. And when he told it, he repented of his act, for the father's face grew aged as he listened. That evening the father and mother sat in their quiet parlor, and, gently as he could, the husband told his grief to his wife. Oh, how sad were those parents then! They sat dumb-founded by their misery, before they thought to roll the burden upon Christ. They prayed all through the night, and when the morning came the mother was blithe and cheerful. She said that God had given to her evidence that her son would be saved. But the father was still sad. A week later that son returned home unexpectedly. He went straight to his mother, confessed his faults, and told her of the miles he had journeyed on purpose to kneel with her in prayer. The little family then gathered around their household altar, and the next time the son went to Chicago he entered the city a Christian, not a mere moralist.'"

Comment is unnecessary, except to suggest that we who are "mere moralists" have a duty to perform; namely, to see that our own lives are so pure that we may not be as stumbling-blocks to those who, groping in the darkness of religious fear and superstition, are just beginning to see the light of reason and science. "A."

SINS AND CHAINS.

UNION, Maine, Nov. 13, 1875.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I read the following comparison made by the great revivalistic preacher at the Brooklyn rink: "S'pose that I was hanging by a chain from yonder pipe; and s'pose one of the links of that chain should break; wouldn't I fall just as much as if the whole chain broke? Well, that's the way with a little sin; by the law it condemns a man the same as a big one."

Mr. Moody's comparison makes the chain represent the law, and the breaking of one or more links to represent transgression of the law. The reason why he would fall the same when one link is broken as when more are broken, is because the breaking of one link would set him free from the chain; hence he would not be subject to the chain after one link was broken. To make the cases parallel, the reason why the sinner is condemned the same for a small sin as for a "big one," is because, at the instant he begins to sin, and before he becomes a great sinner, he is condemned, and at the same time set free from the law. In order more clearly to illustrate the idea conveyed by the above comparison, we, too, will "s'pose" a case.

Now "s'pose" Sambo's master shows him a paper of pins, a gold watch, and a hundred dollar bill, and tells him that he has made a law which will punish him by cutting off his ears, if he steals the pins, or the watch, or the money,—the penalty being the same if he steals all of them. In an evil moment, "s'pose" Sambo is tempted, and steals the pins, and has his ears cut off. Would not Sambo see that his master's law could injure him no more? And would he not steal the watch and money also?

Is this the logic of Christianity? Are sinners at liberty to sin against God without receiving any condemnation? Then why talk about punishing sinners, who are already condemned to the utmost, for desecrating the Sabbath and blaspheming God?

Yours truly,

CHAS. A. MILLER.

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EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

O. B. FROTHINGHAM, New York City.
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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1875.

WHOLE No. 312.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday or the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

"If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. Now, the centennial year of our national existence, I believe, is a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundations of the structure commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian schools. Resolve that neither State or Nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmixed with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and the State forever separate."—PRESIDENT GRANT, at Des Moines, Sept. 29, 1875.

GLIMPSSES.

MR. MOODY said at Philadelphia that "Satan is at church more regularly than anybody"—which is a very good reason for those who would shun bad company to stay at home.

PROFESSOR SWING is to preach every Sunday in McVicker's Theatre, in Chicago. It is asserted that fifty citizens have each pledged \$1000 a year for three years to sustain the movement.

THE PAPERS give discouraging despatches from Philadelphia concerning the Moody and Sankey campaign. Meetings are large and converts few. A great deal of quartz is crushed, but the percentage of gold is trifling. When will the revivalists strike the promised Comstock lode?

THE LATEST report from the Port Jervis, N.Y., revival, given in the *Tribune* of December 9, states that "probably one-third" of the "six hundred persons converted" consists of "children under fifteen years of age," and that "it is not known that a contributor of the Boston *Investigator*, or any other atheists or pronounced sceptics have been converted or asked for prayers, as has been reported."

PROFESSOR JEVONS' *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange*, a new volume just published in the "International Scientific Series," is a treatise which ought to be in the hands of every American voter to-day, when the financial question is so prominent and important. It gives most useful instruction which is comprehensible by any person of ordinary intelligence, and is a refreshing corrective of the wild vagaries about money with which the country is deluged.

IT SEEMS that the people of Arizona, as represented by the local papers, are clamorous for the removal of Chief-Justice Dunne for other reasons than his opposition to the public school system. He is charged by the chairman and two members of the Board of Supervisors with usurpation of unlawful powers and with tyranny; the Mayor and Councilmen of Tucson accuse him of causing "a feeling of insecurity of life, liberty, and property"; public petitions for his removal are circulated over the signatures of many leading citizens, some of them being Catholics. This materially changes the case. We only protested against his removal for simply expressing adverse opinions about the school system.

A WRITER in the *Providence Bulletin* says: "Shut Moody and Sankey into a room with Francis E. Abbot and John Weiss for a week, and at the end of that time you would find Abbot and Weiss on their knees, reading that excellent little tract called 'What Shall I Do to Be Saved?' with tears streaming down their cheeks; and all because Moody and Sankey are just ignorant enough to believe in something, while Abbot and Weiss are so precious knowing that they are not sure that they know anything." If we were really shut up for a week in a room with Moody and

Sankey, we should doubtless (notwithstanding the consolation of Mr. Weiss' companionship in misery) shed a whole Mississippi River of tears; but it would be solely because we could not get out.

At a meeting of Methodists in this city on Sunday, December 5, Professor Williams Wells, of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., referred to the dangerous progress now making by the Catholics among the Southern freedmen, and indorsed ex-Speaker Blaine's proposed Constitutional Amendment prohibiting sectarian schools. But what Protestants usually mean by "sectarian" is clearly shown in the subsequent remarks of Bishop Wiley, who, approving Professor Wells' speech, declared that "there are three things we must not give up: first, the Christian Sabbath; second, the common schools with the Bible in them; and, third, the disunion of Church and State." The first two of these things cannot be permanently retained except through the passage of the Christian Amendment; and that is the measure towards the support of which the Evangelical party are steadily drifting. But the "third thing" is incompatible with the "first and second thing." What crying need of Liberal Leagues to make this plain, at this momentous hour!

THIS SENTENCE on the Catholic question, contained in Mr. Wasson's very remarkable leading essay of this week, is closely packed with practical wisdom: "For excited alarm there seems to be no occasion. On the other hand, it is not, perhaps, the fittest of all seasons for sanguine unconcern. There are three classes of men: those who see an approaching evil before its arrival, and preclude it; those who see it after its arrival, and cure it; and those who never see, but only feel when they are crushed by it: fore-seers, after-seers, and not-seers, they might be named. The first learn to prevent suffering, the second learn from suffering, and the last suffer without learning. The evil which approaches us is still in a state to be prevented; and prevention is better than cure." If these truths were fully comprehended and applied, the Liberal League movement would become the majestic affirmation by the whole American people that the disguised demon of CHURCH EDUCATION shall not hold an inch of standing-room on the soil of this republic, but that the State in America shall guarantee the SECULAR EDUCATION AND SECULAR RIGHTS OF ALL. There you have the "approaching evil" and the sole preventive of it.

REV. MR. TALMAGE, the popular preacher of Brooklyn, displays the manners of a circus clown in the pulpit, as the subjoined extract from a late sermon of his shows; but he only speaks out with coarseness and bluster the same fixed purpose touching the Bible in public schools which is uttered with daily increasing emphasis by nearly all Evangelical bodies: "Put the Bible out of the public schools! By the strength of the eternal God, it shall never be done! The ignorant, besotted, base politicians would like to kick it out. O you low politicians of New York, Brooklyn, Boston, and Philadelphia, you are a pretty set! I see some of you here this morning. You came in, perhaps, to awe me down. I know you by your bloodshot eye and lecherous lip. What do you care for God and the Bible? It is votes that you want. But there are enough of New Englanders, Scotchmen, Long Islanders, and Englishmen, who have read the story of the wreck of the Spanish Armada, to stand by the ballot-box and hurl the outrageous crew into political destruction, and thence on down, down to where all liars, thieves, whoremongers, and swindling canal contractors shall have their eternity with Satan and Bill Tweed, if they can catch him." No advocate of secular schools, we trust, is capable of stooping to such billingsgate as this.

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[FOR THE INDEX.]

State and Church in America.

BY DAVID A. WASSON.

In the instructive work of Dr. Colther upon *The State and the Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Würtemberg*, two diverse and competing systems of relation between State and Church are recognized as alike legitimate; the one of them prevailing in Europe, the other represented by the United States of America. As commonly described, the difference between these is that, in the former case, State and Church are united; in the latter, separated; but the distinction is wider. According to the European plan, the Church, like the State, is in the largest and strictest sense a public institution, and its support, therefore, obligatory; by the system of America, the State alone has this rank, while the Church is known to it and the nation only as a private and voluntary association. It is not thereby degraded, for the home, the household, is also private and voluntary. Nor is the State godless because its citizens decline to enact religion. Love also is not legally enacted, but the felicities and sanctities of human affection are not therefore excluded from the life of the nation.

For his own country, Dr. Colther, who is a minister of State in Würtemberg, sustains the European system, thinking that it could not there be exchanged for another either profitably or safely. So many threads of connection, in the long course of centuries, have there been spun between the civil and the ecclesiastical organizations, and so much in the whole culture and economy of the people has come to depend upon them—including the very subsistence of considerable numbers,—that, as he holds, the two could not now be torn apart without an extensive disturbance, if not destruction, of interests both social and individual. Nevertheless he constantly places the American system beside it, as worthy of equal consideration. Not by a word is it indicated which of these he regards as abstractly the better; while something in the tone seems to suggest that he might even prefer the American, did circumstances permit him to choose. And this kind of liberality, this allowing for social and historical conditions, and holding that of two systems each may be best in its place, is characteristic of German culture.

The European system sprang from no theory, but grew from the circumstances, under which the Christian religion arose and was propagated. The first Christians lived a life apart. In this world, they were indeed not of it. The engaging interests of others, small or large, private or public, the noblest as the narrowest, were to them alike little, unnecessary, insignificant. The civil and political life, the public economy, development of laws, fortunes of States, concerned them not. All that we comprise under the term civilization was to them but a tent pitched for the night; the day was at hand, and they watched for its coming. The world around them repaid their indifference to it with scorn, aversion, persecution. As their hopes drew them, so its detestation repelled them toward one another and away from all else. Time passed; their numbers grew, they were spread through many lands; but they were still one community, citizens of a commonwealth, subjects of a kingdom, that the world knew not. To the laws of the land they submitted, but these were not *their* laws; in all that peculiarly concerned them, all they really had at heart, they gov-

erned themselves. Centuries passed in this way; a fixed order grew up among them,—relations of authority and obedience, a system of government; they had their own rulers, their own tribunals, managed their own affairs, determined upon their own differences, and, apart from the whole system of civil obligations, legislated, judged, administered, established the organs, and performed the functions of a corporate community. When this organization was complete,—when three centuries had given it time not only to form, but to be confirmed by custom and tradition,—when, therefore, the Christian community was already a State without the name, grounded upon principles and governed by methods peculiar to itself,—suddenly, at a bound, it leaped to the head of the Roman Empire, to wed itself with imperial rule; and two great systems of public administration, two ruling institutions, the one called Church and the other Empire, were united. They were nearly of the same age; each was rarely developed and complete in its way; neither could disappear before the other. And so the peculiar, dual system of Christian Europe had its origin. Subsequently Christianity was extended by methods which reflected this double character. Constantine had been converted at the head of his army, by a sign that promised him victory in battle. Christianity acknowledged the sign; still, on one side, the gospel of the Prince of Peace, it was propagated by conquest, and maintained in arms; salvation and civil rule were intermixed; the monk and the military leader were parts of the same whole. The Europe of to-day is the child of fifteen centuries, during which this system wrought and made history.

Like the European, the American system grew from circumstances and conditions. This country was peopled by a great variety of sects,—Puritan, Episcopalian, Quaker, Dutch Reformed, Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, etc., etc. In some of the colonies there was a clear predominance of a particular denomination; in others the same diversity as in the country taken altogether. When, now, the colonies united in resistance to Great Britain, it was of the last importance that these differences should not be touched upon. The two largest and leading colonies, Massachusetts and Virginia, represented the two parties, Puritan and Episcopalian, Roundhead and Cavalier, between whom in the preceding century England had been all a fiercely contested field of battle. In Maryland and Virginia only the Potomac separated the Church of England and the Church of Rome. North and South, there were Scotch-Irish communities, with the battle of the Boyne in remembrance, and all they had suffered and achieved as the pioneers of Protestantism in a wilderness, as they would say, of Roman bigotry. The country was seamed with lines drawn between slumbering animosities. To have awakened these had been fatal. Considerate men were aware of the danger, and careful to avoid it.

An instance will illustrate their anxious solicitude. In 1775, Great Britain, in the "Quebec Bill," made a marked effort to propitiate the favor of the Canadian Catholics. Excited by this circumstance, the provincial Congress of New York, in soon after stating the terms upon which they would be reconciled with the mother country, introduced an article, in which Protestantism raised its head with somewhat of a menacing air towards the Roman Church. The delegates of New York in the Continental Congress, John Jay at the head of them, were no sooner apprised of this, than they saw the immense mischief to which it might lead; and Mr. Jay wrote a letter, signed by the whole delegation, in earnest and impressive dissuasion from every such indiscretion. Having declared matters of theology to be "points about which man will forever differ," and having censured the introduction of them at that crisis as "highly imprudent," the remonstrants added: "We are the more confirmed in these sentiments from the circumstance that both this and the former Congress have cautiously avoided the least hint on subjects of this kind, all the members concurring in a design of burying all disputes on ecclesiastical points, which for ages had no other tendency than that of banishing peace and charity from the world." In that policy of premeditated silence and reserve, with which the dearest hopes of a people stood then connected, the American system began to be. There was somewhat more important than theological opinion. It was civil freedom. The very act of setting civil freedom on that eminence, with ecclesiasticism buried out of sight beneath it, was itself a revolution, and the emergence of the distinctively American spirit.

When the Federal Convention met in 1787, there was at least equal reason for a continuance of the same course. The nation was going to wreck; only the institution of a vigorous national government could save it. But there were enormous difficulties to be overcome. The ill-conceived confederation had accustomed the States to a notion of their absolute sovereignty as separate States; it was but too doubtful whether they would yield their pretensions to a proper sovereignty of the nation. The want of government had made an aversion to it, and a vast affection had grown up for that sort of liberty which consists in release from public duty and civil restraint; there was too little ground for hope that the people would subdue that wild liberty to the higher claims of public obligation. Some of Washington's friends, and those most favorable to national construction, sought earnestly to dissuade him from taking part in the enterprise, lest he should compromise at once his reputation and his influence with the people by throwing them into a scale where they were so likely to be weighed down. Under these circumstances, it would have been extreme folly to make gratuitous difficulty by arousing ecclesiastical jealousies. Double folly, since it would have been done to no purpose. Civil union was doubtful; ecclesi-

astical union impossible. Again, therefore, the burying of disputes and differences upon such matters, and the raising of civil welfare to a supreme height above them, was dictated by prudence, by patriotism, by necessity.

But on this occasion there was more than prudent reserve. The policy of 1775 had ripened into the principle of 1787. This mental advance appeared in that article of the Constitution, the clear indication of a national attitude, new in Christendom, which prohibited forever religious tests—more properly theological or ecclesiastical tests—for civil office. That decisive step was due primarily to the Federalist, Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton's attention had been expressly called to the subject by recent action in his own State of New York. In the preceding year, a motion had been made by the party of the governor, George Clinton, afterwards candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the ticket with Jefferson, to impose restrictions upon the franchises of Catholics. Every citizen, as a condition to suffrage, should abjure all allegiance to any foreign sovereign or potentate, ecclesiastical as well as civil. It appears that by the Constitution of New York this was already required of fresh immigrants; and I, for my part, see no reason why it should not still be required. But the proposition was to extend that provision of the Constitution by statute, so that it should include citizens born in the land, and already possessed of the franchise. This project accorded neither with Hamilton's liberal and magnanimous nature, nor with his notions of political equity. Numbers of those against whom it was levelled had taken an honorable and patriotic part in the struggle of their country; their action, he said, had amply shown that they were loyal citizens; it was unhandsome, no less than unnecessary, to call them up and make them swear to be what they already openly were; the very act, needless on political grounds, was calculated to create misgivings in their minds, as if they were to be entrapped into an abjuration of their faith. His resistance was successful; the motion failed.

Thus forewarned, he was forearmed upon entering the Federal Convention. In that assembly four plans of government were brought forward: that of the Virginia delegation, presented by Edmund Randolph; that of Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina; the State-rights or anti-national plan, introduced by Mr. Patterson, of New Jersey, and concurred in by the major delegation of four States; and, lastly, that of Mr. Hamilton. Of the three former, one only contained an allusion to the matter of religion. Mr. Pinckney's draft had the clause: "The Legislature of the United States shall pass no law on the subject of religion." Hamilton's comprised this broader and more explicit provision: "Nor shall any religious sect or denomination, or any religious test for office or place, be ever established by law." The matter was not immediately attended to; but towards the close of the proceedings, when the clause requiring of officials an oath to support the Constitution was under consideration, Mr. Pinckney, adopting a portion of what Hamilton had proposed, moved to add: "No religious test shall ever be annexed to an oath of office under the authority of the United States." The clause, nevertheless, was reported without this addition; but, upon renewal of his motion, it was adopted, and being sent to the committee of style and arrangement, was cast by Governor Morris into its present form: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." In the first amendment to the Constitution this provision was so supplemented as to comprise the whole of what Hamilton had proposed.

Two points are here to be observed: First, these clauses went quite beyond all that was dictated by immediate policy. The actual differences in the convention were probably all comprised within the limits of the various Christian confessions. With trifling exceptions, the same was true of the country. Immediate policy demanded, therefore, no more than the prohibition of sectarian tests within the bounds of Christian dogma. The way was led more boldly. Civil duty was set to stand on its own feet, and be a religion in itself; and theology was once for all remitted to the liberties and the limits of private opinion.

Secondly, Hamilton's clause was particularly designed, so far as it had a particular object, to sustain the just liberties and just civil equality of Catholics. They alone were specifically threatened; they alone especially needed protection, and the Constitution gave it them. The fact may now be commended to their attention.

This liberality gave umbrage to a portion of the anti-federalists, and was one ground of agitation against the system of government proposed. And it is worthy of remark that the clerical profession, in New England especially, appeared, not as the opponents, but as the most express and conspicuous advocates of civil emancipation from theological bonds. Now, if there was one class or portion of American citizens whom Thomas Jefferson more detested than he did the people of New England generally, it was the ministers of New England; and many have derived from him an impression that they were at that time bigots of the narrowest and most acrid type. This notion is not sustained by all the facts, if by any. In the convention of Massachusetts, assembled to vote upon the adoption of the Constitution, there were some twenty ministers.* Several of them spoke earnestly for the exclusion of religious tests; not one against it. Denunciation or censure of the article came from laymen; its defence was conducted almost exclusively by members of the clergy. Moreover, its defence was based by them upon grounds of principle, not of policy. Rev. Mr. Backus grounded his support of it upon religious principles distinct-

* Number so stated by Rufus King.

ively. "Nothing is more evident," said he, "both in reason and the Holy Scriptures, than that religion is ever a matter between God and individuals, and therefore no man or men can impose a religious test without invading the essential prerogatives of our Lord Jesus Christ." He also opposed it as tyrannical, adding, "And let the history of all nations from Constantine's day to this be considered, and it will appear that the imposing of religious tests hath been the greatest engine of tyranny in the world." Rev. Mr. Shute, having remarked that a test would serve only to exclude honest men, while admitting those of an easy conscience, proceeded to say: "Far from limiting my charity and confidence to men of my own denomination in religion, I suppose and believe that there are worthy characters among men of every denomination, among the Quakers, the Baptists, the Church of England, the Papists, and even among those who have no other guide to virtue and heaven than the dictates of natural religion."

The Constitution was adopted by a majority of only nineteen, which was very nearly the number of ministers present; it was their almost unbroken front which decided the day. Had the Constitution, again, been rejected by Massachusetts, it would certainly have been so by New Hampshire, Virginia, and New York, and so have failed of acceptance by the nation. It may therefore fairly be said that the fate of the Constitution depended upon the liberality of the clerical delegates in the convention of Massachusetts.

We have seen what was done; was it done rightly? Constitutions may err; has ours good reason behind it? One large reason for the feature of ours here considered was given by the Rev. Mr. Shute, whose words have just been cited. Here and now, character does not depend upon creed. Shall there be tests of civil competence, that are not tests of civil virtue? There are worthy characters—and unworthy ones—in and out of all denominations. That is the plain fact at present, and every veracious eye must see it. Not only character, but culture also has acquired an independent standing; neither the qualities of a good citizen nor the qualifications of a capable one depend upon the force of any theological dogma or the function of any church. I do not say that such was the case always, or is the case everywhere. Time was that dogmatic Christianity was civilization; that at its border there were civil order and civil virtue on the one side, barbarism and anarchy on the other; that no man was a good citizen who was not in the dogmatic sense a good Christian. Time was, again, that the State was not of itself equal to its own function. It could not, for example, educate the people; letters were in the keeping of the Church; it alone knew enough to teach, and the school belonged to it because the ability to instruct belonged to it. That time is past; civil virtue stands with no theological prop; the State can perform its functions by its own organs. Such is now the case in Europe no less than here; but there the old system has so wrought itself into the social structure that it is to be eliminated by slow modification, if at all. I agree with Dr. Colther in thinking that it could not be suddenly abolished without injury to individuals, detriment to the social life, and hazard to the national welfare. I agree, too, with the eminent historian, Heinrich von Sybel, and with the wisest liberals of Germany, that it can never be safely abandoned in face of the ultramontane Church, and in severe conflict with its power. Here, however, we have neither the mental conditions and social necessities to which that system was originally due and adapted, nor that implication of it with the existing social structure which would make its immediate abandonment both difficult and dangerous. To have founded the State here, therefore, on the assumption that theological tests are tests of civil worth, would have been to found it dishonestly,—neither upon practical necessity nor theoretical truth.

Again, there was a time when honest belief could be made by force of arms and laws. Mohammedanism was preached by the scimitar; where is there an intenser dogmatic faith than in Islam? Half Europe was converted to Christianity by the sword; and the dogmatic fanaticism with which Germany is now contending is the child of that conversion. I do not say all that was wrong. It was rude; but rude methods befit rude times. A man were a fool to use a stone hatchet when he could have steel; but there was no folly in the use of stone tools before steel was known. It was the style of the eighteenth century to judge history by a formula; the nineteenth is learning to appreciate it as a growth. All that is right for the child is not right for the man; all that is innocent in ignorance is not so in the light of knowledge. Men must get on as they can; and if they really get on, it is enough. We must say of institutions and methods in history, as of individuals, "By their fruits ye shall know them." That which has given us figs was not a thistle; the methods in history whose ultimate fruit was a higher civilization were not in their day false methods. But we live in our own time, not in another. And a characteristic of our time is intellectual belief. Belief thinks, and has lost the power to be wholly sincere but by its harmony with thought. We must make room for the intellect, for thought, for free conviction, for the questioning mind; and become hypocrites by failure to do so. The rude sincerity of combat and compulsion was respectable in its way; it must now find a place for, if not give place to, the fine sincerity of science. The American system is adjusted to this stage of civilization. It is a way of permitting men to be honest under the existing mental conditions. I admit it as possible that the civilization which has brought us to it may one day bear us beyond it. There may one day be such a separation of religion

from traditional dogma, and such a great consent and union of sentiment—so much of which all men will feel sure,—that a *cultus* of the American people will establish itself, and the week-day school and Sunday culture become parts of one whole. That at present is a dream; we are here, and our system is simply an honest one under the conditions now existing.

But now an important circumstance is to be considered. This system has been called the American one; but its being embraced in the national Constitution established it only so far as concerns the functions of the national government. Congress could not establish a Church, or prescribe religious tests; but that fact imposed no restriction upon the several States; they might, without violation of any Constitutional obligation, found churches, enact a theology, tax all citizens for the support of sectarian schools, establish religious tests, etc. They might do so, and plausibly evade the charge of inconsistency. If they were told that such action contradicted that of the Federal Convention, the answer might be: "We did not mean there to limit the powers of the people, but only to limit those of the general government,—meant only that the people of the several States should act their pleasure upon such matters." And in fact the national system has not been clearly and systematically followed by the several States. In the "Declaration of Rights" prefixed to the new Constitution of Pennsylvania, ratified Dec. 16, 1873, appears this section (Sect. 4): "No person who acknowledges the being of a God and a future state of rewards and punishments shall, on account of his religious sentiments, be disqualified to hold any office or place of trust or profit under this Commonwealth." Eighty-six years after the formation of the Federal Constitution, an old-school Universalist is disqualified for office by the Constitution of Pennsylvania. Other States have gone notably farther in what may be called the peculiarly American direction, and perhaps have done so without falling below Pennsylvania in the general character of their politics. But in the total exemption of church property from taxation, in legislative appropriations for the support of sectarian institutions, in certain features of the common schools—in a variety of ways,—relics of the European system remain. Everywhere the American system has been so far followed that a direction is unequivocally indicated; nowhere is European tradition quite abandoned.

Moreover, we have no pledge for the continuance in this direction, no guarantee against a complete reversal of it, save the opinion and sentiment of the greater number at the moment. The Democratic theory of an unlimited power in the people exposes us to all chances, and stops our mouths, whatever may come. In the Massachusetts Bill of Rights it is said: "The people of this Commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves as a free, sovereign, and independent State; and do, and forever hereafter shall, enjoy every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not, or may not hereafter be, by them expressly delegated to the United States of America in Congress assembled." The rightful power of the people collectively is thus expressly announced as without limit. Therefore they are authorized to tax for sectarian purposes, if they will; to set up sectarian schools, if they will; to establish the Baptist Church, the Roman Church, any church, if they will. Or at will they may forbid these acts by articles of their Constitution; but the prohibition rests in principle upon their will only, and is subject to any future change of it. In the various declarations of rights one looks vainly for an indication of those rights and powers which are not possessed by the collective people,—for ethical or rational limitations of popular sovereignty. That is a serious omission. Though no individualist, I hold that there are rights of individuals which antecede political constitutions, and are not subject to the collective will; that government is instituted for specific purposes, not embracing all human interests whatsoever, but only a part of them; that the functions of the State being limited, the rightful sovereignty of the people is limited in the same degree; and that a definite limitation of popular sovereignty, an express restriction of it to declared objects, is not only a desideratum of republican theory, but a needed safeguard of republican institutions. It is indeed a fundamental distinction between democracy and republicanism, that the former sets out with the assertion of an unconditional and unlimited power in the people, and then takes the hazard of its exercise at discretion; while republicanism begins with the recognition of ends that ought to be attained, of public duties that ought to be performed, and infers thence powers at once adequate, and restrained to the discharge of such specific duty. The brief and noble preamble to the Constitution of the United States is conceived wholly in the republican spirit; but it stands almost or quite alone. Popular sovereignty is affirmed as unconditioned and absolute; and thus the door is wide open for any future majority.

Such is the present situation; a system clearly indicated, but compromised by inconsistency; a political theory, which deprives it, even ideally, of any other support than the immediate will of the major number.

Having thus glanced at the origin of the American system and at its present somewhat compromised situation, we have to take into account a circumstance which much concerns it: by six millions of American citizens, that is, by the adherents of the Roman Church, it is not approved nor accepted. By them, on the contrary—in whose favor more particularly the system was established,—it is repugnant as godless, infidel, damnable. They are bound by their sense of duty to break in upon it, if possible;

and the powerful discipline of their Church will hold them to their notion of duty. A small minority in the nation at large, they are by no means an inconsiderable minority in several of the States. Our federal system permits their accumulation at special points to be there of decisive consequence; our party rivalries often enable a compact and determined minority to impose its will upon the greater number; and our political theories, in their present imperfect state, take away even ideal restraints from such power as they may anywhere acquire.

It is not said that every one of these six millions has a distinct individual purpose to invade and change our system. Some Catholics will disown any such design, and declare that it is falsely imputed to them; and some, it is not to be doubted, can do so honestly. It does not signify; they are under orders, and at last must either obey orders, or brave consequences which few among them are prepared to defy. There should be no illusion on this head; the question is not one of individual opinion or purpose. Senator Kernan takes ground for free schools; and he, I am told, is an honorable man, incapable of duplicity. What of it? He is a Catholic, but he is only a lay Catholic, only a private in the ranks, with no more authority to speak for the Church than is possessed by the President of the Free Religious Association. So far from having authority, he has not even a vote in it. Influence he has, of course; franchise he has none. Instead of being qualified to speak for the Church, he is a rebel, if, in any matter which concerns its principles, he undertake to speak for and pledge himself. Meantime his influence affects only the immediate policy of the Church, only its local and temporary policy, not its principles of action, nor their ultimate development. The authorities of the Church, however, are commonly not unwilling that pacifying and reassuring declarations should be made by unofficial voices, since those professions may serve useful purposes for the occasion, while in the end they bind nobody, not even the individual who puts them forth; for he may be depended upon to take refuge at last in his irresponsibility, and march at the word of command. What the official Church believes, intends, and will do as opportunity may offer, is not to be learned from such irresponsible utterances, but from its statements officially made, and its action officially taken.

It will serve toward a right understanding of the situation to put into explicit form the doctrine of this Church concerning its own competence and relation to civil power. Whether there is danger from it or none at all, whether it is likely to be here brought out or to be kept back without even an attempt to give it effect, let us fairly see, if only as matter of curiosity, what it is,—what it is, as stated without a shade of partisan exaggeration.

The doctrine, then, runs as follows:—

1. There is but one veritable Church, the Roman Catholic.
2. The Church, like the State, is an institution of sovereign power; it has a function to govern.
3. The sovereignty of the Church is limited to the interests of religion; that is, to those of the Roman Catholic religion.
4. The Church, alone and sovereignly, determines what concerns the interests of religion; it measures the extent of its own jurisdiction. When its province is occupied, the State has what is left.
5. The empire of religion includes education; the school belongs to the Church exclusively.
6. There is no right of religious liberty, nor right of any State to establish it.
7. The head of the Church is authorized to abrogate any Constitution, annul any law, which enters the domain assumed by the Church, and conflicts with its sovereignty.

This is by no means an exhaustive statement, but it indicates the general character of those pretensions to which the Roman Church, in America as elsewhere, is committed. It is certainly not overstrained by a word or syllable. I am persuaded that no Catholic ecclesiastic in the country would publicly disavow any one of these propositions, nor any part of any one.

The limitation of ecclesiastical sovereignty to the interests of [Roman] religion is an essential part of this doctrine. To omit or in any degree to disguise that point would betray a want of candor. On the other hand, it would betray a want of sense not to ascertain precisely what the limitation means, and what it is worth. Now, the important circumstance has already been noted that the Church alone is to determine how much is comprised under that head. The State has then no voice; there is no neutral court to decide where the two differ; the Church has but to say, and take. Being, however, a divine and infallible institution, it will never mistake; we may rely upon it not to claim more than belongs to it; we have but to repose trust in its infallibility, and be at ease. And it is a happy circumstance that we have so certain a guarantee against trespass or excess on its part. For the interests of the Church as an institution of government are the interests of religion. Therefore the above limitation means: the Church is sovereign only in so far as it is interested to be sovereign; it claims no power that it has no use for; the authority which it has no interest to desire it will not assume. That resembles the moderation of a man who should say: I shall never take your land, your house, your goods, so long as they are of no value to me; they are yours until I have an interest to make them mine!

But I imagine some one speaking on this wise: "Oh, that was, to be sure, really and practically, the doctrine of the Church some centuries ago; but it is now only formal doctrine, which it is Orthodox to hold, and which therefore the priest cannot in terms

deny; but it is not now acted on, nor to be acted on; it is like an antiquated keepsake, the handkerchief-pin of one's great-grandmother, suppose, that is carefully kept in a drawer, and not to be parted with, but which is never worn. The Calvinists of our day hold the doctrine of total depravity, as the Puritans did; but they do not apply it in politics as the Puritans did, nor dream of doing so. We are not so concerned ourselves about such conceits, obsolete in everything but form, and dead in effect as last year's grass. To expect a practical revival of them were as sensible as to anticipate with terror a coming insurrection of Anabaptists and Fifth Monarchy Men." Such things have been said, and one can talk smartly in that way. But it is mistaken talk, however smart. Probably, if one portion of those pretensions were selected as being now more than another extant only in terms, while extinct in use, it would be that portion comprised in the last two propositions, concerning religious liberty and the Pope's authority to abrogate constitutions and laws. Whether this is yet living doctrine in the Church is a question amply answered by two recent events. Seven years ago, in June, 1868, Pius IX. issued an allocation in which he solemnly pronounced the new Constitution of Austria null and void forever, and forbade Catholics to obey or respect it. The reason was that the Constitution guaranteed religious liberty, or the civil equality of confessions. On the 5th of February last, that extraordinary exercise, or at least assumption, of power was repeated. The Pope sent forth an encyclical letter wherein, referring to a body of Prussian laws, he declared "quite openly to all whom it may concern, and the whole Catholic world, that those laws are void, since they contradict utterly the divine order of the Church." The power of the Church is abated; the divine Providence, for mysterious ends, has permitted it to suffer loss and feel affliction. Its head is a "martyr,"—reduced to the residence and the revenues of a prince, with the protection of the laws, and the whole world to go and come in unharmed and at pleasure! But the Church is not so deserted of heaven as to have become false to itself. Its doctrine, its claims remain unchanged, and are sustained by the priesthood of Boston no less than by that of Naples, Cork, or Madrid.

"A fig for its pretensions!" some one may say, however; "they may be pressed, and of practical moment, in Europe; they are not pressed, nor likely to be so, in America." True, or nearly so; in anything approaching their full extent, they neither are, nor in any proximate future, if ever, are likely to be, brought to the front in America. For the Church has its policy as well as its principles; and to that, as disclosed in our country, let us turn.

Until quite recently, the policy of Rome in the United States was one of studied reserve. It was doing well, on the whole; its progress here was the boast of ultramontaniam abroad; well enough should be let alone. Accordingly, it scarcely ventured farther than to obtain subsidies in exchange for votes,—and that, probably, by tacit understanding rather than explicit contract. With or without express forms of agreement, however, the exchange took place. In New York city, especially, it was an important business; and those who would know to what lengths it was carried should read a column of figures published in the *New York Times*, and reprinted in Mr. Abbot's *INDEX* for Nov. 11. And I am sorry to say that, in process of this traffic, the Church condescended to profit by the foulest municipal administration known in modern times. The deeper the dirt, the more money Rome found in it. The worst years, as the figures show, for the city, and for the public morals, were the most gainful years for the Church. The more was stolen by the official unholy, the more was stored by the holy official. The "interests of religion" showed that they were behind no others in the ability to separate themselves from the interests of morals, and to endure disreputable company for a consideration. It may be that the priestly gift-takers did not know—it may be that they had no compelling occasion to suspect—the manner in which the money was got; but, on looking back, they must now see that Holy Church appears in an unhappy likeness to the receiver of stolen goods. They must see also that their own loyal subjects were the banded supporters of municipal corruption; and that these, if innocent, were more ignorant—if not ignorant, were more reckless—of morals than could be for the credit of any church.

And just at this point of doubt between ignorance and immorality, its policy in America has obtained a new development. It has come forward, or is obviously coming forward, to demand a division of the school fund; that is, an appropriation of public taxes to the maintenance of schools which shall be, before all else, seminaries of Roman doctrine.

That, if effected, were an innovation indeed! It would make the Roman Catholic a preferred Church in America—and in a marked degree preferred,—with extensive privileges denied to every other. It would break up the broad unity of American citizenship; and just when, by the abolition of slavery, we had ended one ruinous determination of its parts to opposite poles, would make another. It would qualify the priesthood to saturate lay Catholicism with their own notion of the antecedence of ecclesiastical to civil obligations, and to breed in the rising generation an ultramontaniam as fanatical and indifferent to civil welfare as that which now besieges the government of Bavaria. It would expunge precisely that which is most distinctive of American civilization and most honorable to it,—an offset to the many shames we have to endure. America has her own catholicity, a civil one; it were here destroyed, and a civil sectarianism established. In short, this change were the beginning of a revolution far more radical

than a change from the republican to the monarchical form in government.

Rome has many advantages here. We have never asserted that *jus circa sacra*, that right of the State so to regulate the external relations of the Church as to make them consonant with the common welfare which belongs to the ancient civil traditions of Europe. We have never sustained the *recursus ab abusu*, or right of any Catholic, if oppressed by his ecclesiastical superiors, to apply to the State for protection or redress, and of the latter to afford it. That absorption of church property and power into the hands of the superior clergy, for which ultramontaniam struggles elsewhere, is here secured without struggle. We have abandoned many precautions against the power and ambition of that system which European statesmen, Catholic as well as Protestant, have deemed indispensable. If Rome, retaining these advantages, could dip its hand into the public purse, and at the expense of the public set up in the New World a school system which the Old World has outgrown, it might fairly see in this land its most promising future. But that grace it will scarcely obtain. American civil catholicity has not yet yielded to Roman Catholicism; and I do not expect it to yield.

Nevertheless there is reason to think that the pressure at this point has been deliberately determined upon, and that it will not be soon discontinued. For to the Roman priest our schools are "godless"; he says so, and it is in his mouth no idle epithet. What they afford, he does not greatly value; what they want, is to him of infinite consequence. Education of the people, in our sense of the word, is nowhere now, if it has ever been, a serious object with the Church. In the Kingdom of Naples, when the schools were wholly under its direction, and when indeed priestly influence was in all departments of the public administration supreme, it was found that, out of three thousand communities, eleven hundred had no school whatever, while nine hundred of the actual teachers were themselves unable to read and write! In Prussia the Catholics are one-third of the entire population; the school attendance from that third is a little more than one-sixth of the whole. Scarcely in any darkest corner of Europe was popular education more neglected than in the former States of the Church, under the immediate rule of the Pope. That indifference does not spring from a conscious preference of darkness to light; but, as the priest would say, from preference of a divine to a profane light, of the heavenly sun to a mere earthly candle. His theory of existence must make him indifferent to secular education. Upon a tombstone in the churchyard of the Benedictine Abbey in Engelbergthal, Switzerland, is this inscription: "Life is the dream, from which death is the awaking." There, I said on reading it, the Church speaks the inmost secret of its faith; and the business of these devotees is, as it were, to pinch themselves, and keep themselves at least partially awake even here. This world is nothing, the other world all; real existence begins where the present shadow-existence ends. Now, secular education is that which serves for the brief continuance of the dream,—brief, and but a dream while it lasts! Even when it is duly subordinated, the priest must value it slightly; but when it is set up as real education, then it is a lie, and the devil Head Master. And the more importance is then assigned it, the more infidel and odious it becomes. With a school system such as ours the Church, therefore, can never be reconciled.

Again, the fact that a partial demonstration against our system has already been made indicates a settled policy. In the Church there are no individual and independent sallies; all is done upon system and by authority. No priest prints a book but by approbation of his bishop; no movement is attempted, in any matter which concerns the Church, but in pursuance of a design officially determined upon. Perhaps, and as I think, there will be no immediate charge along the whole line; but where such discipline prevails, the marching out of a battalion to ascertain what opposition will be made, shows that the long truce has come to an end, and the campaign begun. How it will be conducted, whether boldly, or by lulling suspicion and lying in wait, remains to be seen; that there has been a council of war, and a conclusion in favor of active operations in some sort, may be inferred with a degree of confidence.

Finally, there are grave reasons for such a movement at the earliest moment when it can be made with any fair hope of success. Rome has in this case a danger to shun as well as an advantage to seek. The unsectarian school is no adversary, but is more adverse to its spirit than any express adversary could be. There the children of the Church meet and mingle with those of other confessions; the lines are crossed, and intimacies formed irrespective of them. This circumstance, however, though to be regretted, is by no means of the first importance. The more important one is that a knowledge of arithmetic, geography, grammar, history, is communicated *independently of the Church and its dogma*. Mere profane knowledge becomes an object in itself; and the emulation of the school, if not the exhortation of the teacher, makes the pupils warm about it. That habitual association of culture with creed, or rather habitual subordination of culture to creed, which the Church is so deeply concerned to maintain, is broken up, and a mode of feeling induced that it is afterwards difficult to subdue. Now, the Roman system and spirit is in modern times a wholly separate and special one; there is a world of culture outside it. At the same time, it is rigorously exclusive; with all that world of culture, which it does not comprehend, it is at war. And with nothing else is it at war so irreconcilably as with the unsectarian spirit. Protestantism it dislikes and condemns; a dissection

civilization it abhors. It can bear to be assailed; but to be ignored, to be absent and not missed—that is death to it. In the free schools of America it is absent and not missed. There is enough else to think of in that place. Holy Church should be all in all to her children; there her children forget her in preoccupation with the multiplication table. Worse, they discover that the multiplication table is somewhat in and of itself; that the product of twelve times twelve depends not at all upon His Holiness the Pope, and could maintain itself against all popes and holinesses whatsoever. Fatal discovery! For, twelve times twelve *without the priest* are in their final outcome—what?—are knowledge, culture, interest, morals, life independent of ecclesiastical pretension, of ecclesiastical prescription and proscription.

When the priest reappears, he is still respected as a priest, most likely; but he is not the same as before, nevertheless. He no longer fills up the entire view, no longer represents the entire universe of fact and truth. One sees him, an important, or even venerable, figure; but one also sees around him; it may be that what he is *not* seems as considerable as what he *is*; it may even, did one dare trust his eyes, seem larger!

You go back, after many years, to the village in which you were born; and, behold, it is but a village! Once the houses were so magnificent, the streets so broad, the stores so spacious and splendid, the public buildings so imposing! But you have since seen the world, and you return to find the village again, but never again to find the illusion that magnified and made it great. That world of knowledge and culture, to which the free school opens the door, instructs the eye, and by instructing takes from it the power to see the priest in the fullness of that dimension which made him the symbol of universal truth. The graduated pupil does not become a Protestant, remains in the Church; but while his faith continues in form, it is different in force. He has in some measure a mind of his own, and his obedience is no longer to be counted on in all cases with security. He should be always and only a Roman Catholic, and he may have become a mere American Catholic. To prevent that sad transformation, the free school must be captured; and therefore Roman policy, in determining upon this, is urged by necessity no less than allured by the love of dominion. Accordingly I am of opinion that there is to be a controversy concerning the school system between American civil catholicity and the Roman sectarianism which calls itself Catholic, and that it would be injudicious to treat those recent events which might seem to indicate this as mere casual occurrences, signifying no determinate policy.

For excited alarm, however, there seems to me no occasion. On the other hand, it is not, perhaps, the fittest of all seasons for sanguine unconcern. There are three classes of men: those who see an approaching evil before its arrival, and preclude it; those who see it after its arrival, and cure it; and those who never see, but only feel when they are crushed by it: fore-seers, after-seers, and not-seers, they might be named. The first learn to prevent suffering, the second learn from suffering, and the last suffer without learning. The evil which approaches us is still in a state to be prevented; and prevention is better than cure.

But what are the means of prevention? Is it enough to "rally" and vote the Catholics down? I should certainly cast my vote against the proposed innovation; but the business of merely voting down a commanding and compelling sense of duty in six millions of our fellow-citizens is not wholly a pleasing one. That it would, in the long run, and in all quarters of the country, prove an effectual one, is not certain. A friend of mine, a cool-headed and intelligent gentleman, says that in twenty-five years Massachusetts will be sending a Catholic delegation to Congress. His prediction was based upon observation, not merely of Catholic increase in our cities, but of the progressive displacement of Saxon-American by Irish farmers in the rural districts. This process is undoubtedly going on, and there are no present indications that it will be arrested. Without having immediate access to the records, I suppose it out of question that the *percentage* of Catholics in New England generally has gone up every decade during the last half century. It is highly probable that twenty-five years hence they will in half a dozen States be, if not a majority, in numbers to hold the balance of power. Possibly, at least, the "voting down" may change hands. For more reasons than one, therefore, it is well to inquire whether our system can be strengthened, and committed to the future with more security for its continuance.

My own opinion that it can be greatly strengthened will be best supported by a brief suggestion of the means. Room remains, it is obvious, for hints only.

1. It was an early doctrine of the Catholic Church that the State has charge of material interests only, and that Church and State differ as mind and body. In seeking a place for two systems of government on the same ground, the one ecclesiastical and the other civil, this distribution of function was hit upon. That low notion of civil function has descended to our day, and, curiously, is associated more especially with theories known as "liberal." The heathen Aristotle said, "The end of the State is virtue,"—meaning not merely correct deportment, but energy, ability, the active power of man, honorably and nobly directed. The Christian Webster, however, held that the object of the State is "the protection of property at home, and the acquisition of renown abroad." The heretic Mill, again, limited the function of civil government so narrowly, that he would not even permit it to maintain public schools. So far as these notions are accepted, the State is robbed of all ideal dignity. It exists for "protection"; it has the dignity of a watch-dog.

To the Catholic, on the contrary, the Church is venerable; it appeals to his heart and his imagination. To which will he cleave when the two are in dispute? But must the balance always so incline? Has not the State also ideal aims? Is there fantastic enthusiasm in saying that it exists to uphold the necessary morals of civilization, and to make the conditions for a life human and productive rather than brutal and barren? Do we have laws, as the Sioux do not, only because we like better than they to own property and be safe? The end of the State is civilization and social welfare; and neither of these consists merely in a full pocket and a whole skin. The Commonwealth implies bonds of duty as well as ties of interest; and when its better character is no longer disguised by remains of old Roman doctrine, it will no longer, to the eyes of Catholics, appear in comparison with the Roman Church to such disadvantage.

2. Republicanism in America is now in disgrace. It has soiled its own escutcheon, dragged it in the dirt. Upon a low theory of civil government has followed a lower practice. The difficulties of the situation are enhanced by this degradation of our politics. It is the interest of the priest to abase the State, to the apprehension of his hearers, before the Church; and ample argument is furnished him. To amend that were to take from ecclesiastical agitation one of its most serviceable means.

3. An acknowledged limitation of popular sovereignty, clearly defined, would be a great security. Set forth the objects of government so largely as to include all that is necessary to civil welfare; then let the people, by solemn act, avow that their collective competence extends to these objects, and no farther.

4. With this basis, deeper than mere will, an article or clause should be embodied in every State Constitution or declaration of rights, to the effect that the government shall have no power to levy any tax for the support of sectarian schools or institutions.

5. It may, or may not, be now advisable to require of every alien resident, upon his applying for naturalization, an abjuration of allegiance to any foreign ruler, civil or ecclesiastical—that is, of any such allegiance as may compromise his fealty to the American Constitutions and laws. But though this should not be expedient at present, the right of the State to require it, should occasion arise, ought to be expressly reserved.

6. No man should be held entitled to the franchise who regards himself as in duty bound to vote upon any matter, or in any case whatsoever, at the dictation of an ecclesiastical superior not abroad. In the Puritan Commonwealth, the "freeman's oath" contained the following: "I do solemnly bind myself in the sight of God that, when I shall be called to give my voice touching any such matter of this State wherein freemen are to deal, I will give my vote and suffrage as I shall judge in mine own conscience may best conduce and tend to the public weal of the body, without respect of persons or favor of any man." That oath breathes the very soul of republicanism; and the displacement of such a spirit by that of haphazard democracy, with its conceit of a popular sovereignty neither bounded nor morally conditioned, is a calamity of American history. That man has no claim to the franchise, who cannot conscientiously bind himself to vote according to his personal judgment, not at the bidding of bishop or priest, and to vote with a supreme regard to the weal of the whole public, not with a chief eye to the weal of the Catholic Church, or to any special interest whatsoever. However, this suggestion is here thrown out rather as a topic for reflection, than from any imagination that it is applicable in the present state of public opinion.

7. The State should not abandon the protection of its citizens in deference to any usage of the Roman Church. It happened lately, in this State, as I learn from a newspaper report, that a husband and wife, lawfully married, were repeatedly called by name from the pulpit, and denounced as living "in mortal sin," that is, in adultery, because they had not been married by a Catholic priest. The husband brought a suit for slander, and was non-suited, on the ground that such priestly liberties are in accordance with Catholic usage; to which he had consented by attendance as a Catholic. Now, slander being only a civil injury, not a criminal offence, it is certain that one could, by explicit personal contract, guarantee another against any claim of damage on that score. This, however, would be the last force of contract, and the last case in which the notion of inferential or constructive contract should be admitted. Have the usages of the Catholic Church in this country the utmost possible force of a legal instrument? Is that good law? The learned judge will pardon me, if I venture to doubt. And if there be a doubt in the case, there can be none as to whose benefit it should accrue. Let Catholic laymen know that they have in the State a protector. Let them have the same benefit of the laws with other citizens. Let not the notion of constructive contract be stretched and strained to make room for ecclesiastical assumptions, if not usurpations, of power. The benefit of every doubt in such a case belongs to him who appears simply as a citizen of the State, to claim on the same ground with other citizens the protection of its laws.

8. Catholics should be made to feel that, if they have their faith, we have also ours, and are in duty bound by it. That is not shown while we take liberties with our own system, following or violating it at pleasure. Now, a clear principle of action has power to attract. This the Catholics have, and they profit immensely by the fact. To meet them, so far, on equal ground, we should have the same, and in an equal sense. Make it unequivocally, indubitably, a controversy of principles; then, if ours be that one

which can better bear the light, if it has good sense and healthy sentiment in its favor, we may hope that it will prevail not by mere force of numbers, but by the power of a just principle, conscientiously held and obeyed as such, to win its way.

Upon the topics which would come up for discussion under this head, I forbear at present to enter, though certainly without disposition to conceal my judgment. But the matter is one which should be opened, if at all, more broadly than consists with the limits of a reading already too much extended.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

EDUCATION.

From the fall of Adam, for his transgression, to the present day, no nation has ever been free from threatened danger to its prosperity and happiness. We should look to the dangers threatening us, and remedy them so far as lies in our power. We are a republic whereof one man is as good as another before the law. Under such a form of government, it is of the greatest importance that all should be possessed of education and intelligence enough to cast a vote with a right understanding of its meaning. A large association of ignorant men cannot for any considerable period oppose a successful resistance to tyranny and oppression from the educated few, but will inevitably sink into acquiescence to the will of intelligence, whether directed by the demagogue, or by priestcraft. Hence the education of the masses becomes of the first necessity for the preservation of our institutions. They are worth preserving, because they have secured the greatest good to the greatest proportion of the population of any form of government yet devised. All other forms of government approach it just in proportion to the general diffusion of education and independence of thought and action.

As the primary step, therefore, to our advancement in all that has marked our progress in the past century, I suggest for your earnest consideration, and most earnestly recommend it, that a Constitutional Amendment be submitted to the legislatures of the several States for ratification, making it the duty of the several States to establish, and forever maintain, free public schools adequate to the education of all the children in the rudimentary branches within their respective limits, irrespective of sex, color, birthplace, or religion, forbidding the teaching in said schools of religious, atheistic, or Pagan tenets, and prohibiting the granting of any school funds or school taxes, or any part thereof, either by legislative, municipal, or other authority, for the benefit, or in aid, directly or indirectly, of any religious sect or denomination, or in aid, or for the benefit, of any other object of any nature or kind whatever.

UNTAXED PROPERTY.

In connection with this important question, I would also call your attention to the importance of correcting an evil that, if permitted to continue, will probably lead to great trouble in our land before the close of the nineteenth century; it is the acquisition of vast amounts of untaxed church property. In 1850, I believe, the church property of the United States, which paid no tax, municipal or State, amounted to about \$83,000,000. In 1860 the amount had doubled. In 1875 it is about \$1,000,000,000. By 1900, without a check, it is safe to say this property will reach a sum exceeding \$3,000,000,000. So vast a sum, receiving all the protection and benefits of government, without bearing its proportion of the burdens and expenses of the same, will not be looked upon acquiescently by those who have to pay the taxes. In a growing country, where real estate enhances so rapidly with time as in the United States, there is scarcely a limit to the wealth that may be acquired by corporations, religious or otherwise, if allowed to retain real estate without taxation. The contemplation of so vast a property as here alluded to, without taxation, may lead to sequestration without Constitutional authority, and through blood. I would suggest the taxation of all property equally, whether church or corporation, exempting only the last resting-places of the dead, and possibly, with proper restrictions, church edifices.

THE MORMONS AND CHINESE WOMEN.

In nearly every annual message that I have had the honor of transmitting to Congress, I have called attention to the anomalous, not to say scandalous, condition of affairs existing in the Territory of Utah, and have asked for definite legislation to correct it. That polygamy should exist in a free, enlightened, and Christian country, without the power to prevent so flagrant a crime against decency and morality, seems preposterous. True, there is no law to sustain this unnatural vice; but what is needed is a law to punish it as a crime, and at the same time to fix the status of the innocent children, the offspring of this system, and of the possibly innocent plural wives. As an institution, polygamy should be banished from the land. I invite the attention of Congress to another, though perhaps no less an evil,—the importation of Chinese women, but few of whom are brought to our shores to pursue honorable or useful occupations.

RECAPITULATION.

As this will be the last annual message which I shall have the honor of transmitting to Congress before my successor is chosen, I will repeat or recapitulate the questions which I deem of importance, and which should be legislated upon and settled at this session:—

First. That the States shall be required to afford the opportunity of a good common school education to every child within their limits.

Second. No sectarian tenets shall ever be taught

in any school, supported in whole or part by the State, nation, or by the proceeds of any tax levied upon any community. Make education compulsory, so far as to deprive all persons who cannot read and write from becoming voters after the year 1890; disfranchising none, whatever, on grounds of illiteracy, who may be voters at the time this amendment takes effect.

Third. Declare Church and State forever separate and distinct; but each free within their proper spheres; and that all church property shall bear its own proportion of taxation.

Fourth. Drive out licensed immorality, such as polygamy, and the importation of women for illegitimate purposes.

To recur again to the Centennial year. It would seem as though now, when we are about to begin the second century of our national existence, would be a most fitting time for these reforms.

Fifth. Enact such laws as will insure a speedy return to a sound currency, such as will command the respect of the world.

Believing that these views will commend themselves to the majority of the right thinking and patriotic citizens of the United States, I submit them to Congress.

U. S. GRANT.
EXECUTIVE MANSION, Dec. 7, 1875.

THE BIDDEFORD *Journal* says that the little white horse (Tiger) owned by Dr. Allen, of Saco, and known by almost every man in the county, possesses some very rare qualities, and exhibits signs of great intelligence, knowing the Sabbath day from all other days, and shows that he is religious in heart, with strong sectarianism mingled with his other feelings. He knows the Sabbath, because on that day he is unwilling to pass the church, while on other days he shows no desire to call. The sectarianism manifests itself from the fact that on Sabbath morning when he is harnessed, all the bells in both cities may ring, and he will remain quiet until the Orthodox bell rings in Saco, and then he will start (brisk speed), and will not be caught until he gets to the church. He knows a prayer-meeting from a preaching from the fact that after five o'clock, or towards evening, he will make no effort to go to the church, but will insist on calling at the vestry, standing a short distance off.

Poetry.

ONLY A FLOWER.

BY ETTA L. OLIVER.

Only a floweret, half hidden from sight,
Only a lily-bud, once pure and white,
Down in the dust or the city's street,
Crushed and trampled by hurrying feet;
Only a flower, unnoticed, unknown,
Withered and faded, dying alone.

Is it a woman? That once pure brow
Hath little of womanly tenderness now;
Little to love in the downcast eyes,
As with hurried movement, and strange surprise,
She raises the flower from its bed of sand,
And clasps it close in her trembling hand.

All unheard was the low-breathed sigh,
For the thoughtless crowd had passed her by;
There were few that guessed of the tender thought,
And fewer still of the tear it brought;
Yet not in vain was the lily given,
For there came to the wanderer a thought of heaven!

NORTH ASHBURNHAM, Mass.

—Banner of Light.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 11.

Mrs. E. Crosby, \$10; R. B. Stone, \$10; Darius Lyman, \$13.25; Gardner Murphy, \$13.20; Geo. Batchelor, \$3.20; Mary Shannon, \$22.40; Mrs. R. Cummings, \$3.25; Geo. E. Jewett, \$3.20; A. P. Hulse, \$3.20; J. F. Woodard, \$4; Hugo Andriessen, \$3.20; B. S. Price, \$4.40; C. F. Wrecks, \$3.20; Mrs. F. W. Christen, \$3.20; S. S. Green, \$3.20; Mrs. J. A. Newbould, \$6.40; F. S. Andrews, 75 cents; T. Bush, \$1.50; J. Kessler, \$3; S. W. Sample, \$4.75; J. McArthur, \$4.50; Willard Twitchell, 20 cents; W. P. Stevenson, 10 cents; F. A. Angell, 40 cents; E. Whichey, 50 cents; Mrs. S. R. Morgan, \$6.45; J. P. Atwater, \$3.27; Wm. Snell, \$3.25; Gilbert Billings, \$3.20; John Wilson, \$3.20; Julius Churchill, \$11.45; Mary E. Dewey, \$3.20; S. Keese, \$3; G. Cape, \$3.20; W. Griswold, \$3.20; W. H. Burr, \$3.20; S. McCloud, \$3.20; C. Lewis, \$3.20; J. Rosenthal, \$3.20; Jas. Eddy, \$3.20; J. Wylie, \$3.20; Mrs. M. J. Barker, \$3.20; A. Damon, \$3.20; J. Brockway, \$3.20; Calvin Cone, \$3.20; S. L. Smith, \$3.20; Z. S. Wallingford, \$3.25; J. K. Wildman, \$3.20; C. G. Ames, \$3.20; Ellen Grost, \$3.20; E. A. Spring, \$3.20; Mrs. H. J. Gale, \$3; D. Branson, \$3.20; D. H. Bond, \$3.25; A. H. Waite, \$3.20; Richard Mott, \$3.20; E. Whipple, \$3.50; C. J. Higgins, \$3.20; F. Murray, \$3.20; J. Edson, \$3.20; Elizar Wright, \$3.20; Mrs. C. M. Roth, \$50; Nath. Cummings, \$13.20; L. F. Gardner, \$13.20; A. G. Cook, \$6.40; O. L. Ashenfelder, \$5; Geo. Iles, \$6.40; John Riatt \$5.20; J. E. Boynton, \$10; E. S. Barrows, \$6.40; G. W. Topping, \$4.95; H. D. Wood, 10 cents; D. Muncey, 10 cents; C. S. Murdock, \$2.20; Geo. Iles, \$3.20; W. L. Hays, 75 cents; H. H. Everts, \$1.60; J. Beede, \$1.25; Thos. Ward, \$3; Cash 20 cents; Isabel Thompson, \$13.20; Thos. Curtis, 50 cents; Alex. Rosenspit, \$3; Francis W. Titus, \$4.80; J. F. Noyes, \$3; N. S. Townsend, \$3; Andrew D. White, \$3.20; C. Brown, Jr., \$3.20; S. A. Wood, \$3.20; Joseph T. White, \$3.25; Morris Einstein, \$3.20; John Wade, \$3.20; Mrs. M. E. Brown, \$3.20; S. W. Sample, \$3.50; John Curtis, 20 cents; Helen W. Allen, 15 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 16, 1875.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VOYNEY (England), PROF. FRANCIS W. NEWMAN (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

WE ARE informed by the secretary that a new Liberal League has been formed at Northumberland, Pennsylvania, with Mr. M. B. Priestley as President and Mr. Charles Collins as Secretary.

SO FAR as the fact warrants it, we receive with thanks this friendly message from a subscriber to THE INDEX: "I congratulate Mr. Abbot on the acceptance by the President in his Annual Message of some of the ideas Mr. Abbot has been working for so long."

DUTIES BEYOND our power fully to discharge compel us to ask the indulgence of our correspondents, whose letters, however important, are far too numerous to be answered. The neglect is simply due to the finitude of human nature, not to any disrespect or disregard. As soon as we can we will attend to these matters, asking only to be excused from unnecessary demands upon our time.

THE TWO poems recently published in THE INDEX, entitled "Guibord at the Gate" and "Amsterdam Station," were written by Mr. W. A. Croffut, of the New York Daily Graphic. If we had known to whom to credit them, we should have done so at the time; but we have learned that most papers steal without scruple from each other, and we escaped giving a false credit by not crediting these poems to the papers where we found them.

A MORE IMPORTANT paper, or one more deserving to be read, pondered, digested, and put to practical use, has never been published in THE INDEX than the one this week contributed to it by Mr. Wasson. Whatever in this issue goes unread, let no one of our readers who has a brain to think with, or a conscience for liberty to put into action, neglect to read this marvellously able essay. We do not agree with it in every minor particular, but nevertheless assent unreservedly to its general tenor and drift. It is most noble teaching to say that, in order to win the victory of freedom and justice in the school question, we must "make it unequivocally, indubitably, a controversy of principles." That is why we plead so continuously and so earnestly for the total exclusion of the Bible from the public schools. Mr. Wasson does not in this paper explicitly draw this inference—perhaps (we do not know) would not draw it at all; but his reasoning all points that way, and his words are fit to be inscribed on the banner of the Free Public School.

MR. MORRIS EINHORN, [of Titusville, Pa., very kindly writes: "The first victory of the 'Demands of Liberalism' is gained by Grant's Message. This must be a great comfort and encouragement to you, who have done more than all the rest of Americans to bring about so glorious a victory. If not all is yet gained by it that the 'Demands' ask for, do not be discouraged; breach has now been made in the walls of the fortress of Superstition and Prejudice—time and perseverance will demolish the fortress itself. A great victory has been gained; let us be content with it for the moment; repeated storming will conquer more." We are not so vain as to suppose that THE INDEX had anything to do directly with the President's Message; but the great movement for which THE INDEX has faithfully done what it could has certainly gained a great point by the formal and bold recommendations of the President to Congress, and we gladly accept this proof that THE INDEX has not been beating the air to no purpose. What it now desires is, not that exulting friends should make any claims on its behalf, but that all lovers of liberty should unite to carry forward still further the banner on which is inscribed—"ABSOLUTE SECULARIZATION OF THE STATE."

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Events thicken. Right on the heels of ex-Speaker Blaine's remarkable letter, republished in these columns a fortnight ago, now follows the still more remarkable Annual Message of President Grant to Congress (extracts from which will be found on a previous page). Those who have been amusing themselves with the notion that THE INDEX, in so persistently urging the "Demands of Liberalism" and the necessity of a positive, earnest movement to carry them into execution, has been "fighting a wind-mill" and busying itself with an unreal issue wholly remote from the vital interests of this day and hour, must surely now be satisfied that this issue is one of the most immediate and practical kind, and already looms up as a question which will tolerate no more postponement or delay. It is no longer possible to turn a blind eye to this Liberal League movement, or a deaf ear to the demand it makes for recognition of its one great principle, the Absolute Secularization of the State, when the attention of the whole nation is suddenly challenged by momentous propositions, now rapidly multiplying on every hand, for the amendment of its fundamental law in this very direction.

Mr. Blaine, taking his cue from the President's already famous address at Des Moines, puts the latter's thought into the practical form of a proposed Constitutional Amendment, guaranteeing non-sectarian public schools; the President, in turn, proposes a still more sweeping measure of the same description, adding to it the weight of his official recommendation in a State paper sure to be read by the whole world; while the National Council of the Union League of America, meeting at Philadelphia on December 8, adopts a declaration of fundamental principles among which are these (we quote only a brief telegraphic summary)—"that the public schools of the several States should be fostered and protected from every encroachment, especially from interference by any sectarian movement; that the Church and State shall remain forever free and independent; and that to all citizens of the United States, by whatever name known, shall be accorded all rights, civil and religious, provided they obey the letter and spirit of the law, and support the government of the people for the people." The despatch adds: "General Daniel Ullman submitted proposed amendments to the Constitution [of the United States?] and of the several States in accordance with the spirit of the above, which were adopted."

Thus the President's speech at Des Moines, in which the mole-eyed saw no special importance, is proving to be historically one of the most fruitful public utterances ever made in this country; for out of it national action of infinite moment is now sure to grow. Some form of Constitutional Amendment touching the connection of Church and State is evidently predestined; and the great question is now—what shall it be? Mr. Blaine's and President Grant's forms are both imperfect, as published; the Union League's probably comes nearer to the requirements of the hour; but no one of those thus far proposed would protect so thoroughly the religious rights of the individual as the "Religious Freedom Amendment."

Moreover, no one of these recommendations covers the full, broad, secular principle respecting the public schools; for, whatever their intentions, neither Mr. Blaine, President Grant, nor the Union League, by the wording of their propositions, as published, would make the schools absolutely and necessarily secular. Mr. Blaine's proposal that—"No money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect; nor shall any money so raised ever be divided between religious sects or denominations"—would still leave Bible-reading and Protestant Evangelical worship in the public schools undisturbed, unless the word "sect" should be construed a great deal more strictly than it is popularly, or in all probability would be legally, interpreted. The President's proposal—"making it the duty of the several States to establish and forever maintain free public schools adequate to the education of all the children in the rudimentary branches within their respective limits, irrespective of sex, color, birth-place or religion, forbidding the teaching in said schools of religious, atheistic, or pagan tenets, and prohibiting the granting of any school funds or school taxes, or any part thereof, either by legislative, municipal, or other authority, for the benefit, or in aid, directly or indirectly, of any religious sect or denomination, or in aid, or for the benefit, of any

other object of any nature or kind whatever,"—is open to the same objection; for not only is the word "sect" ambiguous, but the phrase "teaching religious tenets" certainly would not be applied to the simple maintenance of religious worship as now conducted in the schools. The Union League's proposal, as above quoted, is still more defective. But a complete, satisfactory, and thorough-going form of Constitutional Amendment, so far as the secular character of the public school system and the very important matter of sectarian appropriations in general are concerned, was proposed as long ago as 1870 by Hon. E. P. Hurlbut, of Albany, formerly a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, in the following explicit terms, which we quote with admiration:—

"To the end that the functions of civil government may be exercised without interference in matters of religion: neither the United States, nor any State, territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation for the support, or in aid of, any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatever."

Judge Hurlbut explicitly intended to make his proposed amendment such as to secure the total exclusion of the Bible from the public schools, and his phraseology is transparently clear and precise in expressing that intention. Now that his wise and long unheeded measure is half-adopted by statesmen in high official place, let all due honor be accorded to him for his early and patriotic foresight. He was the first to propose a Constitutional Amendment making the public schools absolutely secular, and the form he proposed is still the only one before the public which carries out the principle of non-sectarian public instruction in rigorous accordance with the logic of liberty. Let not Judge Hurlbut's name be forgotten, or the superior wisdom of his proposed measure be overlooked in the now inevitable discussion on this subject.

While we congratulate the liberal public on President Grant's most important Message, as a signal advance in the right direction, we must still point out the duty and necessity of avoiding all ignorant or studied ambiguity in any amendment that may be made to the Constitution. A vital question of principle is raised; let the nation be satisfied with no half-way solution. Nothing short of the absolute secularization of the State will now suffice. President Grant recommends that every State shall be required to establish free schools, and that no "sect" shall have any control over them or any share of the school funds; but he still stops short of recommending explicitly that *Protestant worship* in the schools shall be discontinued, and we are less confident than we were that he really meant to recommend this in his Des Moines speech, though its language in fact covers the point. He recommends that "all church property" shall be taxed; but he almost neutralizes the recommendation by suggesting the "possible" non-taxation of "church edifices"—of which "church property" chiefly consists. He recommends compulsory education; but he stops short of requiring the education of all, contenting himself with suggesting a penalty of very dubious wisdom for illiteracy. He recommends that Church and State shall be declared forever separate and distinct; but he stops short of his own declaration, when he recommends the prohibition of polygamy partly on the ground that this is a "Christian country." This is a secular, not a Christian, country; otherwise the State is saddled with the dogmas of the Church, and the two cannot be declared separate and distinct. On all these points the President weakens his own position by inconsistency; yet none the less has he rendered a magnificent public service by his Message, which has opened a door to salutary public discussion that no man and no party can now shut. If ours is indeed to be a "government of the people, by the people, for the people," the Church has no right except to a purely private existence, without a shred of national recognition other than as one of countless voluntary corporations; and every lover of his country must now be strenuous that this great principle of all our civil and religious liberties shall be absolutely respected. By no other means can we ever arrive at true prosperity and stable peace; for, unless all public questions are to be

settled by natural reason regardless of all ecclesiasticism, the essential conditions of prosperity and peace are destroyed. To-day the nation is but just beginning a vast contest, in defence of its own organic idea, against powerful foes and dangerous combinations; let every intrepid and faithful servant of liberty be found at his post!

CLERGYMEN.

While considering the danger that menaced from the intolerance of liberals towards each other, attention was called to the increasing disposition on the part of avowed "infidels" to cast uncharitable reflections on clergymen, as being, as a class, insincere to the point of hypocrisy. Such is the habitual insinuation of two or three papers that shall be nameless. Is not this another indication that the extreme radicals, we mean radicals of the negative school, are shrinking into narrow sectarian limits, entertaining the same assumptions they have so bitterly condemned, and setting up the same claim to infallibility they have so clearly exposed in others? That clergymen, as a class, are sincere in holding the opinions they do—clergymen of the Church of Rome, the Church of England, the various sects of Protestantism,—is too evident to be doubted by anybody who considers the intellectual character of the men, their personal character in other respects, their education and training. Why should they not be sincere? In these modern days they are scarcely a privileged order; their emoluments are small, their power is greatly curtailed, their influence restricted, their reputation diminished, their weight made largely dependent on their character, and their character submitted to criticism and suspicion on the flimsiest grounds. The position of a clergyman has ceased to be an enviable or a desirable one; courage is required to hold it. There may be clergymen who are strongly and incessantly tempted to conceal their real opinions from policy; but there also are clergymen who are strongly and incessantly tempted to put forth half-formed opinions which are more popular in a radical community than the views they at heart entertain. As a rule, in our large communities, with our free usages of speech, and the multiplicity of sects caused by our voluntary system, the order of clergy should find it easy to be honest. They are weak men, indeed, if they do not; weaker than their education and general character justify us in presuming.

But, it is urged, they cannot be honest and hold beliefs which all sensible men discard. The Christian system is too evidently absurd for intelligible minds to hold it, unless bribed thereto; and if bribed thereto, their profession is hollow and insincere. There are here two assumptions: 1. That the Christian system is demonstrably absurd. 2. That they who think it is have an exclusive title to be called sensible men. The number of people who think the Christian system fundamentally erroneous and essentially absurd is still small as compared to the number of those who believe it to be fundamentally sound and essentially true; and the number of able, trained thinkers who reject it in all its forms is, as compared with the number that sustain and defend it, small indeed. Of course the few may be right, and the many may be wrong; the illiterate may be right, and the learned may be wrong; the simple may be right, and the cunning in wisdom may be wrong; but no amount of personal conviction is equivalent to certainty; and no depth of assurance is proof of absurdity on the other side. The trained theologian, even the trained Calvinistic theologian, is a very hard person to meet—how hard they only know who have encountered him; they cannot know who construct him in the depths of their consciousness. Set him up as a "man of straw," and knock him down with pellets of "common sense." Christian dogmatists have a good deal to say for themselves, and will have a good deal to say for many long days to come; for our knowledge of the universe is not yet so precise or so exhaustive as to warrant a wholesale rejection of any theory of it as demonstrably false. The charge of absurdity lies rather against those who declare it so. To oppose the Christian dogma, to expose it, refute it, supplant it, if possible, is fair, honorable, even obligatory on those that disbelieve it. But to call those who do believe it hypocrites and fools is going quite too fast.

When it comes to defining the term "sensible," and determining who are and who are not the "sensible men," we must pause before admitting the pretension of those who by "sense" mean "common sense," and by "sensible" mean plain, blunt, rude, unlettered, and untrained in intellectual perception. Questions in theology cannot be answered as easily

as questions in arithmetic, or by the same process; the problems of philosophy and the problems of physics require different orders of mind. Clergymen are educated, too exclusively we will admit, in theology; their schools are theological schools; their studies are in the laws of the human mind. It is not time yet to consign to the limbo of folly all who pursue that study, nor is it wise to judge without a good deal of caution the motives or the methods of those who pursue it; for "in their generation," they may be wiser than we suspect. Once more, the lesson that more than any other just now should be diligently pondered till learned by heart, is the lesson of honorable consideration for thinkers of other schools than ours.

O. B. F.

SPEAK OUT.

That is what the Chicago *Sunday Times* dares to do on religious questions, as will be seen by the following editorial of Oct. 17th. When we consider that the paper from which this is clipped has the largest circulation of any paper in the whole Mississippi Valley, it is a significant index of the drift of public opinion in the West. We doubt if there is a secular paper in Boston that preaches such radical views of the relation of Christianity to civilization, notwithstanding they are cradled in the nursery of Unitarianism.

W. H. S.

SPARTA, Wis., Oct. 18, 1875.

CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION.

Since the clergy of this city and neighboring towns have been taking the School Board to task for dropping devotional exercises from the schools, there has been a revival of the old efforts to prove that all the higher forms of civilization are dependent on Christianity for their origin and perpetuity. We are informed from Sunday to Sunday, and from week-day to week-day, that but for the circulation of the New Testament Scriptures, Central Europe would be in the condition of Central Africa. We are led to infer that the omission of the Lord's Prayer in the opening exercises of our schools will speedily cause us to sink into the condition of the Patagonians.

Nearly every clergyman who has spoken on the subject has pointed out the intimate connection between the Sermon on the Mount and the printing-press; the parable of the tares and the steam-engine; the talk with the woman of Samaria and the magnetic telegraph; the parting charge to the disciples and vulcanized rubber; the reply to the rich young man and the friction match. We are taught by implication that the inventions above named were made in Germany, England, and the United States, because they were "Bible lands"; and we are induced to believe that they never would have been made but for the teachings and influence of Christianity.

The clergy are fond of informing us that Scotland is great in everything that "exalteth a nation," because there is a New Testament in every house and a preacher in every village. Ethiopia, on the other hand, is degraded because there are neither Bibles nor preachers within its badly defined borders. The whole matter of race, climate, and geographical position is entirely ignored by these gentlemen in discussing the causes that favor civilization and high intellectual culture. They are very careful not to tell us that Abyssinia is as thoroughly a Christian nation as is Scotland, lacking, as it is, in every thing that pertains to civilization.

No one but a bigot, who is at all conversant with the history of recent art, inventions, and literature, will deny that the Jews, in proportion to their numbers, are doing more to advance civilization than Christians are. Persecuted as they still are in most Christian countries, they furnish a list of names conspicuous in art, music, oratory, science, journalism, and polite literature that challenges the admiration of the world. At present, the liberal press of almost every country in continental Europe is in the hands of Jews. Now, as in the days when David tuned his harp, sacred music is essentially Jewish. The art of Jews adorns our parlors; the books of Jews are found in every library.

As to the other people who are advancing civilization, they are, for the most part, little, if any, better than varnished infidels. The journalists in this country and in Europe are largely free-thinkers. In the same class may be included the majority of the writers on history, science, literature, and art. In this country, the denomination that has furnished the most and the best literature is the Unitarian. Members of this religious organization are excluded from membership in Christian associations as well as from other associations whose members call themselves "true Christians."

That the apostles and preachers of Christianity have been, and are, opposed to the progress of science, history and observation bear evidence. The Old Catholics frowned no worse on the astronomy of Galileo than the later Puritans frowned on the geology of Lyell, the anatomy of Darwin, and the chemistry of Huxley. Modern science has fought its way against the vigorous opposition of the pulpit. From the first appearance of so-called spiritual phenomena till the present time, Christianity has maintained a ban alike on witnessing and investigating them. There is nothing in the life, acts, or teachings of the Founder of Christianity that favored any phase of civilization except morality. A natural orator and rhetorician, he did nothing for the advancement of oratory or rhetoric. Bred to an art, we have no

reason for believing that he advanced that art in the slightest particular. He discountenanced acquiring wealth, which is the distinguishing feature between civilization and barbarism, by the injunction, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth." It is well known that the early Christians were behind the age in which they lived in all that pertains to culture and civilization. There is such a thing as claiming too much for Christianity. The circumstance that the majority of Christian nations are in advance of the majority of Pagan countries in the matter of civilization, is no certain evidence that the civilization is the outgrowth of the teachings of the New Testament. Race has more to do with civilization than any form of religion. That certain people are civilized, and at the same time are Christians, may be regarded as simply a coincidence. Certain fortuitous circumstances, as a superior race, excellent climate, peculiar soil, desirable position, and freedom from famine and pestilence, combine and culminate in a high degree of civilization. That is all there is about it.

Communications.

ADDRESS "TO ALL TRUE FRIENDS OF REFORM AND ALL INDEPENDENT MEN."

TRANSLATED FOR "THE INDEX" FROM THE BOSTON "PRO-RIKER," OF NOV. 24, 1875.

BY PROFESSOR A. LOOS.

New ideas and suggestions of reform often meet with the same fate as medicines which remain completely inefficient until they have been taken sufficiently often. If the patient loses his patience too soon, because he does not realize any immediate effect, he may have swallowed his doses until they almost have brought on a crisis, without perceiving the least improvement; while if he continues the treatment until that critical time, a single dose may bring about a sudden change. Suggestions of reform, tending toward a change of institutions of long standing, are, of course, inconvenient for those accustomed to the latter, and those who put them forth must be prepared at first to be received with indifference, if not with disgust, or to be turned off with scorn. If this has the effect of silencing them, their efforts remain useless as if they had never been made, however praiseworthy they may have been. But if they are indefatigable in again and again renewing them at every opportunity that is offered, they excite attention, compel investigation, and, if in this way they once have gained the notice of public opinion, they will gradually accomplish their end, provided it successfully passes the test of fair criticism.

The German Radicals, who have become convinced that the wisdom of those of our party "statesmen" who try to cure the sick republic with their old recipes amounts to nothing but miserable quackery and bungling, find the fundamental cause of the evil in a defective Constitution, and have, among others, proposed the following three amendments for improving it:—

1. Abolition of the Presidency.
2. Abolition of the Senate.

3. Transfer of the whole administration of the State to a single assembly of always responsible representatives of the people, whose individual members can at any time be recalled by their constituents and replaced by others.

Memorials referring to these reforms have repeatedly been sent to Congress. The latter has as yet not made them a subject of discussion, but they have already excited the attention of the people and of the American press. As their repetition is the best means to extend the propaganda in their favor, the executive committee of radical Democrats at Milwaukee has again issued three separate memorials referring to the above amendments, and is circulating them for signatures. We hope that all friends of reform will take pains to secure as many signatures, especially of Americans, as possible for their memorials, and to send them to the Representatives and Senators who may seem most suitable to them, in order through their mediation to bring them before Congress. They can be had on application from the "National Executive Committee, Radical Democracy, 56 Oneida Street, Milwaukee, Wis., or Julius Teut-horn, Boston, Mass."

The undersigned sub-committee, charged by the Philadelphia local committee for preparing the necessary arrangements for the proposed convention in 1876, intended to pave the way for a more comprehensive organization of the radical elements among the Germans of North America, to draw up a plan of organization which might serve as a basis for the discussions tending towards this end, have agreed upon the outline of a constitution for such an organization, which they herewith submit to the consideration and discussion of all associations and individuals interested in the above purpose, challenging their criticisms and suggestions.

W. HOLDMANN.
D. KOEGL.
S. TRENDENBERG.
C. BORN.
F. BELTZIG.
A. LOOS.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov., 1875.

Name: The organization formed in accordance with this constitution is called the "Union of German Radicals of North America."

Membership: As a member of the Union, every actually organized association of Germans in North America is to be considered which recognizes the leading principle of the Union, and expressly declares its desire to join the latter.

Leading principle: As its leading principle, the

recognition of which it demands from all its members, the Union declares the absolute dominion of reason in all relations of life.

Aim: The aim of the Union is directed toward the practical realization of its leading principle through the organized efforts of its members, primarily towards replacing the rule of dogmatism by the science of the universe, and towards establishing the intellectual and moral life of mankind upon the laws of the universe as interpreted by science, and to be made accessible to the intellect of all by a system of free, unsectarian schools in their various grades.

Means for the attainment of this end: As means for attaining to this aim, the Union recognizes:—

1. Establishment of the systematic propaganda for its aspirations through lectures and the press.

2. Organization of its members into a party which is to influence and as much as possible to control the shaping of public affairs, for the purpose of bringing about a complete secularization of the State, and a development of our political life in better accordance with the ideal of a truly democratic republic.

N.B. To secure a more comprehensive success for such an organization, a union, or at least a regular coöperation, with the so-called "Liberal Leagues" is recommended for the sake of attaining the following nearest and most urgent "Demands of Liberalism":—

a. Taxation of ecclesiastical property.

b. Discontinuation of the employment of chaplains by the Federal government and the various State governments.

c. Cessation of all public appropriations for the support of sectarian schools.

d. Discontinuation of the use of the Bible in the public schools.

e. Discontinuation of the appointment by the President of the United States, or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals or fairs.

f. Abolition of the judicial oath and its replacement by simple affirmation under the penalties of perjury.

g. Repeal of all laws enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath.

h. Removal of all religious tests whatsoever as requirements for the enjoyment of any civil rights and privileges from the Federal Constitutions and the various State Constitutions.

3. A regular correspondence between the members of the Union, including detailed reports regarding their relations and activity.

4. Regular conventions for the purpose of bringing about a more intimate personal acquaintance between the members of the Union and discussions of its common affairs.

5. Establishment of saving and other institutions, under the guarantee and control of the Union, for the purpose of better securing the material welfare of its individual members and their families.

6. Establishment of schools, Sunday and evening schools, as well as of libraries, for the purpose of educating the young in the spirit of the leading principle of the Union, as also for the purpose of cultivating gymnastics, singing, and music.

Executive Committee: Every regular convention appoints for the time, until the next regular convention, an executive committee.

Organization: The Union, through its executive committee, is divided, according to the requirements of expediency, into State, district, and local associations.

Organ: The Union appoints or establishes a periodical paper as a medium for its public correspondence, to which every association belonging to it is in duty bound to report all important measures and events coming within its sphere.

Plan of organization: Every association of greater or less extent, whose members declare their assent to the leading principle previously specified, and their willingness to coöperate for the realization of the above stated aims, can become a member of the Union of German Radicals of North America, by merely declaring adherence to it.

Although such an association, by the act of its joining this Union, self-evidently submits in all common affairs of the Union to the measures justified by the constitution of the latter, it yet retains its full independence in all matters relating to its own special purposes, provided that these are not at variance or in contradiction with the leading principle or the organization of the Union.

Every association belonging to the Union is in duty bound, for the purposes of the latter, to tax itself with an annual contribution to its treasury, proportional to the number of its own members.

Every association belonging to the Union is entitled to send one delegate to the annual convention for every fifty of its members. Independent associations belonging to the Union, of less than fifty members, are likewise entitled to send one delegate to the convention.

The convention appoints the association which is to elect from its members the executive committee, consisting of five persons, which is to represent the Union until the next convention.

The convention, besides disposing of all business arising from the maintenance of the organization of the Union, has to bring all pending questions of importance, which bear upon the spiritual, political, and social life, to public discussion, and to prepare the activity of the Union for their solution in accordance with its leading principle.

It shall also be incumbent upon the convention, as well as upon the executive committee representing it, to employ all means within its reach for the peaceable and successful propaganda for the leading principle of the Union, and for inciting its members to never-ceasing activity for its realization in the various relations of life. Especially shall the execu-

tive committee be obliged to meet at least once a month for discharging this duty, and to keep the members of the Union constantly posted as to the success of its activity by regular reports in the central organ. It is also to be entitled to replace any of its members in case of resignation or indifference.

THE NEW YORK SECTARIAN APPROPRIATIONS.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Permit me to correct a few errors into which you have inadvertently fallen, in your comments upon my letter in your issue of Nov. 25.

You say that the "facts," as presented in the article of the New York Times, on sectarian appropriations, "show that the destruction of the Ring did not dissolve the coalition of Catholicism and Democracy in New York city"; and intimate that I did not notice in the Times' article the proofs that sectarian appropriations continued after the downfall of the Ring until the beginning of the present year.

I read the article in the Times when it was originally published, with some care; I re-read it when you published it in THE INDEX, and have read it again since the appearance of your last comments upon it, each time with increasing disgust at the disregard of plain facts which are accessible to all, and the spirit of partisan trickery which inspired it.

Because THE INDEX is "no partisan," I ask it, in justice to many friends of secular education, to make these corrections.

In the first place, the "coalition" of religious and political powers which made those sectarian appropriations worked through the State, as well as the city government; the appropriations being authorized by the State legislature. No such appropriations could have been made against its authority. Of course, the appropriations for institutions in New York city were, as the Times' article shrewdly but trickily declares, "paid out of the money raised by tax on the property of New York city"; but they were made by and through the authority of the State legislature, which always controlled the tax levy, could at any time have prevented these appropriations, and did attempt to limit them, with very poor success, in the tax levy of 1871, as quoted by the Times.

In the second place, the downfall of the "Ring" placed the State government and the legislature for two years in the hands of the Republicans, who, by the logic of THE INDEX, should be held responsible for all sectarian appropriations made while they were in power, and could have prevented them. I hope THE INDEX will not accuse me of making an "indiscriminate attack" on the Republican party. I am merely applying its own rule.

In the third place, the complete triumph of reform, in the passage of the Constitutional Amendment which forever prohibits sectarian appropriations, was coincident with the election of Governor Tilden by fifty thousand Democratic majority. Hence the Democrats, who were in the majority, and could have prevented the passage of this amendment, are, by the logic of THE INDEX, entitled to all the credit of its passage.

I, however, do not wholly accept this logic as conclusive. People vote, and are responsible for their votes, as independent citizens, and not as members of any sect, nor yet of any political party. Gen. Woodford, of Brooklyn, is still considered around here to be a good Republican, although he said in a recent speech that he had seldom, for years, voted an unscratched party ticket. Until his party formally "reads him out," he is entitled to be considered and treated as a Republican.

I have yet heard of no attempts, on the part of Pope or priest, to expel Senator Kernan, or those who sympathize with him, from the Catholic Church. Until he is so expelled, he is entitled to be considered and treated as a Catholic. I have never been constituted a pope above the Pope to decide who are, and who are not, members of the Catholic Church, and I have yet to learn that the editor of THE INDEX has been so constituted.

Nor, much as I respect the ability and honesty of the late Gerrit Smith, do I wish to be held responsible for his views on the public school question. He was opposed, on principle, to the entire public school system. I am in favor of it as the very foundation of our system of republican government.

The policy which I advocate is positive, and not negative. Instead of "opposing" an imaginary onslaught on the system itself—spending our force in fighting a windmill, whose arms are turned solely by the breath of partisan malignity—I would concentrate our whole army, sink petty contentions, and move forward on the enemy's works, inscribing on our banner—The complete secularization of our public school system.

Yours faithfully, LEWIS G. JANES.

[Until Mr. Janes or somebody else can give exact information touching the secret history of those sectarian appropriations, we must be excused from taking general statements on the subject as satisfactory. So far as we can see, he has not relieved the Democratic party from the odium of making sectarian appropriations, but only placed a similar load on the back of the Republican party. Very well: let the two parties in that case divide the shame. In "ways that are dark and tricks that are vain," they seem to have been running a race; but it still appears that the Democrats are ahead. It is time for honesty to come out of its hiding-place. Meanwhile let us know exactly who did make the appropriations, why they did it, which party actually

profited by it, and for what reason the Catholics got so disproportionate a share of the plunder.

As to Senator Kernan, Mr. Janes' language implies that we said that he was not a Catholic. We said that he was not a "representative Catholic"—a very different thing. Let us be fair. On this point Mr. Wasson, on a previous page, answers Mr. Janes so completely that nothing more need be said here.

But when our correspondent calls the Catholic attack on the school system an "imaginary onslaught," we are simply astonished. Is it possible that any American liberal can be so completely unconscious of patent facts? We respectfully suggest to Mr. Janes to go to D. & J. Saddler & Co., 31 Barclay St., New York, and consult Father Müller's *Public School Education*, Chief Justice Dunne's *Our Public Schools*, Bishop Gilmour's *Lenten Pastoral* of 1873 (this can be got of Ingham, Clarke & Co., of Cleveland, for fifty cents), Bishop McQuaid's *Free Christian Schools*, and a host of similar works. By the time he has examined a tithe of this evidence of a real and most determined "onslaught," he will see that the only "windmill" in the case has been in his own peaceful dreams. But if he considers these books and pamphlets as mere paper warfare, let him turn to the *Catholic Directory* for 1875, and read on pages 85, 86, 87, and 88 a list of ninety-three Catholic parochial schools in his own city of New York, all in actual operation—the very first ten on the list having respectively 500, 700, 880, 930, 600, 750, 640, 800, 500, and 700 pupils. And all these simply because the Catholics hate and fear and want to destroy our public schools as now conducted! Every diocese tells the same story; Bishop McQuaid said in 1871 that there were nearly 100,000 Catholic children in these parochial schools in the State of New York alone. Yet Mr. Janes, living in the midst of these things, thinks it is only an "imaginary onslaught"! We cordially welcome his closing assurance that he is in favor of the "complete secularization of our public school system"; and we believe he will yet see the formidable obstacles which stand in the way of that necessary measure.—ED.]

CONVERTED "INFIDELS."

NEW YORK, Dec. 6, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I am an "anxious inquirer," seeking for light, but finding it not.

From the New York Sun, Nov. 23, I cut the following, which speaks for itself:—

"A WOMAN EVANGELIST.

"GREAT EXCITEMENT IN THE DREW METHODIST CHURCH AT PORT JERVIS.

"PORT JERVIS, Nov. 22.—Mrs. Lowrie, a converted actress, is conducting a series of revival meetings in the Drew M. E. Church, in this village. The meetings are attended by thousands of people, and over five hundred converts have been made. The number includes many wealthy and prominent residents. Mrs. Lowrie is an eloquent speaker, and an excellent vocalist. Her discourses are delivered while she walks about the house. They are full of extravagant and impassioned passages, interspersed with wild hymns and wild gestures. She wields a powerful influence over the large congregation that assembles to hear her, and her voice is frequently drowned by their shouts. Two avowed infidels—one a contributor to the Boston Investigator—are among her converts. A leading atheist asked for prayers on Saturday night amid a scene of wild excitement. The church will not hold all that apply for admittance. People come twenty miles to hear her, and so many train-hands from the Erie Railway attend the service that new men have been employed to fill their places.

"Mrs. Lowrie is a lady about thirty-five years of age, and shows the effect of the hard work she is doing."

Feeling interested to know more of this wonderful revival, I wrote that day to the postmaster at Port Jervis, asking him for the names of the two infidels mentioned above, their standing in the community, and regarding the atheist also.

A reply came to me signed "P. M.," dated Nov. 25, saying: "I know nothing of the facts of which you wish to know. There is a great revival in progress in the Methodist Church. About the infidel and contributor I know nothing."

This reply did not satisfy my craving for facts; but about this time I noticed the following in the New York Tribune:—

"THE REVIVAL IN PORT JERVIS.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRIBUNE.

"Sir,—I see so many inaccurate references to the revival in our church here, that I am induced to write you generally accurate and always influential paper a brief statement. Mrs. M. E. Lowrie assisted us during the month of October; conversions, two hundred and sixty-five. After she went to Franklin Street, Newark, N. J., the meetings continued with increased power, so that up to this time there have been two hundred and ninety-five conversions this month; that is, five hundred and sixty in all. Last week there were one hundred and fifteen conversions. On Sunday I baptized one hundred and sixty-five persons. The work is spreading among the most influential railroad men of Port Jervis.

Our church will seat about one thousand people, yet they often go away unable to find seats. Mrs. Lowrie paid us a visit of four days last week. The Rev. Horace W. Byrnes, of Drew Theological Seminary, has been assisting us this month. The interest in these meetings and their influence upon the community is as great for this section as are the Brooklyn meetings for that section. Four hundred and four have joined our church alone.

"Very respectfully," JOHN A. MUNROE,
"Pastor M. E. Church."

"PORT JERVIS, N. Y., Nov. 24, 1875."

Here seemed an opportunity to get at the truth, and I addressed a few lines to Rev. Mr. Munroe, saying:—

"By item in the New York papers of 23d inst., I learn that, at the recent revival in the Drew M. E. Church, your place, 'two avowed infidels, one a contributor to the Boston *Investigator*, were among the converts. A leading atheist asked for prayer on Saturday amid a scene of wild excitement.' May I ask whether above statements are facts in every detail, or whether colored by some enthusiastic convert? These statements should be accompanied by names, else the unbelievers will say, 'We don't believe such nonsense.'"

As yet I have had no reply from Rev. Mr. Munroe (though I enclosed to him a stamped envelope addressed to myself); so must presume my letter mis-carried, or press of religious business has of necessity delayed his answering. Since then the papers here have discussed the subject; one, the *Sun*, in leading editorial, expressing the hope that ere long the entire population of Port Jervis will become converted, and the change of heart be manifested by good deeds and pure lives.

But, alas, for human hopes, such does not seem to be the case, as shown by the following letter of late date:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN:

"Sir,—To save the reporters of your paper a needless trip to our village for the purpose of investigating the revival now in progress, I would most respectfully submit the following:—

"The Rev. Mr. Munroe has truly written: 'So up to this time (24th inst.) there have been two hundred and ninety-five conversions this month; that is, five hundred and sixty in all. Last week there were one hundred and fifteen conversions. On Sunday I baptized one hundred and sixty-five persons.' During the past week I have talked with not a few of the 'converted,' and the extent of the religion they have achieved seems to have been the delightful sensation of having a female revivalist winding her arms around their necks, of hearing sweet words poured into their ears, of 'going forward,' of 'meeting with a change of heart,' and of being received within the 'pale of the church'; and, alas! that is all.

"This is not a new thing for Port Jervis. Four years ago there was a 'great harvest' of the same kind and in the same church. READER.

"PORT JERVIS, NOV. 30."

Meantime I am yet anxious to know who those two infidels are, "one a contributor to the Boston *Investigator*; and who is that leading atheist "who asked for prayers amid a scene of wild excitement." Can any of the readers of THE INDEX at or near Port Jervis help to solve this mystery? So often I have heard of infidels becoming converts, that I desired to get at the bottom facts in this case, but so far have been unable to do so. Can it be that the story of the infidels and atheist was another "pious fraud"? Yours truly, "A."

A SCHOOL MANUAL OF MORALS.

F. E. ABBOT, ESQ:

Sir,—While you have as the end of your labors the discovery of truth, theological, scientific, etc., and the promulgation thereof, you have behind all of this the human mind, the most complicated and the most wonderful of all phenomena. If you want to advance the interests of the race, you must study this. If you neglect to get your lessons here, you may lead humanity astray and into ruin. Phrenologically speaking, the top of the head is the balancing power between the passions and the intellect. Both of these powers, the motive and intellectual, can easily be provided for. The one may be checked by the other by cultivation. But the individual whose mind is defective will soon show himself a knave, no matter how intellectual he may be,—indeed, the more intellectual, the more dangerous. Now, you, the President, many others, and myself would exclude the Bible from the schools. Would not this leave the passions checked by the intellect alone? The family and the churches are, on our theory, sufficient to cultivate these balancing powers of the mind,—the moral sentiments, without which the individual has a dangerously defective mind. The Bible teaches right conduct in almost every instance. The difficulty with the Bible is, that it teaches a great many other things that the cultivated intellect cannot approve of. It teaches that the order of material Nature is sometimes set aside, and that the supernatural sometimes takes its place; while all our experience and observation go to convince us that the laws of material Nature are fixed and unalterable. My reading has been necessarily limited. I know of no author who has demonstrated the fact that the laws governing mind are as fixed and unalterable as those governing matter; yet I conceive this to be true. If true, and if the moral sentiments (benevolence, conscientiousness, etc.) are, like the intellect, to be cultivated, and if the Bible is the most effective in their cultivation, then the Bible, as a means of their cultivation, ought to be kept at its work. But, as the Bible teaches too much, why not give the world a work to be taught

in schools that will train these necessary faculties, and help to form with the growing intellect, a perfectly balanced mind? Now among your numerous coadjutors can you not find one who will arrange those principles of action, a great many of which are condensed in Christ's Sermon on the Mount, and others scattered all through the Scriptural writings, and adapt them to our schools? Unless something of this kind is done, and the child is trained to LOVE, I fear that the priests' theory will prove correct. The passions and propensities are born with us, which fact gives rise to the belief in "original sin." The Scriptures point in almost every chapter to the necessity of bringing them under the subjection of more reasonable motives, so as to adapt the individual to society, and make him useful to the world of mankind. Such a book, I conceive, can be issued to the scholars, and they would learn the true reason WHY they should be pure-minded, generous, truthful, honest, reverent, and so forth.

Yours truly, J. C. KLOTZ.

TOLEDO, OHIO, NOV. 8, 1875.

[There is a great deal of wisdom in the above letter. It is perfectly true that a first-class ethical text-book, written on the plane of natural morality and wholly free from all supernaturalism, yet adapted to the easy comprehension of young children and made interesting by illustrative stories and questions, is profoundly needed to-day. Such a text-book could be as properly used in the public schools as a text-book of geography or arithmetic. But it cannot be written except by a thinker who thoroughly grasps the principles of Scientific Ethics, and it would not be adopted in the public schools so long as the public believe that the Bible and Christianity are the sole foundation of morality. Until that day arrives, the study of ethics in the public schools will hardly be made a part of the course; and moral education, so far as it depends on direct instruction, should be reserved for the home, the Sunday-school, the church, or the free religious society. Such a true text-book, however, cannot be written too soon for the aid of parents and others in this instruction; and we wish we had time to execute the plan of one which we have long desired to write.—ED.]

RABBI FELSENTHAL'S PROTEST.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—You have my hearty thanks for publishing at full length Rabbi Felsenenthal's able and spirited protest against Bible-reading in the public schools (INDEX, Dec. 2). Though it fills three columns and over, I never read anything shorter; and, in finishing it, only regretted that there was not another postscript to it. I hope none of your readers read it carelessly. I entirely agree with the good rabbi in all that it is his object to prove, and I think he has proved it very well. Not only has he done good service to our schools and to our country, but to Christianity itself. However he misunderstands it, no misunderstanding can do it so much harm as that mixing up with civil matters against which he defends it; and my first movement, immediately after reading his eloquent paper, was to have sent him a diploma of F. D. (FIDEI DEFENSOR, of the Christian faith I mean), under my episcopal style and seal.

My saying that Rabbi Felsenenthal misunderstands Christianity would be an exaggerated expression, unless I hastened to explain it. He understands it a great deal better than any of our carnal Protestants, commonly called "Orthodox." It is only against the fourth gospel that he brings the charge of polytheism, apparently finding in the three first little to blame on that score; when as they, through the violent commentaries contained in the chapter headings of the Bible Society, endeavor to make the whole Bible liable to that accusation. I request Rabbi Felsenenthal to read the New Testament as he reads the Old,—in its text (the Sinaitic), not in a translation; by the light of Jewish condition and of common sense, not of Bible Society commentaries. He will find that the New Testament is in perfect consonance with the Old; that the whole Bible, New as well as Old Testament, is a good Jewish rationalist book from beginning to end, written by rationalists, and intended by them to be understood rationally, not fanatically. This will be to Rabbi Felsenenthal just the same revelation, about the nature of Christianity, which St. Paul (Rabbi Shaul) had through a quarter of an hour's conversation with Jesus near Damascus, where he had come on an errand of mistaken zeal.

Among the misconceptions as to the teachings of Christianity is the belief that Christians are, as such, forbidden to resist evil. On the contrary, we are, in every page of the New Testament, enjoined to oppose evil, both defensively and aggressively, in the order of things with which alone the Christian dispensation is concerned, and by the means which belong to that order. These means and that order of things are spiritual. But while Christianity limits itself to the spiritual order, it does not limit its followers to it. They belong to two orders of things: the spiritual and Christian, and the natural or civil. As members of the natural society, they have, like all other men, to pay taxes to the government of their country, whether it be republican or monarchical; and if they are soldiers, not to be cowardly nor desert, but, as John the Baptist answered those who interrogated him, to do no violence beyond what is enjoined to them, and to be satisfied with their wages. There are kinds of temporal evils which re-

quire to be temporarily repressed, and which society represses not, leaving their repression to individuals. In those things the Christian is bound, not by the Christian law which has nothing to do with temporal matters, but by the law of Nature which Christianity came not to abolish, to resent injustice, and make the wicked smart for his misdeed, thereby doing his part in the general administration of justice as the law of the universe. Nothing can be more emphatic than the declarations of Jesus, and of his apostles, to the effect that there is not a single natural duty that a man can evade under the protest of his having become a Christian.

The so-called principle of Christian non-resistance to evil, therefore, reduces itself to this proposition: that those evils that it would be unwise and useless for us to oppose by material means, as members of the natural society, may still, in a way, be resisted by us, through those spiritual means which belong to Christianity. As to the strength of those spiritual means, let not Rabbi Felsenenthal be too prompt to ridicule it. In the time of Jesus, and shortly after, two branches of Israel, the one under Jesus, the other under the political leaders of the nation, levied war against the Roman oppressors. The political leaders resorted to material means, and led the national Commonwealth to destruction. Jesus and his followers resorted to spiritual means, and over the ruins of Roman idolatry the praises of the God of Israel are sung in more churches than the remnants of them of the other branch of Israel contain of scattered families.

As to the Rabbi's suggestion with regard to an expurgated edition of the Bible, I am glad he considers it as a "solution hardly to be expected in our days." The Bible would lose the better part of its value to us, it would cease to broaden our views beyond the narrow horizons of an age in which the legs of pianos themselves will soon have to be encased in pantaloons, were it expurgated so as to suit our conventional squeamishness. In the energy of their American patriotism, the Rabbi, and with him Jews generally, are too apt to forget that some truths are deposited in the Jewish Bible, and entrusted to the Jewish Church, which our proud civilization itself, unless it is to perish, must learn of them.

I am, dear sir, yours truly,

JULIUS FERRETTE.

CAMBRIDGE, DEC. 4, 1875.

MR. BRADLAUGH'S "VIEWS OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION."

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Mr. Bradlaugh, in his "Views of the Free Religious Association," says: "I cannot, I avow, understand the position," etc. The wish of the Free Religious Association is to give all men a chance to hear or to express honest and earnest convictions; but Mr. Bradlaugh will understand that "the honest Roman Catholic, the sincere disciple of the Society of Jesus," who submits to-day to the authority which "negates all possible free thought," may become an Atheist or a Free Religionist as the mind develops. Was not Jesus a born Jew? Luther and others born Catholics? And Mr. Bradlaugh himself a born Christian?

"Mr. Higginson himself, by speaking of the Atheist possibly elevating Atheism into a religion, affirms his own conviction, at any rate, of the inferiority of Atheism as compared with this undefined religion."

Col. Higginson is an able and zealous coöperator in the Free Religious movement, but he has manifested several times, and shows us now, that he does not fully comprehend the principles of Free Religion. Here we know no high or low seats, no superiority of one faith over the other, but sincere faith. The Atheist or Materialist does not know that there is no God, but he believes that there is none; the Theist does not know, but believes that there is one; therefore both have faith! We all are compelled to accept an unknown; but the unknowable is just as much an assumption as the infallibility of the Pope.

The conditions and development of my own mind, in a life of fifty-three years, brought me out of a firm belief in the Augsburg Confession and Lutheran doctrine into Materialism, Atheism, and now Theism and Free Religion, just as our convictions come to us from day to day.

Mr. Bradlaugh, the earnest and zealous advocate of universal liberty, concludes his letter with these noble words: "Right or wrong, preachers like Mr. Frothingham do the world good service. For the grand truths uttered we thank them, and we listen attentively and reverently even where we differ." We say with our noble brother in humanity, Theodore Parker,—"Though our brother doubts thy existence, yet he keeps thy laws," as much as he knows and can, Fellow-Jews, fellow-Mohammedans, fellow-Christians, of all sects, fellow-Spiritualists, fellow-Materialists, fellow-Atheists, go on in your own way, and, as our reason and theories develop, we all shall meet at the inevitable centre which we all seek and love, and where we shall understand each other.

Yours truly, CARL H. HORSCH.

DOVER, N. H., DEC. 6, 1875.

THE TOWN COUNCIL of Bolton, England, has decided upon the removal of a tombstone from the cemetery of that city, on which figured the infidel inscription: "Let the gods attend on things which gods must know; man's only care relates to things below. *Nescio Deos.*" It had been recently inscribed on the tomb of an old deist over seventy-four years old.

WHERE words abound, sense is thinly spread: trees overcharged with leaves bear little fruit.—*Lady Mary Montagu.*

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Almost every number contains a discourse or leading article, which alone is worth the price of one year's subscription.

Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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PUBLICATIONS

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

Report of the Addresses and other Proceedings of the Original Meeting in 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was Organized. Containing addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Henry Blanchard, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, John Weiss, Oliver Johnson, F. E. Abbot, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age;" an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India;" also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

Proceedings of Fifth Annual Meeting, 1872. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by J. W. Chadwick on "Liberty and the Church in America," by C. D. B. Mills on "Religion as the Expression of a Permanent Sentiment of the Human Mind," and by O. B. Frothingham on "The Religion of Humanity," with addresses by Rowland Connor, Celia Burleigh, Lucretia Mott, A. B. Alcott, C. A. Bartol, Horace Seaver, Alexander Loos, and others.

Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1873. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. S. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains verbatim reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Sommeschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Calthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity, as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"—in connection with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Keshub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. Wasson.

Proceedings of Eighth Annual Meeting, 1875. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains Essays by Wm. C. Gannett, on "The Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, R. F. Underwood, S. P. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

Religions of China, by Wm. H. Channing. 25 cents.

Reason and Revelation, by William J. Potter. 10 cents.

Taxation of Church Property, by Jas. Parton. 10 cents, singly; package of ten, 60 cents; of one hundred, \$3.

These publications are for sale at the office of the Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston. The Annual Reports for 1868 and 1871 cannot be supplied, and the supply of others previous to that of 1872 is quite limited. Orders by mail may be addressed either "Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston," or to the Secretary, New Bedford, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER Sec. F. R. A.

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INDEX TRACTS.

No. 1.—*Truths for the Times*, by F. E. Abbot, contains the "Fifty Affirmations" and "Modern Principles." Mr. CHARLES DARWIN, author of "The Origin of Species," says, in a letter to the editor not originally intended for publication, but subsequently authorized to be used: "I have now read 'TRUTHS FOR THE TIMES,' and I admire them from my inmost heart; and I agree to almost every word." New Edition. Price 10 cents; 12 copies \$1.00.

No. 2.—*Fear of the Living God*, by O. B. Frothingham, exposes the debasing character of the popular notions of God, and presents conceptions of him that are worthy of the nineteenth century. New Edition. Price 5 cents; 12 copies 50 cents.

No. 3.—*Lecture on the Bible*, by the Rev. Charles Voysey, of England, is an overwhelming demonstration of the imperfections and errors of the Bible, both in the Old and the New Testaments. New Edition. Price 10 cents; 12 copies \$1.00.

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"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1875.

WHOLE NO. 313.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

"If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. Now, the centennial year of our national existence, I believe, is a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundations of the structure commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian schools. Resolve that neither State or Nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmixed with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and the State forever separate."—PRESIDENT GRANT, at Des Moines, Sept. 23, 1875.

GLIMPSSES.

THE BREMERHAVEN crime is unparalleled in the records of iniquity. Satan will have to be re-baptized as Thomassen.

THERE ARE twenty candidates for the "Freshman Nine" at Harvard. Will some mathematician inform us how they are all to be made happy?

AT THE DEDICATION of the new Catholic Cathedral in Boston, Dec. 8, Bishop Lynch said that fifty years ago there were only two Catholic churches in all New England, and that now there are half a million Catholics in the same "province."

A CORRESPONDENT of the Boston Journal, Dec. 14, writes that, of the thirteen Democratic nominees for the new School Board in this city, eleven are Catholics, and two of these are priests. Such facts as these tell a story that needs no amplification.

EARL FITZWILLIAM, having had a quarrel with his miners, refused to reopen the Low Stubbin Colliery after their submission, on the ground that he was rich enough to do without it. His insolent cruelty strikes a telling blow at the land monopoly in England.

FAITH in missions seems to be declining, if the great debts of the Missionary Societies are any indication. The Presbyterian Board was deficient \$226,000 on Nov. 1; the Methodist Episcopal Board, \$185,000; and so of the rest, excepting only the Moravians.

NEXT SUNDAY (December 26), Mr. M. D. Conway will preach at Parker Memorial Hall, in this city, on "Christ versus Christianity." On Monday, December 27, he will lecture in the same place, at seven P.M., on "The Holy Family": tickets fifty cents, to be had at Ditson's and at the door. Nobody who is able to improve these opportunities of hearing him should neglect them, for they are, "like angels' visits, few and far between."

THIS is a strikingly advanced view of the Sabbath to be promulgated by an Orthodox scholar, yet it is attributed to Rev. S. M. Hopkins, D.D., of the Auburn Theological Seminary: "The fourth commandment as a law is abolished, because under the New Testament all time is equally sacred; the Puritan Sabbath was Jewish in its nature, and its observance should be left to individual option; and legal enactments regarding the Sabbath are wrong."

THE PROGRESS of modern freethought is seldom more strikingly illustrated than in the following facts, which we state on excellent authority. The Society of Alumni of Dickinson College, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, the strictly Methodist College at which Mr. Conway was graduated in 1849, has invited him, notwithstanding his now well-known position outside of Christianity, to deliver the regular annual address before them in June next—an invitation, however, which he was compelled to decline because he is engaged to appear in his own

pulpits at Finsbury and Camden Town on the second of April.

EIGHT HUNDRED men at the point of starvation surrounded the city hall at Montreal, demanding work or bread, as five thousand did just before in New York city. The claims of the unemployed and the poor this hard winter should be tenderly regarded by the whole community; and it is a great deal better to furnish work than to drive desperate men into riot and crime. We owe all the aid in our power to those whom the bitterness of want has overtaken in this season of general business depression; and it is not charity, but justice, that the whole community should ease their heavy burden in every possible way.

THE BOSTON Pilot, an able Catholic journal, wishes to have President Eliot, of Harvard College, Chief-Justice Gray, of Massachusetts, and Archbishop Williams, of Boston, appointed a committee to settle the school controversy, and thinks that the plan they would report would be agreed to by all. "That depends!" No plan can be agreed to by all which is not just to all; and the only plan just to all is the secular plan. But that the Catholics vehemently reject. There is no use, then, for the Presidents, Chief-Justices and Archbishops to lay their heads together; the people will have to settle this matter for themselves.

A CORRESPONDENT of the Nation says pithily that "platforms" are modelled as closely as may be after the political formulas of the "Latin races," which promise all desirable things in a general, abstract way, but avoid the advocacy of definite "particular measures" for securing them, as being inconsistent with "harmony." This wise sentence tells the whole story. The Liberal League advocates the "particular measures" without which religious liberty in America must perish; and soft-hearted and soft-headed sentimentalism deprecates them, forsooth, as dangerous to "harmony"! Is it not time for a revival of the virility and common sense which were in fashion just about a hundred years ago?

REV. GEORGE F. PENTECOST, a Baptist clergyman of this city, made some startlingly honest confessions about the churches on a recent Sunday. Of some of them he said: "They may be said to have galvanized their death into a kind of life by all those means which may be brought to bear for the preservation of church organizations, such as money, influence, social position, etc. If there were not wealth and traditional interest in these churches they would perish within six months. They are held up simply by the force of architecture and stone walls. They are dying; death is upon them. They are dead in the splendid tomb of externals; there is no spiritual life in them." He also said: "A confession can be had from the lips of the pastors of most of our churches that in our midst there are wicked, unholy, corrupt men who maintain their positions, and are saved from a righteous discipline either by their wealth or social position. It is true of this church, and it is true of many of the churches around us. If a ship should go to sea with as many rotten timbers as we have spiritually rotten members, it would go to the bottom in twenty-four hours." And again: "This departure from Christ has been brought about largely by the terrible and shameless worldliness of the churches. The drift of the churches in their social life, in their religious work, in their management, is to worldliness. One thoughtful, intelligent layman, a member of a church which is a leader in its denomination, said the other day: 'Our church has degenerated into a great, strong, social, fashionable organization.' In nine churches out of ten there is a painful confession of this fact." These things are true, and it was certainly a brave man who said them in the pulpit.

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[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Lord's Day.

A DISCOURSE.

BY O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

I invite your attention to a few more thoughts on the Sunday. The theme has become somewhat hackneyed from recent discussion, but is far from being exhausted. Even if all suggestions on the subject had been made, they would need to be iterated, reiterated, and urged upon public attention till they were fairly lodged in the common mind, before the duty of setting them forth would be accomplished. Thoughts must become commonplace and wearisome to the intelligent, in order that their practical force may be felt. At present this is very far from being the case with the Sunday question. The discussion of it recurs at long intervals, is kept up for a few weeks in a heated, disputing, and random manner, and ceases before any single point is established. At each renewal of the controversy it may be that something is added to the stock of useful considerations, but not enough to be of practical value, and, the moment of interest being over, it is difficult to gain a willing hearing on the matter. It shall not be my fault if the present opportunity passes unimproved.

The subject is one of vital and permanent interest to all the people, men, and women, and children; it concerns the whole of society throughout its relations; it bears on health, industry, the home, the common weal, the higher culture. The question raised is simply this: How shall a people spend a seventh part of all their mortal time? Shall they waste it, or use it? Shall they spend it in the interest of their higher or their lower nature? Shall they devote it to the bestial or the rational being, to the animal or the human in them? The Sunday we have; it is a possession secured by law, protected by the general consent of Christendom, consecrated by the traditions of generations of men. Let there be no misapprehension on that point. Let no suggestion be entertained looking toward an abolition of the day, or any such essential change in its observance as shall confound it immediately or distantly in prospect with ordinary days. In our hurried modern life, men ought to congratulate themselves on the rescue from pitiless toil of any hours; and the free gift of an entire day ransomed from material concerns should be gratefully welcomed, not doubtfully accepted, or curiously acquiesced in. The Sabbath is a boon; the Sunday is a boon. The community would perhaps suffer no detriment from the adoption of them both into the number of festal or sacred days. But as long as Christendom adopts but one—the Sunday,—the preservation of that should be held to be concern of serious moment.

Let it be further considered that the question should be taken up here as an American question. By which I mean that our discussion of it should be practical, not speculative; and practical as concerns us, not as concerning Asiatics, Europeans, or Englishmen. It is interesting, no doubt, to know how people have observed Sunday in other hemispheres and ages; to know how the early Christians observed it, and the Christians of the Roman Empire; how the Catholics observe it; the English Protestants, the New England Protestants, the Calvinists,

the Lutherans; but knowledge of this kind is of little value to us. We seek no authoritative direction though it were from the New Testament, the recommendation of the Apostles, or the opinion of the Christ himself; for these, however influential with people in Oriental lands, nearly two thousand years ago, can have no weight with people as differently constituted and situated as we are.

Even did the past of Christendom present an unbroken tradition on this subject, it should not control our action. No, not though that tradition were formed by the consent of councils and popes, of teachers of high degree, and united communities. But the well known fact is that no such consent of tradition is offered. The usage in different lands and periods has varied exceedingly; it has even been at variance, so far as to contradict itself. At one time it was made a day of rejoicing, at another of sobriety bordering on gloom; at one time work was allowed, at another it was forbidden; at one time even the work of mercy was suspended on the Lord's day, at another it was encouraged. The fact that the Emperor Justinian, in the sixth century, expressly forbade theatrical exhibitions, races in the circus, and fights of wild beasts, on Sunday, and that under severe penalties, would seem to imply that many Christians at that period did not regard such entertainments as inconsistent with their Christian profession. John Calvin's Sunday game of bowls at Geneva would have scandalized his Puritan followers in London and Boston; and Martin Luther's conduct would be considered even now as lax and dangerous in the circle of his own adherents.

The observance of Sunday, like the observance of other days, has been governed by the circumstances of the period and the genius of the people. In the East it has been Oriental; in the West it has been Occidental; in Italy it has taken color from the warm southern temperament, and the glow of pagan festivity; in Germany, it has been more largely pervaded by the intellectual spirit. There has been no established rule or order. Even if the much talked of, praised, and denounced European Sunday were all that its admirers claim that it is, it would not be suitable to Americans, for it is not native to our people; it did not come with their institutions, nor does it fall in with their temperament. The attempt to introduce it into England, when England was a Catholic country and Catholic notions of Sunday prevailed, was unsuccessful. The idleness was abused; the liberty became license; the popular sports were attended with quarreling, uproar, and drunkenness. The same experience would be ours, were we to copy the European model. Were the Catholic religion to prevail in England or America, this would not materially affect the result; for the religion would not alter the constitution of the people. Americans must order the use of the day according to their own needs; they must do so at all events; were their own needs less exalted than those of other nations, they must do so.

But they are not less exalted; they are more so. The European mode of observing Sunday is defective in ways it would be most unfortunate for us to borrow. It contemplates nothing but amusement for the latter half of the day. The services being over in the churches, the places of entertainment of all kinds are thrown open, and the population give themselves up to pleasure. The education of the people is not thought of; the refinement of the people is not set in view; public galleries of art are opened, and a very touching, edifying sight it is—the poor peasants in their coarse cloaks and hobnailed shoes, standing in princely halls before the Belvedere Apollo, and the Sistine Madonna;—but all other buildings that would minister to the intellectual wants of the people are closed. The great libraries are inaccessible; the lecture rooms are shut; everything like labor is put aside. The day is a holiday, in the ancient Roman sense.

Custom with us devotes the first day of the week to religion. Let us accept the decree. But religion alters its methods to suit the time, and adopts in different periods different modes of accomplishing its ends. When religion was regarded—as it still is by the larger portion of Christendom—as a device for rescuing the human soul from the peril of the doom of hell, when the attendance on religious ceremonials, as with the Catholics, and listening to sermons, as with the Protestants, constituted the whole of religious duty, it was enough for religious culture to give full heed to these. The Catholics are easily satisfied, a single devout performance of the mass or of whatever other sacrament was appointed being the essence of piety; as that performance occupied but a few minutes, the claims of religion were met by the consecration of a very small portion of the twenty-four hours. With the Protestants the exigencies of religion are less easily complied with. Prayers, sermons, catechisms, Sunday-schools, Bible reading, and meditation take time; the best hours of the day are consumed in exercises, the object whereof is to put men and women in the way of their salvation. And as these exercises have no assigned or assignable limit, but can be multiplied and extended indefinitely, the whole available portion of the day is hardly too much for the duties of piety.

But this conception of religion is weakening fast. Thoughtful people have deliberately dismissed it as obsolete and irrational. Thoughtless people have dismissed it as tedious and unprofitable. Though the provision for spiritual redemption after the old Protestant fashion is notoriously inadequate to the population, supposing all desirous of availing themselves of it. Complaints are made that the provision made is not used; the churches are not filled; the preachers have their audiences; a handful only meet at the Lord's table. Religion, it is generally felt, must be more generously interpreted. To go to mass

or confession is not all of religion, if it be any genuine part of it. To attend meeting, to listen to sermons on any theme whatever, to read chapters of the Bible, to pray in public or private, to go through the ceremony of meditation, is not all of religion, if it be any genuine part of it. Religion is felt to be not a ceremonial thing either for the body or the mind, but a vital thing for the whole rational being; not a theological, but a practical business; and, therefore, the religious use of the Sunday requires a very different employment of the hours from that which is usually prescribed.

Let us give a little thought to this matter. Religion, let us say, is the concurrence of the human with the superhuman mind; the intercourse of the mortal with immortal principles. In this sense it must be regarded, under several aspects, as a complex thing.

The first and most obvious part of religion is the devotional. This commits men to acts of worship, to offices of contemplation, praise, prayer, aspiration which have as their end the exaltation of desire, the elevation of the feelings above the ordinary levels of thought, and the quickening into activity of that hunger and thirst after divine things which, like the hart's panting after the water-brooks, indicates a present need of spiritual refreshment. This is the primary element in all religion; without it there is, properly speaking, no religion, for there is no consciousness of deeper wants, no sense of ideal possibilities, no conception of a difference between the above and the below, the part and the whole; without it there is no faith, no hope, no longing. In all time, religion has made great account of worship and the means toward it. To give full and touching expression to the desire that already burned in the soul, to awaken what was dormant, to create it when non-existent, strengthen it when feeble, steady it when flickering, has ever been religious endeavor. In effecting this fine purpose, it has called in art in its most imposing and fascinating forms, music, vocal and instrumental, painting and sculpture, and, above all, architecture with its all but infinite resources.

But the offices of worship cannot occupy any length of time. The expression of spiritual desire is of necessity brief and transient. It is too intense an exercise to be sustained many moments. The effort of genuine prayer is exhausting to cultivated and ideal minds; to others it is almost impracticable. The sum of pure worship among men is small at the best. On the other hand the impression and creation of spiritual desire cannot be insisted on at length by reason of its wearisomeness. The work of awakening or stimulating devout feeling is more easily overdone than any other; a sense of fatigue soon counteracts the finest influences. It is evident that a very small part of the Sunday could be devoted to this. To associate purely spiritual emotions with any special day has its dangers; to give over to the outward demonstration of them a considerable part of the day is little less than fatal to their existence. It is quite probable that the low state of spiritual desire in Christendom is due to the laborious working of the machinery that was constructed for the purpose of producing it. The Church in its anxiety to make men devout has made them indevout. It has overdone the matter in both ways; in the way of expression and the way of stimulant. The symbols of expression go very far in advance of the feelings they are meant to voice; and the machinery for impression is so complicated and artificial that it is only by accident that it performs its work. It must be a singularly rich, urgent, and enthusiastic soul that can fill out with sincere emotion the liturgies, and chants, and hymns of the usual Episcopal service; and it must be a very strong soul that can preserve any genuine emotion at all under the weight of the cumbrous and monotonous apparatus of worship. But even were it otherwise; suppose the service to be perfectly successful in carrying out its intention; and suppose that every man and woman in the great city availed themselves of the weekly opportunity to aspire and inspire,—even then the time occupied by this holy service would be but a very small fragment of the hours between sunrise and sunset. It is because the churches do so little that they are so long about it. If they achieved their design they need be open scarcely an hour.

We commune with divine things otherwise than through the soul. The conscience has also its part to perform, and to perform it well must have its portion of the time set apart for religion. The perfect being presents himself not only as the eternal beauty to be sought after with longing, but also as the eternal justice that is to be sought after by exercise of the moral nature. The divine righteousness or rightness, the order and harmony which excite our moral admiration, are a part, and an essential part, of our conception of the perfect being; and these are apprehended not through liturgies, or chantings, or prayers, or hymns, but through the reason that studies the moral laws and conditions of life. The Sunday is the time when these laws and conditions can be studied without interruption on the part of temporal concerns. The moral order and its requirements are pushed aside by the crowd of busy affairs. They who are interested in their consideration have no leisure or quiet of mind during the six working days of the week; but on Sunday the hours are all their own. Then they can meet and discuss, and listen to thoughtful disquisitions, and take up one by one the problems that are raised by society, and weigh the principles that lie beneath the movements that go on around them,—movements in the community, the State, the nation. The Sunday should be rightfully made the reformer's day; a time for considering the grave issues in society, poverty, crime, the proper treatment of the weak, the insane, the savage, the rights and wrongs of women, of the negro, the Indian, the Chinaman, the questions in

debate between capital and labor, the redemption of the demoralized classes,—in short everything that concerns the establishment of equity among men. A day for charitable deliberation and work, the philanthropist's own day, as such should Sunday be regarded. The churches, it is notorious, pass these questions by as unsuited to the sanctuary. If treated by clergymen they are treated outside, in lecture-rooms, and on secular days. But secular days are full of other matters; the Sunday is disengaged. The clergy, as a rule, are incompetent to handle the problems of social economy. They can be dealt with only by persons specially equipped by study or natural qualification,—men who have no leisure during the week. The number of such is very small; their meetings and discussions would engage no considerable portion of any community; but the recognition of their full right to hold meetings and carry on discussions, and in the name of religion, would indicate an important change in public sentiment.

But religion has its intellectual side also, which is not presented in sermons of theology, and discourses setting forth the creed. To discover truth, the actual truth respecting the world we live in, its forces, laws, effects, and causes, is a deep concern of religion. "God is Light." To say that all this light shines in a special revelation, and that the study of this revelation is the way to receive it, that the revelation is in the hands of the Church and its ministers, and that therefore attendance on the Church and its ministers is the sole duty of the truth seeker, is to say what is unworthy of the least attention. It is no heresy now to believe that truth is larger than any or all professed revelations; that the doors of all the churches on earth do not furnish free access to it; that the ministers of all the faiths on earth comprise but a portion of its servants. The independent thinker, the man of science, the earnest man of letters, the student of social economy, of history, of languages, are also ministers in the service of truth, and should have their opportunity, if they wish it, to investigate and report. The public libraries should be open to them, and facilities granted without condescension, as to men who seek and communicate what it deeply concerns all to know. In Paris, I am informed, lectures have from time to time, with how much regularity I know not, or with how much system, been given to working-men on Sundays, and to others whose weekly occupations deprived them of leisure for mental culture. In New York such lectures should be regularly instituted and conducted with as much ability as circumstances allow. Religion, pledged to discover and impart the truth, should charge itself with this duty, and grudge no hours of its precious day to those who undertake to unfold the great revelation.

But this is not all. The heart, too, has its interest in the full expression and culture of religion. The heart stands for love, for personal affection, without which religion is very incomplete. "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he has not seen?" asks the beloved disciple. A religion of ceremony and doctrine is a meagre one indeed. No better religious use can be made of Sunday than in the cultivation of home and social affections. One feature of the day with all who have homes should be a sweet, genial home life. On Sunday the father has an opportunity to become acquainted with his children, their disposition, taste, and acquirement, and that opportunity should be improved. On Sunday the mother has an opportunity to enjoy her children such as is denied her by the incessant cares of every day. On Sunday the children are free to give themselves up to affectionate intercourse with each other and their parents. It is a domestic holiday. The merchant closes his store, the banker his office, the manufacturer his mill, the editor his sanctum, the school-book is laid by, the ball, the hoop, the pestilent velocipede are still, and leisure is given to read pleasant stories, play quiet games, practise ingenious amusements, learn pretty arts, cultivate elegant tastes, and cherish in many ways that sweet intimacy on which happiness and virtue so much depend. Modern civilization in some of its daily aspects seems to be almost fatal to home life in a great city, and to the influences that proceed from it. The bond of mutual trust and dependence is loosened, or, rather, is never formed. Children grow up without reverence, love, or kindness. The household becomes a group of individuals, with little cohesion or accountability, and the results appear at last in indifference and alienation. It is a sad condition of things, and where the remedy is to be found who shall say? But something might be effected, could it be once for all fairly understood that the duties of Sunday were to be discharged quite as much at home as at church; and were to be discharged at home, not by diligent use of Bible and catechism, but by free and affectionate intercourse between all the members.

Society is deeply concerned in the culture of the social feelings. A portion of the Sunday hours might be profitably devoted to the cementing of acquaintanceships, the ripening of friendships, the formation of pleasant intimacies, the explanation of misunderstandings, the removal of causes of bitterness, the widening and deepening of sympathy. Social festivity is not out of place, for this means fellowship, though, it may be, on a low plane. Anything that is not absolutely wild, and vicious, and demoralizing, is better than the dry, stiff, unsocial usage that prevails now. The Puritan tradition, which, however scoffed at by the masses of the people, lingers with people professing to be religious, is as fatal to the generous culture of the social feelings as it is to the generous culture of the mind; and so long as that tradition lasts, the heart of the home and the heart of brotherhood will languish.

See now what we have arrived at. To make a religious use of Sunday, in a true sense, we must open

the reform clubs, the libraries, the galleries, and schools of art; we must relax the austerities of domestic and social life, and put people in natural relations with their human world. More than this need not be claimed; but so much as this should be insisted on. A distinguished professor in the University of Oxford, England, gives it as his opinion that America needs competent teaching. To this we may add, that America needs the unrestricted use of those hours of the week in which the results of the best teaching can be appropriated.

It is urged that the Sunday is needed for rest, and the suggestions made above involve the labor of many who require repose. That is true; all cannot rest at the same time; unless some worked, existence would not grow. To be true to the Puritan tradition a general inactivity must be the enforced rule. The groom in the stable, the cook in the kitchen, the man-servant and the maid-servant, must be released from service; the ox must be allowed to lie idle in the shed; the horse to stand unused in the stall. Life must run as low as the necessity for preserving life shall permit. But this rule makes simply unobtainable to multitudes the rest they require. The laboring man needs with his family the rest of the country or the park. He cannot get these because the public conveyances are stopped. The citizen needs the rest of ennobling thought from some favorite teacher; he cannot have it because grooms and drivers are forbidden to ply their occupation. The merchant or tradesman sighs for the rest of literary recreation; he must go without it because the attendants and janitors of public libraries are forbidden to go upon duty. The jaded clerk, or artisan, pines for the rest that comes to him when he listens to the strains of music; but concerts are prohibited, and conservatories are shut. Many, no doubt, require the rest of inaction, simply repose—the quiet of sitting still, or of sleep. They are too tired for occupation of any kind, even if they have the taste for any. Let the desire of such be indulged. But it is not the desire of all, or of the most. It should be less and less the desire of any. Rest from *toil*—that, indeed, all need, and nearly all wish; but the employment that is not toil, the labor that is sweet, cheering, tranquillizing, is of the nature of relief, and this should be placed within reach of all who can enjoy it. There is no excess of culture in our communities; there is none too much desire for culture. To awaken more is a duty we owe to society; to suffer what there is to decline, would be nothing less than guilt in view of the exigencies of our civilization. If any class must be sacrificed to another, the class that is of least value to the intellectual and moral elevation of society must be offered up. The indulgence of the animal is of less importance than the welfare of the man.

The question of Sunday amusements has not been fairly raised. The number that require amusement on Sunday is small, and the amusements thus far presented are not such as are required. The rich do not need Sunday amusements, for they have amusements enough during the week. The expensive opera, their pet luxury, can plead no right to admission to the day that belongs, so far as amusement is concerned, to the people whom its cost excludes.

The high-priced theatre where comfortable people can find entertainment six evenings out of the seven, is equally an intrusion upon a day when its devotees do not require it, and others cannot share it. On the other hand, the vicious and low-lived do not need Sunday amusements, for their whole existence is one of pleasure; amusement to them means immorality and degradation. The vulgar theatre, the cheap concert saloon, the low dance or gaming-house, has the barest right to be on any terms, and should have no title to admission to hours which the common consent holds sacred to the highest interests of man, to a demand on the part of citizens that the law against such places should be enforced, I have no objection to make. They would have no right to be where they are, even were they in themselves worthy of support. They—and the same is true of operatic managers, and the other caterers to the passion, for entertainment—have come in under false pretences, covertly, and in violation of the statute that represents the will of the community. To stop their encroachments, and warn them off the ground they stealthily occupy, is but just. How far amusements are needed for the rest and recreation of the people has not been decided, has not been so much as discussed. If any amusements are needed, what kind of amusements will best meet the object in view, is a matter that only a nice deliberation can determine. The means of providing such amusements as may be deemed salutary, is another question which by no means answers itself, and is by no means easy of answer. The discussion has not yet been opened; and it is not fair that it should be anticipated and prejudged by people, who, having at heart no grave common interest but simply their own professional profits, undermine the action of the popular will. The hall must be cleared before the debate can begin. The shanties must be swept away before the new structure can be commenced, or even the proper site for it can be ascertained. The beneficial influence of amusements need not be called in question; the right to introduce them on Sunday may be frankly conceded; the expediency of relieving the enforced tedium of the day by innocent entertainments may be cordially admitted, and yet a determination held to keep off everything that does not serve the health, sanity, and happiness of people whose lives are destitute of sweet sunshine, and who cannot afford to lose in unnatural excitements a particle of the nervous force they possess. The moral tone of a community is sacred above all things, and so long as it can be preserved it should be.

To those who claim the right to do as they will on Sundays as on other days, it is answer enough, that

no one has the right to do as he wishes on other days. The expressed will of the community all must obey. They may alter it if they can; they may affect the mode of its expression by rational means; they may educate the people, if they choose to call it so, in other opinions and beliefs; they may avail themselves of every honest advantage society gives them, to introduce other customs, and show by practice a better way than the old. But with us, the popular will, formed without constraint, and expressed in legal forms, is for the time being supreme. Few of us have all we want; not all of us have the special thing we want, though it be innocent and unobjectionable in itself. But we must, patiently or impatiently, bide our time. That the sentiment of the community is Episcopalian or Puritan matters nothing, so long as it is the sentiment of the community. In a free society everything exists by permission of the social power, which has a perfect right to put a stop to whatever in its judgment is noxious to the general weal. If Mr. Talmage can effect the revolution he meditates in popular opinion, every theatre in the city may be closed in obedience to statutes made for the purpose, and no complaint on the ground of infringement of liberty will be valid. For such abuses as exist, society is responsible; it is responsible likewise for the abolition of such as are put away.

The restrictions on Sunday were deliberately imposed, and are still generally ratified, though the force of them is gradually weakening under the pressure of popular opinion. The statutes enforcing them express the settled conviction of the great majority of the people. That they voice the sentiment of a narrow, austere, and arbitrary class, and are in themselves irrational, may be true; but that does not alone invalidate them; so long as they stand on the books they must be respected. We may enlarge their spirit and change their letter; but having done so, we shall expect people to abide by the alteration till it in turn is modified. At present the first condition of any improvement is a conscientious respect for the rules that exist. The Sunday is now the conceded property of the religious community. To take it away either violently or by any sort of indirection is an infringement of rights. The most we can do is to enlarge its privileges by degrees.

It would be a great thing to change the popular feeling in regard to the Sunday, to set it in a new light before the religious world. To restore to it the cheerfulness that it had in the early days when it was deemed wicked to fast, or to pray on the knees, on the day which commemorated the Lord's rising from the dead, would in itself be our immense gain. To make of Sunday the great day, the day of emancipation from care, the day of resurrection from gloom and toil, the day of opportunity and privilege for mind, and heart, and soul, the day of true recreation and refreshment, would be a thing too fine to be hoped for. Yet it will never be what it ought to be till it is all this, till its coming is welcomed as a boon and a blessing, its hours filled with wholesome enjoyment, and its influence made a lasting possession for good. With those who protest against the abuse of so many and so precious hours, we make no remonstrance. But we would suggest that the present disuse of these same precious hours is an evil to be lamented as deeply prejudicial to the best interests of humanity; and we would plead earnestly for some rational use of the day which will render it serviceable to its purpose, and will avail as nothing else will to correct both mischiefs. For when we can show a worthy use of the day, they who disuse it will be shamed, and they who abuse it will be under condemnation.

FERENCZ DEAK, the Hungarian patriot, tells an amusing story about the troubles of journalists in Hungary during the Absolutist reign. Baron Sigmond Kemeny was the editor of a paper for more than twenty years, and nearly every night he was roused from his sleep by a commissioner of censure, and told that something must be taken out of his paper. The editor bore the affliction patiently for a long time; but one night about midnight he was shaken from his dreams, and told that his leading article must come out, or the paper would be confiscated. Losing all patience, the editor told the commissioner to confiscate it in God's name, if he wished to, and turning over went to sleep again. The astonished commissioner waddled back to his chief, and told him with horror in his eye that not only had the editor spoken disrespectfully of the censor, but had actually begun snoring before the worshipful commissioner could get out of the room. "There must be something in the background," muttered the censor. "It will certainly never do to confiscate the paper," and the editor was left in peace ever afterward.

WITHSTANDING TEMPTATION.—A member of the colored church was the other evening conversing earnestly with an acquaintance, and seeking to have him change into better paths; but the friend said that he was too often tempted to permit him to become a Christian.

"What's yer backbone, dat ye can't rose up and stand temptation?" exclaimed the good man. "I was dat way myself once. Right in dis yere town I had a chance to steal a pa'r of boots—mighty nice ones, too. Nobody was dar to see me, and I reached out my hand and de debbil said take 'em. Den a good spirit whispered fur me to let dem boots alone."

"An you didn't take 'em?"

"No, sah—not much. I took a pa'r o' cheap shoes off de shelf, 'an left dem boots alone!"

WHAT IS THE difference between forms and ceremonies? You sit upon forms and stand upon ceremonies.

THE FAR EAST SPEAKS OUT.

CHRISTIANITY AS SEEN BY A PAGAN IN JAPAN.

WHY JAPANESE LITERARY MEN OPPOSE THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

Mr. Jasui Chiuhei, a Japanese scholar, has published at Yokohama, under the title of *Bemmo, or an Exposition of Error*, an elaborate attack upon the Christian Scriptures and the Christian religion. It is fortified with a preface by Shimadzu Saburô, and translated into English by Mr. Gubbins of Yokohama. Saburô is a brother of the late Prince of Satsuma, and in his preface he informs us that "Jasui is a man of years, and one of the learned men of the day. He has outgrown all desire to hold office under the government; but being unable to restrain his solicitude for the welfare of his country, and his patriotic desire to combat false doctrine, this book is the result." The volume is divided into five parts: the first criticising the Old Testament; the second and third, the New; the fourth, comparing Christianity and other religions; and the fifth, expounding the system of Nature. The reasons for resisting Christianity, as stated in the preface, are remarkable:—

"Those of our countrymen who admire the marvelous acts and skill of Western nations have without exception carried their admiration as far as believing in the religion of Jesus, and some there are of these who are for extending this religion throughout the country, which is a great evil. As for that, the errors of the religion of Jesus are, of course, so palpable that they do not require to be exposed; but the doctrines of this religion are so clever, plausible, and insinuating that men are apt to be led astray by them. Should these, therefore, be left unrefuted on the ground that they need no refutation, the followers of this religion will increase in strength and influence more and more, until at last they will lead the whole nation with them, and cause them to submit to their doctrine; and then there will be no putting a stop to its power.

"The basis of the religion of Jesus is the worship of heaven. The heaven is a fixed principle. The submission of the child to its parent and of the servant to his master are likewise fixed principles. Submission to these principles is rewarded; their transgression is followed by punishment. Heaven thus rewards men good or evil according to their deeds. If servant and child by worshipping heaven, and treating master and parent, though these exist, as though they did not, seek to gain a reward for their conduct—this is rejecting the principle of heaven. The effect of this will be that the principle of master and servant will cease to exist, the affection between parent and child will die out, and then where is the place to which disorder will not reach? No time then must be lost in exposing the falseness of this religion."

The objections of Jasui Chiuhei to the Christian religion are so strange to us that we copy from the *Herald Mail* the following extract from his work:—

"From Adam to Noah were ten generations—about two thousand years. Now Jehovah saw that the people of the earth were wicked, and he repented having made them, and resolved to destroy everything down even to the very insects of the earth. But he was pleased with the uprightness of one man, Noah, and caused him beforehand to construct a large ship three hundred feet long. Noah entered this ship, taking with him his wife and children, and a pair, male and female, of all living things. Then the great deep was divided and broken up, and a great rain fell for forty days and nights, and the water was fifteen feet above the highest mountains under the whole heaven, and the earth was covered for one hundred and fifty days. All living things died. The waters then retired, and Noah's three sons were permitted to live in different places."

"What a fearful act of violence on the part of Jehovah! However great may have been the wickedness of the world, all cannot possibly have been so depraved. There must have been some good people among them. Without teaching these people what was right, and making no distinction between great and small offences, suddenly, when they were unprepared, he divided the great deep and caused them all to be drowned—sparing neither beasts nor birds. Having an affection for Noah, he caused him to build a ship beforehand, and thus enabled him to escape the catastrophe. With such a disposition as is shown by the foregoing, can this be called the Ruler of the Universe? However, this Jehovah, speaking in an arrogant and imperious manner, says: 'I am one that makes no distinctions between men!'"

"Supposing the water of the flood to have been (as is stated in the 'Foreign Book') fifteen feet above the tops of the mountains under the whole heaven, the whole earth would have become an ocean. How is it possible that the people of China could have been able, by making nests and holes to live in, to escape the disaster? It must be that the words 'under the whole heaven' refer only to the small area of country comprised in Egypt, the Red Sea, and Judea. Now the countries in this area lie low, and, moreover, are situated between the two rivers Indus and Nile, and it is possible that at the time of the flood the people of these countries, being yet uncivilized, fell into the water and were drowned, and that one man, Noah, happening to be wealthy, built a large ship, and put all his effects into it, and that when the flood came upon that region he got into his ship, and escaped the general ruin. The teacher of this religion who lived after those times, wishing to intimidate people by borrowing the name of Jehovah, invented this lying fabrication, and made a supernatural occurrence out of it.

"In Judea there dwelt a man named Jesus Christ,

who preached the religion of Jehovah. According to his teaching: 'The master and the parent are only temporal, the real master and real parent being in heaven. Jehovah is this, and I am his son. He sent me to save the world. Therefore he loves me; and he will give to those who love him eternal life and an imperishable crown.'

"Why are the master and the parent made only temporal? My parents have the power to give me my spiritual nature; my master has power to cause me to live or die, but he has no power to do the same with my spiritual nature; so that a man's body is temporal, but his spiritual nature is real. Therefore it is the doctrine of heaven to extol the real and to despise the temporal.

"The teaching of Jesus has the effect of making sons show a want of affection for their fathers, and daughters for their mothers, and it creates estrangement between a wife and her husband's mother. However, Jesus, knowing that it was impossible to destroy the bond of affection which unites the members of a family, established his teaching to a certain extent on the principle of filial affection; but fearing lest this should exceed the love felt for himself, he said: 'I do not like the love for parents to exceed the love felt for myself, or the love of parents for their children to exceed the love felt for myself.' Jesus was once engaged in conversation with some persons when his mother and brother came, wanting to speak to him. On some one telling him of this, he replied: 'Whom do you call my mother, and whom do you call my brethren?' His motive in acting thus, was, I think, in teaching his followers to make everything as open and public as possible, he being unaware at the time that he had fallen into a false belief. Again, the father of one of his disciples having died, his son asked to be allowed to go and bury him. Jesus refused him this permission, saying that he was his disciple, and that he was to suffer the dead to bury their dead, meaning thereby, that those who buried the father would die also in like manner, and further telling him that if he obeyed him he would live forever. And when it came to the question of men's (relations with their) lords and masters, Jesus caused these to be treated just like other people—to be looked upon, in fact, as outsiders. And he did not stop here; but if there were sovereigns who did not believe in him, he considered these as his enemies, and he desired to be victorious over all these, and make them believe in him. He regarded the officer who received the customs dues as his enemy, and in the same light as a thief, and if this principle be followed up, it comes to this: that his sovereign was also looked upon by him as the same. Speaking of himself, he said he was the Son of God, and therefore that there was none above him in the world. It follows, therefore, that he treated rulers as of no account. In consequence of this it was that his follower said in answer to one who told him that he should obey the ruler of the country: 'I know of no sovereign and of no other gods. I only reverence and worship the God in heaven. I pay my share of the sum of taxes to the emperor, and in doing so I acknowledge him as ruler, but I do not bow myself down before him. In thus paying him my taxes, and acknowledging him as ruler, I confer an obligation on him.' Ah! Confucius established the doctrines of 'Chiu' and 'Ko' as the basis of his teaching. And when these doctrines are not followed, master and fathers are sometimes even killed.

"According to the teaching of Jesus, the master and parent are only temporal, and inferior to the 'real master' and 'real parent'—and the effect of belief in this teaching is that 'temporal masters' and 'temporal parents' are sinners against; while 'real masters' and 'real parents' are loved. By this means great happiness in heaven is secured, and in proportion as the sin on the one hand becomes greater, so, on the other hand, does the future happiness increase. If people be led in this belief, there is no evil which they will shrink from committing. They will do whatever is for their own convenience; and this being the case, those who believe in this religion, even if they disobey master and parent, do not act contrary to the teaching of Jesus, and do not mind throwing away their lives so long as they do not forfeit eternal glory. When people reach this stage of infatuation, no punishment has any terrors for them, and rank and wealth are of no account with them. Truly it must be perplexing for masters and parents who believe in this religion!

"Confucius says: 'I cannot yet understand the world I live in; how is it possible for me to know the next?' The question of the after state not being fully explained by Confucius, is consequently not understood by those who rank next to him in understanding. Jesus says much on the subject, and speaks of the future world as of a place in which he has been; and if (for the sake of argument) we suppose what he says to be true, the immortality he speaks of must have reference only to the soul.

"The story of Jesus by shedding his blood atoning for the sins of the world, of his return to life on the third day after his death, and of his ascending into heaven at midday, are simply inventions of his followers. In the time of Jesus, Buddhism prevailed in the part of the country to the south of where he lived, while the religion of the Romans flourished in the north; and in both of these religions idols were worshipped. These religions were at the zenith of their power. Jesus was then young, but, possessed of a powerful intellect, he successfully opposed them with the worship of a living God. He wished to abolish these religions and make men believe in him. On looking through the Bible we find that most of it is taken up with the struggle carried on (by him) with these two. It was in consequence of this that he said: 'I am not come to bring peace into the world, but to create strife.' Again, by telling his

followers of the punishment which those who did not believe in him would receive, and the prosperity which would accrue to those who did believe in him, he strengthened them in their convictions, and thus they assisted one another in opposing the other religions. Standing firm in their own belief, they labored strenuously to prove the falseness of the other doctrines. Consequently, the adherents of these last hated the followers of Jesus as though they had been demons or noxious reptiles, and these latter exalted Jesus to the position of master among themselves, and wished to make him king, and therefore it was that the ruler of that country was offended with them. This is the cause of Jesus being crucified.

"If Jesus had been desirous of sacrificing his own life to atone for the sins of the whole world, it stands to reason that on the night preceding his death he would have been composed, and have experienced no mental suffering. But it appears that, on the contrary, the thought of death gave him great pain. He passed the night without sleeping, and even kept waking up his disciples, who were in attendance on him, to converse with them. Added to this there is the fact that Judas, coveting the sum of thirty rios, sold him, and thus he did not deliberately and of his own free will give himself up to be killed. Jesus, not knowing that he was to be betrayed, selected the very man who afterward betrayed him, and made him one of his twelve disciples.

"His ignorance in this respect is stupendous. And judging from this instance of his ignorance, how could he possibly know that his death would be an atonement for the sins of the whole world? It is impossible that he could have known. When he appeared to his disciples on his return to life after death, he taught them differently (to what he did before his death). What Jesus said about living forever without dying, he said with reference to the soul. Now if the body be once destroyed, it cannot be renovated. Jesus taught his disciples on this principle, and stated plainly that if the body be once destroyed it cannot be renovated. However, he nevertheless restored his own body to life again. In thus renovating his body did he not place a high value on it, to the neglect of his soul?

"Jesus intended to ascend into heaven. Now, the heaven is a void space. Even if he did raise his body again to life (and ascended into the void), he would have had nowhere to place his legs. There is no use for the body in heaven. This is clear; consequently Jesus, when he was dying, cried out in a loud voice: 'Father, to thee I render my body!' Supposing that Jesus had really returned to life and shown this miracle, he would have done well to have mixed with the people in the world, and made more of them believe in his religion. But he only spoke (after his return to life) to his disciples and some old women. It was this which made people in general doubt the truth of the affair.

"In leading men's minds astray by the display of supernatural things, in despising the Chiu and Ko doctrine, and exalting their own gods, in regarding the period of life as of little value, and looking to happiness after death as the all-important end, and in encouraging men by the hope of a residence in heaven, and frightening them at the same time by the prospect of hell, the teaching of Jesus is the same as that of Buddhism. The only difference between the two is the Buddhist principle of transmigration, which is not mentioned by Jesus. The practice of Buddhism in this country is of old date; and why should the latter oppose the teaching of Jesus (since the two are so similar)?

"The above is the opinion of ignorant people.

"Now there may be some resemblance between Buddhism and the teaching of Jesus; but on comparing the two (although they are both bad) we find this difference: that the evil of the first is slight, while that of the second is great; that the one is harmless, and the other injurious. The teachers of Buddhism say: 'Leave your parents' care, and lead a virtuous life away from the world.' But nevertheless parents' care is not despised, but repaid. Jesus, however, makes the master and parent only temporal. Buddhism enjoins men to pray for the future welfare of the master and parent. Thus the 'Tsui-yen' is found in Buddhism. In the teaching of Jesus everything finishes with death; no masses or prayers are said for the dead. If we look at this, it is like the conduct of dogs and horses. Buddhism has been practised for a long time in this country, and now it has learned to obey the country's laws. The teaching of Jesus is arrogant and boasting. It does not bow to the authority of the sovereign of any country. It is not for me to explain these things for the benefit of sovereigns in general; but what I fear (in the event of this religion being adopted) is lest the customs of the country should be abolished, and disturbance created. Jehovah called himself the jealous God, and did not permit his followers to worship any other God. Jesus strengthened this law more and more, and swore that he would destroy other gods. It was therefore that he said: 'I am not come to bring peace into the world, but to create strife.' Should then this religion be adopted, the shrines of Jimmu Tenno, and of the various emperors and nobles, and those dedicated to patriotic and illustrious men, will have to be destroyed, and the whole nation, down to the ordinary *samurai* and lower classes, will have to give up offering masses for the souls of their parents and ancestors. How could our customs, on which the *Chiu* doctrine exercises such a great influence, endure this?

"The arguments on which Christianity rests are very shallow, and the advantages to be gained by its practice are shown as the first consideration. People fear death; therefore, in teaching them, eternal life is held out as an inducement. People like wealth; they are therefore urged on and tempted by the

promise of imperishable riches. Those who do not believe in this religion are frightened by the threat of unquenchable fire. Those people who love profit, if they be lead away, deceived by this religion, by encouraging one another will soon acquire numbers and strength, and joining issue with those who worship other gods will try and make them believe in their religion, and fighting to the death will combat them. And it is to be feared that their attack will be fiercer than the resistance offered to the teaching of Jesus by the followers of Buddhism. If Christianity be arrested midway in its progress, and prohibited, the followers of this religion will prove stubborn, and resisting the authorities, will stop only when they have got all that they wish for. The rebels of Amakusa who rose against the government, some time back, are a proof of this. If, therefore, this religion be once allowed to spread, afterwards, even if it wished to put a stop to it, this religion cannot be prohibited without putting to death its followers. If it be asked why, the reason is that the followers of this religion believe that if they die for Jesus their future bliss in heaven will be greater. Care must accordingly be taken.

"I have heard that the followers of this religion in Western countries have become divided into two parties, the old and the new; that in America they have become divided into twenty-five different sects, and that these are all at variance with each other, and will none of them give in on a single point. I have also been given to understand that when people quarrel on any other cause than religion, overtures for a reconciliation from one party to another are accepted; but that if armies are opposed in religious strife, no submission is accepted by either adversary from his opponent, and no quarter being given, one or the other is exterminated. Now religion secures the proper government of nations, and causes tranquillity to reign in the world; but now-a-days religion produces strife, and people fighting for their respective beliefs kill, and end by exterminating, one another. How can this be called religion? These twenty-five sects (which exist in America) all equally have Jesus as their basis. The differences on account of which they quarrel must be very slight; but still they kill each other, and give no quarter. Buddhism is what these Christians call a worship of images, and they wish to attack it and destroy it altogether. Again, there is the Shintô religion, the strength of which is small; but the sects of this religion are all founded on the worship of the gods. If these three religions be carried on together there will be no putting an end to the strife which will ensue."—*N. Y. Sun*, Nov. 6.

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The assembling of Congress has been attended with more than usual bustle and excitement, owing largely to the change in the political complexion of the House, and an anticipation of a turn in the tide of politics. The prevailing impression is that the session will be considerably taken up by investigations into supposed peculations of office-holders of the dominant party; but this is merely surmise.

The event of events now is, of course, the President's message. The foremost measures urged in this remarkable paper are almost identical with those forming the declared political platform of THE INDEX. The maintenance of secular free schools; the prohibition of the granting of any public money to religious institutions, and the taxation of church property, are the key-notes of the message; and in his recapitulation of the questions deemed "of vital importance which may be legislated upon and settled at this session," the President devotes to these subjects three of the five points enumerated. The message has been generally received with surprise, notwithstanding that the now famous Des Moines speech called attention to the same topics. Those unaccustomed to reflection on the subjects presented, confine themselves to a discussion of the minor points touched upon, such as the Cuban question, and the Mexican border troubles; and you may, perhaps, have noticed a similar tendency on the part of some of the newspapers of the country, notably the *New York Times*, which, in resuming the message, skips over the vital issues treated of with an intellectual acrobacy wonderful to behold. The language of the message is clear and unmistakable, and the issues presented for consideration are precisely those, to which THE INDEX has been laboring to direct public attention. That attention is now compelled in a manner and from a source which cannot be treated with indifference.

That these questions will be settled, however, during the present session of Congress, there can be no hope; but that they must be settled at no very distant day, in some way (and "sequestration through blood" is not a scare-crow suggestion) cannot, in the light of history and reason, be doubted. This Congress, as a whole, knows far more of Bourbon whiskey than it does of political or social problems, and it seems strange that the President should expect it to legislate upon his suggestions, even if they are not presented as party measures. If they should be made such, as some suppose they will be, we shall at last have some definite political issues before the country. The present parties have whittled their differences down to the little end of nothing, and it is time either that both were decently buried, or that one or the other take up some living principles as a platform.

It is very doubtful whether President Grant is willing to assume the thorough and consistent advocacy of the total separation of Church and State, as demanded by THE INDEX; and it has been suggested that the attitude assumed by *Harper's Weekly* more nearly represents him. The Harpers attend the

same denominational church that the President does, and the malignant cartoons appearing in their *Weekly* are dictated not by the spirit which seeks to keep Church and State separate, but by that of sectarian animosity. Methodism as a State religion might be as bad as Catholicism. However, the charge that the President is endeavoring, by the course he has taken on this subject, to secure popular favor for a renomination, is manifestly unjust, for he certainly could not imagine that this message would meet with general applause. If it is a "bid," it is a blunder; if it is an honest speech, it is a heroism.

I need hardly call your attention to ex-Speaker Blaine's proposed amendment to Article I. of the Amendments to the Constitution, touching on these same questions; but I would note that the amendment proposed is insufficient, as it does not by any means cover all the ground, and is badly worded. If the Constitution is to be amended in this respect, let the amendment be thorough, comprehensive, and unequivocal, so that no room can possibly be left for future clerical encroachments.

The demand for the disestablishment of the Church in America will receive a new impetus from this agitation; but it is vain to expect an immediate settlement of the question. The grasp of the Church party on the law, the custom, and the purse of the country is too strong and too profitable to be yielded up without a struggle. Rev. T. De Witt Talmage, of Brooklyn, who represents the average intelligence and spirit of the clerical faction, said last Sunday that "the Bible should not go out of the public schools while there was enough of Plymouth Rock left to make a flint to fire the hearts of the American people!" We shall see. Meanwhile, remember that "the harder the conflict the more glorious the victory."

VINDEX.

WASHINGTON, D.C., Dec. 11.

"IS LYING EVER JUSTIFIABLE?"

This question has been given to the Senior Class to discuss in their next Forensic, and is peculiarly pertinent just now. I wish to notice here a bearing of it, that may not be considered by those who are to discuss it,—to make a practical application of it to our every-day life at Harvard.

It is a regulation of college that every man, whether of age or not, whether willing or unwilling, shall attend church every Sunday during the year. I except from the above the Senior Class, whose members, by a regulation that lately went into operation, are exempted from church-going. To secure regular attendance, the student is required to sign, at the end of each year, a solemn affirmation that he has attended morning service every Sunday during the year, and has remained during the entire service. Five absences are sufficient for suspension.

Now, so long as this is a regulation of the college, it is undoubtedly the duty of each student to obey it. But I wish to question the wisdom of such a regulation, and to inquire whether, as an actual fact, it accomplishes the good that the Faculty have in view in enforcing it.

There can be only three reasons for endeavoring to compel students to be religious, as that term is commonly understood, whether or not they are willing; first, the influence of public opinion upon the Faculty; secondly, the desired obedience of the student; and, lastly, his moral welfare.

If the first of these be the predominating influence, and if the pressure of public opinion be what compels the student to attend forms of worship to which he is conscientiously opposed, then there can be no element of right or justice in such requirement; for, in that case, a large number of students from other States come here, not to subject themselves to the authority of the Faculty, but to the particular views of outside persons,—of those who have no right to authority over them. If I, for instance, were compelled to go to church and to prayers, when I believed in neither, primarily because some people in Massachusetts, outside of Harvard, willed that I should go, such compulsion would be worthy of the dark ages. I should simply be forced into a living falsehood to myself. For that falsehood, which half the students of Harvard to-day are actually living, those people whose pressure of opinion causes it will have the sin to bear.

If the regulations requiring attendance at church and prayers originated in the Faculty, uninfluenced by outside pressure, then either the obedience of the student or his moral welfare must have been in view in adopting these regulations. The first of these could not have had much influence, for no Faculty would pass regulations merely because it has the power to do so. In this case, therefore, the moral welfare of the student must be the end in view. Is this end attained? Let us see.

The history of all time shows us that no good ever comes of forcing a man to act contrary to his honest convictions. Now, it is safe to say that a large number of the students of Harvard are conscientiously opposed to the religious forms of to-day. I do not speak of those who object to church and prayers on account of laziness, or from stubbornness in regard to college regulations, but of those who have honestly and conscientiously studied the religions of to-day, and who are opposed to them from principle. The college recognizes the right of each student to attend the exercises of whatever form of worship he may have chosen; so that the Methodist is not compelled to attend religious service with the Baptist, nor the Unitarian with the Catholic, etc. Surely, that large body of students who conscientiously object to all these forms of worship should receive an equal share of consideration. To compel them to attend any of these forms of worship is as unjust as it would be to force a Catholic and a Jew to attend service together.

Such students will be loyal to themselves at any sacrifice. The result is, that at the end of the year they have to choose between expulsion from College and signing their names to an open falsehood. The time-worn maxim, that a forced oath is no oath, causes them to choose the latter. Nor can we blame them. The worst of infidels is he who is infidel to himself.

The fact (for it is a fact beyond denial) that this college regulation yearly requires the men who are noble enough to stand firmly by their convictions to subscribe to wilful falsehood is alarming. It is not too much to say that many men, who, from childhood up, have detested falsehood, have first, under this compulsion of their Alma Mater, subscribed their names to it, and thereby marred the beauty of the noblest element of their manhood,—truth, which when once marred is ruined forever. It is sad beyond expression that the finest institution in our land is, either under the influences of outside pressure or from a mistaken notion of the students' welfare, compelling her students to a life of falsehood here, and sending them forth to expand and develop that life in the world at large. The student never sees the bright side of religion; to him it is only a goad to drive him to acts revolting to his conscience. Can he be expected to reverence such religion hereafter?

In conclusion, if it be the pressure of public opinion that enforces regulations so dreadful in their effects, then, as a student who has earnestly studied these effects, I ask the public to consider that, in exerting the pressure of its opinion, it is digging the grave of our future welfare. If it be the honest convictions of the Faculty that enforce such regulations, I beg their earnest attention to a side of the question which has, perhaps, never presented itself to them.

—L. H. S., in the *Harvard Advocate*, Nov. 19, 1875.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

STONES FOR BREAD.

BY MRS. D. H. CLARK.

A street that is quaint and olden,
In a city old and quaint:
A gray cathedral frowning—
A niche—and a sculptured saint.

The beauty of solemn arches
Encompasseth it about:
The glory of sunset windows
Is trailing in and out.

Blind, and dumb, and unheeding,
Day after day it stands;
No quiver of white stone eyelids—
No flutter of marble hands!

A brown-haired peasant woman
Is kneeling, in tears and pain;—
For the life of her yearling baby
She prayeth—and all in vain!

"Holy, holy St. Catharine!
Pity a mother's woe!"
No stir of the carved vestments—
No pulsing heart below!

To all the mourning pilgrims
That press the knee-worn stone,
From the rigid lip of the statue
Falleth no healing tone.

Oh wayfarers, bruised and weary!
Oh pilgrims, praying for rest!
Is there life in a sealed fountain?
Is warmth in a marble breast?

Can the stone-set mouth of a statue
Breathe balm that will make you whole?
Or the vacant stare of 'St. Catharine
Shed light on a darkened soul?

FLORENCE, Mass.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 18.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, \$3.20; E. T. Billings, \$3.20; John Wetherbee, \$3.20; Chas. Graeter, \$3.20; Mrs. C. B. Richmond, \$3.20; Fred'k Looser, \$3.20; Smith Wright, \$3.20; M. M. Pratt, \$3.20; E. L. Crane, \$3.20; S. S. Pierce, \$1.60; W. H. Crowell, 80 cents; W. E. Coleman, \$1.60; Clark Jilson, \$3.25; W. W. Grant, \$3.25; J. K. Rose, \$6.20; Carl Doeringer, \$2; A. K. Barker, 20 cents; Nath. Little, Jr., \$10; E. B. Wolcott, \$10; Benj. E. Tucker, \$66.69; T. W. Higginson, \$10; Wm. Dudgeon, \$9; S. R. Honey, \$9.65; A. S. Brown, \$3.40; Miss S. F. Earle, \$3.20; Chas. H. Lunt, \$3.20; Seth Hunt, \$3.20; E. H. Brigham, \$3.20; C. T. Simonds, \$3.30; N. H. Webster, \$4.40; D. B. Allen, \$5; J. H. Mason, \$3.20; J. W. Sullings, \$3.20; M. Smith, \$3.20; A. J. Moody, \$3.20; J. F. Smith, \$1; Nath. Holmes, \$3.20; Mrs. W. A. Stebbins, \$3.20; J. E. Sutton, \$3.20; C. H. Church, \$3.20; E. P. Hurlbut, \$3.20; P. C. Howland, \$3; J. W. Fowler, \$5; R. Wilkin, \$2; A. B. Bradford, \$3.20; W. E. Lukens, \$3.20; A. M. Lee, \$3.20; J. N. Goodrich, \$3.20; Martha White, \$1.10; A. Salter, \$3.20; J. Richmond, \$3.20; J. W. Baillet, 50 cents; G. Mead, \$1.60; J. B. Parker, \$5; Wm. Smith, \$1.60; J. E. Weeden, 50 cents; F. H. Giddings, \$5; Mrs. Judson, \$3.20; R. J. Wright, 20 cents; C. E. Davis, \$1; Jos. Shippen, 10 cents; J. W. Butler, 25 cents; J. W. Chadwick, 25 cents; D. B. Morton, 20 cents; J. A. Calhoun, 10 cents; E. Line, 10 cents; L. D. Boise, \$1.70; H. S. Mowry, 5 cents; J. T. Dickens, \$3.30; Lizzie B. Attwill, \$1.60; Claribel Gerrish, \$3.40; S. R. Urbino, \$3.20; C. W. Storey, \$10; Jane E. Curtis, \$1.60; Verein Vorwirts, \$3.20; Kilian Bros., \$3.20; M. Sanfield, \$3.75; P. Plumb, \$3.20.

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N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

The Index.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 23, 1875.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No writer in THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

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WE ACKNOWLEDGE the receipt of one dollar for the "Holyoake Fund" from Mr. William Dudgeon, of New Hartford, N. Y.

WHEN SO MANY able writers generously coöperate to make THE INDEX what it is, it is no more than fair that we should now and then inform them how their efforts are appreciated by their readers. Hence we quote this passage from a private letter just received: "I and my family regard your paper as being the most readable and ablest journal in this country; and if our Orthodox friends would only read it, they would soon find themselves breathing an atmosphere which they now know nothing about, and one that would soon give them an insight into a higher and purer state of moral goodness."

REV. DAVID H. CLARK informs us that the Florence liberals have completed the organization of their Liberal League. "It is to be known," he says, "as the Northampton Liberal League, which is more comprehensive than if it had been organized in Florence, inasmuch as Florence is included in the town of Northampton. The aim has been to make it, so far as possible, a citizens' movement. It will give the chief prominence to the taxation of church property and the school question for the present, and to this end will endeavor to unite in its work all who favor reformation in those particulars, whether radicals or not. Its officers are E. E. Denniston, President; Col. J. L. Otis, Vice-President; M. L. Dewey, Secretary; Rev. C. B. Ferry (Unitarian), E. C. Davis, and Theodore Demand, Executive Committee."

STUDY WELL such utterances as this one of the Catholic-Bishop McQuaid: "I stand here and say that, unless we bring this thing of the school taxes to the ballot-box, we do not deserve the name of Catholics. It may not be necessary to bring it to the ballot-box; we may, by making a demand, effect a compromise; we may obtain a platform on which we can stand. Politicians will come to us. Irish, German, and American Catholics will not be so patient as their fathers have been. The platform of the schools is not now for us. It is for Jews, for Infidels, for Protestants, but we are under it. Suppose we get strong enough to rise up. Remember, the platform is on us; where will the platform be then? Men will learn that we have something more to do than praying; we must vote, and the laymen must work. There is a jealousy of the priests which will not have force against the earnest, persistent labor of the laymen."

THE FOLLOWING information as to the salaries received by Protestant missionaries may be of interest: "In India the American Board pay their missionaries \$1000; the Presbyterian, \$1000 to \$1080; the Reformed (Dutch), \$1100; the Methodist, \$1200. In China the American Board pay \$900, and in Southern China, \$800; the Presbyterian Board \$1000, except in Canton, \$900; the Methodist, \$950; the Baptist \$900 and house; the Episcopal, \$1000. In regard to single missionaries, the American and Presbyterian Boards each pay two-thirds the salary of a married missionary; the Methodists pay in China, \$550, and in India, \$1000; the Baptist, \$800 and no house; the Episcopal, \$600; the Reformed (Dutch), \$600. For an unmarried female missionary the American Board pay one-half of the salary of a married man; the Presbyterian Board, from \$280 to \$600; the Methodist, to China, \$475, and India, \$600; the Baptist, \$400 to \$500; the Episcopal, \$450; the Reformed (Dutch), \$600; the Reformed Presbyterian, \$400."

A CARD.

When I consented to become an editorial contributor to THE INDEX, I did so with the full understanding by all parties concerned, that editorial contributors were to be entitled to the freest utterance, and that they alone were to be responsible for whatever might be printed over their own signatures; and I supposed that in case I, in the capacity of editorial contributor, took occasion to criticise associations or persons, newspapers or editors, the parties or party criticised would be allowed free access to the columns of THE INDEX, in case they desired to reply. This was my understanding of the terms upon which I accepted the position of editorial contributor to this paper.

On three occasions (INDEX, Sept. 24, 1874, Oct. 22, 1874, Nov. 18, 1875,) I have referred to the *Nation*, mentioning its editor by name once or twice, and perhaps oftener. On Nov. 27 he wrote me a private letter, calling me to account for what I had published. I replied to him as follows: "I am glad to be able to guarantee to you free access to the columns of the same paper [INDEX] in case you wish to reply to or comment upon what I have said." Subsequently Mr. Abbot told me he approved this offer of mine, and that he himself had previously offered to Mr. Godkin (the editor of the *Nation*) to print anything on the subject he might send for publication. Availing himself of Mr. Abbot's offer, and it may be with my guarantee in mind, Mr. Godkin sent a communication to THE INDEX. I wrote a reply to it, and Mr. Abbot accepted both his article and my reply. They both were in type for last week's INDEX, and the forms were all ready for the printer, when, without notice to Mr. Godkin or to me, Mr. Abbot withdrew them. Having left the printing-office on Tuesday afternoon and seen the articles all ready for the forms of THE INDEX, my astonishment and mortification on opening my copy on Wednesday may well be imagined. Mr. Abbot subsequently explained to me that he must decline to publish either article; that at the last moment, on consultation with a friend, he had discovered he was both legally and morally responsible for my statements regarding the *Nation* and persons connected with it, hitherto published in THE INDEX, and for any statements either Mr. Godkin or I might hereafter make, if he consented to their publication.

Mr. Abbot's legal responsibility is a question upon which lawyers may differ, but it is a question Mr. Abbot should have answered at least to his own satisfaction before he undertook to edit THE INDEX, on the plan offered to and accepted by editorial contributors, and the plan he has followed until now without variation. I never have believed, nor do I now believe, he is legally responsible for the utterances of any one of us. I certainly never would have written a line for THE INDEX had I thought otherwise, and I now most cheerfully pledge myself to protect him to the extent of my ability from all legal consequences arising out of any word of mine printed in this paper. But Mr. Abbot declares with emphasis that he did not suppress the two articles last week in order to escape legal responsibility. On the contrary, he is ready to meet any legal consequences that might follow their publication; and for this most generous evidence of personal friendship I desire to express my hearty appreciation.

Mr. Abbot excluded the two articles, he assures me, solely on the ground that, by consenting to their publication in THE INDEX, he would become morally responsible for the statements they contain. This remarkably sudden and entirely unexpected discovery of his moral responsibility for statements made by editorial contributors (a responsibility repeatedly disavowed by him—see standing notice at head of editorial columns), compels Mr. Abbot to modify his understanding with editorial contributors, without a moment's warning to me, and places me in a painfully embarrassing position. It compels Mr. Abbot to repudiate my "guarantee" to Mr. Godkin, given by me in good faith, and subsequently approved by Mr. Abbot himself; and it compels him further, at a critical moment when my honor is at stake, to repudiate, without notice to me, his long-standing agreement with me as editorial contributor.

Could I have anticipated such a discovery as this one it was reserved for Mr. Abbot to make so hurriedly and unexpectedly, not a line or a word I have written about the *Nation*, or any association, person, or editor would ever have appeared in THE INDEX. It is neither my vocation nor my taste, nor is it consistent with my conception of moral responsibilities, to print adverse criticism in the columns of a paper

where my criticism cannot be challenged with the same freedom with which it is offered.

Mr. Abbot's present understanding as to the rights and duties of editorial contributors to THE INDEX, and of his own obligations to them, is one I cannot accept, especially that part of it which allows him, at a critical moment and without notice, to establish a new one; and therefore my connection with THE INDEX ceases with the issue of this number.

RICHARD P. HALLOWELL.

MR. HALLOWELL'S "CARD."

I am extremely sorry that Mr. Hallowell feels impelled by a sense of duty to sever his connection with THE INDEX as an editorial contributor, and above all for the reasons he alleges. Such a card as he now publishes leaves me no escape from the duty of showing how fallacious those reasons are, and how totally my good and true friend, in the excitement of a personal contest with another, misunderstands my relations to both parties, confuses very clear distinctions of right and wrong, and does me grievous injustice. I have no right to demur at his determination to withdraw his name as editorial contributor, though I deeply regret this step and believe it to be utterly unnecessary; but I also have no right to let the public suppose that I am capable of breaking faith with him, and I must therefore speak frankly.

It is perfectly true that, down to Tuesday night, December 14, I have edited THE INDEX on one unvarying plan; namely, to print whatever my editorial contributors sent for publication, and to print it just as they sent it. This I have done faithfully, as they will all bear me witness, no matter how much I may have differed from them in opinion. Mr. Hallowell correctly states the substance of the agreement under which this plan has been carried out; namely, "that editorial contributors were to be entitled to the freest utterance, and that they alone were to be responsible for whatever might be printed over their signatures." That was the agreement, and the whole of it; Mr. Hallowell's inference that this agreement included an absolute right of reply on the part of all third parties who might be criticised by him is an afterthought of his own, and wholly unwarranted by me. That is a matter for my own discretion and conscience. He had no power whatever to "guarantee" the publication of anything in THE INDEX except what he himself sent as an editorial contribution; and the only way he could have fulfilled his "guarantee" to Mr. Godkin was by receiving the manuscript directly from the latter, and transmitting it to me with an appropriate introduction, not to take the place of other articles, but to take the place of a regular contribution of his own. But this was not done; Mr. Hallowell's "guarantee" had not the least effect or influence in the matter; nor did I approve it at all as a guarantee. When he told me he had guaranteed Mr. Godkin "free access to the paper," I simply said I was "glad of it"; I had myself made an unsolicited oral and written offer of space in THE INDEX to Mr. Godkin four days before this "guarantee" was made, and I was merely "glad" that Mr. Hallowell had thus shown himself demonstrably of a fair spirit towards an opponent. That was the whole substance and reason of my "approval"; and Mr. Hallowell makes a very great mistake in supposing that his "guarantee" has had even a feeble influence either with Mr. Godkin or myself. I must deny absolutely and emphatically that it gives him the faintest shadow of right to interfere between Mr. Godkin and myself in the publication by me of an article sent to me by Mr. Godkin, in acceptance of a spontaneous offer made by me to him as an act of editorial courtesy and general regard for justice. Mr. Hallowell has magnified the importance of this "guarantee" in his own mind, till it has confused his view of the whole matter. The time to have made it of value was when he began to publish his articles about the *Nation*; it would have meant something if he had notified Mr. Godkin at the start that he should have a fair chance to be heard in reply, but it means nothing when delayed till after the editor has already done the same thing on his own account, and distinctly and repeatedly notified him (Mr. Hallowell) of the fact.

The agreement between my editorial contributors and myself implied a promise on both sides. I promised to surrender all rights as an editor over their productions, and to respect their absolute freedom of utterance on any and all subjects; they, in turn, promised to assume absolute responsibility for their own articles. This Mr. Hallowell himself expressly states to have been the substance of the agreement; and the promise he made to me is just as essential,

and just as binding, as the promise I made to him. Now I had fulfilled my part of the compact by printing Mr. Hallowell's articles about the *Nation* and Mr. Godkin just as he wrote them; and I relied absolutely on Mr. Hallowell's promise to assume all responsibility for his own articles. Mr. Godkin sent a reply to his last article of Nov. 18, containing certain correspondence just had with Mr. Hallowell, and demanding satisfaction through arbitration of a kind unnecessary and improper for me to describe here. I had this reply and Mr. Hallowell's rejoinder set up in type, unrevised by me. Both articles, in my judgment, contained matter that would furnish grounds for an action for libel; but I supposed still that I was relieved of at least all moral responsibility for Mr. Hallowell's rejoinder by his promise to assume all responsibility for his own words, and also relieved of all moral responsibility for Mr. Godkin's article by Mr. Hallowell's expressed desire for its publication. But on December 11, Mr. Godkin notified me by letter that he should sue Mr. Hallowell for "any repetition of these attacks," and that it might be necessary to include me in the indictment as editor and publisher, though without any personal hostility to me. I replied that, whatever legal responsibility I might be held to, I had no moral responsibility at all for what Mr. Hallowell wrote; and that I must run all personal risks in order to respect the liberty I had guaranteed. I forbore even to mention to Mr. Hallowell that a fresh "attack" on Mr. Godkin would involve me as well as himself in a libel suit; I left him to act out his own convictions of right, undisturbed by any intimation that he was involving me, and probably the Index Association, in great embarrassment and perhaps fatal disaster. So long as the one essential condition on which I had pledged to him absolute liberty (namely, that he should *be*, and not merely *promise to be*, responsible for his own words) was supposed by me to be fulfilled, just so long did I run all personal risks to make good my pledge to him. But common sense teaches that, if this essential condition was not fulfilled in fact as well as in word, my pledge of absolutely unrestricted liberty was thereby made no longer binding.

With a resolution to accept without whimpering any personal loss that might be the consequence of fidelity to my promise of absolute liberty to Mr. Hallowell, and with implicit confidence in his *ability*, as well as his undoubtedly sincere *intention*, to assume at least all moral responsibility for his words, I went on, made up the "forms" of THE INDEX on Tuesday afternoon, December 14, with both Mr. Godkin's and Mr. Hallowell's articles in full, and went to my home, four miles from Boston. In the evening, a casual conversation with a legal friend, whom I visited socially without a remote idea of making any change in the week's issue of THE INDEX, led to my putting some questions I had never thought of before as to the possibility of separating legal and moral responsibility. I discovered, to my astonishment, that the agreement I had made with my contributors was no defence whatever, legal or moral, for any violation of "public decency or private rights" in articles written by them; that I was legally responsible *just because I was morally responsible*, for any such supposed offence on their part; that I should have no business to print an obscene article written by one of them, and had no more business to print a libellous article; that my contract with them could cover only literary responsibility, and would be neither legal nor moral excuse for a violation of the rights of third parties, whether of society or of individuals; that, beyond this limit, the contract was null and void in every aspect; that legal and moral responsibility were identical so far as this point was concerned; and that, so long as my printer took "copy" only from me or by my direction, it was absolutely impossible for me, by any sort of agreement or contract, to divest myself of my editorial responsibility, either legal or moral, so far as "public decency" or the "private rights" of other parties were involved.

I was naturally enough dismayed by this discovery that Mr. Hallowell's promise to assume all responsibility for his own words, though made with perfect honesty, was absolutely worthless in point of fact, and not even a moral defence on my part if his article really did injustice to Mr. Godkin. As to this I knew nothing, and could not without great wrong assume any responsibility. I now found myself practically left in the lurch, betrayed by my confidence in Mr. Hallowell's ability to make good his promise to me into a moral position demanding instant action. If I could stop the publication of those

two (in my own judgment) actionable and indictable articles, I was bound in conscience to do so, since I could not possibly publish them without becoming a morally responsible party to the publication. I was very reluctant to come to this conclusion, but could not avoid it, or pretend not to have the knowledge I had actually gained. My resolution was taken at once; I rose at five o'clock next morning, and reached Boston just in season to prevent the printing. Both articles were taken out of the forms, and replaced by articles which had been crowded out. I immediately wrote to both parties, informing them of what I had done; and I offered to Mr. Godkin to print an article of his in which he might "defend his own character without impugning any other." He still has "free access to THE INDEX," to say anything he pleases which shall not give grounds for a libel suit; this restriction, of course, was as necessary in his case as in Mr. Hallowell's. But he has informed me he cannot defend his own character without impugning any other; and, as he cannot expect me to allow him a liberty of libelling which he holds me to account for having allowed to Mr. Hallowell, he is clear-headed enough to make no complaint of the non-publication of his article, further than to express regret (which I certainly share) that I did not sooner discover the true state of the case. Why Mr. Hallowell should feel aggrieved in this matter passes my comprehension: the only party who has the least right to complain of the non-publication of Mr. Godkin's letter is Mr. Godkin himself, and he does not complain. On the contrary, he has now formally withdrawn his article altogether, in a very considerate and gentlemanly manner; and he has thereby deprived Mr. Hallowell of every shadow of pretext for insisting on the publication of his (Mr. Godkin's) article.

The situation, then, is this. Mr. Hallowell promised to assume all responsibility, legal and moral alike, for his own articles. Relying on this promise alone, I published articles of his now declared to be libellous. I am held responsible for them, and threatened with prosecution on his account. I discover that his promises to assume all responsibility for his own words, though honestly made, are beyond his power to fulfil, either legally or morally; that he has promised more than he can perform, has for this reason alone failed to keep his promises, and thereby has himself first broken the contract he now declares me to have broken. So long as I supposed he could be responsible *morally* for his own words, I shrank from no legal penalty they might entail on me (from which he cannot possibly shield me now in any way); but I have discovered that, in leaning on his well-meant but valueless promises, I have been leaning on a broken reed, must now wake up to the fact, and must assume myself the moral responsibility which Mr. Hallowell has in vain promised and attempted to assume. Instead, however, of perceiving into what a sea of troubles he has plunged me, or trying to help me out, he now brings an unnecessary public indictment against me of broken faith, simply because I refuse to admit into THE INDEX any more actionable articles for which he may still promise to be, but for which in part I have *got to be*, both legally and morally responsible. I have kept my promise to him, to my own hurt, till I discover that he can not keep his promise to me; I have made no new agreement on my own capricious motion, but have only discovered that he and I both undertook to make an agreement which we are powerless to execute. The only sensible course now is to adapt ourselves to the situation; and it will henceforth be understood that the liberty both of editor and editorial contributors will be limited by the common obligation of respecting the laws of the land. It is no more a discredit to me than it is to Mr. Hallowell that our original agreement was made in terms broader than this legal limitation admits; we were equally ignorant then, and he remains so still. He too should have inquired whether he *could* perform his own promises. I have "repudiated" nothing. This is no case for mutual recrimination; I own that I have acted under a grave misapprehension,—and he should own the same. If any other of the writers who have honored me by associating their names with mine editorially wishes to withdraw his or her name because of the modification of our agreement now made necessary by the fact that, being myself legally and morally responsible, I must hereafter reserve the right to withhold any article which in my judgment is or may be a violation of public decency or private rights, I must regretfully submit; but as I am bound by the same law myself, we are all on the

same equal plane as ever with respect to freedom of utterance in THE INDEX.

However much I regret Mr. Hallowell's hasty and (I must add) unjust and unreasonable action, and however glad I am to be able to bear honest testimony to the purity and uprightness of his intentions, the case stands thus. By promising to assume all responsibility for his articles when he is not able to do it, he has unwittingly involved me in both legal and moral responsibility for statements of his own affecting gravely the moral character of a third party—statements which I have no moral right to make or to be responsible for; and now, when I have discovered this fact, and refused to be compelled to print further statements of the same kind and thus be made responsible for them in direct violation of his agreement with me, he holds me accountable for breaking a contract with him which he has already (unintentionally, but in fact) broken beyond repair. By unnecessarily appealing to the general public for judgment against me on these astonishing grounds, he necessitates this explanation. His good intentions are no defence for me in my own conduct; and, though with deep sorrow, I must vindicate myself by this most reluctant statement to a public that need not and ought not to have been appealed to. But I do not fear the verdict which will be rendered by fair-minded and impartial judges.

Only one word more. I am bound by gratitude to Mr. Hallowell for his past most generous friendship, and by my hope that he will yet see and be sorry for the cruel wound he now deals to one who has done his very best to be faithful at once to friendship towards him and justice towards all, to say explicitly that I make not the slightest imputation on his motives. He has substantially charged me with bad faith: I charge him only with failure to perceive the now evident fact that I am necessarily in part responsible for whatever may be libellous in the columns of THE INDEX; and with unseemly haste in accusing me publicly of a grave fault which a very short time will convince him, in spite of himself, I have never committed.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

A CORRECTION.

[We are very glad to print the following correction by Col. Higginson of a little reference to himself in a communication last week.—Ed.]

I see that, through the letter of our good friend Dr. Horsch, THE INDEX prints for the second time Mr. Bradlaugh's version of my opening remarks at the last Free Religious Convention in Boston. Those who take the pains to compare this version with the official report will perceive that the word "possibly," which gives a rather patronizing tone to the phrase, "possibly elevating Atheism into a religion" is no word of mine, but was added by Mr. Bradlaugh, perhaps in the wish to make my meaning more clear. Unluckily, it has just the opposite effect, and gives an offensive tone to a very innocent remark. The Free Religious Association is no place for patronizing, nor even for toleration; it is a place of simple religious equality.

Reduced to its original proportions, my remark seems simple enough. No mere intellectual opinion, such as Theism or Atheism, is in itself a religion; for it may exist without being combined with any noble purpose or high emotion. When combined with these, it may be justly said to be "elevated into a religion." The same might be said of Calvinism or Unitarianism.

T. W. HIGGINSON.

THE BIBLE IN PHILADELPHIA SCHOOLS.

From the New York *Daily Tribune* of December 16, we extract the following:—

The following is the letter sent by the Liberal League of Philadelphia to the Board of Public Education of that city on Tuesday last, in relation to the use of the Bible in the schools, a reference to which was made in a despatch published in the *Tribune* yesterday:—

THE HON. M. HALL STANTON, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF PUBLIC EDUCATION:

Sir,—I have the honor to transmit to the honorable body over which you preside the following resolution, which was considered for several weeks, and finally passed by the Philadelphia Liberal League:—

WHEREAS, The use of the Bible in the public schools is a violation of the recognized American principle that the Church and the State ought to be absolutely separate; and

WHEREAS, It is a practice which gives a distinctively Protestant character to the public school system, is grossly unjust to all non-Protestants taxed to support it, and thereby dangerously aids the Roman Catholic Church in its openly-avowed warfare upon it; therefore

Resolved, That the Liberal League of Philadelphia hereby respectfully petition the Board of Education

to prohibit the use of the Bible in the public schools of this city, and that the officers of the League are hereby instructed to carry this resolution into effect.

In compliance with this resolution, I respectfully petition the Board of Public Education to prohibit the use of the Bible in the public schools of this city. Herewith please find thirty copies of the very able and comprehensive address of Damon Y. Kilgore, Esq., delivered before and published by the League for the use of your Board. This address is a fair and just exponent of the views of the Liberal League of Philadelphia, and has already received the highest commendation of some of the ablest thinkers in our land. The question of secular education has already assumed such importance as to be felt at the ballot-box, and the President of the United States, with a keen foresight, has made it a prominent feature in his last annual message to Congress.

Let it be distinctly understood that, if the Protestant Bible were absolutely as faultless as the most ignorant and bigoted of those who indorse it believe, our objection would remain to its being made an instrument of religious oppression to those who do not so regard it. The equal rights of all citizens demand its exclusion from the public schools because the schools belong equally to all citizens, and no majority, whether Protestant or Catholic, has any right to oppress the religious conscience of the minority. In conclusion, gentlemen, allow me to add that the inexorable logic of events fast passing into history teaches the importance of your speedy and favorable consideration of the subject involved in this petition.

JOHN S. DYE,
Secretary of the Liberal League.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 14, 1875.

This is very important action. In no other way can the paramount necessity of establishing the public school system on an absolutely secular basis be brought fully and fairly before the public mind, and made to receive the general attention which it deserves. We repeat what we said a fortnight ago, that the Philadelphia Liberal League are earning the gratitude of all true friends of the republic by their fearless and earnest movement; and, whatever the immediate result may be, we believe that the equal courage and wisdom of their course will abundantly prove itself in the end to the general satisfaction. The "City of Brotherly Love" is winning a new name—the City of Brotherly Justice.

Communications.

BISHOP FERRETTE'S PLATFORM AND THE GUIBORD CASE.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Your successive remarks on the Guibord case, as it went on, have convinced me that you are one of the few men who do not take the superficial view of it. While I entirely agree with you in everything that you have said, allow me to put in relief the special importance which the recent solution of this case has, in my eyes, as the first practical application of the Fifth Article of my Platform.

This article, which your readers will excuse me for repeating, is as follows:—

"All clauses in private contracts, granting temporal advantages on sectarian conditions, to be null and void in the eyes of the law."

Your readers perhaps remember that I do not claim that a sectarian condition in a contract should necessarily invalidate it, but, as in the legislation of France, be "reputed not written," the rest of the contract remaining valid if, the sectarian condition struck out, there remain in it an adequate consideration on each side, and the other conditions of validity.

Now the Guibord case, when disentangled from the subtleties of Anglo-Norman law, can be very clearly stated in a few words. There was a contract wherein Guibord, by paying a sum of money (a civil stipulation) and dying a Catholic (a sectarian clause), became entitled to be buried in a certain plot of ground (a civil stipulation), the said plot being and remaining consecrated so as to be a part of the Catholic cemetery (a sectarian clause).

Striking off both sectarian clauses, according to the principles of my platform, there remains a contract wherein Guibord by paying a sum of money (a civil stipulation) became entitled to be buried in a certain plot of ground (another civil stipulation). These two civil stipulations, constituting each an adequate consideration to the other, and none of the other conditions of validity being on either side asserted to be absent from the contract, the contract, stripped of its sectarian clauses, had enough of itself remaining to constitute a valid contract. Guibord paid his money, and has been buried in his plot of ground. Each of the parties has every reason to be satisfied. It is true that they are not.

The bishops claimed that the non-performance by Guibord of the sectarian clause of the contract which concerned him, (that of dying a Catholic) annulled not only the sectarian stipulation which concerned the bishops (the consecration of the ground) but also the temporal stipulation, (his burial in the plot of ground) for which he had given a temporal equivalent (the money). But the civil courts have allowed no such nonsense, and, as the material force was on their side, have compelled the bishops to let Guibord be buried in the land which he had paid for.

Had the Privy Council limited itself to this, it would have shown great discretion, but it did not.

It decided that Guibord, the decision of the bishops notwithstanding, had died a Catholic, and ordered him to be buried, not only in his grave lot, but in that lot being "consecrated." With regard to this latter point, the Privy Council, whether it consisted of spurred colonels of cavalry or of wigged lawyers, showed that it had got badly beyond its depth by trying to wade into theology. The bishops simply set aside, as redundant verbiage, the part of the decree relating to the consecration; and, as this is a region in which he has the might, he, of course, as you said, carried his point, and the Privy Council, though it probably judged according to the law, remains stultified. This it sees, and is probably glad of it. It will not lose anything by it. The strength of Anglo-Saxon Institutions lies in this: that as the mightiest in the land, and the sovereign himself, is powerless against the law, so is the law itself powerless against the spirit of the age. Who in the nineteenth century would think of using force to compel a Roman Catholic bishop to consecrate a piece of ground?

Here, then, is a leading case in which the principles of my platform have been purely and simply applied, though none of the parties concerned contemplated this result. They have not been recognized: they have been applied, simply because we have reached a point at which, in this case at least, the nineteenth century did not contain the resources to violate them.

I am, sir, truly yours, JULIUS FERRETTE.
CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Nov. 30, 1875.

THOMAS PAINE AND THE CENTENNIAL.

EDITOR INDEX:—

During the coming year, this country will be resonant with the celebration of the centennial of American Independence. We shall delight to do honor to the memory of those who nursed and cradled the Republic. The names of Washington, Jefferson, Adams, and others, will be in the minds of all and upon the lips of every orator. Their praises will be sung loud on every side. But is it not possible, in the general rejoicing, that the patriot who struck the first great and direct blow for a Republican form of government, who gave to the country its first impulse for entire freedom and independence, whose utterances carried hope to the colonists and gave heart and purpose to their strokes for liberty, is it not possible, I ask, that the author hero of the Revolution may be almost forgotten by the public in general, because of the ostracism and calumny he incurred on turning his attention from monarchy to its twin despotism, superstition?

No man did more to cause the Declaration of Independence than Thomas Paine. He fanned the fire of liberty until it blazed on every hill from Hampshire to Georgia. While nineteen-twentieths of the colonists were, in the main, loyal in sentiment toward King George, and were sending their petitions to Great Britain only asking for a redress of their grievances and to be placed back where they had been before the tea and paper tax was imposed, Thomas Paine gave the country his *Common Sense*. Never did a political pamphlet have a greater influence. It was published on the 17th day of January, 1776. Filled with argument, reason, and invincible logic, it struck right to the hard pan. While others would be content with reconciliation, he stopped short of nothing but independence. *Common Sense* was at first received by the masses with indignation, but it soon found a place in the hearts of the people. Editions after editions were issued until it reached a circulation which to our population of to-day would be as a million copies, and their facilities for disseminating literature a hundred years ago were greatly inferior to our own. It completely turned public sentiment. The tide grew stronger and stronger, bearing down all opposition, until it culminated in the Declaration of Independence.

Lossing, in his *Field Book of the Revolution*, says: "*Common Sense* was the earliest and most powerful appeal in behalf of independence, and probably did more to fix that idea firmly in the public mind than any other instrumentality." All through the war he was a never-failing fountain of encouragement and hope. He followed the army through sunshine and storm. He sustained the spirits of the soldiery, and aptly suited his words of encouragement to the condition of the army and the aspect of political affairs. "*These are the times that try men's souls*. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now deserves the thanks of man and woman." How often during the late rebellion those thrilling words were repeated by hundreds ignorant of their authorship, who, had they been informed they were using the words of Thomas Paine, would have spewed them out of their mouths to make way for execrations upon his memory! Paine continued his great and noble services during the entire Revolution, and in his boundless philanthropy was not then content. To the patriot who said: "The country where liberty is, is the country for me,"—how grand his reply: "The country where liberty is *not*, is the country for me!" The world was his field of action. Tyranny in France was as obnoxious to him as tyranny in America. To France he went, and there in the service of freedom came near losing his life.

I have thus briefly recalled these events in the life of Thomas Paine, familiar to most radicals and to students of American history, that we may be reminded of the place which should be occupied by the memory of Paine and the recognition which, during the coming celebration of Independence, should be accorded to his noble services.

I suggest and urge that, on the centennial anniversary of the publication of *Common Sense*, the 17th of next month, January, or that of his birthday, Jan-

uary 20th (perhaps more appropriately the former), a celebration be gotten up in every community, and justice be done to his memory. As *Common Sense* was the forerunner of the Declaration of Independence, what more fitting than that the grand celebration of next July should be preluded with a tribute to the great champion of liberty? It seems to me that it would be particularly appropriate, and that such celebrations should be gotten up with especial reference to his political services, and the public be invited to join, so that even church people who despise his religious opinions might join (and why shouldn't they?) if there be any sufficiently liberal and honest.

It belongs to the radicals and freethinkers of this country to consider this matter, and see that some regard is paid next year to the memory and services of Paine, especially as without some such special action on their part he may be as unrecognized and unremembered as he is in most of the school histories. On the altar of freethought he laid his popularity and fame, a willing sacrifice, and received the obloquy of the Christian mob which cried, "Crucify him." At the close of the Revolutionary war no man stood higher in America than Thomas Paine. Had he been false to himself, he would to-day have been the best-praised man in the memory of the American people. When the selfish man would have rested upon his laurels, he, for truth's sake, accepted hatred and reproach for his portion, and gave the world the *Age of Reason*. Horace Greeley once said: "Charity is a virtue rarely exemplified in politics." After considering the treatment accorded Thomas Paine, with what truth could we say: Charity is a virtue rarely exemplified in religion. From being beloved and exalted, he became hated and infamous. His great services were forgotten or denied, and the grave did not stop the fury of his Christian calumniators.

Let freethinkers not be ungrateful, but let them appreciate and do justice to the memory of him whose every throb was for humanity, whose every effort was for justice and liberty, and who uttered that grandest, sublimest, and most comprehensive sentiment: "The world is my country, and to do good my religion." CHAS. H. TRUE.

PITTSFORD, Monroe Co., N. Y., Dec. 12, 1875.

[Mr. True's suggestion is one which we heartily appreciate and warmly second. Wherever a radical society exists, we recommend that an orator be at once appointed to give on January 17 a public address, accompanied with appropriate exercises, upon the special services of Thomas Paine and his *Common Sense* to the cause of national independence.—Ed.]

LIBERALISM IN NEW HAVEN.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Please allow me space in your excellent paper to say a few words about the progress of Liberalism in New Haven. Here, under the shadow of Yale, a free platform has been maintained for two years. The Free Religious platform is the ideal which the supporters of the Free Lecture Association strive to actualize. Rev. E. C. Towne sowed good seed in this city several years ago; but he was not sustained. He preached, I fear, over the heads of his hearers. Now, however, I think he would be better appreciated. He should revisit New Haven. The speakers (as nearly as I can recall them) from the free platform have been N. Frank White, Mrs. Middlebrook, E. Annie Hinman, Mrs. Burnham, Anthony Higgins, W. F. Jamieson, and J. J. Morse, of England. Owing to the fact that these lecturers are Spiritualists, the opinion prevails that the Free Lecture Association is a sectarian Spiritualist organization. Such, however, is not the case. Many of its adherents are Spiritualists. They are not ashamed of their belief. They always take pleasure in defending and expounding their special faith. But they do not imagine that the great reactionary movement against conservatism can be established on a doctrinal basis. They are Liberalists first—Spiritualists afterward. Special beliefs (as *THE INDEX* has so frequently affirmed) must act a subordinate part in the present work of mental and spiritual emancipation. The Evangelical Alliance aims to fraternize humanity with a dogma as the cohesive element. Some Liberalists and Spiritualists fall into the same channel, and yet talk loudly about the superiority of their work. It is a hard task to outgrow the partisan spirit of a new movement. Philosophers are scarce. I think I can discern signs of a growing fellowship among liberal Spiritualists and progressive Christians, Jews, and Secularists.

In New Haven this is the end for which the Free Lecture Association is working. The local press treats the Association with great courtesy. Yale students attend the lectures. In fact, the outlook is most promising. January 2d and 9th, 1876, William Brunton, of Cambridgeport, Mass., will address the friends; and on January 16th and 23d the editor of *THE INDEX* has promised to be the lecturer. Next September we hope to hear the voice of O. B. Frothingham in New Haven. At present Mrs. Emma Hardinge-Britten, the well-known and able Spiritualist, is speaking in our midst. Horace Seaver is in demand; but, unfortunately, he is, at present, otherwise engaged.

You will please accept our cordial good will in your work. We do not agree with you in all your notions; but that is so small a matter that it is hardly worth mentioning. Men to-day want to be something more than parrot echoes of each other. The people want to hear what you have to say. Come to us. You shall be monarch of the hour, on the rostrum. We shall reserve the same high prerogative for the Jews. By-and-by, when all clanishness shall have been outgrown in the varied schools of Liberalism and Spiritualism—when un-

necessary and crude antagonisms are swallowed up in heavenly reciprocities,—we will have a unity worthy of our time, and, better still, of ourselves.

Yours with cordial regard,

CEPHAS B. LYNN.

NEW HAVEN, Ct., Dec., 1875.

MOODY AND SANKEY AIDING FREETHOUGHT.

The Orthodox are congratulating themselves on the revival of the Evangelical faith under the vigorous efforts of these two modern apostles. But the thoughtful observer will not fail to discern, in the free discussions which these revivals are calling forth from the public, a spirit of independence and suppressed unbelief, which is ominous to that religion whose perpetuation depends on unreasoning credulity. It requires a courage bordering on rashness to attempt a revival of pure Orthodoxy in the wide-awake, practical cities of this republic; and freethought could not wish for a better opportunity to expose the absurdities of the Evangelical system of religion than these revivals afford.

All the able preachers of the Orthodox faith have been trying to hide the old, irrational dogmas of the Church, and adapt themselves to the progressive spirit of the age by teaching natural religion—that is, *natural goodness*,—as it exists in universal humanity, independent of any special religious belief. In this way much of the repulsiveness of Orthodoxy has been concealed, and the Church has assumed the patronage of progress. While the leading pulpits of the Evangelical churches ignored the dogmas of total depravity, eternal hell, salvation by faith alone, etc., the practical people were content that these ideas of the past should repose in undisturbed quiet, in unread "Confessions of Faith," and dusty theological libraries. But they must not be marched out into the light of the living present, and their acceptance urged on the practical world, or freethought will assert its right to deal with religion as it does with the questions of this life, by forcing it to pass the test of common sense and scientific criticism. And this is just what the public is now doing in discussing the Moody and Sankey revival. It is weighing the true doctrines of the Evangelical religion in the fearless balance of modern thought; and, if Orthodoxy, with all of its colossal support, passes through this stern examination without being shorn of much of its arrogance and authority, I am much deceived.

When such popular papers as the *New York Sun* and the *Herald* boldly attack the doctrines of these revivalists, we may know that the public is not without independence on the question of religion, as such severe criticism would be rebuked by a reduction of the subscription lists of these secular organs. Orthodoxy may successfully propagate its dogmas by revival meetings in the backwoods, where culture and freethought are unknown; but when it attempts to carry intelligent cities by assault under the free observation of newspaper reporters, who give the details of these religious exhibitions to a cool, practical public to be read and discussed at leisure, it is hazarding more than it is aware of, and must realize its rashness when it is too late to avert the danger.

Could the true results of this protracted revival be summed up, it would be found that what the Church calls "unbelief," had been more firmly established in the popular mind than the doctrines of the "saving faith."

KENTON, Mo.

H. CLAY NEVILLE.

HAS INSPIRATION CEASED?

Why should God have blessed those that lived during the time of and before Christ with messages and communications, allow his angels to appear personally to some, and inspire others so that from their pens came forth the works that have done so much to revolutionize the world, and then entirely cease to do these things? According to the popular belief of the present time, all we know of an existence hereafter, of heaven, and of the manner in which we should live here, to insure happiness hereafter, has been revealed to us in the past by the Bible. This is the belief that has been set down, and which is generally believed by the people of the present day. I say generally, because there are some persons who have minds enough of their own not to receive and be satisfied with the conclusions and arguments of others, but who are themselves searching for the truth. They do not regard lightly the different "isms" and religious beliefs we hear so much about, but cull from all the good, and that which is the most beneficial, leaving the rest alone. That inspiration has ceased, I do not believe. I believe that every person is inspired, more or less, by a superior being; and that it is often to produce most beneficial results. Years ago a circumstance occurred in Virginia which shows plainly, to my mind at least, that we are watched over by heaven, and impressed to do many things. A religious sect, now well known as the Quakers, have shown a great many instances of divine impressions which have done much good. One Sabbath morning, at a town we will call M—, the usual Quakers' meeting was being held. In the midst of the deep silence an old man rapped heavily on the floor with his cane, then arose, and said: "Resist the devil this time, and he will never trouble thee again." And he sat down.

After meeting, many members came to this old man and asked him why he had struck the floor with his cane; he replied that he did not know, but that if he was ever divinely impressed he was then. Years after, when the circumstance had been forgotten, a gentleman came to this old man and told him that one Sabbath morning, several years ago, he had made up his mind to hang himself. His affairs were in a precarious condition, he was weighed down

with mental troubles, and had at last become so despondent that he was firmly resolved to commit suicide. He had gone to a neighboring wood with this determination, when he saw the Quakers, not far distant, assembling in their meeting-house. Something impressed him to go, which he did. There the usual silence reigning, he was soon lost in reverie. He was brought to his senses by hearing a loud rap on the floor; nothing else would have disturbed him; and, looking up, he heard the words, "Resist the devil this time, and he will never trouble thee again." "I did," he said, "resist the devil, and he never has troubled me since."

ELBUR W. EASTMAN.

THE NEW YORK PRESS ON THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

NEW YORK, Dec. 8, 1875.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Let me express my satisfaction that President Grant so plainly and distinctly speaks truth regarding the evils of sectarian public schools and the non-taxation of church property. It is a hopeful sign when a President urges measures to remedy these evils, secure schools free to all, and compel every one desiring to vote to learn to read and write.

The morning papers here comment quite freely on the message. The *Herald* finds fault with the President. The *Tribune* thinks he merely reiterates truths often spoken by itself, but now "ill-timed," and mentioned "to make political capital." The *Sun* says: "This [the school question] is a congenial topic for him, and affords proof that this thorny subject will be incorporated into the next national Republican platform, and play a part in the coming Presidential campaign." The *Times* commences its article on the message by saying: "The message will be read by the country with general satisfaction,"—mentions the school question, and adds, regarding the principle of taxing church property as mentioned by the President, that it "is a sound one."

We may not for a certainty say what motives prompted the President; yet we can at least thank him for broaching the subject at such time and place. It must be generally considered; though I think he hardly realizes the radical extent of the changes he proposes.

As has been suggested before, the Protestants, fearing the Catholics, are beginning to realize the necessity of doing justice to all in this school question, yet from fear only have their eyes been opened.

Mentioning the subject to several to-day, I find many see the justice of the President's suggestions, and admit that they never before thought of these matters of school and church in such a light.

There can be no step backward in these matters, and now more than ever does the country need such papers as THE INDEX, which advocates thoroughness in dealing with the subject.

Not that the President may possibly gain capital for a third term movement, but because this is an important step toward the correct solution of this question, am I glad the President has done so well.

Yours truly,

"A."

DARWINISM AND REVELATION.

MR. EDITOR:—

In these days, when the theologians are just beginning to discover that the Bible and Christianity are in "complete harmony" with the facts of science regarding the antiquity of man and the Darwin theory of the manner of his origin, when such a man as the Roman Catholic St. George Mivart, even, says (speaking of evolution) that "it is without doubt perfectly consistent with the strictest and most Orthodox Christian theology," it is a little amusing to look back occasionally, and see what their predecessors have said in years gone by.

Albert Barnes said less than twenty-five years ago, that—

"Man according to the Bible is a recent visitant to the world, and the time is not remote in the past, when he was formed by his Creator to occupy a world made ready for his abode." [*Evidences of Christianity*, p. 376].

Again he says (the italics being mine) on page 377:—

"For the third of these points—the question whether the human race is derived from a single pair—it is manifest that the whole question of the truth of revelation turns on this. The Bible records the creation of a single pair and no other. . . . The entire doctrine of depravity and death, according to the Bible, is identified with the fact that there was a single pair at the head of the race. 'In Adam we all die' (I. Cor., xv., 22). The same is the Scripture doctrine in regard to redemption. The race according to that plan is one—one in origin, one in apostasy, one in guilt, one in death. 'As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive' (I. Cor., xv., 21)."

But the theologians of to-day are not willing to admit that the "whole question of the truth of revelation," so-called, "turns on this." Perhaps it may be that it does not turn the right way! At all events they are fast adopting that never-failing theological expedient, a "new interpretation."

And so they follow on in the wake of science, making "new interpretations" of "revealed truth," condemning science for exploding their old ones, and never knowing what ones it may be necessary for them to adopt in the future.

But all theologians, past, present, and to come, will agree that the Bible, with its ever-shifting interpretations, is a "safe and sufficient guide" for all mankind!

BOSTON.

HOLYOAKE'S HISTORY OF CO-OPERATION IN ENGLAND.

Coöperation, as Mr. Holyoake points out in his introductory chapter, is a term of very general and vague application, and in the volume before us is applied to quite a different set of operations from what we understand by the word now-a-days. The "Pioneer Period" was almost wholly taken up with socialistic experiments; and of this period Robert Owen was the prophet. Probably very few in this country have any idea of the extent and importance of this movement in England, contemporary with and allied to the Brook Farm and New Harmony experiments in this country. The volume is therefore instructive as well as entertaining reading. It is—for an American public—rather crowded with names and details, which no doubt call up associations, and possess interest in England; but, withal, the story is told in a very graphic style, and in such a manner as to make pretty clear the causes of the general want of success that characterized this period.

Mr. Holyoake is best known as an avowed atheist, as well as pronounced radical; and one is agreeably disappointed at not meeting the random sort of talk which might be expected from his antecedents, and from some words in the preface, as well as the rather gushing dedication to Wendell Phillips. Only from one or two incidental expressions could one guess at his religious views. He is, after all, a hard-headed, common-sense Englishman, who sees clearly that it was looseness of thought, and building without foundation, that caused the ruin of the experiments which he here describes. He has a good deal of humor, too, and in his pages we find many appreciative descriptions of queer reformers, just such as we are familiar with in this country; and keen but good-natured satire—for his criticisms are always those of a sympathizer. There is an account of the "First Concordian" Society at Ham Common, in Surrey:—

"The *New Age* [its organ] was very intelligently edited, but it was discontinued when it had existed little more than a year and a half, on the ground that 'no book could represent what was passing in that establishment. Even the proceedings of a single day were found to be of far greater moment than could be transcribed or recorded in any work whatever.' Those who visited the Concordian were certainly not of this opinion. The inmates were scrupulously clean, temperate, transcendental, offensive to any one who ate meat, attached to Quakers, especially white ones, repudiated even salt and tea, as stimulants, and thought most of those guests who ate their cabbage uncooked. They preached abstinence from marriage, and most things else. Their cardinal doctrine was that happiness was wrong. The managing director, Mr. William Oldham, was called Pater, and, like Howard, preferred damp sheets to dry ones." (p. 230.)

There are many interesting reminiscences, some of them valuable as experiments in social science. Such was Mr. Owen's device of "Labor Exchanges," the idea of which, it seems, originated with an American by the name of Josiah Warren (p. 158). "In May, 1833, the National Equitable Labor Exchange, London, was opened." The object of this was not, as might be inferred, to serve as an improved intelligence office, but as a medium for the exchange of the products of labor against one another—in other words, for a systematized and scientific barter. "Those who deposited goods were not paid in money, but received labor-exchange notes of the value of one hour's labor each" (the hour being reckoned at sixpence). Here was the vulnerable point in the experiment: "It does not appear how the depositors of goods at the Gothic Hall estimated the cost of the material they had worked up in hours of the value of sixpence; and persons naturally inquired how the quick workman and the slow one estimated their work on a uniform standard of sixpence for sixty minutes." This confused and inadequate standard muddled men's minds, and, besides, there was a lack of careful and sagacious business management. "The labor exchange needed the pawnbroker's faculty of quickly seeing what a thing was worth." Of course the enterprise speedily failed.

The author, in his preface, pays a handsome compliment to this "wide-awake land" for the prompt and satisfactory responses given to his letter of inquiry in the *New York Tribune*. "No case of any indecipherable caligraphy arose in American letters; they make things pretty plain out there." He does not say how soon the second volume may be expected. Meanwhile he has given the present volume two good indices, and—a valuable feature—has added a "Coöperative Advertisement Sheet," from which one can get a tolerable notion of the leading establishments of the present day in Great Britain—experiments, we will add, which represent the principle of coöperation in its present form, not in its earlier communistic one.—*Nation*.

AN OBLIGING gentleman, who thinks that personal favors do not cost much, while they make friends, was applied to by a "Nigger" for a certificate of character, by which he might get a situation. The testimonial proving to be more complimentary than Scipio himself had expected, that worthy, on recovering from his astonishment, exclaimed: "Say, Mr. —, won't you gib me something to do yerself on dat recommendation?"

"IF YOU DARE to play marbles for keeps again," said Mr. Hurtlecamp to his eldest boy, "I'll whip you within an inch of your life." And then Mr. Hurtlecamp went on 'Change, and lifted up his voice at the call board, and raised his hand and shook it in the air, and got red in the face as he cried: "Sixty-seven, sixty-seven, for fifty thousand cash or July. Put up or shut up. Sixty-seven cents a bushel, cash."

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Almost every number contains a discourse or leading article, which alone is worth the price of one year's subscription.

Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

Proceedings of Second Annual Meeting, 1869. 50 cents. Contains essays by Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," and by David A. Wasson on "The Relation of Social Science to Religion," and speeches by O. B. Frothingham, Jesse H. Jones, F. E. Abbot, Wm. Denton, R. W. Emerson, Mary Grew, C. A. Bartol, A. M. Powell, H. B. Blackwell, Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Horace Seaver, and others; with an appendix on "Outlines of Judaism" by Rabbi Wise.

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting, 1870. 50 cents. Contains essays by O. B. Frothingham on the "Idea of the Free Religious Association," followed by addresses by D. A. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion," by Mrs. E. D. Cheney on "Religion as a Social Force, especially in relation to Philanthropy and Reform," and by F. E. Abbot on "The Future of Religious Organization, as affected by the Spirit of the Age," an essay by Samuel Johnson on "The Natural Sympathy of Religions," followed by Rabbi Wise on "The Permanent and Progressive Elements of Judaism," by T. W. Higginson on "Mohammedanism," by Wm. H. Channing on "The Religions of China," and Wm. J. Potter on "Religion Old and New in India," also abstract of a discussion on "The Bible in the Public Schools," by Thos. Vickers, S. R. Calthrop, Rabbi Wise, and others.

Proceedings of Fifth Annual Meeting, 1872. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by J. W. Chadwick on "Liberty and the Church in America," by C. D. B. Mills on "Religion as the Expression of a Permanent Sentiment of the Human Mind," and by O. B. Frothingham on "The Religion of Humanity," with addresses by Rowland Connor, Golia Burleigh, Lucretia Mott, A. B. Alcott, C. A. Bartol, Horace Seaver, Alexander Loos, and others.

Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1873. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. S. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains verbatim reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Sonnenschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Calthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity,—as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"—together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Keshub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. Wasson.

Proceedings of Eighth Annual Meeting, 1875. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains Essays by Wm. C. Gannett, on "The Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, R. F. Underwood, S. P. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

Religions of China, by Wm. H. Channing. 25 cents.

Reason and Revelation, by William J. Potter. 10 cents.

Taxation of Church Property, by Jas. Parton. 10 cents, singly; package of ten, 60 cents; of one hundred, \$3.

These publications are for sale at the office of the Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston. The Annual Reports for 1868 and 1871 cannot be supplied, and the supply of others previous to that of 1872 is quite limited. Orders by mail may be addressed either "Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston," or to the Secretary, New Bedford, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER Sec. F. R. A.

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Third Proposition. Property is impossible, because, with a

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Property is Impossible, because it is the Negation of Equality.

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VOLUME 6.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1875.

WHOLE No. 314.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State; and no person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

SECTION 3.—Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of the second section of this Article by appropriate legislation.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

"If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. Now, the centennial year of our national existence, I believe, is a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundations of the structure commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian schools. Resolve that neither State or Nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmixt with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and the State forever separate."—PRESIDENT GRANT, at Des Moines, Sept. 29, 1875.

GLIMPSES.

THE RECEIPT OF \$3.00 from Mr. Thomas Goddard, Du Quoin, Illinois, is hereby acknowledged as a contribution to the "Holyoake Fund."

THE HON. GEORGE BANCROFT told a reporter of the Philadelphia *Item* that the next Presidential campaign, in his opinion, will be the most exciting one of our history.

IN NEW YORK, there are a "Common School League" and an "Alpha Association," both organized to keep the Bible in the schools. If they will use only fair argument, they can do no harm.

THE NEW YORK *Herald* published a long account of a new secret anti-Catholic order (supposed to be the one referred to by John Y. Foster in his unlucky Blaine letter) which the *Graphic* declares to be a hoax.

THE WASHINGTON *Star* grumbles at the voluminous despatches from Philadelphia about the Moody and Sankey revival. It makes the cruel suggestion that the public would cheerfully dispense with the amplified accounts of trivial details, and be entirely satisfied with "the results, if any are obtained."

THOMAS CARLYLE's eightieth birthday was signalized by a universal tribute of gratitude and respect. With all his occasional extravagances and mistakes, no living man has done more than he to promote reverence for honesty and veracity, or to make literature a means of feeding the springs of moral earnestness in mankind. All honor to the aged prophet of truth and righteousness!

IF THE Democrats want to get ahead of the Republicans, and disprove all allegations of their own complicity in Catholic schemes, why do they not propose in the House a better Constitutional amendment than Mr. Blaine's? This is what the Washington *Tribune* of December 13 explicitly recommends. If the Democrats will adopt Judge Hurlbut's amendment, they will do a great public service.

THOSE who see little value or importance in the legal privileges arrogated by the churches of this country, contrary to the traditional American principle that Church and State ought to be separate, should ponder the statement of the Boston *Advertiser* that, since the first recognition in 1852 of Christmas as a legal holiday, "the progress of Episcopacy in this State is no doubt owing in no small measure to the change thus officially established."

MR. CONWAY recently delivered his lectures on "Demonology," "St. George and the Dragon," and "Oriental Religion" to very good audiences in the Masonic Hall at New York, now associated with the eloquence of Mr. Frothingham. Last Sunday he preached at Parker Memorial Hall, in this city, on "The Holy Family," and on Monday evening in the same place on "Science and Religion in England." In short, the Yankees want to make the most of him before his return to London.

THE *Catholic World*, in its January number, has proved itself to possess a throat which can only be compared to the Mammoth Cave for capacity: it has actually swallowed the President's Des Moines speech as "sound Catholic principle"! Now the nation must look for the February number with palpitating heart, to learn if this enterprising periodical is able to accomplish the same feat with the President's Message. Stories have been told of a boa constrictor that could comfortably take in a buffalo; but we never yet heard of one that could gulp down an elephant, tail, tusks, and all.

PROFESSOR MAX MUELLER's retirement from the chair of Comparative Philology at Oxford, recently announced, is an event of great interest in the world of letters. He went to England in 1846 in order to publish his "*Editio Princeps* of the text and commentary of the oldest of the Sacred Books of the Brahmans, the oldest book of the Aryan world." This immense undertaking he has just finished; and he now wishes to complete his translation of the Sacred Hymns of Brahma. Religious literature and religious science are under the profoundest obligation to this patient, large-minded, and large-hearted scholar, whose services have won for him a noble renown all over the globe.

By a singular coincidence, Mr. Conway was lately present in Cincinnati to preach the first sermon after the reunion of the First Congregational Church and the Church of the Redeemer, the latter having seceded from the former some fifteen years ago mainly on account of his sermons against supernaturalism. Preparations had been made for his preaching in the former, but the latter stepped forward and invited him to preach in their church. Both societies attended, and the occasion was celebrated by the local press as exceptionally important. It is understood that the two societies will be henceforth reunited under the ministry of Mr. Wendte, a radical Unitarian clergyman of fine character and abilities who is well known to hold views on supernaturalism very similar to those formerly taught by Mr. Conway. The "sacrament" is to be wholly omitted, and the united societies are to bear the old name, the "First Congregational Church." So fifteen years have been enough to bring the seceders up to the ground they once refused to take, even to the point of splitting off by themselves. "The world does move"—even if Galileo did not say so.

THE *Catholic World* says: "Our religion must, in some way or other, be dragged into politics. 'For shame!' we cry, with the President. In a country of such varied religious beliefs as ours, there is but one way to order and peace—'Keep the Church and the State forever separate.'" Now the *Catholic World* is Catholic enough to believe that the Pope is infallible; and it is Catholic enough to know that this infallible Pope has denounced as a damnable heresy, in the famous *Syllabus Errorum*, the doctrine that "the Church ought to be separated from the State, and the State from the Church [*Ecclesia a Statu, Statusque ab Ecclesia sejungendus est*]." That is what the *Catholic World's* infallible Pope teaches respecting its approved "one way to order and peace"—a way which the Pope expressly "wills and commands that all children of the Catholic Church hold in every respect as *reprobated, proscribed, and condemned*." Now of two things one: either the *Catholic World* is an open rebel to the Pope and a public repudiator of his infallibility, or else it is deliberately trying to deceive the American people with a public pretence of believing a speech of the President which it privately disbelieves. Which is it? Has the *Catholic World* moral courage enough to answer this question without evasion? It is not safe to trifle in this way with the people: they are not idiots.

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[For THE INDEX.]

Reconstruction of the Christian Creed.

BY PROFESSOR W. NEWMAN.

The Protestant Reformation, under Luther and Calvin, under Cranmer and John Knox, left the Apostles' Creed (so called) untouched, and with little exception maintained even the Nicene and the pseudo-Athanasian Creeds. But in the two last centuries science and literature have opened new fountains of thought: science, by developing the vastness, antiquity, and stableness of Nature; literature, by exhibiting the contradictions and weakness of the narratives called sacred, and in the case of very important books, the extreme uncertainty who wrote them, when, and where. In consequence, numbers of thoughtful and pious persons, warmly attached by sentiment and reason to the spiritual side of Christianity, are unable to hold to the creed of the reformers. The first effort of such naturally is to throw off all that seems to them as the dross of Christianity, and retain its pure gold. The process appears to the present writer to be undeniably right; and the difficulty of it such, that no wise man will wish to hurry it. To speak scoffingly or lightly of the struggle in which the hearts of others are strained is to him impossible, and is painful when it meets him from opponents of Christianity. But the questions remain, *How much* is to be rejected as dross? What can be separated without fundamental overthrow of the religion?

Those reformers who first moved against the ecclesiastical Trinity rejected it as unsupported by the Christian Scriptures, in which they found nothing that could be plausibly alleged as going beyond the doctrine of Arius. That the origin and nature of Jesus was superhuman, perhaps all the first impugnors of the Trinity acknowledged,—on the European Continent equally as in England; and even in the beginning of this century the followers of Dr. Priestley, who maintained a purely human Christ, and rejected the devil, demons, and the eternal hell, very seldom ventured to appeal against the Scriptures to nature and reason. But the abundant proof which has been adduced of the fallibility and errors of the sacred narratives and of the writings attributed to the Apostles has changed all this, first in Germany, next among Protestant Unitarians everywhere. Dr. Lant Carpenter, the pupil of Priestley, was grieved to see his pupil James Martineau plunging into a wide sea of incredulity. Since the days of Channing, Unitarians have largely abated their hard and dry polemics against the Orthodox, and have largely increased the spiritual, tender, and elevating side of their creed. Channing, I suppose, was earliest to look away from the letter, and to seize the spiritual and imitable lineaments of the picture drawn for Jesus as the true creed of Christianity. No one has been more eminent than James Martineau in following up this idea. Coming later than Channing, with a far profounder knowledge of the history of the documents called Scripture, and of their scientific weaknesses—besides the intrinsic power of his mind, acute and widely learned in logic and psychology,—James Martineau now stands in a position which was inconceivable

and unintelligible to his revered preceptor, Lant Carpenter, and has widely affected the judgment of all English-speaking Unitarians.

Another man may be mentioned for honor, though (if I may be allowed to say it) immeasurably inferior to James Martineau in force and clearness of mind,—the late Frederick Denison Maurice. Reared as a Unitarian, he abandoned his father's creed for its dryness and lack of spiritual warmth, and entered the Anglican Church, where at first he was supposed to be trying to "spiritualize Puseyism into a transcendental philosophy." In fact he soon fell into open conflict with Dr. Pusey about "sin after baptism," from which time he began gradually to assume an original and independent position, which made him the virtual centre of a new school within the Anglican Church. To expound his creed would be indeed an arduous undertaking; some have said that he could not do it himself intelligibly. He seemed to labor under a singular inability to discern things which to most minds are obvious. Thus he wrote a paradoxical pamphlet, entitled *Subscription no Bondage*, in defence of exacting subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles from the boys at King's College School,—a pamphlet which brought on him undeserved imputations of insincerity. His first considerable work was a book in three volumes on the Church, addressed to a Quaker, of which the avowed purpose was to debate the questions, *Is there, Shall there be, Ought there to be, a Christian Church?* An ordinary man might reply, "That depends on your definition of the word. Define the word Church, and we can answer your questions in a very few lines." So simple a mode of solution did not suit his temperament. But, however we may complain of his vagueness, of his obtuseness, contrasted with superfluous subtlety, yet his real goodness, his active benevolence, and charity of judgment, made him to be a power, and a salutary power, in the Anglican Church, great as was the offence given by some of his defections from Orthodoxy. Of these the most prominent was his utter renunciation of eternal punishment. The terror to the Orthodox from the renunciation does not arise from any intrinsic love of the doctrine (at which all but a very few shudder themselves), but from a belief, not at all groundless, that many other cardinal doctrines will have to be abandoned with it. The Rev. Charles Voysey hardly overstates, when he says that primitive Christianity was founded on the doctrine of hell as its basis ("fee ye from the wrath to come"); but Mr. Maurice's mind was not of such a character as to see logical conclusions, and after it had appeared that he remained on the whole within Orthodox limits, the jealousy against him rapidly subsided. He had been ejected from a Professorship at King's College by Principal Jelf, indignant at his heterodoxy concerning the hell; but ere long he was freely elected to be Professor of Morals at Cambridge. His heterodoxy was accompanied with an earnest desire to see and extol all that is best in Oriental religions, as well as in every form of Christianity; but he remained to the last an avowed Trinitarian, and had his own subtle ways, learned perhaps from Samuel Taylor Coleridge, of reconciling difficulties. Contemporaneously, the charity of the Anglican clergy towards all eccentric and heterodox thinkers whom they see to hold a spiritual morality has been ever on the increase; and no small part of this result may be imputed to F. D. Maurice among the more Orthodox.

Forty years ago, the Anglican clergy were divided into two classes, called High and Low; which meant simply that they held high or low views of *Church authority*. When Puseyism arose, the High Church soon split into two, and Maurice was among the earliest who visibly diverged from Pusey. Before long, the phrase Broad Church was heard, which was supposed to include Maurice and his friends. But it gradually appeared that a vast chasm separated him from those who were emphatically the Broad Church. For a while, one man in Oxford, the Rev. Baden Powell, had started the academicians by his freedom of thought; but his culture was that of physical science, not of literature and history. Professor Jowett and Dean Stanley have now long been discerned as the eminent and plain-speaking leaders of this section, though with marked diversities between them. How difficult is the position of Broad Church clergymen when they hold parochial appointments, the career of Charles Voysey sufficiently indicates. This class in general consists of men whose minds have opened since they made the legal subscriptions; and few are willing to eject themselves, though each consciously takes on himself the arduous and painful task of reconstructing Christianity.

When the problem is put before the mind, as an effort to recover the doctrine actually preached by the apostles of Jesus, there is no *a priori* objection of reason to such an inquiry. But new difficulty arises when it has to be admitted that the apostles were at variance among themselves, and that concerning their main gospel, the speedy return of Christ in the clouds of heaven (which was their chief point of agreement), they were victims of common delusion. That Paul was an essential innovator, and differed widely from James, "the Lord's brother," is confessed by the most clear-sighted. When miracle is further exploded, the narratives of the New Testament become gross misrepresentations; yet out of them, it seems, we are to extract "the essence of Christianity." If it be said (as it is said) that the apostles failed of understanding the mind of Jesus, which was greater, purer, and simpler than them all, one has to ask, Did the evangelists understand it any better? This is not imagined. Nay, to get rid of grave weaknesses and errors in the teaching attributed to Jesus, it is conceded and maintained that the narratives are sadly erroneous, and impute to him what he cannot have

taught. Two inferences then follow: *first*, that with documents so imperfect we have no trustworthy and sufficient basis, if even the rejection of sayings as not genuine because they displease us were a sound procedure of criticism; *secondly*, that to publish an expurgated New Testament which shall contain only the genuine religion, is a prerequisite, that the reconstructed Christianity may be intelligible to the popular mind. No step has hitherto been made to that effect. The moment it is attempted, the thinness and rottenness of the material becomes to me undeniable. And after all, is any thing more certain concerning Jesus, than that he claimed to be the Hebrew Messiah, and as such, a dictator to every disciple? "Be not ye called guides; for one is your guide, the Christ," Matt. xxiii. 10. Now if it be found impossible to admit that he was the Hebrew Messiah, and co-sessor of the Supreme God, are we not in fundamental conflict with him, as much as were the unbelieving Jews, whose pitiable state at "the day of judgment" he dogmatically announces? If we (aided by eighteen centuries' experience) find ourselves to be wiser than Jesus, how can we be really his disciples? When we cut out of the narrative whatever offends our judgment, the pretended "re-construction of Christianity" is simply the construction of a new religion, which may, no doubt, take up some elements from Jesus (probably mere Hebrew doctrine), but only as it takes up other elements from Greek or Latin moralists.

To me, therefore, it seems that under the light of the nineteenth century (which explodes miracles, and dreams, and authoritative dictation of truth, and exposes variance and weakness in the apostles and in Jesus) all pretence of recovering or reconstructing the primitive Christianity is logically futile. Nevertheless, I think it unjust, unkind, and unwise, to indulge in petty attacks against those who are moving in our direction. To despise their intellect is a pernicious and groundless conceit. Also I regard it as a very grave error to overvalue logical consistency. Entire consistency is possible only to entire truth. Our imperfection will always entail partial error; and it is better to have many points of contact with truth, though on none of them we are so exact as to attain perfect internal coherence, than to keep greater self-consistency by exploding one or more sides of truth. Consistency *in error*, in so far as this is possible, is the most lamentable of all states, and most tends to obstinate self-conceit. Such is Roman Catholic consistency; such is that of materialistic fatalism. The minds which seem to us to be illogical in clinging to a Christian profession may do so from a more intense and a wiser appreciation than we have of some moral excellences in the system. Moreover, masses of men cannot give up a national religion, entirely and suddenly, without great numbers of them being demoralized. Surely, then, it is a happy circumstance, if a number of good and intelligent men can remain inside the churches, and continue to teach and minister, while gradually leading towards fuller light. We, by running too fast, leave the millions behind, and are incapacitated for teaching them. To bring them onward into a generous Unitarian Christianity, instead of leaving them to Calvinism, or driving them back into Catholicism, seems to me a great and noble achievement.

[For THE INDEX.]

WHO WAS INTENDED?

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

According to the narrative in the Pentateuch, the Hebrew people had followed the leadership of Moses from their departure from Egypt until they reached the border of that Canaan which had long been promised them as an inheritance and a possession. It appears by that narrative (Deut. iii., 28-29) that Moses had known, long before reaching this land of promise, that he would not be allowed to enter it, and that his leadership and his life must there cease. Moses had plainly and repeatedly declared these things to the people, who were of course anxious to know under whose guidance they should be in the bold enterprise of assailing and destroying the numerous and warlike tribes then in possession of Palestine. Under these circumstances, in the course of his parting instructions to the people, Moses gave them the following assurance:—

"The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee; of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken."—Deut. xviii., 15.

Looking at the continuation of Hebrew history in the book of Joshua, after the death and burial of Moses, we see that the comforting prediction above quoted was actually fulfilled in the leadership of Joshua, who at once took the post of command, was immediately accepted by the people as their rightful and satisfactory ruler, and continued to hold that position with their full approval to the end of a life nearly as long as that of Moses.

I propose now to inquire if, in the books popularly ascribed to Moses, there is evidence that he expected and intended his prediction above quoted to be fulfilled in Joshua.

There is abundant evidence that Joshua had been, through all the years of Hebrew history between Egypt and Palestine, the trusted friend and associate of Moses. The very first mention of the former records an important commission for the public benefit entrusted to him by the latter. When Amalek came, and fought with Israel in Rephidim,—

"Moses said unto Joshua, choose us out men, and go out, fight with Amalek. . . . So Joshua did as Moses had said to him, and fought with Amalek."—Ex. xvii., 9-10.

It is a noteworthy circumstance that, at this first public act of Joshua, "the Lord" also distinguished

him by special approving mention. The narrative proceeds—

"And Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword. And the Lord said unto Moses, write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua."—verses 13-14.

I will now quote further testimony that Joshua was a trusted friend and associate of Moses.

When the Lord called Moses to come up to him unto Mount Sinai (where he is said to have remained forty days and forty nights), the narrative tells us—

"And Moses rose up, and his minister Joshua: and Moses went up into the mount of God."—Ex. xxiv., 13.

When Moses came down from this long stay in the mount, it appears that Joshua was with him before his return to the people. For we are told—

"When Joshua heard the noise of the people as they shouted, he said unto Moses, There is a noise of war in the camp."—Ex. xxxii., 17.

When the people, journeying, reached the wilderness of Paran, Moses selected twelve heads of tribes to explore the land of Canaan, and report in regard to it. The ruler chosen from the tribe of Ephraim was "Oshea the son of Nun." (Numbers, xiii., 8.) And the narrative proceeds—

"These are the names of the men which Moses sent to spy out the land. And Moses called Oshea the son of Nun Jehoshua."—v. 16.

After making certain special arrangements with the tribes of Gad and Reuben, Moses again singles out Joshua for particular mention, as follows:—

"So concerning them Moses commanded Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the chief fathers of the tribes of the children of Israel."—Numb. xxxii., 28.

And when, just before his death, Moses wrote a song of praise to the Lord for his wonderful works towards the children of Israel, Joshua is again mentioned in special connection with him, thus:—

"And Moses came and spake all the words of this song in the ears of the people, he and Hoshea the son of Nun."—Numb. xxxii., 44.

But there are also very significant passages in which Moses speaks to and of Joshua as his successor in the leadership. Thus, in the course of a rehearsal of past national triumphs, particularly over Sihon, king of Heshbon, and Og, king of Bashan, Moses says—

"And I commanded Joshua at that time, saying, Thine eyes have seen all that the Lord your God hath done unto these two kings: so shall the Lord do unto all the kingdoms whither thou passest. Ye shall not fear them; for the Lord your God he shall fight for you."—Deut. iii., 21-22.

Also in chapter xxxi., speaking "unto all Israel," Moses said—

"The Lord thy God, he will go over before thee, and he will destroy these nations before thee, and thou shalt possess them: and Joshua he shall go over before thee, as the Lord hath said."—v. 3.

"And Moses called unto Joshua, and said unto him in the sight of all Israel, Be strong and of a good courage: for thou must go with this people unto the land which the Lord hath sworn unto their fathers to give them, and thou shalt cause them to inherit it. And the Lord, he it is that doth go before thee; he will be with thee, he will not fail thee, neither forsake thee; fear not, neither be dismayed."—vs. 7-8.

In the end of Deuteronomy, after the death of Moses, the writer of that portion of the book tells us—

"And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon him; and the children of Israel hearkened unto him, and did as the Lord commanded Moses."—xxxiv., 9.

There is other testimony, still stronger if possible, showing that "the Lord" selected and commissioned Joshua as the successor of Moses. After the latter had been plainly told that his death was near at hand—

"Moses spake unto the Lord, saying, Let the Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, set a man over the congregation which may go out before them, and which may go in before them, and which may lead them out and which may bring them in; that the congregation of the Lord be not as sheep which have no shepherd. And the Lord said unto Moses, Take thee Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit, and lay thine hand upon him; and set him before Eleazar the priest and before all the congregation, and give him a charge in their sight. And thou shalt put some of thine honor upon him, that all the congregation of the children of Israel may be obedient. And he shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask counsel for him after the judgment of Urim before the Lord. At his word shall they go out, and at his word they shall come in, both he and all the children of Israel with him, even all the congregation. And Moses did as the Lord commanded him. And he took Joshua and set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation: and he laid his hands upon him, and gave him a charge, as the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses."—Numb. xxvii., 15-23.

Again, in what appears to have been an earlier period, though in a later book of the narrative, when Moses was rehearsing to the people their faithlessness in regard to the promised land, and the Lord's anger on account of it, he said—

"Also the Lord was angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou also shalt not go in thither. But Joshua the son of Nun, which standeth before thee, he shall go in thither. Encourage him: for he shall cause Israel to inherit it."—Deut. i., 37-38.

A little later, Moses represents the Lord as having directed him thus:—

"Charge Joshua, and encourage him, and

strengthen him: for he shall go over before this people, and he shall cause them to inherit the land which thou shalt see."—iii., 28.

And finally—

"The Lord said unto Moses, Behold, thy days approach that thou must die. Call Joshua, and present yourself in the tabernacle of the congregation, that I may give him a charge. And Moses and Joshua went and presented themselves in the tabernacle of the congregation. . . . And he gave Joshua the son of Nun a charge, and said, Be strong and of a good courage: for thou shalt bring the children of Israel into the land which I swear unto them: and I will be with thee."—Deut. xxxi., 14, 23.

After the death of Moses, this commission and these promises were renewed, as follows:—

"Now after the death of Moses, the servant of the Lord, it came to pass that the Lord spake unto Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister, saying, Moses my servant is dead: now, therefore, arise, go over this Jordan, thou and all this people, unto the land which I do give to them, even to the children of Israel. . . . There shall not any man be able to stand before thee all the days of thy life: as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee: I will not fail thee nor forsake thee. Be strong, and of a good courage: for unto this people shalt thou divide for an inheritance the land which I swear unto their fathers to give them."—Josh. i., 1, 2, 5, 6.

In accordance with the above, throughout this book, Joshua is represented as receiving his instructions directly from the Lord, as Moses did, faithfully fulfilling these instructions, as Moses did, and accepted by the people as their rightful leader, as Moses was.

From these details it clearly appears, I think, that the promise given by Moses to the people (quoted in the beginning of this article) was completely fulfilled in Joshua, in all its four specifications. It was "the Lord" who raised him up, who directed and sustained him. He was, "like Moses," one of the Hebrew people. He was also, "like Moses," an authorized and accepted interpreter of the Lord's will, a successful leader of the nation, holding it together as a nation, and sustaining it against all hostile action of foreign powers. And finally, unto him that people did "hearken," accepting him from first to last as their rightful ruler.

The close alliance between Moses and Joshua apparent throughout this narrative, the satisfactory execution of various important trusts committed by the former to the latter, and the fact that, when murmurings and divisions took place among the people, Joshua stood always on the right side, these things seem to make it probable that Moses expected and intended that Joshua should succeed him, ever after the approaching close of his own leadership was made known to him. But this seeming becomes certainty when we read (as in so many places above quoted) that "the Lord" had made this appointment, and that Moses followed Divine direction in announcing it to the people.

If we further notice that the promise of a leader and director to be divinely raised up from among them (declared by Moses, Deut. xviii., 15, and repeated by "the Lord," verses seventeen to nineteen) came immediately after directions to Israel what to do, and what not to do "when thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee," it seems natural to suppose that this referred, and was intended to refer, to the immediate successor of Moses, who should lead the people there addressed to possess the inheritance in question.

Yet, strange to say, this promise, fitting Joshua so perfectly in all the particulars both of its announcement and its fulfillment, is assumed, by a large proportion of the Christian world, not to refer to Joshua, but to have been spoken of a person belonging to a far later stage of history; a person who was not born until centuries after, and who of course, far from leading, guiding, and protecting the people to whom Moses spoke, would never be seen or known by them; a person to whom that people could not "hearken" (an essential condition of the prediction), and who could serve in no manner or degree whatever the exigency then before them, in regard to which, by all ordinary rules of interpretation, the prophecy must have been spoken.

How comes such a misinterpretation to have been made? How comes it to have been popularly accepted?

It is the NECESSITIES OF THE ORTHODOX CREED which have caused the clergy to make, and the people to accept, this misinterpretation.

That creed must assume (not only without evidence but against evidence) that the various books now bound together under the title of the "New Testament" were so inspired by God as to be infallibly correct in doctrine and in fact. Whatever is stated in any of those writings must be believed, irrespective of evidence.

So when the unknown author of "the gospel according to Luke" (a book supposed to have been written somewhere between thirty and eighty years after the death of Jesus) represents Jesus (xxiv., 27) to have expounded to his disciples things in the writings of Moses concerning himself, it must be believed that Moses actually wrote about Jesus.

So, again, when the unknown author of "the Acts of the Apostles" (a book supposed to have been written somewhere between thirty and ninety years after the death of Jesus) represents Peter (iii., 22), and Stephen (vii., 37), and Paul (xxviii., 23) as assuming that Jesus was intended by that prediction of Moses about which I have been writing, it must be believed both that they said so, and that they were right in saying it.

So, again, when the unknown author of "the gospel according to John" (a book supposed to have been written somewhere between sixty-three and

one hundred and twenty years after the death of Jesus) represents Jesus as telling his disciples that Moses wrote of him (John v., 46), it must be believed both that Jesus said so, and that Moses did so write.

The reason why these things must be believed is that the Orthodox creed requires it; just as the Romish creed, with far better scriptural authority, requires belief in "transubstantiation."

Let us now look on the other side, and see if any solid reasons exist for not believing the assumptions above mentioned.

In the first place we have all the writings which have ever been attributed to Moses, just as Jesus and his disciples had them; if the claim be true that the purport of Scripture is so plain that a man of but ordinary instruction and understanding need not err therein, we, you and I, reader, are perfectly competent to judge whether the terms and the circumstances of the prediction uttered by Moses require an application of it to Joshua, who fulfilled the conditions there expressed and implied, or to Jesus, who did not fulfil them.

We see, everybody can see, that these conditions were not fulfilled in Jesus.

The assemblage of Hebrews to whom Moses spoke were to "hearken to," that is, to follow and obey as well as to hear, the predicted helper. They actually held this relation to Joshua, but of course did not hold it to Jesus, since they all died centuries before he was born.

The circumstances under which the promise was uttered show that it contemplated these two things: a leader to supply the place of Moses immediately after his death, then impending; and a leader so conversant with warlike operations as to drive out before that people the various nations then inhabiting the land promised to them as an inheritance. Joshua did these things, and no one else did them. It would be impossible to surpass in absurdity the pretence that a promise including such meanings could have, or be intended to have, its fulfilment in a non-resistant, a Prince of Peace, one who ruled only by serving, one whose kingdom was not of this world, one whose subjects were forbidden to fight, because his kingdom was not of this world—even supposing that such a person had been living at that period.

As there is no passage in the writings attributed to Moses, other than that which we have been considering, which is even pretended to bear reference to Jesus, we have now only to glance at the preposterous pretence that a spiritual reference to Jesus, an announcement of far distant spiritual leadership, was intended by Moses in the promise in question. A little examination will show that this pretence has no better foundation than the other.

Putting aside the absurdity of supposing that Moses (while enjoining an assembly of Hebrews before him personally to "hearken" to one whom the Lord should raise up to be his own immediate successor) really intended to enjoin their successors, fourteen hundred years after, to "hearken" to the spiritual teaching of Jesus—putting aside, I say, this absurdity—we must notice that the "hearkening," an essential constituent of the prophecy, fails as thoroughly in the latter case as in the former. The Jewish people have never hearkened to Jesus in any sense. His doctrine has been rejected by them, alike during the short period when he preached among them, and through all the centuries since, while Christian missionaries have been laboring for their conversion. Only an insignificant minority of any one generation of Jews has accepted Jesus. The "hearkening" to him has been almost exclusively on the part of the Gentiles; and among those Gentiles whose various alien forms of faith have been supplanted by Christianity, none have made so determined, so persistent, and so embittered a stand against the claims of Jesus as the Jews.

I have shown, I think, that it is grossly erroneous to assume, either that Moses intended to refer to Jesus in his prediction quoted at the opening of this article, or that the terms of this prediction will warrant its application to Jesus. Whether Jesus himself ever made such an application of it—that is to say, whether the blunder of so making it is due to him or to his biographers—cannot now be known. But to me it seems very much the more probable as well as more satisfactory supposition, that these biographers made the mistake in question. If any apostle undertook to write down what he had heard Jesus say, it must be remembered that all the apostles misunderstood their master through his whole life, often misinterpreted his words, and utterly failed to appreciate the elevation of his views and the scope of his mission. But if, as the critical research of the last twenty years has made much more probable, the gospel narratives are the work of later writers, who had to depend upon current rumor and tradition for the words of Jesus, and yet who, being of Jewish origin, and specially desirous to convert their Hebrew brethren, sought as much as possible to show Hebrew Scripture favorable to the claims of Jesus, this may be the true explanation of so great an error as an attempt to transfer the meaning of Moses from the appropriate circumstances of his own time to the inappropriate circumstances of the time of Jesus.

REV. ROBERT COLLYER, of Chicago, told this story in a recent lecture: He was at a children's party one Christmas eve, and seeing a little boy sitting in one corner who was not dancing, he approached him, and asked why he did not join the others and dance. "I'm not danthing," said the boy solemnly, "beca'ushe I don't think danthing ith the great end of life." "Now, you know," added Mr. Collyer, "if that was my boy, I should think he was meant for a minister, but I should be sorry for the church that had to take him."—N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The attention of the world of politics here has lately been chiefly concentrated on the House of Representatives. The changes in the organization of that body have been sweeping; and nearly all its new appointees are from the South and South-west. The proceedings of the House have thus far been of a rather general nature; but the adoption on the 15th, by a vote of 232 to 18 of the resolution presented by Mr. Springer, of Illinois, declaring that "the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States, in retiring from the Presidential office after a second term, has become a part of our republican government," etc., is considered a severe blow to "third term" intentions.

Mr. Blaine presented, on the 13th, his proposed amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting the donation of public moneys to sectarian schools, and it was at once referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, where it will probably remain "pigeon-holed" until the popular voice demands a settlement of the matter. The Church and State question, broached in Mr. Blaine's amendment and in the President's message, is still the subject of much discussion, but the Democrats refuse to be forced into an attitude of opposition to the position assumed by the President; and, indeed, the Democratic organ here, the *Tribune*, even suggests that that party "can anticipate the Republicans with a school amendment of their own, more comprehensive in character, and broader and more complete in its provision and scope." Many prominent Democrats are as fully alive to these issues as any of their political opponents, and a prominent politician of that party was heard to remark, the other day, that a political policy which ignores the question of the relation of the Church to the State is woefully short-sighted. That is the question which Gladstone, and Bismarck, and Victor Emanuel have been required to consider, and that is the question which may yet be the chief issue in American politics.

One of the daily papers here printed the President's message and Rev. Dr. J. P. Newman's Thanksgiving sermon in the same issue, and the topics being somewhat similar, the general correspondence of ideas has given rise to hints of a conference on the questions treated of, between the President and his "spiritual adviser." The Rev. Dr. is the pastor of the "National Metropolitan Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church" (at which the President is an attendant), and was formerly chaplain of the Senate. He relinquished the chaplaincy of the Senate and the charge of his flock to go on an official pleasure-trip as "inspector of consulates," tarrying long in the Holy Land. This move was necessitated by a regulation of the Methodist Episcopal General Conference, which prohibits a minister from remaining longer than three years consecutively in any one charge, Mr. Newman's time having expired. Since his return he has resumed this pulpit of the National Metropolitan Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church, and frequently entertains audiences in various other churches in the city by a recital of his experiences in Palestine while on his official tour. The present chaplain of the Senate is Rev. Byron Sunderland, a strict, small, squeaky Presbyterian.

The newly elected chaplain of the House, Rev. I. Leander Townsend, made his advent in gown and bands, and kneeling on a footstool offered prayer from the Episcopal Prayer-book, which is a new departure in the way of official prayer. This performance, by the way, is no longer regarded or spoken of either by the public, the press, or the members themselves with any show of veneration; sometimes not even with respect; and a recent partisan prayer in the Senate was the subject of severe and general public criticism. Why does not Mr. Blaine, or some other lately-arisen Church and State separator in the House, begin by moving to abolish this chaplaincy farce? That would be beginning at home, and would look like business. *Query: Does Grant or Blaine mean business?*

VINCEX.

IS THERE TO BE A RELIGIOUS WAR AMONG PROTESTANTS?

BY THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

What Henry Heine says of the Germans is apparently true of religious radicals: you seldom find one so crazy but he has some disciple crazier yet, who assumes to interpret him to the public. This is Nature's kind provision to guard the most daring heretic from the dangers of absolute solitude. Doubtless there is an ascetic charm in this comradeship of outlawry, this fellowship of the last crust. Yet I have always maintained, through a tolerably long experience of radicalism, that the wider our sympathies the better, so long as we concede no principle; and that the radical of all men should be eagerly on the watch for every olive-branch from the other side. Now I honestly believe, for one, that this is a time of growing peace, not of growing discord; and, if so, I wish to do justice to the fact, and bear a part in any improved good feeling. *Dulce bellum inexpertis*—war is sweet to those who have never tried it.

It is generally admitted that almost every Protestant sect in America shows a disposition to harmonize internal dissensions, and keep itself united. And even in those bodies which seem exceptions—as the Episcopalians and Baptists—the incipient schism is due in each case to a desire for a wider sympathy with the Christian world at large. And, as between the different sects, there is certainly an increased spirit of coöperation, at least for practical ends. The wide spread of "Young Men's Christian Associations" is a striking instance of this, and marks a great change from the time when Finney wrote that

no doubt there was "a jubilee in hell every year, about the time of the meeting of the [Presbyterian] General Assembly" (*Finney on Revivals*, ed. 1835, p. 269). Yet all this might exist, and might be only a coalition against a common enemy, did not the relation of the members of these sects to more radical bodies and men show something of the same genial tendency.

To those who remember the manner in which Evangelical believers habitually allowed themselves to speak of the Universalists twenty five years ago, it will seem a sufficient proof of this changed attitude to say that there are now many such men who would gladly have received Universalists into the great Christian Alliance meeting in New York, and would welcome their coöperation in the present revivals. It may be said that the Universalist body has itself come half way, or more than half; so that this concession does not count for much. But the Unitarian body does not seem to me to have greatly changed within that time. It still holds in solution the same extremes of theology; and it is noticeable that the representative Unitarians, who are now most cordially treated by the Evangelical press and clergy, are not always the most conservative, but quite as often the most liberal men—liberal in their sympathies at least, if not radical in their theology. Consider, for instance, the position of such men as James Freeman Clarke and Edward Everett Hale. The former is a member of the "Free Religious Association," and the latter has presented himself as a guest at one of its social festivals, and exchanged cordial greetings. If, now, these men are sufficiently Evangelical for the informal fellowship of conservatives on the one side, and radical enough to strike hands with heretics on the other, where does the antagonism come in, and where shall the internecine war commence?

But, apart from such reconciling influences as these, it is plain that among American Protestants radical men have ceased to be, in any reasonable sense, the object of persecution, though they may often be still the subjects of avoidance. They are rather apt to complain of a deficiency of open attack, and certainly cannot apply to themselves the word "martyrdom" without laughing in one another's faces, like Cicero's augurs. Perhaps my own testimony on this subject would not have much weight; for as an avowed theist and believer in personal immortality I may not be an extreme test. But Mr. B. F. Underwood, the most eminent materialist lecturer in the United States, in speaking at the dedication of the "Paine Memorial Hall," last January, gave it as his experience that a man might now travel through the country expressing atheistical views, and receive only courteous treatment from the Christian clergy, so long as he himself showed a courteous and serious spirit.

I was present, a year ago, at a marriage ceremony, conducted jointly by the president of the Free Religious Association and by an Episcopalian doctor of divinity of excellent standing. When I expressed to the Churchman some pleasure at his liberality, he waived all thanks, saying that he was glad to do it—glad to show Mr. Frothingham that there was no real antagonism between their positions. There were important differences, of course, he said; but no antagonism. Now I cannot think we radicals are so in love with antagonism, "so spoiling for a fight," that we insist on thrusting weapons into the hands of our opponents and compelling them to controversy, even against their wills.

But it may be said that it is the duty of the radicals thus to compel them, so long as substantial points of difference remain. Yet where are the substantial points of difference? As I read the religious newspapers, I find doctrines which I was once accustomed to hold in horror—the very five points of Calvinism even—so stated as to deprive them of all that seriously repels the liberal mind. Whether these modern statements are consistent with the original confessions or not is no affair of mine; but it is an affair that concerns me very much to discover that I am less alienated from the Christian people around me than I had supposed. What candid radical does not now hear the doctrines of the trinity and the atonement, of original sin, of depravity, of future punishment so stated that he can either accept them, or can admit that but a thin barrier now separates them from those who hold them? Even the question that, in one sense, lies below all these—the question of final authority—is more and more frequently stated in such form as to leave between radicals and conservatives no such formidable difference. When Bishop Clark, in the Episcopal Church Congress, disavows for his whole denomination the theory of the verbal infallibility of the Scriptures; when Professor E. P. Gould, of Newton, speaks in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* (of January last) of "the probably allegorical account of the Fall of Man,"—these eminent theologians immediately disarm me in disarming themselves. For they have abandoned the position which the pious Neander regretfully attributed to American theologians, in the preface to the American version of his *Life of Jesus Christ*, nearly thirty years ago,—that of not being accustomed "to distinguish what is divine from what is human in the Gospel record." As soon as this is abandoned, the difference between these theologians and the heretics becomes a merely subordinate one: as my Episcopal friend said, a difference, not an antagonism.

The *Independent* of January 21st, 1875, contained these words:—

"That which to all Protestants is really the last resort is the human reason, enlightened by the Word of God. It was reason which first decided upon the canon of the Scriptures. Nobody disputes that. And the reason which once sat in judgment on the Bible may do it again."

I remember that once, after hearing a sermon

from that able and excellent man, the late Horace James, I alarmed him a little by telling him that I could heartily indorse every word of it. Reviewing mentally what he had said, he replied, after a pause: "No matter! It was true, and I will stand by it, even if you do agree with it." Probably the *Independent* will be equally hard to frighten. And if it represents, as I think it does, a vast body of Evangelical men, then I do not believe that Mr. Abbot, of THE INDEX, on the one side, or the "Christian Amendment Association" on the other, can bring about another religious war within the limits of Protestantism.—*N. Y. Independent*, Dec. 16.

HUMAN NATURE IN FINANCE.

Everybody now admits that we have not seen the end of the contest over the currency. The result in Ohio has probably put an end to attempts to inflate; but in order to get back to specie payments, it is necessary to do a great deal more than refrain from inflating. We must both contract, and accumulate gold, and sell bonds in exchange for greenbacks to be destroyed; and this is sure to be a process to which there will be, as there has been, much opposition; so that the State of the popular mind about financial questions is, and will continue to be, of great moment, until all United States paper is redeemable in coin on demand. This leads us to say a word once more to those who are engaged in the work of informing the popular judgment as to the extreme importance of the mode of presenting the economical problems now before the country. It cannot be too constantly kept in mind that the phraseology used in discussing these problems and indeed, generally, in teaching political economy, is apt to be misleading when addressed to persons unfamiliar with processes of abstract reasoning. For instance, when we say that political economy treats of the laws which regulate the phenomena of wealth, we convey to nine out of ten "plain men" an incorrect impression about it, and one which seriously influences their opinions on such questions as the currency. They come to think of the "phenomena of wealth," of the flux and reflux of coin, of credit, of imports and exports, of demand and supply, of price and value, and so on, as if they were physical phenomena with the production of which human action had little to do, but which might, nevertheless, be regulated by legislation or administration. They therefore do not see why the supply of money cannot be regulated as we regulate the supply of water for a city, or hew stone for a building. When you talk of the value of a thing to them, they fancy that it lies either in some inherent quality of the thing itself, or in some quality which can be communicated to it by the sovereign power.

What is needed to correct all this—and it is especially needed in a democracy in which some of the nicest economical questions have now and then to be submitted to the popular vote—is the diligent preaching of the fact that political economy has really to do, not with things external to man, but with man himself; not with goods, or money, but with states of the human mind with regard to goods and money. When a lecturer on finance, or any other department of political economy is examining the question of value, for instance, he is probably, in form, talking about gold, or silver, or checks, or bills of exchange, but he is in reality talking about the condition of men's minds in the presence of certain phenomena; that is to say, about the way they will feel, or think, or calculate, when they are brought face to face with certain external facts. When I ask the value of a thing, I really ask, How do men in civilized countries feel about it? How much do they desire to get it? When I seek a measure of this desire, I have to take not an arbitrary thing of my own invention to which I give a name, but something for which I already know their desire to be also strong, tolerably permanent, and universal. My own notions, therefore, about measures of value, or how they might be made, such as Kelley, and Butler, and Phillips, preach on the stump, are of no sort of consequence. It might be well if we could make a standard of value out of paper, leather, ox bones, or sausages; but the fact is that the matter lies not in the hands of the legislature, but entirely in the mind of the exchanging portion of the human race. The only permanent standard there can ever be is one to which they will attach value on its own account, without reference to what this or that government can or will do to it. What this standard is can only be learnt, not by the rapid speculations of metaphysicians, but by actual experience, or in other words, by financial history. Interrogating this, we find that all civilized men prefer gold to any other substance as a measure of value, and if you ask them why, they will answer, because they know when they have got gold that they are independent of Kelley, and Butler, and all thrones, and principalities, and powers, and are secure against all revolutions, and wars, and panics, and can go to any part of the world and carry their fortune with them without loss or waste. This state of mind, whether wise or foolish, is the ultimate fact of all finance. There is no use in fretting over it, or declaiming against it, any more than against the inability of water to run up hill. It cannot be overcome; a man in our day who is engaged in trying to overcome it, is a person more or less demented. He belongs to the small body of the unsound, who are trying to discover perpetual motion, and the elixir of life. There are such persons, and there will always be such persons; but the press of civilized countries ought to be by this time delivered from the necessity of arguing with them.

If it be said, as it is said constantly, that this view of the mental attitude of civilized men towards the precious metals is contradicted by the extent to which business is carried on through paper, in the form of bank-bills, checks, drafts, promissory notes

and book-accounts—or, in other words, through "credit," the answer is that credit, also, is a state of mind, and not simply a set of physical phenomena. It is the state of mind which, with regard to other matters than trade, is called mutual confidence, and means simply the disposition of men in society to believe the promises of their neighbors. They believe them when they say they will at a certain date give them so much coin, just as they believe them when they say they will at a certain hour meet them in a particular place, or give them so many bales of cotton. When a man takes the note of a bank, he does simply what a great wholesale house does when it parts with its goods for a three-months' bill. He says he is satisfied that he can have coin for the note when he pleases, just as the wholesale house says it feels sure it will have the money for the goods when the bill falls due. The bank-bill, or the retailer's draft, therefore, could not serve the purpose of money unless it had a certain state of mind behind it; and what has led the crazy fellows astray who want to do away with a metallic currency altogether, is that as they see the notes and bills, and do not see the state of mind, they think that all that is needed to make paper good money is the paper. "As you never draw your gold," they say to the trader, "you do not need it; banish it from your mind, and all will be well." To which the trader replies, that the paper is but a sign of his belief in certain facts; if this belief be destroyed, using the paper as money would be as foolish as trying to move a locomotive by making a puffing noise in the smoke-stack.

We have no doubt that if the part played by the human will in the production of economical phenomena were thus put forward more prominently in lectures, articles, and speeches on economical questions, a far clearer impression of their real nature would be made on a portion of the community which discussions on these topics do not now reach. If it could be got into people's heads that custom-house returns, bank statements, exchange quotations, price-lists, are all records, not simply of commercial transactions, but of the state of mind of some thousands of human beings at various times about various matters to which they are paying the closest attention, as deeply affecting their own welfare, we should assuredly see removed a great deal of the mystery which now surrounds "finance" in the eyes not only of ungrammatical plain men, but even of lawyers, clergymen, and women of education and thoughtfulness, and the rapid disappearance from the public view of the soft-money blatherskite. The wisecracks who are now sitting up at night devising schemes to enable the country to get rid of its debts without paying them, and at the same time do nobody any harm, would also rapidly rest from their labors; peace would at the same time enter into the souls of the publicists, who are possessed with the idea that foreign commodities are imported by a few persons who are living beyond their means, and need the warning voice and restraining hand of a Boutwell, or a Richardson, to check them in their mad career.

There are some words of deep wisdom on this subject in the late report of M. Wolowski to the French Assembly, on the monetary convention of the government with the Bank of France. After admitting that a certain amount of irredeemable paper might be kept afloat at par with gold—about \$80,000,000—without working any apparent mischief, he draws attention, in pointed language, to the fact that the dangers or advantages of any system of currency do not appear on the surface, but are to be found in the state of mind which lies behind the currency; and goes on to explain that the whole of the legal-tender bank issues ought to be withdrawn without any similar substitute "on the part of the government, because it would be dangerous for the State to begin the issue of paper money; the ease with which such money can be created, even within narrow limits, might carry us further, and in order to reap a small advantage in the present, we should run the risk of a serious danger in the future, for the appearance of success already obtained might lead to an exaggeration of the system. It is better in a country as impressionable as ours is, and as ready to rush down the incline of bold enterprises, to give up an easy means of lightening the budget, than to encounter the risks of a seductive abuse. We must not tolerate even the harmless use of paper money to a very limited amount, for the limit is too weak to resist the pressure of growing demands. . . . Paper money is, as Napoleon I. said, the curse of nations; it is to the *malade* what the plague is to the *physique*. Let us take care not to let ourselves be assailed by such a peril."—*New York Nation*, Oct. 28.

A CLERGYMAN FREES HIS MIND.

THE WHITTLE AND BLISS, AND MOODY AND SANKEY EVANGELISM—DISASTROUS EFFECTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN:

Sir,—During the height of the Whittle and Bliss revival in this city last winter I addressed them a note, begging them, in the name of pure religion, to pack up their traps and go home. I intimated to these gentlemen that their meetings were only calculated to advance their own personal reputation, and to bring their own precious names before the public. I endeavored to convince them that the end would show that nineteen out of twenty of their converts would eventually become ten times more the children of hell than before.

Now, it was proclaimed at the end of this machinery evangelism that the best part of the young men of Louisville were renewed in the spirit of their minds, and would turn out a blessing to society. But, alas! what is the actual experience? Just what I predicted. It is acknowledged that this city was never in a more demoralized and corrupt condition. The columns of the *Courier-Journal* for the

last month tell the story. There are over seventy-five indictments now pending against parties for gambling, and it is declared by those who know that this vice is practised by all classes of society, and to an extent which is simply appalling. Whittle and Bliss depart, and a multitude of professional gamblers take possession of the city. One excitement succeeds another. Religious excitement itself is the very best cloak a reprobate can put on, and Whittle and Bliss furnished the article in enormous quantities.

If Brooklyn can be made worse than it is, the means are now being supplied it at wholesale prices. Any reflecting person can see at a glance that religion is a life, and not an emotion, and that the effort to make Christians in the ready-made style, and with artfully-planned human machinery, will only result disastrously to the interests of Christ's religion.

I am a minister of the gospel of over thirty years' hard labor, and claim not only to have a correct view of that gospel, but also of poor human nature in its profoundest depths. Hence there is nothing I more deprecate than this Moody and Sankey sensationalism. "Beware of them that come to you in sheep's clothing, for inwardly they are ravening wolves." "By their fruits shall ye know them."

A CHRISTIAN.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Nov. 2.

—N. Y. Sun.

THE PHILADELPHIA Press says that many clergymen are making themselves needlessly "unhappy" over the centennial Sabbath, as the preliminary regulations of the exhibition, adopted nearly two years ago, provided that it should "be open to the public daily except on Sundays." The *Christian Intelligencer*, however, while admitting the existence of the regulation thus referred to, says a serious effort has been made and is still actively pursued by individuals and corporations who are peculiarly interested, to commit the Centennial Commissioners to the opening of the Centennial Grounds and Exhibition to the public on Sunday. It is the knowledge of this comparatively recent effort that has excited the grave apprehensions of the friends of the Sabbath; and these apprehensions will not be set at rest save by some definite assurance from the Commissioners that the question has been finally decided in favor of Sabbath observance.—*Christian Union*.

"MY DEAR FRIENDS, there are three things I very much wonder at. The first is, that children should be so foolish as to throw stones, clubs, and bricks up into fruit trees to knock down fruit; if they would let it alone, it would fall itself. The second is, that men should be so foolish and even so wicked as to go to war and kill each other; if let alone, they would die themselves. And the third and last thing that I wonder at is that young men should be so unwise as to go after the young women; if they would stay at home, the young women would come after them."

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 25.

A. Setliff, \$2.20; John Peck, \$3.20; A. L. Clark, \$1.60; G. C. Glatte, \$3.20; Mrs. J. W. Bigelow, \$8.70; Miss L. M. Thurston, \$3.20; G. E. Upton, \$1.55; John Gillies, \$2; J. S. Gilbert, \$8.34; Jas. Purinton, \$3.20; E. Schroeter, \$3.20; Cash, \$3.65; S. A. Tyrrell, 10 cents; J. T. Sunderland, 60 cents; J. Buffum, 10 cents; G. A. Walker, 25 cents; J. S. Palmer, \$13.20; J. M. Holland, \$1.60; J. D. Welby, \$6.95; J. J. Dunlop, \$6.40; H. E. Parsons, \$3.20; R. P. Thompson, \$3; D. B. Hale, \$3.20; T. H. Knowles, \$3.20; A. M. Knapp, \$3.20; Jerome Biss, 50 cents; L. E. Baber, \$1; Faltin Olsen, 20 cents; L. G. Jones, 25 cents; American News Co., \$2.65; C. Folsom, \$13.20; S. L. Hill, \$6.20; F. A. Angell, \$3.80; Miss H. Putnam, \$5; S. P. Train, \$4.20; G. G. Haynes, \$3.20; E. Abbot, \$3.40; J. L. Cutter, \$3.20; J. D. Zimmerman, \$3; Emma Herzog, \$3.20; Arthur Bate, \$7; Edward Allen, \$6.20; C. W. Estabrook, \$6.40; Miss S. E. Mulliken, \$3.20; T. McWhorter, \$3.20; T. P. Wilson, \$3.20; Israel Betz, \$5.40; J. F. Chandler, \$3.20; M. P. Hayward, \$3.20; E. R. Harris, \$3.30; F. Hinckley, \$3.20; Franklin King, \$6.40; J. P. Hanson, \$3.20; P. H. Magill, \$3.75; Miss K. R. Shailer, \$2; J. M. Hawks, \$2.70; B. M. Smith, \$1; C. H. True, \$1; L. Halsey, 10 cents; N. S. Townsend, 50 cents; C. S. Murdock, 35 cents; Chas. Richardson, \$3.20; J. P. Quincy, \$3.20; R. P. Hollowell, \$7.80; Wm. Archibald, \$6.40; E. Chapman, \$4.40; G. W. Kirk, \$3.20; A. Pope, 50 cents; S. W. Coburn, \$1.40; Mrs. S. R. Morgan, \$2.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

THE LAWS CONCERNING NEWSPAPERS.

1. Subscribers who do not give express notice to the contrary, considered as wishing to continue the subscription.
2. If subscribers wish their papers discontinued, publishers may continue to send them until all arrearages are paid.
3. If subscribers move to other places without informing the publisher, and the paper is sent to the former direction, they are held responsible. Notice should always be given of the removal.
4. If subscribers neglect or refuse to take their papers from the office or place to which they are sent, they are held responsible until they settle bills and give notice to discontinue.
5. The courts have decided that refusing to take a paper from the office, or removing and leaving it uncalled for, is *prima facie* evidence of intentional fraud.
6. Any person who receives a newspaper and makes use of it, whether he has ordered it or not, will be held in law to be a subscriber.
7. If subscribers pay in advance, they are bound to give notice to the publisher at the end of their time if they do not wish to continue taking it; otherwise the publisher is authorized to continue to send it, and the subscribers will be responsible until an express notice, with payment of all arrears, is sent to the publisher.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

OCTOBER.

A FRAGMENT.

Those days were sunny, sweet, and beautiful,
For then it was October, month of months,
The Queen-month chosen out from all the twelve;
When all the gold and scarlet Nature owns
Shed down, as suited well to royal guest.
And in those days I found the most delight,
In taking rambles long about the grounds;
Sometimes through garden paths I took my way,
To which late flowers their brilliant beauties lent;
Sometimes along the quiet road I strayed,
Noting with lowered eyes the many prints
Left by the feet of those who earlier there
Had walked before me in the selfsame dust,
And often stopping by the way to cull,
With eager hand, some stem of golden-rod
That poised itself so lightly in the air,
Or its companion swinging by its side,
Some spray of feathery aster, purple-deep;
Nor could I leave alone, ungathered there,
The sumach's long, illuminated leaf,
But plucked and plucked, thinking I saw in each
A warmer scarlet than the last had shown,
A spot of brighter green or yellower gold,
Or deeper tint of crimson, rich and warm,
Than in all others I had gathered burned:
Taking them all, a bunch of splendors rare,
To gladder make the aspect of the home.

And now and then I'd choose for longer walk,
To wander far along the river's banks,—
The river that in summer time did tempt
Me many an hour to spend in idle guise,
Watching its current as it glided calm
Away out of my sight among the hills.
But it had taken on a different look,
A look that seemed to chill me as I gazed;
Could it the same stream be? I asked myself;
Were those dark places underneath the trees
That grew along its edge, so dark and cold,
Were those the restful shadows that had seemed
So pleasant in the sultry July days?
Its summer loveliness had passed away,
Not e'en a lingering lily to be seen;
Its banks that erst had been so beautiful,
Whose robes had "brodered been with sweet, wild-flowers,
Now stretched themselves along in threadbare garb.
I used to hurry on with feet that trod
Unheeding where the blossoms all lay dead:
The violets, *fleur-de-lys*, forget-me-nots,
The flowers called cardinal and the wake-robins.

But I loved best to be among the trees,
The friendly, old, companionable trees;
And so the spot to which I oftener went
Was the large park that lay before the house;
Whose ground here swelled to many a rounded knoll
Thick to the top with lofty che-tnut trees,
Or there sank gently to some curved hollow
Lovely in verdure and soft lined with moss.
Oh! how I used to sit and gaze and gaze,
With eyes that never satisfied could be,
That oft were full of tears, I know not why—
For joy, I think, for truly I was glad.
The brook that flowed there, singing at my feet,
Was not more free from care or pain than I;
I used to watch it as it hurried on,
Slipping so deftly over the small stones,
And hastening round the large ones in its path
It heeded not, shone sun or moon in sky,
Were the woods mute or vocal with birds' song,
Whether fair flowers did use it as a glass
Or only withered boughs looked down at it,
And somewhat so it was then with myself—
I cared not how went on the outside world,
Not questioning a single how or why,
And so my life passed onward pleasantly,
Yielding to every change as easily
As in the summer air sways upland wheat.

But oft my eyes would wander from the brook,
Through some rare opening in among the trees,
O'er the large, verdant stretch of grass that led
To other hills and other dells beyond.
Before me lay a belt of forest trees,
That formed a glorious boundary to the view,
An arc of beauty of a thousand hues.
Low down, close to the ground, grew the scrub-oak,
Whose color of the deepest claret shade
Showed clear against the light green fringe of leaf
That clothed with beauty slender birchen trees,
Growing the next in order, upward looking
That in their turn displayed themselves full well
In contrast with some sombre shades behind.
And here and there, from out some darkest clump,
Of pines that in the fading light looked gray
And rough as some stone-built pile of old,
Shot up a vivid maple, all a-flame,
That seemed like to a gorgeous banner flung
To the brisk breeze from some high castle wall.
Forming the background to this wonder-view,
Were ranks of chestnuts, pressed against the sky,
Whose indistinct, dun-colored foliage served
To show to better vantage all the rest.
It had but little beauty there so far,
When taken as a whole, and yet I knew
That in a single leaf was often seen
The richest shades of brown that could be found,
Blended together with gradations nice,
And through them all a network of gold veins,
Strung with bead-spots of perfect rust color;
And over all the distant heaven spread,
With opal tints the whole earth compassing;
What wonder that I used to gaze so long,
Watching the sun set and the night come on?
Watching the light that lay at first so strong
And clear upon the grass at the tree roots;
See it move slowly upwards towards the trunks,
Hasting so warmly and in such bright spots,
Upon the underbrush that grew around;
Then shining full upon the myriad leaves,
That crowd the middle branches of the trees,
Shedding transparent, emerald, brightness down;
Reaching at last the topmost boughs of all,
Where lovingly it lingers for a while
As if 'twere loth to leave the earth so fair.
Slowly at last it fades; a shadow dark
Has risen from below to take its place;
A chill breeze rustles through the branches then,
That sway and bend as if they said "good-night,"
And evening's blessed resting-time had come.

Then in the purple haze of evening-tide
The homeward pathway was I wont to take,
All soul-expanded with the beautiful;
I went as one transported by the air,
With feet that seemed on moving clouds to rest,
And eyes that saw not any earthly sight.

CARROLL GODFREY.

The Index.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 30, 1875.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK,
Editorial Contributors.

A MINNESOTA correspondent has just informed us of the existence of a Liberal League at Medina, eighteen miles west of Minneapolis—Mr. Allen Grave, President, and Mr. Taylor Archibald, Secretary. Our informant kindly adds: "I have taken THE INDEX ever since its first issue, and cannot do without it. I wish every voter in our country could read it, for then it would be a beacon light to warn the nation of hidden rocks, shoals, and currents, towards which I fear we are tending. I hopefully hail the Liberal League movement; it is the only organized movement in our country that will check the encroachments of the church-power, and preserve the rights and the liberty of the whole nation."

THIS COMMUNICATION has been received since our last issue:—

MADISON, Wis., Dec. 20, 1875.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—At a meeting held lately by the "Madison Association of Liberal Thought," a resolution was introduced and passed, directing me, as the Secretary of said society, to forward to you a copy of our Constitution, and request you, if you thought best, to enroll us in your list of Liberal Leagues, as published in your paper. We desire to be so enrolled, if our Constitution meets with your views.

Yours very respectfully,

W. LA FAYETTE SMITH, Sec'y.

We shall be very happy to obey the above vote, if the Secretary will be so kind as to forward us a list of the officers, without which we are unable to comply fully with the request of the society. But we hasten to disclaim any possible pretension of a right to exercise discretion as to the insertion or omission of names in that list. It is a list published as a matter of journalistic news, not of official responsibility. We regard it as an act of courtesy and kindness to be informed of the organization of new leagues, which we are happy to reciprocate by publishing the fact at once; but each society must decide for itself whether it chooses to belong in that list. We shall never dream of assuming any jurisdiction or official right not expressly conferred upon us; and the reported wish of any organization to be enrolled in the list is absolutely decisive as to its right to be there.

NOT A FEW of our readers, in renewing their subscriptions to THE INDEX, take occasion to congratulate us on the President's Message—sometimes in terms we have not deserved. It is certainly a fair subject for mutual congratulation by all friends of impartial justice, that the great principles for which THE INDEX contends have won at least a very important, though partial, recognition by their own intrinsic truth. It is well to point out here, that the phrase "sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas," in the Des Moines speech, became "religious, atheistic, or pagan tenets," in the Annual Message. This is a change in the precise direction suggested by the "Open Letter to President Grant," which was mailed with a private letter to the President's personal address before the Message was sent to Congress. We should, of course, like to think that the "Open Letter" had a little influence in producing this change of the word "sectarian" to the broader word "religious," for then we should feel certain that the President really intended to recommend the total exclusion of the Bible from the schools, as we notice very many papers understand him now to do; but we have no evidence of any such influence beyond the bare fact of the change. That the effect of the Message has been most salutary becomes more evident every day; for the daily press now teems with so many articles on the relations of Church and State that the public mind can hardly escape getting healthily educated on this subject.

GRADES OF RELIGIOUSNESS.

There are different grades or degrees of physical strength, of health, of intelligence, of conscientiousness, of will-power, of affectionateness,—in short, of every quality or attribute of human nature. Why should it be a difficultly intelligible position to hold that there are different grades or degrees of religiousness, regarded as an essential and universal element of human nature?

From the very beginning of our thinking on the modern religious problem, it has seemed to us indispensable to find some clear conception of religion which shall be, in every point of view, consistent with the acknowledged right of the intellect to pursue truth in absolute independence of all foregone conclusions. If religion stands for anything necessarily permanent in human life, it must be able to reconcile itself to any possible result, in any possible direction, of the activity of human thought. To lay down any opinion whatever as a limit which must never be overpassed or removed is a violation of mental liberty sure to defeat its own object in the end; for the history of the human mind, if it proves anything, proves the absolute incapacity of thought to set a limit to itself which cannot be removed by the same authority which originally established it. No opinion whatever can be held as a positive finality, if thought has really a right to be free from the arbitrary interference of the will; the attempt to establish such a finality, and to command veneration for it by appeals to conscience, or affection, or anything that is not *reason*, has always signally failed, and must fail forever. In fact, every attempt of this nature always excites a reaction, which for a time tends to carry thought to the very opposite extreme of the opinion in whose behalf the futile tyranny is essayed. It is the vital interest of truth that no such unnatural deflection of thought shall ever be caused by unwise acts of interference with the natural and orderly processes of the intellect.

Conceding, therefore, the right of the intellect to act in obedience to its own inherent laws, untrammelled and unbiased by any pretence of dictating the terminus at which its search for truth must end, we very early sought to discover a conception of religion which should be perfectly harmonious with this other conception of the rights of intellect. The result of this search was embodied in the very first sentence of the very first number of THE INDEX: "Religion is the effort of Man to perfect himself." This definition was avowedly framed with a wish to make it compatible with any possible conclusion on any possible religious question. Two special essays on "Human Ideals" and "The Essence of Religion" [THE INDEX, April 2 and 9, 1870] were devoted to this subject, which has occupied no small space in these columns from the start, and is treated at great length in the Index Tract No. 14, "A Study of Religion; the Name and the Thing." To these careful statements we must refer our kind and faithful friend, Professor R., who in another column of this issue puts questions which we are unable to answer satisfactorily in a brief editorial article.

But perhaps the essence of Professor R.'s objection to a recent re-statement of our original conception of religion may be found in his supposition that, in holding up the "pursuit of all ideal excellence" as the central object of religion, we would arbitrarily limit the sphere of religion to the world of humanity, including self; that, therefore, no scope is left for the play of religious emotions which have no discernible relation to ethical improvement, either of self or of others; that duty, however largely construed, can never take the place of love, aspiration, trust in and soul-communing with an unseen spiritual power; in fine, that no conception of religion can be adequate which omits an affirmation of this higher power. This, if we mistake not, is the gist of his objection.

The proper answer would seem to lie in pointing out that any conception of religion which includes an affirmation of a superior spiritual power is too narrow to embrace all the phenomena of religious life in the world, as made known by history, literature, art, and indeed personal observation. Our express object has been to find an idea of religion large and comprehensive enough to include all such phenomena, both theistic and atheistic. To our mind, religion is essentially *living upwards*, and irreligion is *living downwards*. Whoever is struggling to reach a higher good than he has yet attained, however dimly it may be conceived, however crude and relatively low it may be, seems to us to be *living in the same direction* with the purest saints; and the saints are no saints, if they cannot sympathize with

every soul that is groping to realize in its own life what it imagines, even erroneously, to be better than that which it has actually reached. Who has absolutely attained? Who is not a groper, judged by a higher insight? On the long slope to perfection whose top is lost in the clouds of heaven, who cannot see others above as well as below, yet all striving to win the same serene height? The theist and the atheist whose lives are directed upwards, and not downwards, will each suppose the other to be a believer in error; yet the secret inspiration of their lives may still be the same, and in our thought they may be equally religious. Surely, the theist who imagines himself to have surpassed George Jacob Holyoake in fundamental religiousness of spirit or of life seems to us to be the victim of a pitiable pharisaism and conceit. The special type of thought and feeling with which we are internally familiar is no fit standard for the measurement of other lives; justice demands that, so far as his character is the subject of censure or admiration, every man shall be judged by his own ideal, not ours. Ignorant ideals which lead to acts hurtful to the general good may be as religiously obeyed as those which promote the general welfare; and society has no right to do more than to restrain the hurtful acts themselves. The religious impulse cannot take the place of intellectual enlightenment; it is necessarily an unsafe director of conduct, if not instructed and guided by a well-educated intellect. Recognition of the fact that religiousness is of infinite grades of actual elevation and usefulness, of infinite variety as to form and beauty of manifestation, is now superlatively important. The highest known types of religion include everything that is sweet and lovely, noble and expansive and uplifting, in human life; and yet they are of the earth, and may not innocently look down with superciliousness on types as honestly religious, yet inferior in mode of expression or actual degree of attainment. Certainly, the conception of religion which we have (not very successfully, it seems) tried to unfold sets a limit nowhere to the preaching and outreaching powers of the human soul; it would only render impossible henceforth the conceit that our own intellectual conclusions about religion give us a shadow of right to misjudge our brothers, or to pronounce them less religious than ourselves.

FREE FREEDOM.

The largest words never define themselves. It takes generations to define them. They are defined by the exigencies of the occasions that make them emphatic. The words *free* and *freedom* are just now undergoing this analytical process. Some seem to think it is enough to shout the word as if it carried with it a magical effect to enlighten and stimulate, sanctifying the lips that speak it, and blessing the ears that hear. Others regard the word "as mere sound and fury, signifying nothing," hold freedom itself to be only a condition, bringing with it disadvantages as well as advantages, and are inclined to look with special suspicion on the professions of freedom made by liberals, who use freedom, if not as "a cloak for licentiousness," as a disguise to cover bigotry of a new sort. Thus far men have been occupied in claiming and securing liberty for themselves. They are still busy with that task, a task of analysis and decomposition, which aims at reducing the homogeneous to its elements. Sect after sect, party after party, man after man, asserts the right to be independent, free in thought, speech, and action. Protestantism makes the first assertion, then the divisions of Protestants appeal, one by one,—the Universalists, the Unitarians, the Radical Unitarians; then the non-Christians, the anti-Christians, the Free Religionists, the Tom Paine infidels, the materialists, the scoffers, take their turn, in claiming liberty to write and speak their peculiar opinions, unchallenged and unmolested. This freedom, with us, has been fairly won. Neither platform nor press suffers from legal constraint, or from any other that can be removed. Such impediments as ignorance, prejudice, unsympathetic feelings thrown in the way can be displaced only by time and the knowledge that time brings. Of those none have a right to complain. As far as society can do it, the most entire freedom is conferred on thinkers, speakers, and writers. The most obnoxious opinion, regarded simply as opinion, may be uttered without fear of penalty other than that of criticism, disapproval, and angry expressions on the part of those who think it absurd or dangerous. This penalty no honest man shrinks from, nor murmurs at; it defines and deepens his sense of responsibility.

The lesson in freedom that is as yet unlearned,

and seems to be very hard to master, is that others have the same freedom that we have. In the effort to secure freedom, those from whom it must be extorted seem to be more tyrannical and oppressive than at heart they are; their unwillingness to extend their lines, their inability to over-pass their boundaries or enlarge their definitions is construed as a sign that they are in bondage themselves, and determined to subject others to bondage if they can. The asserter of his own liberty forgets that his opponents have the same right to controvert and denounce his opinions that he has to avow them, and in so doing is exercising precisely the same liberty he exercises himself; he forgets that there is no more bigotry in holding one set of beliefs than in holding another; no more intolerance in clinging tenaciously to Orthodox views than in clinging to radical; he forgets that the opposition of his adversary is as much the result of his liberty as the proclamation he makes is of his; having gained freedom for himself after years of painful effort, he falls into the notion that he is the only really emancipated person in the world, and resents as a sort of personal affront his neighbor's pretension to integrity of mind in maintaining what he has abandoned, and believing what he has discarded.

Hence the peculiar form of intolerance that we have called "radical bigotry"; the intolerance of the emancipated towards those who are not emancipated to the same degree, or whose emancipation is in another direction, or under a different form. Theirs is not free freedom, but restricted freedom; antipathetic not sympathetic freedom; selfish not humane freedom; freedom as a private profession, not freedom as a rational principle; freedom got, not freedom given. The Free Religious Association makes a point of asserting and vindicating freedom for all, on the ground that freedom is the prerogative of the human mind, belonging to it by virtue of its essential characteristic as mind; no one mood or set of mind having a monopoly of rationality, but all intelligence being equally and alike privileged. This is free freedom, liberal liberty. In this liberty, and in this alone, we have hope for the future.

O. B. F.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—By the time this letter reaches you the Guibord burial case will be pretty stale; but I hope it is not too late to make some remarks on the collateral subjects of "consecration" and "cursing," which unhappily still occupy the interest of childish men.

It passes my understanding that here, in the nineteenth century, it can be possible for any one to hold a superstitious regard for what is called "Christian burial," and for "consecrated" ground. I lay emphasis on the word *superstitious*, because it is both natural and right to treat with becoming reverence the bodies of the dead; to set apart for their reception ground that shall not be trampled over, or made the wild scenes of mirth or strife; and lastly, to bury them with such adjuncts of religious rites as may best tend to soothe the grief and to raise the hopes of the mourners.

In so far as consecration secures the burial ground from unseemly occupation and outrage, there can be no harm in it; and in so far as Christian burial meets the wishes and tastes of the survivors, we have no word to say against it. Understood as only designed to comfort and cheer the living, and as having no effect whatever on the condition of the dead, we cannot rightly call the service superstitious. The superstition lies wholly in the latent feeling that the words of the priest or minister over the corpse have some undefined charm which will favorably affect the departed spirit. In like manner, the superstition associated with consecration does not lie in the decent act of setting apart a building or a piece of ground for special uses, but in the utterly foolish notion that a consecrated spot is made more holy than any other spot *not* consecrated.

There is reason and a sense of congruity in setting apart a building for religious uses alone (in which of course I include all kinds of instruction in natural science as well as in ethics), and in prohibiting from it theatrical performances, or dancing, or banqueting.

Quite as obvious is the reasonableness of enclosing a piece of ground for the burial of the dead in such a manner as to protect it from disorderly conduct or boisterous play.

But no reason whatever can be found for the superstitious reverence usually accorded to churchyards and consecrated ground, as if not to be buried within their precincts were a dire calamity or grave peril to the souls of the dead.

Let people rub their eyes and wake up a moment or two to ask themselves why on earth they care so much about Christian burial, and resting in consecrated ground.

At the root of it lies a childish fear of some undefined evil, and a childish belief in some magic charm conferred by consecration and Christian burial.

Even Roman Catholics may well inquire what danger there can possibly be in being buried anywhere on God's earth, if without any risk to the soul the body may be lost at sea, devoured by fishes, or scattered into a thousand fragments by an explosion? No true Catholic would have any fear for the eternal safety of his friend who should thus be left without a grave in consecrated ground, and the rites of Christian burial. Then why should he hesitate to deposit the beloved remains *anywhere* so long as they were screened from molestation; or feel the least anxiety about burying them with his own hands in solemn silence, or with what prayers he might choose to offer himself?

I much fear that the friends of Guibord will not only feel wounded and insulted by the Bishop of Montreal's ugly curse, but that they will suffer the far deeper pang of believing that the soul of Guibord himself will be tormented by it. And if this be in truth what they feel, if it be typical of Roman Catholic or semi-Protestant feeling all over Christendom, what a ghastly revelation it is to you and me of the low state of intelligence around us! What a disclosure of the dark horrors of superstition, worse by far than the infantile follies of fetishism—more oppressive, indeed, than any life-long fears of bodily harm! Have we not said, over and over again, "Fear is the deadly foe to human freedom and progress"? Fear puts a weapon into the hands of ecclesiastics which all our batteries cannot blow out of their grasp. Fear is the chain by which the poor slaves of priestcraft bind themselves in miserable bondage. Fear is the prolific parent of the separations, exclusions, and strifes between man and man,—the secret of the selfish luxury of consecration, the venom in the sting of Episcopal cursing.

I almost wish I could gather round me half a score of indignant Catholics, and face that cursing bishop with a cool defiance.

I would say, "Here we are for your malignant pleasure. Now take your bell, book, and candle, go through the *abracadabra* of your senseless rites, and, muttering all your darkest incantations, curse us now with all your heart, in the name of Church, of Heaven, and of Christ. Pour forth your worst, your most withering, malediction, and see if it will hurt even a hair of our heads. The only harm it can do is to your own foolish, arrogant, and deluded soul; for the curse shall return to your own bosom, feeding your hatred and malice, and devouring all the better feelings of your natural heart, withering up in you all that makes life worth living for, all that lends grace and beauty to the exercise of power."

Heavens! Are we going to endure much longer these impudent and impious assumptions? Will our deluded fellow-creatures still crawl and shiver at the feet of these proud priests? Have they no manliness left in them to shake off their childish fears, and to strike the blow for their own freedom? Have they no faith in the living God that they must cringe and crouch before the threats and curses of mortal men?

Believe me, it is not atheism but rational faith that can cure these deadly maladies. Atheism plays into the priests' hands, and drives many a trembling but honest inquirer back into the narcotic slumber which awaits him in the weird embraces of Rome.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S.E., Dec. 4, 1875.

THE PHILADELPHIA PETITION.

Last week we published the excellent letter of Mr. Dye, Secretary of the Philadelphia Liberal League, to the Board of Public Education; and we here reproduce it, to make the subsequent extracts more easily intelligible:—

THE HON. M. HALL STANTON, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF PUBLIC EDUCATION:

Sir,—I have the honor to transmit to the honorable body over which you preside the following resolution, which was considered for several weeks, and finally passed by the Philadelphia Liberal League:—

WHEREAS, The use of the Bible in the public schools is a violation of the recognized American principle that the Church and the State ought to be absolutely separate; and

WHEREAS, It is a practice which gives a distinctively Protestant character to the public school system, is grossly unjust to all non-Protestants taxed to support it, and thereby dangerously aids the Roman

Catholic Church in its openly-avowed warfare upon it; therefore

Resolved, That the Liberal League of Philadelphia hereby respectfully petition the Board of Education to prohibit the use of the Bible in the public schools of this city, and that the officers of the League are hereby instructed to carry this resolution into effect.

In compliance with this resolution, I respectfully petition the Board of Public Education to prohibit the use of the Bible in the public schools of this city. Herewith please find thirty copies of the very able and comprehensive address of Damon Y. Kilgore, Esq., delivered before and published by the League for the use of your Board. This address is a fair and just exponent of the views of the Liberal League of Philadelphia, and has already received the highest commendation of some of the ablest thinkers in our land. The question of secular education has already assumed such importance as to be felt at the ballot-box, and the President of the United States, with a keen foresight, has made it a prominent feature in his last annual message to Congress.

Let it be distinctly understood that, if the Protestant Bible were absolutely as faultless as the most ignorant and bigoted of those who indorse it believe, our objection would remain to its being made an instrument of religious oppression to those who do not so regard it. The equal rights of all citizens demand its exclusion from the public schools because the schools belong equally to all citizens, and no majority, whether Protestant or Catholic, has any right to oppress the religious conscience of the minority. In conclusion, gentlemen, allow me to add that the inexorable logic of events fast passing into history teaches the importance of your speedy and favorable consideration of the subject involved in this petition.

JOHN S. DYE,

Secretary of the Liberal League.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 14, 1875.

The same subject, as we learn by the Philadelphia Inquirer of December 16, was discussed at a meeting of the Radical Club:—

The regular stated meeting of the Radical Club of Philadelphia was held yesterday afternoon, at No. 333 Walnut Street. Mr. E. M. Davis occupied the chair. Dr. John M. Spear offered the following:—

Resolved, That the Radical Club finds encouragement to continue its reformatory work in the views expressed by the President of the United States in his recent message to Congress, with regard to the unsectarian character which the public schools ought to maintain, and the equitable taxation of church with other property, and agree with him that now, the beginning of the second centennial of our national existence, is a most fitting time for these reforms.

Remarks were made by Messrs. Ruby, Jacob Byrnes, and Dr. Spear, Mrs. Spear, and Mr. Hughes. The latter did not think that the action of General Grant was intended as an appeal to the Protestants in order to secure his reelection for a third term. He considered, however, that national interference in State affairs was dangerous.

Mrs. Dr. Pratt thought the President foresaw that the time was coming when the negative bearing of the Constitution relative to religion would be overcome.

Lucretia Mott was much pleased with anything she saw that looked to the taking up of great subjects. She marvelled that any one should say it was an interference with State rights that the children should be so educated as to vote intelligently.

After a few remarks by Mr. Marvis, of Illinois, Dr. Spear's resolution was adopted.

The following resolution was then discussed:—

Resolved, That we demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished, and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

Remarks were made by Mrs. Bladen and Rev. W. J. Potter, a Unitarian minister from New Bedford, and others, after which the further consideration of the resolution was postponed. Adjourned.

The action taken by the Board of Education on the League's petition was thus reported by the Press of December 15:—

The following was received from John S. Dye, secretary of the Liberal League:—

WHEREAS, The use of the Bible in the public schools is a violation of the recognized American principle that the Church and State ought to be absolutely separate; and whereas, it is a practice which gives a distinctly Protestant character to the public school system, is grossly unjust to all non-Protestants taxed to support it, and thereby dangerously aids the Roman Catholic Church in its openly avowed warfare upon it; therefore

Resolved, That the Liberal League of Philadelphia hereby respectfully petition the Board of Education to prohibit the use of the Bible in the public schools of this city, and that the officers of the League are hereby instructed to carry this resolution into effect.

The matter led to debate.

Dr. Nebinger thought it but a political trick, and urged that it be sent back to the people who sent it.

General Wagner deprecated any disrespectful treatment of what was a respectful document.

Mr. Steinmetz didn't think it was respectful. He believed it should be laid on the table, or returned to those who sent it.

Mr. Green viewed it as an insult.

General Wagner denied that it was an insult. He believed it brought up an important question, and one that must soon be met all over the country. He believed the board should meet it now.

Mr. Gratz said the question had attracted much attention everywhere. For himself he wanted no change, but still he believed all should have a hearing, for he knew many who are opposed to reading the Bible in the schools. It was better, in his opinion, to meet the matter at once, and he was willing to vote that the board deem it inexpedient to take any action in the matter.

Mr. Elkins favored laying the communication on the table.

It was laid on the table by the following vote: Yeas—Messrs. Abbott, Campbell, Davis, Elkins, Fagen, Green, Hoffman, Hutchinson, Jackson, Jenks, Jones, Lehman, MacAvoy, McBride, Milligan, Nebinger, Nichol, Steinmetz, Stewart, Wright, and Stanton, president—total, 21. Nays—Messrs. Freeborn, Gratz, Shedd, and Wagner—total, 4.

We would respectfully suggest to the brave Philadelphia League that the rejection of their petition in this summary and unintelligent manner is no cause for surprise or discouragement. Defeat after defeat must be expected before the victory can be won; and, in a high sense, such a defeat as this is a partial victory, after all. Truth, justice, righteousness, and the purest benevolence, are on our side in this movement, and ultimate triumph is certain if we persevere. Let the Liberal League rise, like Antæus, with fresh strength after every fall; if its own pluck and self-devotion fail not, succeed it must and will. It has made itself heard by vast multitudes already. The people do not yet understand the invincible moral strength of its cause; but they will find this out in time, and learn that a little squad of moral heroes, armed with intelligence and persistent will, are more than a match for millions that rely on nothing but their numbers. This demand for justice will yet be heard respectfully. Now is the time for petitions with numerous signatures, for public meetings advertised to discuss the question, for articles in the papers, for all the means used by those who trust to reason and right and the conscience of mankind. Let it be known that the Liberal League will put a *Secular School Ticket* in nomination for a new School Board, and there will be no lack of interest. Only steer clear of every mean device and doubtful expedient, and our noble end will yet be achieved.

Communications.

THE TRUE CONCEPTION OF RELIGION.

ITHACA, N. Y., Dec. 5, 1875.

MY DEAR INDEX:—

In your issue of Nov. 25, you make a statement which suggests to me that I am perhaps on the wrong train, and (premising that I do not mean to get out—because I do not believe that any excursion in your company can be bad) I would like to ask how the fact is. You say: "The inward self-consecration of our entire being to the pursuit of all ideal excellence is religion."

"The pursuit of excellence" refers, as the context shows, to ourselves and to humanity. We are to consecrate our entire being to attain ourselves, and help humanity to attain, the highest excellence which we can conceive; and that will be religion. In other words, if I understand you, religion is the effort to improve ourselves and society to the utmost, the object of our desire being in one case ourselves and in the other mankind.

Is this perfectly correct? Cannot a man do his utmost to realize his very limited idea of human nature, and yet, from the lowliness of that ideal, fail to be religious? It may be that his aiming at *your* ideal, after making it his own, would carry him into the sphere of religion; but it is not perfectly clear that mere fidelity to *every* ideal would do so.

The effort to perfect one's self must have its root in self. It is noble, manly, shows proper respect for his nature. It leads him to keep his body healthy and pure, to strengthen his intellect, expand his heart, and keep every faculty in working order. It commands him to be true to all visible relations, and to be alive to all that may be possible. It is, however, an effort for self, and, though it may embrace humanity as a sphere of exercise, still self-improvement is the object.

The effort to perfect mankind has a wider range and springs from a nobler source. The man who can forget his own perfection in his effort to raise his fellow-beings has risen to a very high stature. He is the true hero; but, wide as his sphere is, it is bounded by humanity. When he knows that he has done everything possible for him to do for the world, he can only feel that he has done his duty to it.

Such a man may find it a part of his work of perfection to remember his relations to the Infinite, and to make known the relations of mankind to the source of being; and virtue may detect no act omitted, no thought suppressed, no aspiration disregarded, which mere desire for self-improvement or the improvement of others suggested. Still that man's whole nature is not satisfied.

In the very outset he may have been all that I have supposed, and yet have been defective in the element of love. All that he has done may have been from different motives than losing himself in others. Giving himself away may have been the last mode of his activity. His self-consecration may have come from

the "I ought" rather than the "I must." His sense of duty may be satisfied, but not his affections.

In the next place, is it cynical to say that, after all, our nature cannot be satisfied with either self or mankind? Is it true that the conviction that we have done all we could for ourselves, and men and women like us, will give us the peace that asks no more? Is duty so entirely sufficient? No; when all has been done, and the faithful worker looks over the field with the certainty that he has omitted no effort for himself or for mankind, his nature turns upwards. There is in him a wish for something greater than himself, a hope for a love larger than all human love, a beauty brighter than any human beauty, an energy more efficient than any of man or nature. He hopes, because he must hope, that there is a higher condition of being than this, and he rises toward it by an irresistible trust. Now this yearning and this trust do not necessarily enter into the effort of the man to perfect himself or elevate mankind to his ideal. They are of another class of emotions. They may possibly prove baseless, but we believe that they are based on reality, and are the foundation of thoughts, hopes, efforts, consolations, peace, that nothing else gives. They fill a world of their own, and are felt to be treasures not exchangeable for any other.

Is this distinction unreal? Is it unreasonable to class these feelings, aspirations, heart-promises, soul-communings, this trust in an unseen, spiritual, higher power, under the name of Religion, as distinguished from virtue on the one side and benevolence on the other?

For my purpose it is immaterial what men call this highest aim of love and intelligence; nor, if it can be accounted for, would that change my position. I only claim that, to satisfy our human nature, we must suppose something related to us higher than we, and that it is perfectly legitimate to separate the emotions which grow out of our faith in that supposed fact from our efforts to perfect ourselves or mankind.

If you think that I am rather late in asking these questions, I would say that I never had any difficulty in accepting your original definition with the liberty to construe it as I please, and that I have always made it include the aspiration to union with a higher nature. The words "pursuit of excellence," in the sentence quoted at the beginning of these remarks, seemed to preclude the aspiration of the emotions. Excuse length.

Yours very truly,

W. C. R.

MORE ABOUT THE CATHOLICS.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Notwithstanding your strictures on my last article concerning "sectarian appropriations," I am convinced that our differences are more apparent than real, and arise in part from misunderstandings. Let us see if we cannot remove some of these misconceptions, and if we do not stand essentially on common ground.

In the first place, I think we are both convinced now that Republicans as well as Democrats have been guilty, in some localities, of consenting to sectarian appropriations; and that Democrats as well as Republicans are entitled to some credit for resisting such appropriations. As my object originally was to protest against an *indiscriminate* assault upon the Democratic party, as I thought, unjustly singled out for attack, it is so far accomplished.

I am ready to unite with the editor of THE INDEX, and all others, in attacking and defeating all men of whatever party or sect who favor an assault upon the integrity of our public school system. But I do not see the justice of holding either party, as a whole, responsible for the acts of a small minority of its members, which act it has since overwhelmingly repudiated at the polls.

The history of sectarian appropriations in this State does not seem to me to be a "secret history" at all, but a very plain and open history, known of all men. These appropriations were made by open vote and consent of representatives of both parties. There were years, during the reign of the infamous Tweed régime, when I believe no voice was raised in protest from either party in our State legislature. It may not be inappropriate to call attention here to the fact that Republicans as well as Democrats were participants in the spoils of the Ring, and Republicans as well as Democrats are now outlawed in foreign lands, where they have fled to escape the indignation of an outraged and aroused people.

The only "secret" about this whole matter of "sectarian appropriations," here or elsewhere, I opine, if rightly discovered, lies in the willingness of unscrupulous politicians of both parties to barter principles and public moneys for Catholic votes in localities where the Catholic element was powerful. But the people of both parties, when fairly aroused to their danger, have everywhere hurled these politicians from power, and trampled upon their evil deeds, and will continue to do so. Is it worth while to discuss which party was "ahead" in the race after Catholic votes, when they are now running a different race in the opposite direction? I think not.

I did not intend to be unfair in imputing to the editor of THE INDEX what I thought to be an unauthorized attempt to read Senator Kernan out of the Catholic Church. I coupled the editor's assertion that Mr. Kernan was not a "representative Catholic," with his other dictum that "whatever Catholics refuse to follow the lead of the Catholic clergy in the school question will simply be forced out of the Church." The readers of THE INDEX can best judge whether my reply was warranted by these assertions.

With Mr. Wasson's admirable essay, in the main, I heartily agree. I concur with him in the belief

that the pretensions of the Catholic Church, "in anything like their full extent, neither are, nor in any proximate future, are likely to be, brought to the front in America"; and that "for excited alarm there seems to be no occasion."

Nor do I need all the documents to which the editor refers me, to prove what I have repeatedly admitted during this discussion, that the leaders in the Catholic Church, controlling probably a majority of its members in this country, would favor a division of the school fund, which is the practical destruction of the school system. The "imaginary onslaught" to which I referred was the supposed onslaught of the *Democratic party*,—which has never been made, and is never likely to be.

If THE INDEX will follow the excellent example of Mr. Wasson, and confine its attacks to those Catholic powers who are inclined to seek the destruction of our public school system, it will remove at once the cause of all my criticisms.

It is true that I am, as the editor of THE INDEX says, "living in the midst" of a Catholic community, the most powerful in this country. But I am living with my eyes and ears wide open, and my senses as alert for danger, I believe, as those of Mr. Wasson or the editor. Is it not possible that a closer contact with intelligent Catholic laymen than either Mr. Wasson or the editor probably enjoys, and a personal acquaintance with some of them, may render me better qualified to speak for them? I unhesitatingly reassert that there is a minority of Catholics, not insignificant in numbers, and most respectable in intelligence, who in any conflict between the authority of their priests and the integrity of our public school system will be found, as they have been when tested, patriotic enough to cast their influence and votes in our favor. Let us do these men no injustice.

In conclusion, I have to thank the editor of THE INDEX for the candid and amicable spirit in which he has treated my criticisms. Our aims seem to me to be essentially the same. Let us prosecute them earnestly, by all honorable means in our power. But let us confine our assaults to the real enemy, and stand by our friends, by whatever names they choose to call themselves.

Still believing that past experience renders it certain that any attack by the Catholics on our public schools would meet everywhere, as it always has met, the most overwhelming defeat, it seems to me that we would do best to bend all our energies to the more difficult task of placing our schools and entire governmental machinery upon a strictly secular basis. To this end let us labor, fairly and honestly.

Yours faithfully, LEWIS G. JANES.

NEW YORK, Dec. 18, 1875.

[The only point to which we need refer in the foregoing article is that concerning Senator Kernan. We made no "attempt to read Senator Kernan out of the Catholic Church." But we did mean (what we still mean) that he is not a representative Catholic in any sense; that he belongs to a class of semi-liberalized Catholics who are now tolerated for a purpose by the real masters of the Church, but who, as history proves, have not the least influence in modifying the inexorable policy of Rome; and that, when the time comes, Senator Kernan and all his liberal sympathizers will be either whipped into submission or excommunicated. But we have never assumed to excommunicate him.—ED.]

PEACE OR WAR.

TIPPECANOE CITY, Miami Co., Ohio, }
Dec. 2, 1875. }

All wars originate from differences of opinion. Among men, if we had no difference in opinion, the clash of war would never be heard. If we would look for the elements of war, we must look for them in differences of opinion on subjects for which, as history shows us, men will fight. Religion and politics are the two subjects which have been at the foundation of more wars than all others combined.

Is there no clashing of opinions on these subjects among us a nation? Hear what the Pope says: "There are those who do not hesitate, against the doctrines of the sacred Scriptures, of the Church, and holy fathers, to assert that that condition of society is best in which the civil power does not recognize the obligation to coerce by enacted penalties the violators of the Catholic religion, except so far as the public peace may require it. Proceeding from this totally false idea of social government, they do not fear to fasten that erroneous opinion, most fatal to the Catholic Church and to the salvation of souls, which was designated by our predecessor, Gregory XVI., of recent memory, as *insane nonsense*; namely, that liberty of conscience and worship is the personal right of every man, which ought to be protected by law, and asserted in every rightly constituted society."

I hope your correspondent, Mr. Janes, will notice that what the Pope here calls "insane nonsense" is to be found among what our Declaration of Independence calls self-evident truths, on which our government was founded, but which, it is to be regretted, has not been entirely administered. But will Catholics forget to maintain the above expressed opinions? Hear the Pope again: "But while they have the temerity to affirm this, they do not think and consider that they are preaching the liberty of perdition, and that, if it be always allowed to debate with human persuasions, there can never be wanting men who dare to resist the truth and put faith in the loquacity of human wisdom; whereas we know from the very institution of our Lord Jesus Christ

how faith and Christian wisdom must avoid this most hurtful vanity." What is it the Pope here calls a most "hurtful vanity"? Simply, always trying to bring men into obedience to the Church by "persuasion." Persuasion alone won't do; for, if we depend on persuasion alone, "there will never be men wanting who will dare to resist the truth, and put faith in the loquacity of human wisdom,"—such loquacity as Tyndall, Darwin, and others, are now making use of!

We see that the Pope claims for the Catholic Church something stronger than "persuasion." We all know what comes next—war, prisons, fire and fagot, etc. "We have," says the Pope, "the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, the right to use them." Will they not use them when they think a favorable time presents? All history says they will. I would ask your correspondents: If you were the Pope, believing (as he professes to believe) that he is God's representative on earth, and to "save souls" is his divine mission, and, if not the only means, the only sure one is to propagate the Catholic faith and make men obey its dictates, would you not do so by all the means God had put in your power? Would you not be unfaithful to your trust if you did not? If the heads of the Catholic Church are honest, conscientious men, of course they will fight when a favorable opportunity presents; but, if they are scoundrels and hypocrites, they will fight for their ill-gotten power and position. Before fighting, however, they will use fraud, circumvention, and seduction; they will say to themselves, If the glory of God abounds through their lies, they should not be counted as sinners; and so they will become all things to all men, that they might save some.

It is said that Senator Kernan, of New York, is a very amiable and conscientious man, a true citizen, and devoted Catholic. I confess I can't see how any man can be a true believer in and supporter of the principles of our government, and a true believer in, and supporter of, the Catholic faith. Hear the Pope again: "These false and perverse opinions are the more to be detested because they chiefly tend to impede and remove that salutary power which the Catholic Church, according to the institution and commission of her Divine Master, should freely exercise to the end of time, not only over individual men, but over nations, peoples, and their sovereign rulers." Now add to this this other saying of the Pope: "It is insane nonsense to say that liberty of conscience and worship is the personal right of every man." Now I ask how any man can believe and practice all this, and at the same time believe and practice the doctrine (which is the doctrine our government is founded on) that liberty of conscience and worship is the personal right of every man, and that the Catholic Church has no right to exercise any power whatever over nations, peoples, and their sovereign rulers? These two positions are incompatible, so far as I can see; and how Senator Kernan can consistently hold both is quite too enigmatical for me to solve. But I can see how a fanatic and enthusiast, one who believes that he is God's special representative on earth, and that his chief business is to save souls, and that the way to do it is to make all men adopt and practice a particular faith,—I say I can see how such a person would use cunning, fraud, deception, circumvention, fire, fagot, gibbet, war, and all the atrocities of the Spanish Inquisition, to save souls from such a hell as we are told of. For what are all the above torments in comparison to endless burnings? I can also see how an adroit politician might set his sails so as to catch Democratic and Catholic breezes enough to waft his bark into a port of some fat office, and then very innocently ignore all the machinery at work in doing it. But how a man can serve God and mammon, I can't see. I think all who reflect will see, in looking over the whole ground, antagonistical ideas enough to breed a war. That the Catholics, in seeking to destroy our common schools, or break them up into sectarian schools, and uniting with any party which will help them do it, and give ninety-one per cent. of public money raised for churches and schools to the Catholic schools in which is taught the doctrine that "to say liberty of conscience and worship is the personal right of every man is insane nonsense,"—I say any one, in looking over all this, will see that the Catholics are getting greatly the advantage, in this war of ideas, over all others. They are making us all pay the expense of teaching all our children that our government is founded on "insane nonsense"; and in this way, when it comes to actual war, they hope to have the majority, and they will too, if we are all lulled to sleep by such speeches as that of Senator Kernan. I see the speech is acting strongly on some very good minds.

Here, to do the Catholics justice, we must say they make a very plain issue. They declare that "to say that liberty of conscience and worship is the personal right of every man is insane nonsense," and that "their Church has power, not only over the consciences of individual men, but over nations, peoples, and their sovereign rulers, which, by their Lord Jesus Christ, they have power to freely exercise to the end of time." We, as a nation, deny the whole of this, and have placed the very foundations of our government on such denial. They wish to destroy our foundation, and place our government on theirs. The Catholics begin very ingeniously to do this, and they are deserving of all praise for their ingenuity. In the first place they get church property exempt from taxation, and, Catholics being comparatively poor in property that can be taxed, but rich in church and school property which is not taxed, they are immensely the gainers in this transaction. I have made the estimate, as compared with other denominations, and the result, as a whole, is about this: on a supposition that there are ten dollars to be raised for churches, Catholics would pay two of the ten when

raised, and on its distribution would get eight of the ten.

Again, Catholics have a control over their voting population which no other denomination has, and this vote they always keep in the market ready to be given to the party which will give most for it. Democrats have generally been the buyers; and the price paid is seen in the distribution of public funds raised some years ago in the city of New York, for church and school purposes,—Catholics getting ninety-one per cent. of all such funds, all other denominations and outsiders getting what was left! If there is a word said against such transactions, it is denounced as an effort to "stir up sectarian hate." Although we (Democrats and Catholics combined) did so once, we will do so no more; "we are all right now; and we will only ask that the school fund be divided, and that we have our share by ourselves." Any party that will do this for them will get their vote. We know the school fund is raised by tax on property, of which Catholics have comparatively but little to be taxed, but is to be divided according to the number of children, in which they are very rich. I don't blame them for this, for I consider it legitimate warfare; yet still it is a fact, if there were ten dollars to be raised for school purposes, what they would pay and receive would be for church purposes. All patriots want our common schools to which all children may be sent, that they may exchange salutations early, imbibe sentiments of respect for each other founded on moral worth and excellence, and exchange thoughts on any subjects that may come up in their plays and intercourse with each other; that we may become a fraternal, homogeneous people, and the bitterness of sectarian prejudice may be allayed. For such a purpose all patriots, as I think, are willing to be taxed. In the forcible and concise language of Gen. Grant, I say: "Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated for the support of sectarian schools. Resolve that neither State nor nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmixed with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the church, and private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and State forever separate." Amen and amen—in which I think all patriots will join. But will Catholics? I don't mean "Catholic" politicians (for they will do anything), but the Pope, cardinals, bishops, priests, and people. E. L. CRANE.

PARAGRAPHS FROM A NOTE-BOOK.

Mere precedence may be of much account. No man shall ever have as many children as Adam. The important things of life are most apparent, and the earliest thinkers saw them and stated them, while now they may independently occur to every cultivated mind. The first poets made nearly all the most striking comparisons, and the first law-givers plainly knew the main-springs of the human heart. No axioms have been left for our modern mathematicians to tell, and much work original to the modern author or inventor he finds worthless, as having been done before by some one else.

The conservative admiration of the past is partly due to the fact that only the best of the past has survived, and is compared with the average present. The old cathedral remains, but the hovels that were beside it have gone.

A rolling stone gathers no moss; but how about a snow-ball?

How little charity is pure! Who takes any interest in a poor orphan child, if it has red hair and a squint?

Neighbor Hunks is divided in two parts: nine-tenths money and one-tenth Hunks. Friend Chippen has the same total, but nine-tenths is Chippen; he has invested most of his capital in human nature, in a kind heart, good temper, and joyous soul.

Some men are limestone men, and the wear and tear of life only reduces them; others are granite men and become polished, so that the arrows of outrageous fortune glance off from them.

In springtime, on Mount Royal, the wild lilies have to grow through the heavy layer of leaves strewn the autumn before. It is a lovely sight to see a tender green shoot separating a skeleton maple leaf, and lifting it as it unfolds. Fit emblem of the old, and the new gently replacing it.

Weeds after all are plants whose uses we do not yet know.

The lazy Mussulmans believe they have to see fate; the sturdy Calvinists that they have to make fate.

There may be compliment even in an unfavorable comparison. Tennyson's critics never praised him so much as when they said his *Queen Mary* was weak beside Shakespeare.

The moon can eclipse the sun; but it is only the moon after all, and it cannot do it very often.

Evil is a relative term, so is plague. I like to see a housefly in January; his impudence is then amusing, and quite harmless.

The notion that the end justifies the means was a

mistake that arose from supposing anything to be an end. Average total effects are usually very different from a first immediate effect, and evil is apt to produce its like in the long run.

In this complex world, with its most intricate, moral questions, conscience cannot exist without intellect to solve its difficulties. Hence the supreme importance of education.

Art should not be unduly assisted by Nature. We do not want to see a real hunchback play Richard Third, nor a worn-out old man take King Lear's part. We want to see art exercised in assuming these characters, without detriment to their completeness and perfection.

Supernatural is an unmeaning word, as we find by replacing it with either equivalent,—super-usual or super-universal.

It may be that many a worthless fellow was born simply to be grandfather to somebody.

Small forces are unduly slighted. Lowering the vitality of a hundred people one per cent. is the same as killing a man; but the former crime is unnoticed in our cities, while the latter excites horror.

There can be a cant against cant. Some not over good men have made more by it than any hypocrite ever did by hypocrisy. The brazen fronts of some modern sinners suggest that hypocrisy may at times be even a virtue.

Considering the countless numbers that should in undisturbed geometrical ratio have been now alive of the human race, if of millions of possible men I am the only actual one, I think I should try to be somebody. Many of these possible men doubtless would, if they had my chance.

The warm, sudden kind of man turns cool soonest when hard work has to be done, just as boiled water freezes sooner than other.

A sanguine man sees the flowers in a field, a despondent man the weeds; both are there.

This hope, so great a mover of human hearts, has a sad history. It has usually been groundless and unsatisfied. It is painful to think that in the natural order it has been necessary to use phantoms to induce men to live and work. In these days as man copes more successfully with Nature, the dominion of hope is passing away.

Progress in one direction is limited by progress in others. Chemists are trying to build up compounds synthetically; they shall succeed when the masses of men are moral enough to be able to make alcohol and nitro-glycerine from their elements as easily as bread is made now, and yet not abuse them.

Mere segregation is often mistaken for evolution. The radicals, or reformers, or water-drinkers, scattered throughout a community, gather themselves together and imagine that as they see more of each other and hear more pleasant doctrine than they used to, radicalism, or what not, is growing in the community! Diffusion even may help evolution. The radicals of America do more work now, distributed as they are over the whole continent, than if they all lived, say in Boston, where they should radiate chiefly on each other.

The cross-currents retarding the progress of evolution are many and important. A kind of natural selection very unfavorable to evolution has been that by animals who have always taken the best attainable grasses and plants for food, and left only the poor sorts to propagate themselves. Similarly all beasts and birds of prey who capture by surprise, would select the sleekest and best of a group for a meal, leaving the sickly and thin alone. So on battle-fields the marks are chiefly the officers and generals who would be the severest loss. As societies evolve in mutual trust and confidence, they are liable to inevitable subtraction as the rewards of the liar and thief temptingly increase. There is sub-evolution in disease, burglary, and all crime and evil.

The imitation by young animals of the tricks and devices acquired by old ones is a kind of education which reinforces heredity and helps evolution.

The wonderful effects claimed by Spencer for use and disuse in parts of an organism may be verified by looking at our lengthened fingers and shortened toes. J. G. H.

MONTREAL, Dec. 20, 1875.

A MAN who lisped having bought some pigs, asked a neighbor for the use of a pen for a few days. Said he, "I have jutht been purchathing thome thwine—two thowth and pigth. I want to put them in your pen till I can fix a plaih for them." "Two thousand pigs!" exclaimed the astonished neighbor; "why, my pen will hardly hold a dozen!" "You don't understand me, Mr. Bent. I don't thay two thouthand pigth, but two thowth and pigth!" "I hear you," said Mr. Bent, "two thousand pigs! why, you must be crazy." "I tell you again," exclaimed the man angrily, "I mean not two thouthand pigth, but two thowth and two pigth!" "Oh, that is what you mean, eh? Well, the pen is at your service."

A WORN-OUT parent in Chicago has named his baby Macbeth, because he hath murdered sleep.

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(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

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THE INDEX, A Weekly Journal

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EDITOR:

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

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To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

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In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

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AN INQUIRY INTO THE PRINCIPLE OF RIGHT AND OF GOVERNMENT.

By P. J. PROUDHON.

Prefaced by a sketch of Proudhon's Life and Works, by J. A. Langlois, and containing as a Frontispiece a fine Steel Engraving of the Author. Translated from the French by BENJ. R. TUCKER.

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given Capital, Production is proportional to Labor, not to Property.

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